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ENVER HOXHA
SELECTED WORKS

IV

WORKERS OF ALL COUNTRIES, UNITE!

ENVER HOXHA

SELECTED WORKS

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ENVER HOXHA

THE INSTITUTE OF MARXIST-LENINIST STUDIES
AT THE CC OF THE PLA

ENVER HOXHA

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FOREWORD

The fourth volume of the «Selected Works» of Comrade Enver Hoxha in English includes documents of the period 1966-1975, which deal with the consistent continuation of the complete construction of socialism in the new conditions of the fierce struggle against imperialism and revisionism and, at the same time, with the further revolutionization of the Party and the entire life of the country.

In this volume are published speeches, discussions, articles and talks of Comrade Enver Hoxha. They reflect the correct policy of the Party of Labour of Albania for the all-round development of the economy at rapid rates, for the continuation of industrialization as one of the vital tasks of socialist construction, for the development of agriculture on the road of modernization and intensification; they reflect the measures taken by the Party for participation of the working people in the governing of the country in a broader and more organized way, for the circulation of cadres, for the narrowing of differentials between the higher and lower wages, etc., measures which served to close the way to the restoration of capitalism as occurred in the Soviet Union and the other former socialist countries.

Comrade Enver Hoxha replies to such questions as: Why does the role of the masses in the governing of the country and the management of the economy con-

stantly grow, why is it important for the strengthening of the socialist democracy to establish correct relations between the masses and the cadres, what gave rise to the great revolutionary movements of the masses, such as that for the emancipation of women, for the revolutionization of the school, for placing the general interest above the personal interest, the movement against backward customs, etc., which broke out in 1967 under the leadership of the Party, and how are they developed, how is direct worker control exercised, what is the interdependence between the technical-scientific revolution and the active participation of the working people in it, etc.? All these questions found their reflection in the successful fulfilment of the 4th and 5th Five-year Plans, as the deed of the working masses themselves.

He proves with scientific argument why the class struggle will continue until the construction of communism and why the fate of socialism depends on the correct understanding of this struggle which is waged in a coordinated manner on the internal and external plane, why socialism is threatened not only from abroad, by a military aggression, but also from within the country, by degeneration and peaceful counter-revolutionary evolution. Arguments are also brought to reveal the reactionary essence of the viewpoints of the Soviet and other revisionists on the extinction of the class struggle, on the «party of the entire people» and the «state of the entire people», as well as of the viewpoints of the Chinese revisionists, at that time still camouflaged, who held that after the construction of the economic base of socialism the bourgeoisie is not eliminated as a class. Significant are his conclusions on the so-called Proletarian Cultural Revolution, in which Chinese revisionism was emerging more openly in practice.

It is stressed that a fundamental condition for the

writers and artists to create works of ideo-artistic value is that they must sit cheek by jowl with the people. This problem is treated in a comprehensive manner in the report delivered at the 4th Plenum of the CC of the PLA, which exposes the reactionary content of the currents of the bourgeois and revisionist literature and art and shows what distinguishes them from the literature and art of socialist realism.

To make the working people still more conscious of the tasks which lie ahead of them, Comrade Enver Hoxha calls on all communists and all the working people to thoroughly understand and assess the imperialist-revisionist blockade in all its seriousness, to foil all the ideological, political, economic and military pressures the imperialists and social-imperialists exercise on socialist Albania, by implementing the principle of self-reliance with ever greater persistency. This is connected with the struggle of the Party of Labour of Albania to expose the super-powers, the USA and the USSR, and the other imperialist powers as aggressors and exploiters of the peoples. Following this policy unwaveringly, the PLA denounced and exposed, without any reservation, the fascist-like aggression of the Soviet Union and its Warsaw Treaty allies against Czechoslovakia, while ceaselessly continuing its exposure of the aggressive war of American imperialism in Vietnam.

In the materials of this volume is stressed the great and inexhaustible strength of the peoples in the struggle to win and defend their freedom and independence against the savage common enemies, American imperialism, Soviet social-imperialism and all their lackeys.

Educated in the spirit of proletarian internationalism, the PLA has fulfilled its duties towards its own working class and people in close connection with the tasks and aims of the international proletariat, the cause of the

triumph of socialism everywhere in the world. In many articles, speeches and talks in this volume it is pointed out how the relations between the Marxist-Leninist parties should be built.

The documents of this volume are a clear testimony of the correct revolutionary line of the PLA and its consistency in the faithful and creative implementation of Marxism-Leninism, its contribution to the enrichment of the theory and practice of scientific socialism.

Many materials in this volume are published in abridged form.

INVIGORATION OF THE LIFE OF THE PARTY - THE MAIN PROBLEM

Orientations for the basic organizations of the Party

February 2, 1966

The very lively debates which took place in the Party and among the people during the discussion of the call of the Central Committee of the PLA and the Council of Ministers of the PRA, (1) as well as of the decision of the Political Bureau of the CC of the Party «On the struggle against bureaucracy for a revolutionary style and method of work», (2) demonstrate the correctness of these historic decisions and the maturity of our Party which, at the proper moment, was able to seize on that link which would further revolutionize all the work. They are incontestable evidence of that healthy Marxist-Leninist force which the Party of Labour of Albania represents.

The communists and the whole people supported the Central Committee and our Party in this very important undertaking with all their might. This is fresh evidence of those close bonds which exist between the Party and

1 Issued on October 23, 1965 for drawing the people's masses in the discussion and drafting of the 4th Five-year Plan of the development of the economy and culture during 1966-1970.

2 The Political Bureau of the CC of the PLA took this decision on December 24, 1965, by which it called attention to the need for a more resolute struggle against the bureaucratic distortions in the state organs and in the Party.

the people, of that unshakeable trust which they have in each other, and of the lofty patriotism of our heroic people.

The Political Bureau considers that the main problem today, in order to respond to this great revolutionary enthusiasm of the masses for carrying out the major tasks with which we are faced, is the strengthening and invigoration of the basic organizations of the Party.

THE BASIC ORGANIZATIONS OF THE PARTY SHOULD ASSUME
THE FULL LEADERSHIP OF EVERY ASPECT OF LIFE
IN THE SECTORS IN WHICH THEY OPERATE

For the Party to perform its role of the organized vanguard detachment of the working class, as the force inspiring and leading the whole life of the country, it is essential that the basic organization, as its solid foundation, fully plays its role in the enterprise, cooperative, village, military detachment, administration and everywhere else. This means that the fate of the enterprise, cooperative, detachment, etc., is in the hands, not of one person, but of the basic organization as a whole. To this end the following matters must be made very clear:

1. — In any collective, what determines whether affairs run smoothly is the level of the ideological, political, organizational and mobilizing work of the basic organization of the Party. Without underrating the very great importance which the cadres have for the Party, it is not the secretary, the director, the chairman or the commander who are the reflection of the work in a cooperative, economic enterprise, school, military detachment or elsewhere, but mainly the basic organization of the Party. It is always the careful work of the Party which has raised our cadres from the ranks of the masses.

The task of the basic organization of the Party is not

just to support the orders of the director, the chairman or the commander. It is the organization of the Party that guides all the work, that decides what must be done by the communists and all the working people to carry the work forward, what tasks must be fulfilled, how to defeat the enemy in war, etc., and on the basis of this, each individual must carry out the duties entrusted to him. All the organs, organizations or other bodies are levers of the Party. As such they must work to put into practice the line, decisions and the correct orientations of the Party without deviating in the slightest from all the requirements of the democratic centralism of the state and other organizations of the masses.

There is no problem in which the basic organization of the Party is not interested, but it cannot carry out all the work on its own. It has to guide and should stand in such a position that it has a broad view of all the work. The basic organization must fight against sectarianism, against any attempt to monopolize affairs. Sectarianism inhibits the initiative of the cadres and the masses, weakens and shrivels the Party. The basic organizations of the Party must continually enhance their ability to set everything necessary in motion so that its members and levers and all the working people perform their tasks fully with the highest sense of responsibility.

While working to develop the initiative and enhance the responsibility of cadres and various organs, the basic organizations of the Party must not permit localist or departmentalist tendencies or manifestations of technocracy, which are other manifestations of the bureaucratic pressure on the Party.

Not rigid forms, but the ideological, political, organizational and technical uplift of the basic organizations of the Party must constitute the main concern of the organizations of the Party today.

2. — Any manifestation of lack of confidence in the basic organizations of the Party and of tutelage over them, any method of compulsion and rigid administration which inhibit their initiative should be combated. Instead of these, there should be qualified assistance and control which will open broad horizons for activity to the basic organizations, the party members and the working masses. Those problems which it is up to the basic organization to decide on and solve, should be left to it to decide and solve. Particular care must be shown to assist the basic organizations in the countryside where the tasks are more difficult.

a) The dictation from above of agendas for the meetings of the basic organizations through various decisions, instructions and orders, for example, political information must be done once a month, the problem of dues should be examined once in three months, the problems of live-stock-farming should be examined once in six months, etc., is a harmful practice which should be ended.

b) The initiative and responsibility of the basic organizations of the Party should be extensively developed, especially in the work for the analysis and the creative application of directives and orientations of the Party. The basic organizations of the Party must react immediately when various decisions, orders or instructions run counter to the line of the Party, to its correct policy and the interests of the people. The Party has no interests other than those of the people, therefore anything contrary to these interests is at the same time contrary to the line of the Party. During the discussions which have been held in the Party and among the people about the struggle against bureaucracy and for the improvement of the method and style of work, it emerged clearly that the basic organizations have not been thoroughly on guard against bureaucratic distortions. This must be made a

good lesson. Democratic centralism requires that we raise our voice loudly, through party channels, against any distortion of the Marxist-Leninist line of our Party.

3. — Above all, our Party is the leader, organizer, educator, adviser and inspirer of the working masses and it exists and fights in order to defend their interests. The basic organizations of the Party and every communist must devote all their main activity to practical work for the education and mobilization of people, listening to and respecting their opinions. There ought to be no problem which is discussed in the basic organization of the Party in which the opinion of the masses, of those most interested in carrying out the tasks which the basic organization sets, is not stressed. Likewise there ought to be no decision, task or orientation which does not respond to the concern of the masses and the solution of their demands. It should become the rule that after the meeting of the basic organization the workers are informed about the matters which are of interest to them, and the most suitable means and forms for carrying out the decisions should be found together with the workers.

From time to time when the need arises, open meetings of the basic organization should be held, too. They should play an important role in the education and mobilization of the working people and in the strengthening of links with them.

The ability and strength of the organizations of the Party, the people's state power and our dictatorship of the proletariat will be more and more enhanced from their links with the masses. On the contrary, any action or stand which weakens these links at the same time weakens our Party and state power. Any replacement of the method of conviction with orders, dictate and arrogance must be sternly condemned. No one can be convinced by such methods —

some weakling might be intimidated temporarily, but the Party and the people never.

The party member must wage the class struggle basing himself on the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism, on the correct line of the Party, while relying on the masses. He must be capable of distinguishing, after a full analysis, the good from the bad, the dangerous from the less dangerous and of using the most appropriate method in his work with people.

THE MOST IMPORTANT REQUIREMENT FOR ENHANCING
THE ROLE OF THE BASIC ORGANIZATION OF THE PARTY
IS THE COMPLETE ACTIVATION OF ALL THE COMMUNISTS

1. — In order to enhance the sense of responsibility and increase the activity of each communist, we must eliminate the sectarianism and formalism which we have in the activation of communists and move towards a re-division of duties in all the basic organizations of the Party. We should act as Lenin teaches us: along with the sound centralization in the organization of the Party we should decentralize the responsibility of each individual member of the Party, a decentralization which is nothing but the division of duties amongst party members. Such a decentralization is an essential condition for revolutionary centralism.

a) No party member should be left out of the activity of the basic organization of the Party. The communist must not be, in any way, indifferent to any problem of the Party and the people. A narrow view of the work allocated, personal interest, efforts to settle into some «comfortable corner», are alien to the communists. Wherever a communist works he ought to be in the role of the vanguard fighter struggling to apply the line of the Party and be answerable for its work.

At the same time, the party member must be an outstanding political and social activist. From all its features, voluntary social work is purely communist work. Anyone who is not at the level to assume such a duty cannot be a party member. The sectarianism which is displayed in charging communists with tasks, their division into «capable» and «incapable» has no basis, it is evidence of the subjectivity and lack of ability of the leaders of the basic organization themselves.

b) The division of duties amongst members of the Party should not be standardized, but should be done closely linked with the conditions of the work, with the new requirements.

Apart from the division of work we have already in the basic organizations, in the organizations of sectors and their bureaus, the communists can also be charged individually or in groups, in conformity with their abilities and qualities, with responsibility for problems which concern the organization, for example in regard to planning, problems of finance, discipline, emulation, technical work, savings, the collection of manure, etc., etc.

At the same time the communists are political leaders, first of all, therefore they must be charged to work with a given mass of citizens or workers so that no working man or woman in town or countryside is left without living contact with the Party, without being nurtured with its teachings. The communists charged with this work, as well as those who are charged to work with the people's councils, the organizations of the masses, etc., are responsible to the basic organization of the Party to which they must report regularly on the tasks set to them. The communist must not reduce his role simply to seeing whether or not this course of education is run or this organization of the masses holds its meetings; he has no more rights than the others, can take no party or state measures against anyone,

but it is his duty to see that the work with which he is charged goes well, that the people are educated and a healthy party spirit prevails everywhere.

c) As well as this, the division of party forces is not unchangeable. In no way should the communist feel himself in this or that position fortuitously, but should feel himself a militant member of that centralized organism of the Party which includes all aspects of the life of the country.

The organizations of the Party should make a more correct redistribution of communists, not where the task is easier but where they are needed, on the main front of production, so that the hand of the Party is felt, its voice, line and advice are heard everywhere, in all the sectors, links and organisms.

d) The bureaus of the basic organizations of the Party should become real organizing nuclei for the activation of the communists. They must organize and divide the work well amongst their members and, on this basis, ensure the activation of all members of the Party and the necessary aid and control. This division should be applied also by the committees of the Party which can call the members of bureaus of the basic organizations of the Party to meetings, seminars, meetings of activists, etc., on given questions.

2. — One of the ugliest and most dangerous manifestations of bureaucracy and sectarianism which has weakened the militant spirit of communists and basic organizations, is the fact that sometimes criticism and self-criticism within the Party are not at the proper level.

Such manifestations must be condemned with the greatest severity. Each communist must examine himself in this direction and immediately put himself in order to use the weapon of criticism and self-criticism correctly, without hesitation or restriction. The organizations of the Party are nests of revolutionaries, which should be seething

with vigorous life and in which the communist should temper and educate himself. The communist should express his opinions freely in the organization, because in this way he acts correctly, behaves honestly towards the Party, assists himself and his comrades and when his opinions are not right he will be corrected.

The steel unity of the communists is forged in the basic organization, not only in regard to the general line of the Party, but also in regard to all the problems which are raised and decided there. Without the clash of opinions, without drawing all the members of the organization into this struggle, there cannot be a single steel unity of opinion and action. From this viewpoint the rights of the party member must be defended as sacred and the basic organizations must defend all those who criticize fairly and severely.

The strengthening of convictions in the Party is also an essential requirement of discipline, of that conscious, steel discipline without which the Party cannot exist and there can be no activity and life for the communists. Especially in the conditions of our country, surrounded by imperialist and revisionist enemies, in the conditions when the Party is always in a state of war, the continuous strengthening and tempering of conscious discipline is a daily necessity which makes the Party invincible.

3. — The organs and organizations of the Party must direct the activation of the communists from close at hand, teach them how to work so that they proceed properly on the road of the Party and are educated concretely through the struggle with difficulties and the victories which are achieved. The organizations of the Party should educate and temper the communists through the issues which emerge from life, from the daily struggle and experience of the Party and the people.

Special work must be done with the communists of

the countryside. Horizons of concrete work, knowledge and activity should be opened to them and their initiative developed. The communists must use their own brains about everything, on the basis of the line of the Party and its orientations and the decisions of the basic organizations of the Party. They themselves should organize the political work which they have to do with the masses on each problem in the forms most suitable for their conditions and should not wait for lectures or orders to be sent from above.

It should be kept well in mind that just giving orders is the easiest thing, but there are many intrinsic evils in this. Among those who act in this way the idea is created that «they have been born» to dictate to others. This gives rise to conceit, a feeling of superiority, and develops arrogance, all of which are alien to the line of our Party and to be condemned.

Amongst those who receive orders and directives this harmful method creates the habit of issuing orders and directives themselves. Thus a rotten, bureaucratic vicious circle is created, one stratum which issues orders and another stratum which has to apply them. A stern and merciless struggle must be waged by the basic organizations of the Party against such views and actions, because sometimes they begin unwittingly, innocently, but if they are not combated they become a very dangerous line.

Such a method of work stops people thinking with their own brains, makes them inert, cowardly and servile in front of their superiors, stops the member of the Party from using his own brains and reflecting deeply. As a result people lose the initiative that is so necessary, their valuable proposals are scorned, and in such cases there can be no talk of Marxist-Leninist criticism or self-criticism.

We must enhance the vigilance of the communists, their militant spirit, to clean away the above-mentioned alien

manifestations as soon as they crop up. Our revolutionary vigilance must not be an empty formula which is prated day in and day out to no purpose. No! It must be developed in all directions to defend everything sound in the Party and in our country and to uncover and eradicate everything evil. This will be achieved only where the work of the Party is carried out on a revolutionary mass scale, where the communists and the people get right down to the essence of problems, that is to say, both the good aspects and the bad, and work, think and fight on the basis of the line of the Party as its genuine fighters. No party member must ever forget this.

4. — We must put fully into practice the well-known teaching of the Party to make the basic organizations the most important centres of the education and tempering of the communists. The education of communists is primarily the task of the basic organizations of the Party; they are the places where the linking of theory with practice is embodied best. In this way, that formalism and dogmatism which we have in our ideo-political work will be combated more successfully.

We should examine all the problems we discuss and every measure we take from the standpoint of the general line of the Party, should always analyse their ideological and political content and in this way disclose their roots. We should always proceed only from correct principled positions, from the general interest, from the great objectives of our Party: the construction of socialism and communism, the defence of the victories of our people, the defence of the socialist Homeland.

Whenever it is considered necessary, problems which have to do with the education and tempering of communists, with their vanguard role, linked closely with the life of the organizations and the communists, should be

discussed in the meetings of the basic organizations of the Party.

WE SHOULD COMBAT THE NARROW SECTARIAN CONCEPT
OF FORMS OF THE STRUCTURE OF THE PARTY AND STERILE
OFFICIAL FORMALITY IN THE MEETINGS
OF THE BASIC ORGANIZATIONS

We should always remember that the organizational forms and norms have their basis in life and they demonstrate their vitality in life. Responding to its demands, they should be enriched and, if need be, altered. One cannot stand still in life: one must advance or otherwise fall behind. Real relations, teaches V.I. Lenin, are not something inanimate, they are alive and develop. Juridical definitions can respond to the progressive development of these relations, but (if these definitions are bad) they can also «respond» to regression or stagnation.

Life requires that we make the basic organizations of the Party more responsive and swift-acting in their structure and work, get rid of unnecessary forms and links and apply those forms which strengthen the work of the Party. This is of great importance in principle and practice.

1. — We must fight hard to further enliven the basic organizations of the Party. Not their form, but their content should be our main concern. In this direction we must completely change our method and requirements. The things that determine the content and the success of the work of the basic organizations of the Party are neither the place of the meeting, its empty solemnity, nor the written reports. The result of holding meetings should be measured with their thorough examination of urgent problems, with their drawing all the members of the Party into the solution of the problems, with the working out of measures which lead

to the solution of the problems and, finally, with the complete application of these measures. All members must prepare themselves seriously for the meetings of the basic organization of the Party. This is the main thing. The method of the preparation and the examination of the problem may vary, the report may be complete in writing or with notes, perhaps only the draft of measures which should be taken is presented, unscheduled meetings can be held for matters that cannot wait, or questions not on the agenda can be raised for discussion, the implementation of decisions or other matters can be examined. The party organization must settle these matters itself, just as it must settle the method of holding the meeting, the way it is run, etc. The important thing is the content of the analysis and especially the conclusion. Three quarters of the proceedings of the meetings of the basic organization of the Party should be occupied with working out, discussing and checking up on measures which must be taken to solve problems. The decision ought to be the synthesis of all the proceedings, of the threshing out of opinions and the proposals made in the meetings.

The proceedings of meetings of the basic organizations should not be pushed through hastily, but neither should they be dragged out unnecessarily. They may last half an hour or ten hours. The time required depends on the problem, the way it is presented, on its preparation, etc. There is nothing more important than the meetings of the Party, therefore no underestimation can be permitted.

2. — The party committees of the districts, relying on the basic principles, on the Constitution of the Party, from now on should decide the structure of basic organizations of the Party on their own initiative.

The Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the PLA considers it in order to re-emphasize that the fundamental rule in the structure of basic organizations of the

Party is always the uniting of all members of the Party who work in an enterprise, agricultural cooperative, institution, etc., in a single basic organization of the Party. The essential number for setting up a basic organization is three party members. The general meeting of the basic organization is summoned not less than once a month. At the same time, till the coming Congress, until the respective amendments are made to the Constitution of the Party, the Political Bureau of the Central Committee also advises these preliminary measures:

a) The organizations of the Party of sectors and the groups of the Party should be set up wherever such a thing is considered useful, regardless of the total number of communists in the basic organization. In this case the main concern of the basic organizations and committees of the Party should be, not how to ensure the necessary number of communists to set them up, but how the forces of the Party can be organized most usefully. They must be constructed correctly according to sectors of the work, wherever the communists wage the most active struggle for the implementation of the line of the Party, can be set up for more than one unit of production, as for one, two or three brigades of a village in the united cooperatives, etc.

Wherever they work, in the sector, detachment, village, etc., the communists, individually or jointly, have the responsibility to see that the work runs smoothly. No matter how many they are, they must think, discuss with one another and work to determine their common stands. Likewise they must set in motion the activists who are not party members, consult with them and Organize the carrying out of tasks together with them.

The basic organization of the Party itself should have the right to set up organizations of the Party in the sectors and groups of the Party.

b) In the big organizations, when this is considered

appropriate by the party committee of the district and by its decision, organizations of the Party in sectors and detachments can be given all the rights of basic organizations of the Party. In these cases, apart from meetings for rendering account and elections the general meeting of the basic organization should be called when and as frequently as is considered necessary.

c) The secretary, assistant secretary (more than one when necessary) or the bureau of the basic organization are elected to lead all the work of the basic organization of the Party. In all cases the basic organization of the Party decides this according to the need and the number of members of the Party. The: bureaucratic work of secretaries and bureaus should be combated. They should establish direct relations with the communists and workers. As a rule there should no longer be full-time secretaries of the basic organizations.

In those cases when the organizations of a sector have the rights of a basic organization of the Party, the bureaus of the basic organizations also have the right to examine the decisions on admissions into and expulsions from the Party. When these are considered correct they are sent for approval to the higher organ.

d) In special cases, when the enterprises or institutions are very dispersed, with extensive and isolated work sectors and with a large number of communists, more than one basic organization of the Party can be created according to sectors. These must be linked directly with the party committee of the district or the region, or by special decision of the Central Committee of the Party for these organizations, party committees with the rights of party committees of regions or peasant zones can be created.

e) On the basis of the Constitution of the Party, in production centres or other work centres where there are fewer than three party members, groups of the Party and

youth can be set up. Likewise, where necessary, groups of the Party and trade-unions can be set up. The members and candidate members of the Party and some of the members of the basic organization of the trade-unions should take part in them. Such a group should be led by a party member appointed by the party committee of the district, region or zone.

With these guidelines the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the PLA does not intend to replace one set of forms with another, or to set out a series of forms and methods of work ready for any occasion, or anything which may crop up in practice. If we were to act in that way, instead of achieving the proper aims and further invigorating the life of the Party, we would weaken it and make it bureaucratic. We must bear this in mind in all our work.

The Party of Labour of Albania is the party of the revolution. Its organizational principles and norms do not constitute an aim in themselves, but serve its revolutionary development to assist the realization of the majestic plans which it drafts for the triumph of socialism and communism.

Now the primary task is to enhance the role of the vanguard fighter, to enhance the creative revolutionary enthusiasm of the communists and the organizations of the Party so that they will lead forward the great movement which has swept all the working people, as they have always done in the past.

The Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the PLA thinks that these guidelines will serve this great purpose. Therefore, let us raise even higher the role of the basic organizations as militant centres of our Party, as

nests to raise true revolutionaries, as great schools to temper the members.

First Secretary of the Central Committee
of the Party of Labour of Albania

Enver Hoxha

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THE FASCIST COUP IN INDONESIA AND THE LESSONS COMMUNISTS DRAW FROM IT

*Article published in the newspaper
«Zëri i popullit»*

May 11, 1966

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

The Albanian people and communists express their internationalist solidarity with the Indonesian communists, victims of the fascist terror. We are convinced that regardless of the great damage it has suffered, the Indonesian Communist Party will reply to the fascists with

a determined revolutionary struggle for the total defeat of reaction. Now it is clear that there is but one way open to Indonesian communists and patriots to oppose fascism and the terror: they must respond to the counter-revolutionary violence with revolutionary violence, with the armed struggle of workers and peasants in defence of freedom and democracy.

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

The Indonesian Communist Party grew up and developed as a Marxist-Leninist party in stern class struggle against internal and external enemies. After the heavy blows it received from reaction in 1927 and 1948, when thousands of communists and the whole leadership of the party were massacred, the Indonesian Communist Party was rebuilt through struggle and effort until it became, such a force that, from the number of its members, it represented the biggest communist party of the capitalist

countries. There is no doubt that, despite the major losses it is suffering now, little by little, through courageous and consistent revolutionary Marxist-Leninist struggle it will recover once again. We Albanian communists are firmly convinced that the Indonesian communists will carefully analyse their work up to date, that they will discover the shortcomings, mistakes and weaknesses which have been manifested in the work of the Party, and will draw the necessary conclusions, so that in the future, the Indonesian Communist Party will lead the Indonesian people to success in their revolution. No one can do this better than the Indonesian communists themselves.

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

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

HOW MUCH ARE «DEMOCRATIC FREEDOMS» WORTH
IN A BOURGEOIS STATE AND HOW SHOULD
THEY BE UTILIZED

The bourgeoisie and, together with them, the modern revisionists have a lot to say about and count heavily on the so-called democratic freedoms. In fact, for the sake of appearances, in every bourgeois state considered democratic there are certain relatively democratic «freedoms». We say relatively, because they never go beyond the bounds of the bourgeois concept of «freedom» and «democracy», because they extend just so far as will not jeopardize the vital interests of the bourgeoisie in power.

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

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

Likewise, at various periods during the past 15 years favourable conditions for the party of the working class and progressive forces were created in certain countries of the Middle East, such as Iran and Iraq; in Latin America, such as Guatemala, Brazil, Ecuador, Venezuela, etc. A very favourable situation was created in Indonesia. The Indonesian Communist Party grew rapidly, it took part in the government, exerted a major influence in the internal and foreign policy of the country, and so on.

But even in the conditions of «democratic freedoms», a bitter class struggle, a struggle for life or death, goes on between the revolution and reaction, between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. If the proletariat and their party strive to consolidate their positions, reaction and the bourgeoisie, on their part, are not asleep. On the contrary, by using the bourgeois state apparatus, the police and armed forces, corruption and subversion, by nurturing opportunism and reformist and pacifist illusions within the ranks of the working class, and so on, they make serious preparations to strengthen their positions and to smash the revolutionary forces.

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

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

When the bourgeoisie and reaction see that their power is in jeopardy as a consequence of the mounting prestige and strength of the communist party and the revolutionary movement of the masses, they play their last card: they set the armed forces in motion, organize pogroms in order to smash and liquidate the revolutionary movement and the communist parties, as they did in Iran and Iraq, and now recently, in Indonesia, where these tragic events took place. In such cases the bourgeoisie and reaction of one country have directly employed the aid of

world reaction and even of its armed forces, as in San Domingo and elsewhere.

What conclusions can be drawn from this historical experience?

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

Second, the opportunist illusions about the «peaceful road» to the taking of power are a fraud and a great danger to the revolutionary movement. From the outside, the Indonesian Communist Party seemed to have the most favourable terrain for achieving its aim on this road. Nevertheless, the Indonesian communists had declared more than once that they had no illusions about

the «peaceful road.» In the greeting of the delegation of the CC of the Indonesian Communist Party to the congress of the Communist Party of New Zealand they confirmed that «the events in Indonesia proved once again that there is no ruling class. . . and reactionary force which will permit the revolutionary forces to achieve victory through the 'peaceful road.'» From the tragic events in Indonesia the communists draw the lesson that it is not enough simply to reject the opportunist illusions about the «peaceful road», or to recognize that the only way to seize power is the revolutionary way of armed struggle. The party of the proletariat, the Marxist-Leninists and every revolutionary must take effective measures to prepare for the revolution, from the education of the communists and the masses in a militant revolutionary spirit down to concrete preparations to cope with the counter-revolutionary violence of reaction through the revolutionary armed struggle of the popular masses.

Third, regardless of the favourable conditions and positions which it might enjoy for a certain time, the party of the working class must never for a moment diminish its revolutionary vigilance, over-estimate its own strength and that of its allies and underestimate the strength of its opponents, the bourgeoisie and reaction. The Indonesian Communist Party had great influence in the country, but it seems it over-estimated and had unwarranted faith in the political strength of Soekarno in particular and that of the bourgeoisie that supported him. At the same time, apparently it had underestimated the strength of reaction, especially the strength of reaction in the army. It seems that the Indonesian comrades had the idea that whoever had Soekarno on his side had the key of Indonesia in his hand, and this without having thoroughly analysed where the strength of Soekarno lay and how real it was, especially among the people. The recent events in Indone-

sia have shown clearly that there was no sound social, economic or political base for Soekarno's prestige and authority. The reactionary generals managed to neutralize Soekarno, and even to utilize him to the extent they needed him for their counter-revolutionary purposes.

Fourth, the Marxist-Leninist party and every genuine revolutionary must consistently and resolutely pursue a revolutionary line and fight courageously against opportunism and its most hideous manifestations — Khrushchevite and Titoite modern revisionism. The opportunists and modern revisionists have taken up as their banner the struggle for bourgeois «freedoms» and have renounced the revolution. They advocate the «peaceful road» as the only way to take power. It is precisely the opportunist and revisionist line, the influence of Khrushchevite and other revisionists, that have turned many communist parties, which once represented a major revolutionary force, into parties of social reform, into appendages and assistants of the reactionary bourgeoisie. This has occurred in the Italian, French, Finnish, British, Austrian and other communist parties. Following the opportunist line of the 20th Congress of the Khrushchevites led the Communist Party of Iraq, the Brazilian Communist Party, the Communist Party of Algeria and others to catastrophe and liquidation. The Indonesian Communist Party opposes modern revisionism. The recent events in Indonesia and the undermining role which the Khrushchevite revisionists played there show that a genuine revolutionary party, loyal to Marxism-Leninism and determined to carry the revolution forward courageously, must have a clear-cut stand towards opportunism, towards Khrushchevite and Titoite revisionism. It is not enough just to be in solidarity with the struggle of the Marxist-Leninists against revisionism, but the party must fight uncompromisingly and openly against the revisionist betrayal, because only in

this way are the communists educated in a revolutionary spirit and the party protected from any danger of revisionism. Without fighting courageously and consistently against opportunism and Khrushchevite revisionism, imperialism cannot be fought, reaction cannot be fought, and the cause of the revolution and socialism cannot be carried forward.

COMMUNISTS AND ALLIANCES WITH THE PROGRESSIVE FORCES

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

The events in Indonesia are a significant lesson also in regard to the question of alliances. NASACOM, which represented the alliance of nationalist, religious and communist forces, had been in existence for a long time in Indonesia. The Indonesian Communist Party did well to take part in NASACOM. By this means it strengthened its position and that of the working class in the whole life of the country. But as the events show, sound organizational and revolutionary work was not done there.

Harmful euphoria was permitted and NASACOM itself, the alliance of its three constituent forces and «freedom» of action were boosted excessively. The fact is that one storm was sufficient to bring the whole NASACOM structure tumbling down. NASACOM was not a dyke strong enough to withstand the tide of counter-revolution.

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

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

In following the line of unity with all those that can be united in the front, Marxist-Leninist parties, contrary to the views of modern revisionists, must not only preserve their independence and their role of leadership but must, at the same time, struggle against the vacillations of various allies, against their reactionary tendencies, against their attempts to split the front and start making deals with the forces of reaction. The line of unity and struggle

helps strengthen the fronts, purges them of reactionary counter-revolutionary elements, increases their solidarity and revolutionary spirit, and assists to attain a higher level of unity on sounder foundations. Following the line of unity alone and neglecting struggle creates a false, formal unity and enables reactionary elements and forces to undermine and eliminate it easily, dealing a heavy blow to the cause of the revolution itself.

In their alliances with various social strata and forces to achieve one objective or another in the various stages of the revolution, the communists must never lose sight of their ultimate goal — the triumph of socialism.

*«One must know how to **unite** the struggle for democracy with the struggle for the socialist revolution, **subjecting** the former to the latter,» says Lenin. «Herein lies the whole difficulty; herein lies the whole essence... Don't forget the **main thing** (the socialist revolution); put it in the forefront...; subject to it and co-ordinate it with **all** your demands for democratic rights...»**

The communists are sincere in their alliances with other social forces. They are resolute fighters for putting into practice the programs of united fronts, but at the same time, they make no secret of their ideals, and once they have accomplished their democratic and national tasks, they are determined not to stop half-way, but to carry the revolution forward to the triumph of socialism and communism.

The struggle of our Party during the National Liberation War, its agreements, talks with progressive elements, and even with the factions of the reactionary bourgeoisie,

* V. I. Lenin, Collected Works, vol. 35, pp. 260-261 (Alb. ed.).

taught us how to find our bearings successfully in this labyrinth. This experience gained in the war has been and is of immense assistance to our Party in its correct policy with the broad masses of workers, helps the Party in its internal policy and in the orientation of its foreign policy, in studying and resolving antagonistic and non-antagonistic contradictions both inside and outside the country and in the international communist movement.

THE INTERNATIONAL UNITY OF MARXIST-LENINISTS MUST BE STRENGTHENED

The world proletariat, the Marxist-Leninist parties and all genuine revolutionaries are engaged in a stern struggle against imperialism, against the reactionary bourgeoisie, against the modern revisionists and against their ideology. This is a life-and-death struggle, a struggle of great international importance. The struggle between us and our enemies is a bitter, merciless class struggle, with no quarter sought or given. This class struggle is not waged in the same way everywhere, not only as to its intensity but also as to its forms, the vigour of its development, the world outlook of its participants, the changing circumstances, the ups and downs, the progress of the revolution, the temporary retreats, its offensive spirit, and many other objective and subjective factors.

It is the important and essential duty for all Marxist-Leninist communist and workers' parties to bear all these things in mind, to analyze them scientifically in the light of creative Marxism-Leninism, applied not as a dogma but as a living revolutionary theory in action, always keeping pure the basic principles and the universal laws of development and of the revolution and not allowing right-wing opportunism or harmful sectarianism to be hidden

under the slogan of alleged «real conditions of the country» or «the special circumstances of the time or of the moment.»

The recent events, the savage attack of the imperialists, of the Khrushchevite revisionists and different reactionaries against socialism, against the peoples' liberation struggle, against the communist and revolutionary parties of various countries, show that internationalist Marxist-Leninist unity which is always necessary, is now more essential than ever. He who does not understand this great truth, does not understand Marx's great slogan, «Workers of all countries, unite!». Marxism-Leninism teaches us that all the revolutionaries must unite against the enemies of the proletariat and the peoples, against the capitalists, imperialists and their allies, against the reactionary bourgeoisie, against variants of its ideology, one of which at the present time is modern revisionism, headed by Soviet revisionism.

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

The traitors to Marxism-Leninism, the Khrushchevite and Titoite revisionists and their lackeys, have worked to a well-defined plan to hinder the unity of the Marxist-Leninists, and in general, to discredit the objective necessity for this unity. In the first place, with a view to achieving their treacherous goals, they attacked the idea

of any international organization of communists. The revisionists had to do this in order to rehabilitate the traitors and the Trotskyite betrayal, and particularly to discredit the idea of internationalist Marxist-Leninist unity, which constitutes the greatest danger to them at any time. The Soviet revisionists set about discrediting every sound Marxist-Leninist thing so that they could build a new kind of unity on the basis of revisionism and under the Khrushchevite dictate. Of course, this was a castle built on sand, for no genuine unity can exist outside Marxism-Leninism. The preaching of the Khrushchevite revisionists about «unity» is aimed entirely against the idea of Marxist-Leninist unity and this is done for the purpose of hindering achievement of this unity. The Khrushchevite revisionists preach this kind of «unity» in order to oppose the true Marxist-Leninist unity for which we Marxist-Leninists are fighting and will fight to the end, and we shall certainly achieve our objective. The revisionists talk about their «unity», but developing day by day within this «unity» are many forms and ideas of disintegration, centrifugal ideas, which will lead to the open degeneration of pseudo-Marxists, under whatever guise they may be hidden. The heroic and consistent fight of the Marxist-Leninists will tear off many a mask. Sooner or later there will also be an unmasking of the game of those who want to play the role of centrists(1), who defend principles in words, but who, in reality, distort them under the guise of «independence», of «specific conditions» which they are still using to conceal their gradual departure from Marxism-Leninism, their deviation from the internationalist unity of Marxist-Leninists in the world. Marxist-Leninists must consolidate their unity without heeding the slanders and opinions

1 Allusion to the Communist Party of Rumania, the Communist Party of Japan and the Workers' Party of Korea.

of revisionists. As to the organizational forms this unity should take, they must be considered and worked out in concrete form.

The Khrushchevite revisionists are making a lot of noise about the thesis of the independence of the communist and workers' parties and their acting in conformity with the concrete conditions of each country. In fact, this is a Leninist thesis to which only we Marxist-Leninists really adhere consistently. But the modern revisionists are trying to misrepresent the so-called independence of parties. They accept it only in words, because in reality, the Khrushchevite revisionists want the whole movement to be dependent on them and under their leadership. They conceive independence apart from internationalism so that Marxist-Leninists should not have a common line on the most fundamental issues, like the attitude towards imperialism and the renegades from Marxism-Leninism, observance of the universal laws of the revolution and socialist construction and so on. While strictly respecting the independence of every party in determining its own line and policy, the Marxist-Leninists must, at the same time, submit to the principles of proletarian internationalism, to the universal laws of the revolution and socialist construction, must work out a common line and a common stand on the most fundamental issues, especially in regard to the struggle against imperialism and the struggle to defend the purity of Marxism-Leninism from modern revisionism.

The events in Indonesia and the joint attack of the imperialists and the Khrushchevite revisionists against the peoples, against Marxism-Leninism and socialism, show that we must strengthen the international unity of the Marxist-Leninists. All revolutionary communists, all the genuine Marxist-Leninist parties must boldly and unhesitatingly surmount and crush once and for all all the

obstacles that the modern revisionists have raised to our course of Marxist-Leninist unity. They will accuse us of setting up new international organs; they will be-doing us an honour.

The Marxist-Leninists of the world constitute a steel bloc. This bloc terrifies the imperialists and revisionists, and that is why they are striving at all costs to fight us, striving to confuse the Marxist-Leninists with their slogans about which we have been speaking.

Their efforts are in vain: the Leninist slogan, «Workers of all countries and oppressed peoples, unite!» will triumph.

*«Against Modern Revisionism
1965-1967»*

**OUR PARTY WILL CONTINUE TO WAGE THE CLASS
STRUGGLE AS IT HAS ALWAYS DONE —
CONSISTENTLY, COURAGEOUSLY
AND WITH MATURITY**

From a conversation with Zhou Enlai (1)

June 24, 1966

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Our people have a saying, the waters may sleep but not the enemy. Woe betide those who fall asleep. This will never occur with the Marxist-Leninist parties and all revolutionaries if they keep the sword of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the class struggle and the revolutionary vigilance sharp, if they continue their struggle against imperialism, modern revisionism, internal and external reaction without interruption.

The class enemy is cunning and savage, therefore we must be extremely severe and merciless with him, in life-and-death struggle with him. The enemy is remorseless, therefore we must have no compunction but should destroy him root and branch. We must have no illusions about the enemy and make no concessions to him. This is the principle which has always guided our Party.

We must not allow that catastrophe which occurred in the Soviet Union, the European countries of people's de-

1 Zhou Enlai paid a visit to Albania from June 24 to 28, 1966.

mocracy and in many communist and workers' parties of the world, to take place in our countries and parties. Not only must this never occur, but it is a vital duty, a major internationalist task for us, together with the other Marxist-Leninist parties of the world, with the Marxist-Leninist revolutionary groups and all the Marxist-Leninists (2), in Marxist-Leninist unity of thought and revolutionary unity of action, to lead the peoples to battle against the current, to overthrow this situation in the international communist movement, to expose, defeat and finally destroy the revisionists and their imperialist bosses.

Irrespective of the putschist and fascist methods that the Khrushchevite revisionists used when they seized power, what happened in the Soviet Union was certainly not a spontaneous phenomenon, but something prepared in advance. The fact that before the death of Stalin, Khrushchev and his main collaborators in the putsch were some of the top leaders who worked under the lap, who made preparations and waited for the suitable moment to act openly and on a large scale, shows this. The fact is that these traitors were conspirators hardened with the

2 The Marxist-Leninist parties and groups put great hope in the support of the CP of China as «a great Marxist-Leninist party» and in China as «a great socialist country». But they were disillusioned. In connection with this Comrade Enver Hoxha, speaking to a Chinese delegation, stressed: «...It is up to us, to both your big party and our Party, in the first place, to take the first steps to concretize closer, more effective links with the whole world Marxist-Leninist movement, so that our Marxist-Leninist unity is further tempered and our joint activity against our common enemies is strengthened.» («Reflections on China», vol. 1, p. 305, Tirana 1979, Eng. ed.)

Gen Biao, then director of the foreign department of the CC of the CP of China, in a talk he had with comrades of our Party in 1973, has said: «China does not approve the creation of Marxist-Leninist parties and does not want the representatives of these parties to come to China.» (Enver Hoxha, «Imperialism and the Revolution» p. 442, Tirana 1979. Eng. ed.)

experience of various Russian counter-revolutionaries, the experience of the anarchists, the Trotskyites and the Bukharinites, and the experience of the revolution and the Bolshevik Party. They did nothing for the revolution, but on the contrary, did everything in their power to undermine the revolution and socialism, while escaping the blows of the revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat. In a word, they were counter-revolutionaries and operated in a two-faced way. On the one hand, they sang the praises of socialism, the revolution, the Bolshevik Communist Party, Lenin and Stalin, while on the other hand, they prepared the counter-revolution.

All of us must ask ourselves: Why were they not discovered and dealt with in time? Timely discovery and treatment are of decisive importance in preventing the microbe of a disease from proliferating and gathering strength in a body infected by the illness. To combat and eradicate the disease, to prevent it from breaking out and becoming a danger again, a precise diagnosis is indispensable.

Our Party has been waging a stern, ceaseless and unflinching struggle against Titoite modern revisionism for about 20 years on end and is absolutely clear about the origin, the line, the strategy, the tactics and the methods by which this agency of the bourgeoisie and imperialism conducts its struggle. Our Party has been fighting actively with all its might against Khrushchevite revisionism ever since it first appeared. It has gained great experience in this struggle, an experience which has been added to that gained in the struggle against the Titoites.

Our Party is of the opinion that the line followed by Stalin during his lifetime was a correct Marxist-Leninist revolutionary line.

Let us take the question of class struggle. Not the slightest criticism can be made of Stalin for an opportunist

stand towards the capitalist and imperialist powers. On the contrary, he waged a stern, merciless, blow-for-blow struggle against them. His theoretical and political works, as well as the activities of the Soviet Union in the international arena confirm this. If some weak points of tactics can be found in the policy of the Soviet Union during the whole period of Stalin, tactics dictated by various circumstances, by tactical withdrawals or inadequate judgments due to lack of facts and comprehensive analyses of various circumstances, these do not constitute the essence. The essence was correct. This was a colossal victory for the Soviet Union, for the international communist movement and for the peoples who fought and are fighting against the imperialist powers and fascism. In the light of current events it becomes even clearer that the correctness of this class stand was the merit of Stalin, because after his death his close collaborators, with the Khrushchevites amongst them, threw this banner in the mud.

Let us examine in broad outline the class struggle within the Soviet Union after the Revolution and during the whole of Stalin's lifetime. In the opinion of our Party there were no errors of principle in the line of the Bolshevik Party in the time of Stalin, while in the tactics, forms and methods errors can be found, but we must take account of the circumstances and conditions of the time and not judge them from our present viewpoint and in the light of the rich experience gained by our parties.

It cannot be said that the dictatorship of the proletariat withered away or slackened during the lifetime of Stalin. On the contrary, it hit the class enemy politically, economically and militarily and liquidated it without mercy. After the triumph of the Revolution, after the seizure of power, after the intervention and NEP, we can say that the capitalist exploiting classes of town and countryside in the Soviet Union had been dealt a crushing

mortal blow. Economically, they were left biting their knuckles, as the saying goes.

However, we cannot say that as long as Stalin was alive the dictatorship of the proletariat in the Soviet Union operated onesidedly and was directed solely at the elimination of the economic strength of the exploiting classes and that the political and ideological struggle against them was neglected or weakened. On the contrary, the political and ideological struggle, too, was tremendous. Abundant proof of this is the concrete daily struggle of Stalin, the Bolshevik Party and the entire Soviet people, Stalin's political and ideological writings, the documents and decisions of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the press and massive propaganda of those times against the Trotskyites, Bukharinites, Zinovievites, the Tukhachevskies and thousands of other traitors. This cannot be called anything but a stern political and ideological class struggle in defence of socialism, the dictatorship of the proletariat, the party and the principles of Marxism-Leninism.

Stalin has great merits in this struggle. He showed himself to be a great Marxist-Leninist with clear principles, with great courage and cool-headedness, with the maturity and foresight of a Marxist revolutionary. We need only think of the strength of the external and internal enemies of the Soviet Union, the only socialist country in the world at that time, of the schemes they concocted, the unrestrained propaganda and the cunning tactics they used, to appreciate properly the correct actions of Stalin at the head of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

Were there mistakes, excesses, definitions not always rigorously exact? Of course there were. Now we can analyse and evaluate them more correctly in their context, in the existing circumstances and can say what the con-

sequences would have been if some different action had been taken. But the essence was and is correct. It is hardly possible to criticize Stalin of violation of and failure to defend the Leninist principles, it is difficult or impossible to accuse him of opportunist manifestations in line, of lack of proletarian political and ideological foresight Stalin's revolutionary vigilance is confirmed even in the last years of his life. He discovered and exposed the treacherous revisionist activity of Tito and Titoism.(3) This is a great merit of Stalin's.

Before he died, and Khrushchev himself has admitted this, Stalin told the Soviet leaders he was afraid they would capitulate to imperialism. And that is precisely what happened. Was this lack of vigilance on the part of Stalin? Was this just a fortuitous remark or was it a conclusion from the profound reflection of a great revolutionary who foresaw the future and warned the Party and the people that they must keep their eyes open, be vigilant and face up to the dangers which might threaten them in the future? Our Party holds the latter to be true.

Then the question arises: if this is how matters stood, why did the Bolshevik Communist Party and the Soviet people allow the Soviet revisionists to seize power?

The seizure of power by the Soviet modern revisionists from within, without using weapons or violence, is so to speak, a new phenomenon. We think that in fact Stalin had not envisaged this, for the Soviet Union least of all. He never underrated the ferocity of the elements left over from the exploiting classes who, the closer they

3 Allusion to the mistaken views of the Chinese on Titoism and Stalin, which Mao Zedong himself expressed to Comrade Enver Hoxha in 1956, in Beijing, during the proceedings of the 8th Congress of the CP of China. (See Enver Hoxha, «The Khrushchevites» (Memoirs), pp. 241-243, Tirana 1980, Eng. ed.)

draw to their grave, the more fiercely they fight socialism and the dictatorship of the proletariat, but we think that considering the state these remnants were in, Stalin assessed the internal situation as sound and correctly foresaw that the ally which could revive these remnants was foreign imperialism.

Stalin put the stress on the danger from outside, while we can say that he did not foresee the full implication of the danger of the revisionist elements who, as a result of many subjective and objective circumstances, might emerge within the party and the socialist state and be gradually transformed, wittingly or unwittingly, consciously or unconsciously, with or without a premeditated plan, into an anti-Marxist trend, especially within the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Soviet Union itself. He was convinced that if some anti-party hostile activity emerged within the party, this might be developed and organized in the usual ways, but he was also firmly convinced that this activity would be attacked and liquidated by the same methods and forms that had been used to expose and liquidate all such activities in the past. The fact is, however, that this time matters did not follow the usual course with the anti-party work of the modern revisionist's.

As regards the activities of the Yugoslav Communist Party and the Titoite group, Stalin's view was more penetrating and he drew correct conclusions. Proof of this are the letters sent to Tito and the documents of the Cominform which are of great importance and when we read them, now especially, we can form a better judgment of how correct Stalin's class views were.

The Khrushchevite revisionist chiefs concealed their schemes very intelligently by acting under cover of the red flag of Stalin.

We think that there were contradictions and frictions

in the leadership of the Soviet Union and we cannot accept the absurd thesis of the Khrushchevites that none of the leaders could open his mouth to express his opinion for fear of Stalin. From what we have heard, Stalin called Khrushchev a narodnik, criticized Voroshilov, Molotov and others. Hence, on the one hand we must conclude that Stalin was not politically short-sighted while on the other hand, that he did not always use bullets and terror as his enemies claim, but on the contrary used conviction and exchange of opinions.

Although we have no access to the internal documents which would verify many things, it is a fact that Stalin did not detect the danger posed by the traitors Khrushchev, Mikoyan and others, and that the Patriotic War exercised a great influence in this direction. If there is anything for which we can blame Stalin it is the fact that after the war, and especially in the last years of his life, he did not realize that the pulse of his Party was not beating as before, that it was losing its revolutionary vigour, was becoming sclerotic and, despite the heroic deeds of the Great Patriotic War, it never recovered properly and the Khrushchevite traitors took advantage of this. Here, if I am not mistaken, is where we must seek the origin of the tragedy that occurred in the Soviet Union.

The construction of socialism in the Soviet Union and the fight against both external and internal enemies were carried out by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and Stalin who led it in a lofty revolutionary spirit. The merciless blows justly dealt to the Trotskyites, the Bukharinites and others were the logical conclusion of this great class struggle.

All this complex, many-sided struggle rightly enhanced the authority of Stalin and the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolshevik). This was positive, but the methods and forms of work

which were used in the leadership of the Party had an opposite result.

If a minute analysis is made of the political, ideological and organizational directives of Stalin on the leadership and organization of the Party, the struggle and work, generally speaking, no errors of principle will be found, but we shall see that little by little the Party was becoming bureaucratized, that it was becoming overwhelmed with routine work and dangerous formalism which paralyze the party and sap its revolutionary spirit and vigour. The Party had been covered by a heavy layer of rust, by political apathy and the mistaken idea spread that only the head, the leadership, acted and solved everything. It was this concept of work that led to the situation in which everybody, everywhere, said about every question: «The leadership knows this», «the Central Committee knows everything», «the Central Committee does not make mistakes», «Stalin said this and that's the end of it». Many things which Stalin may not have said at all were attributed to him. The apparatuses and officials became «omnipotent», «infallible», and operated in bureaucratic ways, misusing the formulae of democratic centralism and Bolshevik criticism and self-criticism which were no longer Bolshevik. There is no doubt that in this way the Bolshevik Party lost its former vitality, it lived by correct formulae, but only formulae; it carried out orders, but did not act on its own initiative.

In such conditions, bureaucratic administrative measures began to prevail over revolutionary measures. After the adoption of these bureaucratic methods and forms of work, the correct revolutionary measures taken against the class enemy achieved an effect opposite to that desired and were used by the bureaucrats to spread fear in the Party and the people. The revolutionary vigilance no longer operated, because it had ceased to be rev-

olutionary, although it was advertized as such. It was being transformed from a vigilance of the party and the masses into a vigilance of the bureaucratic apparatuses and, if not in all aspects, at least in form, into a vigilance of the security organs and the courts.

It is understandable that in such conditions, sentiments and views which were non-proletarian, not of the working class, took root and developed in the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, in the ranks of the communists and in the consciousness of many of them. Careerism, servility, charlatanism, cronyism, anti-proletarian morality, etc. developed and eroded the Party from within, smothered the spirit of the class struggle and sacrifice and encouraged the hankering after a «good», comfortable life with personal privileges and gain, and with the least possible work and toil. «We worked and fought for this socialist state and we won. Now let us enjoy it and profit from it. We are untouchable, our past covers everything.» This was the bourgeois and petty-bourgeois mentality which was being created in the Soviet Union and the great danger was that this was developing in the old cadres of the Party with an irreproachable past and of proletarian origin, cadres who ought to have been examples of purity for the others. Many of those who used beautiful words, the revolutionary phrases and theoretical formulae of Lenin and Stalin, who reaped the laurels from the work of others and who set and encouraged the bad example, were in the leadership, in the apparatuses. A worker aristocracy made up of bureaucratic cadres was being created in the Communist Party of the USSR.

Unfortunately, this process of degeneration developed under the «happy» and «hopeful» slogans that «everything is going well, normally, within the norms and laws of the Party» which in fact were being violated under the slogans that «the class struggle goes on», that «democratic

centralism is preserved», that «criticism and self-criticism continue as before», that «a steel unity exists in the party», that «there are no more factionalists and anti-party elements», that «the Trotskyite, Bukharinite groups are a thing of the past», etc., etc. Such a distorted understanding of the situation, and this is where the essence of the tragedy and the fatal mistake lies, was considered even by the revolutionary elements as a normal reality overall, and that is why the idea existed that there was nothing to be alarmed about because the enemies, thieves and violators of morality were condemned by the courts, the unworthy party members were expelled from the Party in the usual way and new members admitted, that the plans were fulfilled, although some were not, that people were criticized, condemned, praised and so on and so forth. According to them life was proceeding normally and it was reported to Stalin that «everything is in order.» We are convinced that had Stalin, as the great revolutionary he was, been aware of the real situation in the Party, he would have dealt a crushing blow to this unhealthy spirit and the Soviet Party and people would have risen in his support, because they rightly had great faith in Stalin.

But why did Stalin not deal this blow? Could it be that he had reconciled himself to this unhealthy situation, that he was making political and ideological mistakes of principle? Not by any means! We think that on this question Stalin must be defended to the end. Stalin can be criticized because in the last years of his life he weakened his links with the masses of the Party and the people, but he did so only physically and never ideologically and politically. Stalin had confidence in the cadres, but one cannot say that he had confidence only in the cadres and did not have or had lost his confidence in the ordinary people, the masses of party members and the people.

The apparatuses not only misinformed Stalin and bu-

reaucratically distorted his correct directives, but had also created such a situation among the people and in the Party that even when Stalin went among the masses of party members and the people, to the extent that his age and health permitted, the masses did not inform him of the shortcomings and mistakes which occurred, because the apparatuses had inculcated in them the idea that «we should not worry Stalin».

As regards the so-called cult of Stalin, the Khrushchevite traitors propagated it deliberately in order to use it extensively against Marxism-Leninism, as they did in fact. We think that Stalin was a great Marxist on account of his work and his struggle. He was modest and there was no need for the Soviet press and propaganda to inflate his figure in the way they did as long as he was alive. On this question we think that Stalin personally did not take severe measures to ensure that this propaganda was balanced in a Marxist-Leninist manner and to avoid the many negative and dangerous aspects of this propaganda which could conceal and, as the facts showed, did conceal great dangers, because this unbalanced propaganda about Stalin served to conceal such enemies and traitors as Khrushchev and company, who shouted louder than the others and covered the plot under this disguise. After the death of Stalin, it became clear that these traitors used this unbridled propaganda as a weapon not only against Stalin and the Soviet Union, but also against Marxism-Leninism on an international scale.

We must not blame Stalin for those faults and mistakes which he did not commit, did not want others to commit and which, if he had detected them, he would have attacked mercilessly as a revolutionary. Hence, the grave guilt falls on many others, great and humble, and on the CPSU as a whole, because it did not know how to fight and react powerfully, in a revolutionary way

and on the basis of the militant Marxist-Leninist theory, against bureaucratic distortions, and this led to ideological and political distortions, to the creation of the current of modern revisionists who, by awaiting the opportune moment, the death of Stalin, took power from within.

Mikoyan admitted to us that at one time they had decided to assassinate Stalin, but later had abandoned the idea. This is proof not only of the criminal intentions of these bandits, but also of the fact that, when they decided to kill Stalin, they must have been in danger of being discovered. Had they carried out this attempt, they would certainly have lost and been destroyed, because the entire Party and people would have torn them to pieces. Apparently they decided to wait a little longer. Hence, this group of conspirators, putschists and traitors knew the situation in the Party, knew the cadres and their shortcomings and weaknesses, had quietly placed these cadres in key positions and had devised their tactics and strategy well in advance. It is very important to analyze this.

Molotov and his comrades were old revolutionaries, honest communists, but were the typical representatives of that bureaucratic routine, that bureaucratic «legality», and when they made feeble attempts to use it against the evident plot of the Khrushchevites,* it was already too late. Instead the bureaucracy and the bureaucratic «legality» were used by the traitors who covered up their palace intrigue with this «legality» and manoeuvred through their network and the entire stratum of bureaucrats of proletarian, and not kulak, capitalist or feudal, origin to seize the reins of the Party and the organs of state power.

* See Enver Hoxha, «The Khrushchevites» (Memoirs), pp. 29-32, 185-187, Tirana 1980, (Eng. ed.).

Immediately after the death of Stalin, the Khrushchevite plotters manoeuvred deftly with this «legality», with the «rules of the party» and «democratic centralism», with their crocodile tears over the loss of Stalin, while gradually preparing to torpedo his work, his figure and Marxism-Leninism, until all their activity was crowned with success at the 20th Congress and in the crematorium where the body of Stalin was burned. This is a period full of lessons for us Marxist-Leninists, because it highlights the bankruptcy of bureaucratic «legality» which is a great danger to a Marxist-Leninist party, brings out the methods which the revisionists use to turn this bureaucratic «legality» to their advantage, shows how honest leaders, who have experience but have lost their revolutionary class spirit, fall into the traps of conspirators and make concessions, submit to the pressure and retreat in face of the blackmail and demagogy of revisionist traitors disguised with revolutionary phraseology.

In this transitional period for the consolidation of their power we see how the Khrushchevites, with great boasting about how they were acting in a «lofty party spirit», «freed from the fear of Stalin», and «in truly democratic and Leninist forms», worked actively to spread the most monstrous slanders which only the bourgeoisie has dared to use against the Soviet Union and Stalin. This whole campaign of slanders supported and tried to prove with allegedly legal documents the slanders which all the capitalists had been making for years against Marxism-Leninism. Everything was used by the Khrushchevites. They searched through the archives, documents and minutes which covered decades of work and from which they extracted isolated ideas and phrases which they quoted to interpret the tactics used in the way that suited them, they even used anecdotes about people's private lives, in one word, they used typical Trotskyite methods of work.

All this was done in order to attack the correct revolutionary strategy of Stalin, to attack and undermine the Leninist norms, to attack the Marxist-Leninist ideology with pseudo-legal forms and to discredit Stalin and socialism in the Soviet Union and the world.

The subsequent development of the treacherous work of the Khrushchevite revisionists is well known. They have taken control of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and enjoy the support of a large stratum of the Party which has been bureaucratized, which has been and is being systematically transformed into a new bourgeoisie. The remnants of the capitalist exploiting classes in the Soviet Union could not attack the dictatorship of the proletariat because they were powerless and defeated, but the lack of revolutionary vigilance, the weakening of the class struggle inside and outside the Party, the enfeebling of the revolutionary spirit in everything, lack of profound revolutionary political and ideological work on a mass scale and the bureaucratization of the Party brought about that a whole stratum of the Party completely lost the features of the proletariat, of revolutionaries, and became bourgeois, created its own cadres in the Party and the state and took power into its own hands. They did what the remnants of the exploiting classes were quite unable to do and now, in this revisionist legality in power the class fusion of these elements against the revolution, Marxism-Leninism and socialism is faking place.

Although the modern revisionists in the other countries where they are in power used the same means and furthered the same ends as the Khrushchevites who helped them to seize power by all manner of means, it is of great interest to us Marxist-Leninists to study the strategy and tactics used by the traitors to Marxism-Leninism and the role the bourgeois capitalist classes played in each

of these countries. Why? Because in this direction there are marked differences, differences in the waging of the class struggle, in the intensity of the national liberation struggle, in the role of the parties in this struggle, in their line in the struggle for victory, for the liberation of the country, for the seizure and organization of state power and the consolidation of the people's democracy. All this process did not take place in the same way everywhere. It took place in different ways in different countries.

Let us take Yugoslavia, for instance. We long ago came to the conclusion not only that socialism is not being built in Yugoslavia now, but that it had never started to be built, that the Communist Party of Yugoslavia was never a Marxist-Leninist party, not only since Tito came to the head of it but also in the time of the Comintern and before the war. From the legal documents of the Comintern we are acquainted with the rampant factionalist and Trotskyite activity that took place in it. Allegedly it achieved stability with the emergence of Tito, but the fact is that Tito was nothing but a disguised, long-standing Trotskyite agent of capital.

The peoples of Yugoslavia waged a heroic war. This is a fact. There were revolutionary communists in the Communist Party of Yugoslavia who fought heroically. This, too, is a fact. It is also a fact that Tito was at the head of the party, at the head of the leadership of the war, but he was not a Marxist. He was a disguised bourgeois agent who knew how to channel the will and militant vigour of the people for the liberation of Yugoslavia to further his own purposes, how to involve the communists in this war and, at the same time, to liquidate them, to select the right individuals and create a whole team of military and political leaders sharing his own views. During the war, he created and consolidated his staff and

his own prestige. Tito and his staff were disguised bourgeois national chauvinists who acted under the guidance of British policy. Although Tito posed as a Marxist and pro-Soviet, if we read those few official Yugoslav documents from the time of the war, we shall see that he had contradictions with the Soviets and after liberation, especially on the question of Venezia Giulia and Trieste, regardless of whether he was right or wrong on the ethnical aspect in regard to these places, his stand was openly chauvinist, anti-Soviet and anti-Stalin.

Later, the nature of Tito's secret close links with the imperialists and his pursuit of a hegemonic policy in the Balkans and Central Europe, of course in collaboration with the Anglo-Americans, to hinder the development and consolidation of socialism in the countries of Eastern Europe and the Balkans and to bring about the breaking of their friendship with the Soviet Union, became clear. Nowadays, Tito pursues this policy in other forms. The *zadruga* (agricultural cooperatives) of the beginning were only a hoax and were quickly broken up. Hence, socialism in the Yugoslav countryside never got started, but on the contrary the private sector was strengthened and the kulak class developed. Confiscations and nationalizations were carried out in industry too, but these were not for socialist aims, although they were carried out in the name of socialism. It was only natural that the property of the bourgeoisie would pass «into the hands of the people» who fought, but this property was to serve to consolidate the power of the clique, and very quickly, after their break with us, in the form of self-administration, was to become the property of the new exploiting and oppressing class headed by Tito. After the war, the Communist Party of Yugoslavia became an auxiliary of the UDB, of the apparatus of suppression, and hundreds of thousands of revolutionaries who militated in it were

accused of being «Informbureauists» and were liquidated. How things are developing in Yugoslavia now is all too clear.

The time and the moment do not allow us to speak even briefly about Bulgaria, Rumania, Czechoslovakia, Poland, etc., as I did about Yugoslavia. You, of course, have analyzed them, but the fact is that although the process of degeneration in each of these countries has a generally similar character and features, it also has its own nuances and characteristics of development depending on the conditions I mentioned earlier.

In regard to our country, I do not wish to speak about the great struggle our Party has waged for the construction of socialism, but I want to dwell briefly on the process of the class struggle that our Party has waged and on the course it has followed for the liquidation of the exploiting classes.

Allow me, comrades, to continue the expose I did not finish yesterday.

The elimination of exploiting capitalist classes as classes is a complicated process which is completed with the construction of the economic base of socialism. However, the struggle against remnants of these overthrown classes and their ideology and world outlook is a long, complicated and very difficult process. How has this process been carried out in our country and what results haven been achieved?

The exploiting classes could not be eliminated immediately, either in our country or in the other socialist countries. A fierce political and ideological fight, a violent war with arms, a stern and continuous class struggle under the unwavering leadership of the Marxist-Leninist party is needed **for the proletariat to wrest political power by violence from the hands of the exploiting capitalist**

class and establish the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat in order to eliminate the economic base of the exploiting class and private property in general, to eliminate the capitalist relations of production and establish socialist social ownership and the socialist relations of production, to turn the existing socialist property into the property of the entire people; and simultaneously, to build a new socialist superstructure, by radically purging every remnant of bourgeois and petty-bourgeois policy and ideology from the consciousness of the people.

The process of the abolition of the exploiting classes not only is extremely difficult, but it also depends on several factors:

1) **The strength and all-round organization of the capitalist exploiting class.**

2) **The violence and severity of the armed struggle for the seizure of power by the proletariat, the clarity of the line, the determination and intelligence with which it is consistently and unwaveringly applied by the Marxist-Leninist communist or workers' party which heads the struggle for liberation, the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the construction of socialism after the seizure of power** and the political and military defeat of the capitalist exploiting classes.

3) **The consistent construction of a new socialist structure and superstructure, on the basis of the principles of Marxism-Leninism and the actual material conditions of the country,** always keeping the dictatorship of the proletariat as a sharp weapon and having the class struggle as the main motive force until the abolition of world capitalism and the establishment of communism.

In order to really understand the development of the struggle for the elimination of the exploiting classes in our country, we must know the situation of these classes before the war and during the war, their economic, po-

litical and ideological strength, their influence among the broad masses of the people before and after Liberation.

1) Albania has always been a country occupied by foreign enemies and exploited to the bone. Its «independence» was gained late, and even then, if it was not occupied *de jure*, it was occupied economically and politically *de facto*. This situation determined the nature, the strength and the development of the Ottoman feudalism of the exploiting class of the country which supported the policy of the occupiers, the colonial policy of foreigners towards a country with a very backward economy, in which not the slightest effort was made to embark on the road of capitalist development. **Hence, although the feudal lords retained their domination over the land, their estates and the peasantry, thanks to the armies of various occupiers, they had degenerated as a class and were heading towards total elimination.**

2) **For centuries the Albanian people had been in continual struggle, in uprisings and revolts against the occupiers, against the feudal lords as well as against religion.** We can say that this was a continuous anti-colonial, anti-imperialist war and at the same time an anti-feudal class struggle.

The struggle of our people, a people of peasants and herdsmen, is very interesting as regards their twofold, or better threefold liberation from the foreigners, the local landowners and feudal lords and from religion, which served the former two. Hence, the people were continually in struggle against the structure and the superstructure of the feudal-occupier order, in armed struggle or passive struggle, in political and ideological struggle. This kept the flames of the struggle for liberation, of the class struggle and the struggle against feudalism ablaze and contributed to the collapse of the Ottoman Empire, **but**

it also affected the economic-political power of the feudal class which was becoming extremely weak from the economic aspect and beginning to sell its land and estates partly to the middle peasants and partly to city merchants who were gaining strength.

3) **The proclamation of the independence of Albania in 1912 and the entire activity of the country up to the Italian occupation in 1939 did not result in great changes in the ratio of classes.** After a series of ups and downs, Zog, the bankrupt representative of bankrupt feudalism, seized power. The clique of Zog was supported by a small army of mercenaries and by fascist Italy, to which it sold mining and land concessions and handed over the organization of the army and the gendarmerie, allowing it to prepare our country for the impending occupation and for use as an armed base for the future wars of fascism.

The population of the cities was relatively increased with the unemployed peasants abandoning the countryside which became even more impoverished than before. Those landowners and feudal lords around Zog lived on the rent of the land still in their hands, which they continued to sell to the rich peasants who oppressed the poor and middle peasants. These aghas of the countryside and the cities became the supporters of the Zog regime.

In the cities trade began to revive through terrible speculation with the relations between town and countryside, usury, the purchase and sale of land, and the exploitation of the land rent, without even the smallest investment being made in agriculture. **Those speculator merchants, who supported the feudal semi-colonial regime, were relatively few in numbers and had no great economic power. The main activity of the big merchants who constituted the support of the regime was usury and the monopoly they enjoyed over imports and exports, to the extent the speculation by the Italian fascist trading com-**

panies and the deplorable economic situation of the country allowed them.

This merchant bourgeoisie which was prospering gave little or no consideration to investments of capital for the development of some sort of local industry, and that is why we see that during this entire period **not even a modest industry was set up, with the exception of a few small cigarette factories, a small cement plant, a brewery or an oil-press, and even those were owned jointly with Italian capitalists.** The dumping of Italian goods impoverished our shops, allowed speculation by usurious merchants who, in partnership with Zog and his clique, lined their purses by acquiring the riches of the country and exporting them to Italy. Handicraft provided the only local industrial products, but it was very backward and relentlessly impoverished as a result of the impoverishment of the people, the heavy taxes and Italian dumping. The urban petty-bourgeoisie was in a deplorable situation, its only means of livelihood being small-scale speculation and employment as clerks. As for the intellectuals, the only source of livelihood was employment in the bureaucratic administration of the regime, a bankrupt bureaucracy which did not pay their salaries for ten months on end.

The great mass of the people, the poor and middle peasantry, the broad working masses of the town, the poor, the workers and craftsmen, were in open class struggle against the clique of Zog, the speculator merchants and the semi-merchants, the semi-feudal rich bourgeoisie of town and countryside. **Hence the period was too short for and the remnants of the feudal class and the bourgeoisie which were building up in the countryside and the town proved incapable of strengthening their positions as a dominant class, first of all because of the class resistance of the proletarian masses of town and**

countryside, and because of the economic weakness of the feudal class and the new bourgeois class, their great cultural and technical backwardness, their mediaeval world outlook and their policy of enslavement to Italian fascist capital, which had its own pre-determined aims for the complete colonization of Albania, aims which it tried to achieve later, but which encountered the heroic struggle of the Albanian people led by their Communist Party.

In short, we can say that **the occupation of our country by fascist Italy found the capitalist exploiting class of the town and countryside in a state of chaos, politically and economically weak;** it was not the owner of the mining industry, because Italy had concessions over all the existing mines; it had no industry, because, as I said, it dealt only in trade, usury and the rent of land. This new bourgeoisie of town and countryside which was developing, was backward, without culture and education, miserly in the basest sense, without a political organization and savage and barbarous towards the broad masses of the people; it closed its ranks around the Zog clique and its administration, frequently not because it fully agreed with it, but because thanks to this clique, to its gendarmerie and the links it had with fascist Italy, the new bourgeoisie of our country could continue its speculations and enrich itself.

Thus, the ideology of the regime of Zog and the capitalist exploiting class of the country was robbery, speculation, plunder, the knout, terror and treachery. The development of the exploiting class of our country as a capitalist class cannot be equated with that of the other capitalist countries of Europe.

After the occupation of Albania, fascist Italy tried to hitch these remnants of feudalism, this class of bourgeois merchants, the aghas of the town and countryside, to its chariot to further the interests of colonization and war.

In fact it won them over and placed them in its service against the National Liberation War of the people led by the Communist Party of Albania.

Fascist Italy was economically unable to make investments in the economy of Albania, and in any case, the circumstances of the war did not permit such a thing, so, after the occupation of the country, it interested itself mainly in military projects, in stepping up the extraction of oil to some extent, but only in Kuçova, in ensuring peace in its rear in Albania and in plundering whatever it could lay its hands on in our country. Italy hoped that it would win the war and that Albania would remain its permanent colony. **The impulse which the occupiers gave the Albanian exploiting classes was only by means of speculative trade between Albania and Italy and through this speculation they turned this class into an agent of theirs to strengthen the Italian domination in Albania, to sell land to Italians, to recruit mercenaries and to hurl them into the war against the people who were fighting.**

Thus, the Italian occupation enriched some speculators, who never thought about making investments in the country, but only about accumulating gold, hoarding it, or depositing it abroad for the bad times that would come. **Fascism tried to hand this class the banner of the fascist ideology and to rally people around it with the aim of consolidating the political positions of this class.** However, our fight utterly defeated this scheme. **The banner of the fascist party was replaced with the banner of Balli Kombëlar and of some other mushrooming «parties».** On the urging of Italian and German fascism, Albanian reaction tried to create a class «ideology» of its own through these traitor organizations which it set up to assist the occupiers and to fight our Party and the National Liberation Front. This was the final desperate attempt which

fascism and Albanian reaction made against the war of our people which was led by the Party. **This attempt of theirs was drowned in blood, and Albanian reaction, together with the occupiers, received the final lethal blow.** The exploiting classes of our country suffered the greatest imaginable defeat, political, military and economic. They lost their political and military power forever. The revolution triumphed. The National Liberation War, led by the Party, routed the occupiers and traitors and the regime of people's democracy, the dictatorship of the proletariat was established.

Hence, the National Liberation War exposed in the eyes of the people the exploiting class which had sold itself to the bloodthirsty occupiers and oppressors of the people. The policy and activity of our Party at the head of the people forced this class to take a stand and tore off its disguises, fought it mercilessly with arms, dealt it countless blows in the direction of physically liquidating a large number of its leaders (the remainder were obliged to flee the country on the ships of the occupiers), it made a deep and sharp differentiation and thus prepared the terrain for the consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat, for the construction of socialism and the complete liquidation of the exploiting capitalist classes as classes in our country.

How was this process developed after the seizure of power by the people? How did the Party organize and lead the restriction and, finally, the liquidation of the exploiting classes as such?

The different stages of this great process have been analysed in a Marxist-Leninist way in many important documents of our Party. I shall dwell briefly on the main points.

This political process against reaction and the collaborators with the occupiers continued its uninterrupted

build-up from the first days after Liberation. Besides the heavy blows the exploiting classes were dealt throughout the war, in which they suffered total defeat, **they were dealt other crushing blows by the people's courts which were set up all over Albania immediately after Liberation.** All the collaborators with the occupiers were arrested and brought to trial.

Their continual political unmasking and their fear and terror of the people's courts shattered the ranks of the enemy. The dictatorship of the proletariat struck the enemies of the people mercilessly, discovered the Anglo-American plots, put their agents on trial and condemned them.

The resolute, just, revolutionary blows against the enemies of the people further enhanced the enthusiasm and trust of the people in the Party, in the state and in the weapons of the dictatorship of the proletariat, and created a high revolutionary vigilance among the people which is tempered every day and has become a powerful political weapon of the broad masses against the class enemy and enemies from abroad.

I shall not speak at length about the large-scale nationalizations carried out after Liberation, but I shall dwell on those political and economic measures which were taken against the capitalist class of the city and the countryside and which further propelled the process of its liquidation as an exploiting class.

Extraordinary taxes were imposed on all the merchants and industrialists who had made great profits during the war at the people's expense. This was a radical economic measure which, in fact, led to the confiscation of all their fixed and liquid assets. The majority of these people were put on trial and imprisoned, because the property confiscated did not cover the amount of taxes imposed on them and the court's verdict would be reviewed only

when the defendant had completed payment of the taxes, i.e. only when he brought out the gold he had hoarded up. **This was a measure of great economic and political importance, because it removed a major capitalist element without, however, as yet liquidating the bourgeoisie as a class.**

We did not follow the policy of liquidation towards those merchants who did not qualify for the extraordinary taxes and who were mainly small traders, however, in conformity with the economic and political conditions of the time, we established strict control and restrictions on them, with the aim of barring the way to speculation. Along with the establishment and strengthening of the socialist sector, we fought to achieve the socialist transformation of the small-scale producers of the city. The opportunist Sejfulla Malëshova tried to distort this correct process by advocating that «the private sector should be given aid in credits and materials by the socialist sector, by the state; the socialist sector should compete with the private sector, and the peaceful integration of capitalism into socialism would be carried out in this way.» **His anti-Marxist theory was rejected by the Party, was exposed among the people and Sejfulla Malëshova was expelled from the Political Bureau of the Central Committee and the Party.**

After a time, the shops of the small and middle merchants, who dealt in industrial goods left over from the period of the war and before it, were emptied; they could no longer buy goods abroad because foreign trade and wholesale trade was the monopoly of the state; the handicrafts sector, which had not yet become cooperative, was not in a position to supply them; **thus, after many vain efforts, most of them were compelled to close their shops, abandon trade and work in production.**

During this time, besides the socialist state sector,

the people's socialist controlled sector of consumer cooperatives was also created everywhere, the handicrafts cooperatives were organized and thus, **as we shall see, the state socialist sector and cooperation gradually eliminated the overwhelming majority of the private capitalist elements in the sphere of commodity circulation. Thus we can say that in 1955 small-scale industrial production had been almost totally liquidated and its place taken by the handicraft cooperatives. Unable to survive any longer, small private trade gave way to state trade and consumer cooperatives.** Even those few small shopkeepers selling fruit, vegetables and meat that we allowed to continue with their trade, were organized in trading collectives controlled by the state.

That is how the process of the liquidation of the exploiting classes in the city developed and, as a result of this, the capitalist elements, defeated politically and economically, no longer constitute an exploiting class on their own as before. That is why we say that exploiting classes no longer exist in our country, because they have been liquidated as such, that only remnants of these classes exist, but despite the blows they have received, these elements still dream of restoration.

How did this process develop in the countryside? Our working peasantry is very patriotic and ardently revolutionary. It participated broadly in the National Liberation War. It had great trust in the line of the Party to which it remains loyal. It was and is whole-heartedly for the alliance with the working class, understands clearly and accepts without the slightest hesitation the leadership of this alliance by the working class. It is loyal to the dictatorship of the proletariat.

⁴ They were created in 1958 in order to strengthen state control on the private owners to create the necessary conditions for them to enter the state sector. They were abolished in 1968.

In these conditions our revolutionary peasantry with ancient traditions, became, under the leadership of the Party, one of the decisive factors in the victory: the liberation of our country and the construction of socialism, especially in the countryside.

I shall not dwell at length on the Land Reform which was completed in the first years after Liberation, a reform which expropriated both the land and the livestock of the beys and aghas of town and countryside, distributed the land and livestock to the poor peasants, and at the same time created the premises for the establishment of the socialist sector of agriculture.

In this period, the orientation of the Party for the all-round political isolation and economic restriction of the kulaks who constituted the last exploiting class and the potential support for class resistance against the Land Reform and, later, against the collectivization of agriculture, was applied thoroughly and without hesitation. The Land Reform also somewhat restricted certain middle peasants who were not kulaks, but who tended to enrich themselves. However, a correct struggle was waged successfully to unite the middle peasants with the poor peasants against the kulaks and in support of collectivization. The Party carried out a correct political, ideological and economic struggle of differentiation in the countryside.

The collectivization of agriculture was a great revolution of the countryside which continued for some years. It went through several stages and was carried out prudently, with great care, by convincing the peasants and without any compulsion or violence, by doing a great deal of intensive and continuous political work, beginning in the lowlands, in the zones with the most suitable socio-economic conditions. The peasants received great economic aid from the state, were provided with agricultural cred-

its and land protection and irrigation schemes, etc., etc. were undertaken. In this way the collectivization was completed with success. The land was not nationalized directly, but through the implementation of the Land Reform large-scale ownership of land was abolished, the basis for the development of capitalism in the countryside was extremely restricted and cooperation was brought about without using intermediate forms based on rent, etc. but directly, through completely socialist forms.

Parallel with the class struggle in the city, the class struggle in the countryside was waged successfully throughout this great process. This class struggle led to the gradual liquidation of the kulaks as an exploiting capitalist class in the countryside.

The following are some figures to illustrate this process of the isolation and liquidation of the kulaks:

The Land Reform expropriated nearly 5,000 kulaks (kulak economies). In 1947, there were still about 2,000 kulak economies. The taxes imposed on these economies were 50-100 per cent higher than normal, not to mention the other restraints, obligations and political restriction.

Nearly 500 kulak families left the countryside in 1950-1951. In 1955 the land owned by the kulaks constituted 1.7 per cent of the total agricultural land of the country; grain production from this land made up 1.9 per cent of the total; they had 2,200 oxen and buffaloes, 1,900 cows and 20,000 sheep and goats.

By 1955, more than 560 out of the original 2,000 kulak families owned no animals at all and half of this total owned 2 to 3 hectares of land and no more than 10 head of sheep.

In 1962 there were 1,326 kulak families in all, who owned a total of 2,391 hectares of land, 1,645 head of cattle and 12,432 sheep and goats. **They comprised about 0.7 per cent of the total number of peasant economies.**

This percentage has been further reduced in recent years.

As a conclusion, the capitalist element does not constitute a class in the countryside either.

I am not going to speak here about the class struggle in the countryside which continues and will continue, or about the intensive political work of the Party among these elements, and especially among the youth of kulak origin, for their re-education, differentiation, etc., etc.

As a result of this great struggle, the situation and composition of classes in our country in 1960 was as follows:

Working class	22.5 per cent
Cooperativist peasantry	62.7 per cent
Intelligentsia	13.6 per cent
Remnants of exploiting classes	1.1 per cent
divided into:	
Kulaks	0.8 per cent
Speculator elements in the city	0.3 per cent

The specific weight of the socialist sector in 1960.

National income	90 per cent
Total industrial output	99 per cent
Wholesale trade	100 per cent
Retail trade	90 per cent
Total agricultural output	80 per cent

These are the concrete achievements in regard to the situation of classes in our country, achievements which allow us to say that the bourgeois capitalist class of our country has been liquidated as the main exploiting class. However, the elements and remnants of this class do exist. They have not been liquidated physically and no question of this has ever been raised. What matters is

that these elements do not raise their heads, but submit to the laws of the proletarian state and give up their hostile activity. We have created the possibilities for them to work and live like everyone else, but without slackening our vigilance or clamping down on them when necessary; as for their children, we take care to educate them in the new spirit.

As regards the political struggle, the ideological struggle, the education of the masses in the revolutionary spirit, with the ideology of the proletariat, as regards the class struggle against the class enemy, against the capitalist and revisionist idealist ideology and imperialism, as well as the continuous education of the masses for the elimination of vices, superstitions and petty-bourgeois hangovers in all fields and sectors, these are big continuing problems which must be the first concern of the Party and a primary objective of the struggle of the Party and the working class. If the Party at the head of the masses does not continue this great struggle on all fronts, then the danger arises of the revival and regrouping of elements of the hostile classes, the danger of the creation of a new revisionist class which, as in the Soviet Union and the other revisionist countries, seizes power and transforms the country from a socialist country into a capitalist one.

Hence, our Party believes that, notwithstanding that the exploiting classes have been liquidated, the danger of bourgeois and revisionist restoration always exists if you rest on your laurels and do not advance at a great revolutionary tempo, if you are not guided in everything by Marxism-Leninism, if you cease the class struggle instead of waging it consistently and uninterruptedly, if you weaken the dictatorship of the proletariat instead of further strengthening it, if you divorce yourself from the people instead of linking yourself with them as closely

as possible, if you prove cowardly instead of being valiant and courageous and in continuous, dauntless, unrelenting struggle against imperialism, revisionists of all hues and all lackeys of the bourgeoisie and capital.

With its usual courage, valour and maturity, our Party will consistently pursue its correct Marxist-Leninist course.

Our Party, at the head of the Albanian people, is aware of the great responsibility it has in this life-and-death struggle against imperialism, modern revisionism and reaction. The main task it has set itself is to keep the revolutionary spirit consistently high, to temper and retemper itself ideologically and politically day by day, to keep its ranks pure, to purge itself of rotten elements, sluggards, mere talkers, careerists and incorrigible bureaucrats through an active struggle within the Party and the real and factual verification of the activity of each party member in struggle and life.

What happened in the Communist Party of the Soviet Union will never happen in our Party, because it does and will do continuous, intensive political and ideological work in depth and breadth with the masses, with the aim of ensuring that the entire people understand and apply every directive of the Party and its correct policy in a creative manner, that they work and live every day and every hour as in battle, as in revolution. Only in this way can every attack of the internal and external enemy be smashed. Only in this way will the activity of any enemy, however sophisticated and disguised, who tries to restore capitalism, be nipped in the bud and defeated. For such a struggle and in such a struggle we are fighting and tempering our Party and people. Aroused, in revolutionary unity of thought and action, the Party and the people are invincible.

The imperialists and modern revisionists thought that the Party of Labour of Albania would be only a morsel

they could dispose of at one bite. However, it turned out to be an unconquerable and invincible steel fortress, because its Marxist-Leninist ideology and policy is invincible, is supported and applied by an invincible, fighting, revolutionary people.

In the euphoria of their triumph in the Soviet Union and other countries, the modern revisionists, headed by the Soviet revisionists, tried to throw dust in our eyes, to flatter and deceive us, but they failed, received heavy blows from us and were badly exposed. They still retain their material power and are manoeuvring with it, but they have lost their moral and political power, not only over us, but also over the Marxist-Leninists of the whole world and all the progressive peoples.

The modern revisionists are capitalist bourgeois and the states which they are leading have been and are being transformed in essence into outright bourgeois capitalist countries. Only if an armed revolution breaks out within these countries will this course be stopped and reversed. We are helping and must help the revolutionary course to reverse this anti-Marxist, anti-proletarian capitalist course in the communist and workers' movement.

We think that Kim Il Sung and his comrades are mistaken in certain stands of theirs towards Soviet modern revisionism and, unfortunately for the Workers' Party of Korea and the Korean people, if they do not change the course they have taken, they will become modern revisionists like the rest. The truth is bitter but it must be told before it is too late. The theories of Kim Il Sung and the Japanese that «Khrushchev who was bad has been removed, but there is reason to hope that those in power now will correct themselves and one of the ways to help them do so is to unite with them»⁽⁵⁾ allegedly

5 The Chinese leaders have also expressed this view. Zhou

against imperialism, show that they do not see the issue correctly, that they are no longer able to make true class analyses and are embarking on a dubious course.

As for the Rumanian leaders, they are shame-faced revisionists who are trying to steer a middle course which they proclaim as a «wise and flexible» policy, although in fact it is a policy dictated by the great fear that haunts them. The Rumanians are afraid of the Soviets, the Bulgarians and the Hungarians and that is why they have linked themselves with Tito, with the imperialists and even smile at us when it suits them. This is what the Rumanians call a «special authentic Marxist-Leninist» course. According to them the lines of the Soviets, the Titoites, the Bulgarians, of Kim Il Sung, of the Japanese and many others are all «authentic Marxist-Leninist» lines.

The Rumanians raise a hue and cry against the Warsaw Treaty and present themselves as «boldly independent». This is the line of Tito and the imperialists. If Rumania left the Warsaw Treaty that would be fine. But where would it go? It would get out of the bed of one enemy to get into bed with another. Whether in NATO or the Warsaw Treaty, it's all the same to us. As long as these treaties remain what they are, it makes no difference to us because both of them are fighting us. Even if they fuse into one, they are still our enemies because they are united against us. If on the other hand, they disintegrate and break up they do not do this in the interests of the revolution. What then is the purpose of the Rumanian leadership in raising this hue and cry? To show the Soviet Union that they are «strong», because they are with Tito

Enlai expressed this view to our Party when he was on a visit to Albania from December 31, 1963 to January 9, 1964, and so did Liu Shaoqi to an Albanian delegation in Beijing, (See «Reflections on China», vol. 1, pp. 116-124, Tirana 1979, Eng. ed.).

and the imperialists. They do so to assert their territorial claims, (6) to get money from the imperialists as a reward for acting to weaken the Soviet Union, as well as to carry out the capitalist transformation of Rumania before the Soviets can launch any attack. They play the Chinese card only for this political expediency and to the extent that it does not harm the policy and general strategy of imperialism.

The Rumanians are smiling at us too, they have invited me, several ministers and party workers for holidays, they invite us privately to the meeting of the Warsaw Treaty and similar nonsense. We do not swallow such bait. We shall reply to them openly so that they understand that these manoeuvres will get them nowhere.

The modern revisionists of all hues are engaged in all kinds of manoeuvres not only to dodge the blows they are receiving and avoid further exposure, but also to create the impression that «something is happening, there is something in the air», bestowing a smile here, a smile there, undertaking a «democratic» action or a diplomatic one. These are all forms of an outdated bourgeois diplomacy to which they return for lack of anything better, and use them in the new circumstances after dressing them up in a new cloak. These lackeys are ready to kiss your hand today so as to bite it tomorrow. However, we do not allow them to kiss our hand, let alone bite it! They are terrified of our stands because these

6 Two years before this talk took place, Comrade Enver Hoxha wrote on this problem: «Zhou Enlai is making a grave mistake that he is inciting the Rumanians to make territorial claims on the Soviet Union... This is neither the time nor the occasion to raise such problems which provide Khrushchev with a weapon to accuse us of being chauvinists. The ideological and political struggle against Khrushchev must not be diverted into delicate questions of territorial claims.» («Reflections on China», vol. 1, p. 74, Tirana 1979, Eng. ed.).

correct and determined stands have smashed and defeated them. **To pursue this Marxist-Leninist policy in a consistent, resolute and revolutionary way means to continue to wage the class struggle in the international arena,** to defeat the imperialist-revisionist alliances against the socialist countries for the domination of the world by capitalism under all kinds of masks and disguises.

The Warsaw Treaty meeting is of no interest to us other than as an object to serve the unmasking of the revisionists whom we are going to expose.

The contradictions between the revisionist cliques which are growing deeper are part of the imperialist chess game, part of the process of breaking, patching up and establishing new bridges between the various imperialists and revisionists. The process of a new integration between them is developing alongside the process of their disintegration.

In Europe, capitalist France, in its own interests, is operating against the American hegemony, exerting pressure on Great Britain and especially on Bonn to detach them from the United States of America and win them over to its side. Its tactic is: the closest possible rapprochement with the Soviet Union, to use it not only as a means of blackmail against the United States of America and Bonn, but also as a means of penetration into the revisionist countries of Eastern Europe.

The Soviet Union on its part, while safeguarding its major interests with the United States of America, is playing the card of France as blackmail for the opportunist settlement of the German question and the Vietnamese question through the capitulation of Vietnam, which would save the face and prestige of the United States of America in Asia. What it has in mind is, together with the United States of America, to achieve the encirclement of China politically and militarily in new conditions, i.e. that North

Korea, too, should be brought into the sphere of this encirclement. The Soviet Union and the United States of America, which are heavily influenced by false euphoria about the capitulation of Vietnam, will not fail to proclaim this capitulation as a «great victory for peaceful coexistence and the peace policy of the Soviet Union and Johnson».

We are of the opinion that all these political developments in the world and especially in Europe will not take place quietly, without sharp contradictions between the various imperialists and revisionists. However, these contradictions will also give rise to other contradictions within cliques of different tendencies; contradictions between cliques and revolutionaries, the Marxist-Leninist parties and groups which have been and are being formed; contradictions between the revisionist cliques and the peoples of the countries where they are in power.

The fact is that the process of the disintegration of the revisionist countries has not only created political chaos among the people to the disadvantage of the cliques in power, but has also raised problems in industry, agriculture, the economy, the supply system, etc.

Tito plunged the country into economic chaos despite the billions(7)with which the United States of America and others have provided him. The other revisionist countries, which are turning their socialist agriculture into a capitalist agriculture (Yugoslavia has never had a socialist agriculture), are encountering resistance and political and economic difficulties. The abolition of the cooperatives and the process of their transformation into kulak property has resulted in the degeneration of agriculture, speculation and impoverishment, and together with this, a mounting wave of resistance.

7 Until 1981, Yugoslavia's foreign debt amounted to 20,1 billion dollars (Tanjug, June 26, 1982).

In industry and the economic sector the revisionist cliques have begun the transformation of the socialist state property into the property of capitalist groups according to the Titoite pattern or with a slight touch-up. Just by looking at the Titoite economy we can envisage what is occurring and will occur in the other revisionist countries which have pinned their hopes on US aid to enable them to follow this pattern. The Americans financed the Titoites generously and achieved their aim. The Yugoslav peoples are now at the end of their tether and this will increase the contradictions and their resistance, but the Americans will be more tight-fisted and merciless with the other cliques which find themselves between two fires, the imperialists and the peoples of their own countries. This contradiction will become more and more pronounced.

The formation of Marxist-Leninist communist parties in the countries where the revisionists are in power will play a decisive role, therefore we must help the new fraternal Marxist-Leninist parties at all costs, and this is our primary internationalist duty, our revolutionary duty.

We think that the new bourgeoisie which has come to power through the counter-revolution in the Soviet Union, Poland, Czechoslovakia, the German Democratic Republic, Hungary, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, Rumania, Mongolia, etc., and which disguises itself with Marxist phraseology, cannot be overthrown except by means of a revolution. The modern revisionists are determined to suppress the revolution with arms, therefore, in those countries especially, genuine revolutionary Marxist-Leninist parties must be created to prepare and lead the revolution. We think that without the formation of these parties which have mastered the doctrine of the proletarian revolution, the past and present experience of revolutionary struggle, which are clear about the struggle against

imperialism and modern revisionism and wage it correctly, the revolution cannot be carried out successfully. The revolution needs a leadership with experience, tempered and determined to carry it through to the end.

Of course, we are not going to export revolution or give orders that others must do this or that. Neither is it up to us to support the revolution in these countries by armed intervention. This is very clear to us.

However, we have a primary duty to help the proletarian revolution in all countries, and in the revisionist countries in particular. The objective and basis of our all-round assistance of every kind should be the stern and uncompromising struggle against the imperialists, headed by the American imperialists, and against the modern revisionists, headed by the Soviet revisionists. (8) The Marxist-Leninists all over the world, the new Marxist-Leninist parties and groups which have been and are being created, are in great need of our political and ideological assistance. The American imperialists and the Soviet revisionists operate on the basis of an identical strategy and co-ordinate their tactics, irrespective of the contradictions which they have and which are increasing. They are preparing for war against us and other peace-loving peoples, they are fighting with every means to prepare the counter-revolution in our countries at any cost, to liquidate the staffs of the proletarian revolution in any part of the world. Their

8 The Communist Party of China did not come out immediately and openly against the revisionists. Since April 1962 Comrade Enver Hoxha underlined: «The revolutionary communists expect China to come out openly against Khrushchevite revisionism.» But even when it took an open stand against both the Soviet revisionists and the Yugoslav revisionists, the Communist Party of China displayed pronounced opportunist waverings in line and went so far as to seek reconciliation with them. (See «Reflections on China», vol. 1, p. 7, Tirana 1979, Eng. ed.).

«non-interference in internal affairs, defence of and respect for the independence of others», etc., are nothing but empty slogans, demagoguery, and these and many others of this kind are being used as a great hoax to conceal their plots, putsches and any other interference of theirs in our countries and parties. On the other hand, the modern revisionists indulge in political and ideological moralizing, trying to describe our correct, effective and powerful Marxist-Leninist support for the revolution in the world as interference in their internal affairs.

What must our two parties and states, in the first place, and all the Marxist-Leninist parties of the world do? We think that we must be fully armed politically, ideologically, economically and morally and should continue our struggle until we triumph over the imperialists and modern revisionists, should continue our ideological, political and economic struggle, and if the need arises, we should wage even an armed struggle in defence of our countries and the victories of the revolution.

One of the aspects of preparation for this life-and-death struggle is the successful preparation and the assistance we should give the revolutionaries all over the world and the revolution in the revisionist countries in particular. By this we by no means diminish the colossal, unsparring and all-round assistance we should give to the peoples who are fighting and the Marxist-Leninist parties and groups of the countries of Asia, Africa, Australia and Latin America. This is one of the major questions, but the revolution which must be prepared and break out in the Soviet Union and the other revisionist countries is also a major question...

As to how this assistance should be organized, how this struggle should be waged on a more concentrated, world scale against modern revisionism, our Party has communicated some of its ideas to your Party, either

directly or publicly through the press. Of course, they are not necessarily complete and always precise, but we still persist in our opinion that our two parties should study this great and urgent question deeply and come up with a decision on the basis of facts and the new situations which have been created.

The modern revisionists are working actively, inventing numerous «theories» and doing everything in their power to fight the international proletarian Marxist-Leninist unity which spells death for them. From the Khrushchevites to the Rumanians they have discredited the great idea of international Marxist-Leninist unity in order to replace it with their revisionist hegemony. **Therefore, we must raise high the great banner of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, the banner of the steel international proletarian unity and smash any revisionist hegemony.**

WHO IS RESPONSIBLE FOR THE CRIMES OF GENOCIDE IN KOSOVA?

Article published in the newspaper «Zëri i popullit»

August 31, 1966

To save their own skins, to save the system of terror, oppression and exploitation which is being shaken to its foundations, J.B. Tito and his clique have «sacrificed» their closest collaborator Ranković on whom they loaded all the blame and made the scapegoat for all the failures, mistakes, crimes and defeats of the Titoite regime to date.

With the dismissal of Ranković from all state and party functions in Yugoslavia, within the Titoite clique the struggle for power burst out openly between the Croat-Slovenian and Great-Serbian clans, which are supported respectively by the American imperialists and the Soviet revisionists. This is a clear expression of the deep class and national contradictions which have long been eroding and crumbling Tito's kingdom, and of the decay, degeneration and decomposition of the Titoite system.

The recent events showed once again that Titoite Yugoslavia is on the horns of a dilemma. The betrayal of Marxism-Leninism by the Titoite clique which gave Yugoslavia all the features of a bourgeois capitalist

state, brought splits within its ranks, as it was bound to do, and led inevitably to the development of nationalism and chauvinism among the members of the clique and, consequently, among the different national groupings in Yugoslavia, which tried to assert themselves, to strengthen their positions in the state, the economy and the army, each to the detriment of the other and the strongest against the weakest. The old national-chauvinist Serb-Croat rivalries were revived and became more pronounced.

The entire national policy of the Tito clique during these 20 or so years towards the different nationalities has been characterized by oppression and inequality, exploitation and economic and cultural discrimination. In particular the Titoites have applied the most ferocious bloody terror, maiming and physical liquidation against the Albanian population in Yugoslavia. The bloody oppression which the Albanian population in Yugoslavia has suffered from the chauvinist denationalization policy of the enslaving Titoite regime, is a powerful irrefutable indictment of the police order of Belgrade. Persecution of the fascist type, physical and spiritual torture and the crime of genocide have been applied on a wide scale against this population.

Following the 4th Plenum of the so-called League of Communists of Yugoslavia, the Tito clique is striving with all its means to save the Titoite regime from the catastrophe towards which it is heading, by trying to load the blame for the hopeless mess created in Yugoslavia onto the former chief of the UDB, Tito's closest collaborator, Ranković. All over Yugoslavia efforts are being made to put the UDB, that infamous organization of bloodthirsty assassins, more thoroughly in the service of the Titoite terrorist regime, by eliminating from it, for the sake of appearances, a few grossly compromised criminals. Thus on Tito's orders some «purges» have been carried out

within the leading hierarchy of the UDB. Some ministers of internal affairs have been removed in those republics and provinces where the chauvinist policy of national oppression and genocide has been most ferocious and where the possibility of the eruption of popular anger has placed the very existence of the Titoite regime in danger. This is what happened in Serbia, Montenegro, Macedonia, Bosnia and Hercegovina and elsewhere. Thus, according to the reports of the Yugoslav press, changes have been made in the leadership of the UDB in the province of Kosova, too. Miča Mijušković and Stanislav Gerković, who had been in charge of the UDB in Kosova up till now, have been dismissed and replaced by other «specialists» of the UDB, henchmen of Tito, such as Xhevdet Hamza and Duško Rustić. But the Yugoslav peoples are not fooled and the Albanian people in Yugoslavia least of all. This campaign of alleged «purges» is just a confidence trick, intended to draw a veil over the glaring and unpardonable crimes of the Titoite regime, to exonerate from guilt the Tito-Kardelj-Bakarić clique, which has temporarily emerged victorious in the struggle for power. In the final analysis, it is being done to present Tito as the «saviour of the situation», who is allegedly concerned to re-establish the «rule of law» eliminated by the Titoite system itself and the fascist UDB-men, that have always operated under the orders of Tito and his clique.

But no manoeuvre can save the Titoite clique. The crimes of genocide which have been committed against the Albanian population in Kosova, the Dukagjin Plateau, Macedonia and Montenegro, are a product of the policy of savage nationalism and chauvinism which the Titoite regime has implemented. Tito himself and together with him his entire clique, from the big sharks like Ranković, who is drenched in the blood of the Albanian people in

Yugoslavia, Kardelj, Bakarić, L. Koliševski and others, down to the minor ones like Dušan Mugoša, Xhavit Nimani, Ali Shukriu, Gjoko Pajković, Čedo Mijović, Čedo Topalović, Sinan Hasani, Xhevdet Hamza and others must be made to answer for what has happened.

Always proceeding from correct Marxist-Leninist principled positions, the Party of Labour of Albania has long been denouncing with the greatest determination all the hideous crimes which the traitor clique of Tito has continued to carry out to the detriment of the peoples of Yugoslavia and especially to the detriment of the Albanian population in that country.

We have never interfered in the internal affairs of Yugoslavia, and never shall do so, but the Tito revisionist clique, on the contrary, has raised interference in the internal affairs of Albania and other countries to a system. For more than twenty years it has stopped at nothing in its fight against the Albanian people, against the PLA, against the PRA, and against the socialist state and social order established in Albania. The interference of the Titoite clique in Albania, its ceaseless plotting and subversive activity, its alliances with the most ferocious enemies of the Albanian people — from the fascists, the Ballists, the Zogites to the American imperialists, the Greek monarcho-fascists and the Khrushchevite revisionists, against the PRA, are now notorious throughout the world. Naturally, all these acts of interference of the Titoite clique in the internal affairs of Albania have encountered the resolute opposition of our people, have been smashed to smithereens against the revolutionary vigilance and unity of the Albanian people who are united like flesh to bone with their Party. But if the Tito revisionist clique make such a provocative display, as they did over the pompous funeral they gave such an inveterate and notorious enemy of the Albanian people and the

PLA as Panajot Plaku,⁽¹⁾ so much the more do we have the right to raise our voice to defend the vital interests of the Albanian population living in Yugoslavia, under the terror of the Tito clique and the UDB, under the permanent threat of denationalization and mass extermination.

The crimes, the murders, the physical annihilation of the Albanian population in Yugoslavia by the Titoite clique, as well as the policy of its denationalization, comprise a consistent line which began in the first days after Liberation and has continued with ever more hideous ferocity to this day. These crimes and this policy of genocide cannot be wiped from the memory of any honest person in the world, let alone from the memory of those who have suffered and are still suffering from them. The Albanian population in Yugoslavia will never forget the tragic event of autumn 1944 when the Tito-Ranković gang arrested 10,000 Albanians in Tetova and shot 1,200 of them out of hand without trial, not to mention those who died in the prisons. Cynicism, savagery and fury to exterminate the Albanians have always characterized the actions of the Titoite bandits. When a group of Albanian patriots protested to the Titoite command about these crimes, General Apostolski, the then commander of the First Macedonian Brigade, answered: «This is nothing, we are just doing a clean-up. Those that were killed had to be got rid of.» And Vukmanović-Tempo who was present at that time ordered: «Are you still holding people in camps? Those you have to get rid of, clean them out quickly.» This order from the personal representative of

1 Secret agent of the Yugoslav state security. On orders of the latter and in collusion with the Khrushchevites he fled to Yugoslavia in 1957, in order to carry out their plans in Albania, too, just as they were doing in all the countries of people's democracy after the 20th Congress of the CPSU.

Tito was carried out with great zeal. In November 1944 thousands of innocent Albanian peasants were shot down in the streets in Macedonia, burnt to death, or deliberately infected with typhoid which killed them.

Generation after generation the Albanian people in Yugoslavia will remember with irrepressible hatred for the bloody Titoite clique, the massacre of Drenica in winter 1944 when the Yugoslav divisions, under the pretext of cleaning up enemy elements, surrounded the liberated zone of Drenica and massacred about 30,000 Albanian men, women and children. The event at Drenica was sheer butchery, a systematic organized annihilation of the population of Albanian nationality in these regions.

Why, to what purpose did the Titoites hurl themselves like wild beasts on the Albanian population and drenched martyred Kosova with Albanian blood again? The only «crime» of this population was its Albanian nationality, while the aim of the Titoites has been and still is the wiping out of the whole Albanian population.(2)They are

2 In post-Second World War Yugoslavia Vaso Čubrilović was minister, member of the Academy of Sciences and Art of Serbia, in his memorandum «The Expulsion of the Albanians», presented on March 7, 1937, he writes: «We should distribute weapons to our colonists, as need be. The old forms of četnik action should be organized and secretly assisted. ...A tide of Montenegrins should be launched from the mountain pastures, in order to create a large-scale conflict with the Albanians in Metohija... Finally, local riots can be incited. These will be bloodily suppressed with the most effective means, but by colonists from the Montenegrin clans and the četniks rather than by means of the army.

«There remains one more means, which Serbia employed with great practical effect after 1878 by secretly burning down Albanian villages and city quarters.» (Dr. Vaso Čubrilović, «The Expulsion of the Albanians», p. 13, Eng. ed.)

Hence, the same chauvinist policy has been pursued against the Albanians in both pre-war and post-war Yugoslavia. The

pursuing this course relentlessly to this very day. More than 2,000 Albanians in Mitrovica, more than 1,000 others in Gjilan, thousands of Albanians who joined the Yugoslav brigades as partisans to fight the fascists, were treacherously shot on the orders of the Yugoslav headquarters. Hundreds of other Albanians recruited as soldiers by the Yugoslavs were shot by them on the road from Prizren to Tivar. One thousand two hundred Albanian youths who survived this tragic journey were shot at Tivar. At Gorica of Trieste, more than 2,000 Albanian boys from Macedonia, mobilized in labour brigades, were put to death with poison gas. The physical liquidation of the Albanians in Kosova, Macedonia and Montenegro was carried out systematically. It emerges from the testimony of witnesses and documental facts that more than 40,000 innocent persons fell victim to the bullets, bayonets and poison of Tito's secret service during the years 1944-1948.

But this campaign of extermination by the Titoite clique against the Albanian population in Kosova, the Dukagjin Plateau, Macedonia and Montenegro continued with even greater ferocity and in a more organized way after 1948. After the publication of the Resolution of the Cominform in 1948 in which Tito's betrayal of Marxism-Leninism and the cause of socialism was denounced, the Yugoslav revisionist leadership stepped up its savage all-round oppression of the Albanian population in Yugoslavia, who during the years 1948-1950 and again in the period from 1951-1966 were subjected to a wave of killings, arrests and inhuman tortures.

The Titoites use every means to incite fratricide among the Albanians, they not only revive the old blood feuds,

fact that from 1912 to 1976, over 277 thousand Albanians have been exterminated physically in the Albanian territories annexed by Yugoslavia, is significant.

but also create new ones through various manoeuvres. To increase these feuds, the UDB officers, through their agents, organize the kidnapping and rape of Kosova girls and women, and then incite the Albanians to kill each other, while the laws envisage light sentences for these crimes, in order to encourage them.

But can words be found to describe the unprecedented crimes and barbarities which the Titoite clique committed during the winter 1955-1956 against the Albanian population during the so-called action to confiscate weapons? Tito charged Ranković personally and formed a staff to which the people most notorious for their barbarity, the most rabid chauvinists, hardened criminals whose hands were stained with the blood of the Albanian people of Kosova, were appointed to carry out the criminal operation to the letter and direct the punitive expeditions. This staff was led by Dušan Mugoša, Gjoko Pajković, UDB colonel Čedo Mijović, Čedo Topalović, Xhavit Nimani Xhevdet Hamza and others.

The Rugova region was the first to be struck by the terror. The punitive expedition with the UDB officer Bogolub Radić at the head, on the pretext of searching for weapons, barbarously tortured nearly all the men of this region. They beat them almost to death, tortured them with electric shocks and left them naked all the night in the snow. Then they lined them up and drove them into a ditch where the water had frozen in the temperature of more than 15 degrees below zero. They continued their tortures and massacres (3) in similar style

3 A Kosova emigrant from the village of Drenoc, Gjakova region, says among other things: «Within one night the UDB took 34 of us men and held us in a house, where during the night the UDB officer Drago Kilević and four Serbian militiamen beat us one by one, in one of the rooms of this house, with a rubber hose weighted with pieces of metal, kicked us,

in Junik, Deçan, Suhareka, Llap, Vuçiterna, Drenica, Mitrovica, etc.

Hundreds died under torture by the UDB executioners or a few days later. Many others, unable to withstand the tortures for a second or third time, tragically took their own lives. Thousands were left crippled and unable to work and are suffering to this day from the injuries caused at that time. And to cap their activity of hangmen, the Yugoslav authorities issued a categorical order that the Albanians injured during the tortures of the years 1955-1956 were not to be admitted to the hospitals for treatment.

As if the punitive expeditions, the criminal mass operations, the killing and annihilation of thousands of Albanians were not enough, the Titoite clique put into practice the basest methods of provocation. It has set up a broad network of organizations and professional provocateurs by means of which it has liquidated hundreds of Albanians.

punched us with their fists, beat us with the butts of their guns and with clubs. The beatings began with the search for weapons, but that was only the beginning. After that the UDB interrogated each of us every third or fourth day about what we had done 20 years ago...»

An emigrant from Istok of Peja testified: «In the village of Dubovic the UDB has committed terrible tortures under the pretext of the search for weapons. The tortures took place in the militia post. For 5 months on end, 50 men from the 50 houses of the village were tortured.» As a result of the tortures many of them died or were permanently crippled. Let us take the testimony of another emigrant from the village of Bog, Rugova (Peja): «In January 1956, the UDB officers of the Peja district, Bogolub Radić and Vlado Dažič, rounded up 65 men in one day, held us in the village-store and began to torture us. The tortures and humiliations of the UDB were imposed not only on us men, but also on the Albanian women, a thing that neither the Sultans of Turkey nor the Kings of Serbia and Montenegro were able to do in our mountains.»

The Albanian prisoners are kept in inhuman conditions in the Titoite gaols. In the gaol of Nish alone there are more than 2,000 Albanian prisoners. In the gaol of Sremska Mitrovica, which is also a central prison, there are more than 700 prisoners, one third of whom are of Albanian nationality. In Srem, half of those sentenced for political offences are Albanians. The Titoites have transformed the Albanian regions in Yugoslavia into prisons and concentration camps for mass extermination. The gaols at Nish and Srem, Idrizova of Macedonia, Prishtina, Gjurakovc, Suhareka, Goli Otok, etc. are proof of this. All over Yugoslavia, the Albanians live with the fear of insecurity for the morrow. Death is hanging over their heads like the sword of Damocles. (4)

The prisons of Yugoslavia, especially in Kosova, are supplied with the last word in modern equipment. They are equipped with freezer rooms and hot rooms. People arrested are put naked in the freezer rooms and kept there at temperatures well below zero, for two or three hours on end. Then they are put straight into the hot rooms. This is done to destroy their health and break their will, so that they admit baseless accusations and place themselves in the service of the Titoites. There are such rooms in the Prishtina, Nish and Idrizova gaols.

Is this treatment of the Albanian prisoners in the Titoite prisons not reminiscent of the treatment of anti-

4 A prisoner recalls with terror: «I have seen many kinds of crimes against the Albanians,» he said. «I have seen them cut a man's throat as if he were a lamb. But what I saw one day at the Prishtina gaol I dare not describe. Even now I am terrified when I think of those crimes. There were three Albanians in the gaol. One of them had been hacked to pieces, the other two were alive, but they had broken the arms and legs of one of them, while as for the other, they had cut off one ear, put out one eye and cut off one side of his moustache together with his lip.»

fascists in the concentration camps of the German nazis? And it could not be otherwise because the director of the Nish gaol had the same job in the time of the Serb King and the German occupiers and now in the time of the Titoites. The same can be said of the director of the prison of Srem, who is known as a četnik and a professional killer and torturer. The patriotic Kosova writer Adem Demaçi, (5) and hundreds of other patriots who, together with the Albanian population in Kosova, the Dukagjin Plateau, Macedonia and Montenegro, have not submitted and never will submit to the yoke of Tito, the violent extermination, national discrimination and genocide which have been raised to a state system by the Titoite regime (6), are suffering the most ferocious tortures in such prisons.

We ask: Who is responsible for these terrible crimes of genocide which have been carried out systematically for decades by the Titoite regime against the Albanian population in Yugoslavia? Is it only Ranković and his UDB gang? No. Not only the main executors, not only the lackeys, but in the first place their master in crimes, the hangman Tito, and all his criminal clique must answer for these and other crimes.

One of the objectives of the general line of the national policy of the Tito clique, apart from crimes and murders on a mass scale, has been and still is the denationalization of the Albanian population in Yugoslavia

5 From 1958 he has been condemned several times for patriotic activity and is still kept in prison in Yugoslavia.

6 A worker from Vuçiterna was able to escape from the Titoite hell only seven days after the Brioni «turn». He came to Albania, but his jaw was broken and he was crippled by the tortures of the UDB in Budva. He was brutally beaten by seven Titoite agents simply because during the lunch break from his tiring work he and two friends sitting in a park sang a song in their mother tongue! That was enough for the men of the UDB to cripple this worker and throw him out on the street. Hundreds of such cases are occurring to this day.

by any means and in any way. To this end they have combined their administrative measures and police terror with intense propaganda activity, the aim of which is expressed in the suppression of the patriotic spirit, the denial of autochthony («you have come to these lands, therefore you must leave here»), with the exclusion of the Albanian masses from political life and the denial of their national demands, with the corruption and degeneration with religious opium and the incitement of enmities and fratricide, according to the imperialist principle of «divide and rule.»

During the last decade the Titoite propaganda has tried with all its means «to justify» and sanction the forced registration of the Albanian masses as Slavs and Turks, the attempts to change Albanian place names to Slavonic names and, under the pressure of economic privations, to disperse the Albanians over all parts of Yugoslavia and bring about their alleged voluntary emigration to foreign countries.(7)

7 In his memorandum Čubrilović writes: «Another means would be coercion by the state apparatus. The law must be enforced to the letter so as to make staying intolerable for the Albanians: fines, imprisonment, ... compulsory labour and any other measure that an experienced police force can contrive. From the economic aspect: the work with the land register should immediately include the ruthless collection of taxes and the payment of all private and public debts, the requisitioning of all state and communal pastures, ... the withdrawal of permits to exercise a profession, dismissal from state, private, and communal offices etc. ... Health measures: the brutal application of all the dispositions even in the homes, the pulling down of encircling walls and high hedges around the houses, the rigorous application of veterinary measures, which will result in impeding the sale of livestock on the market, etc.» (Dr. Vaso Čubrilović, «The Expulsion of the Albanians», p. 12, Eng. ed.)

The data obtained from the publications made in Yugoslavia show that, after the Second World War, during 1955-1958,

In essence, the slogan of «freedom to live wherever you like» and to «call yourself whatever you like» constitutes the political-economic imposition on the Albanian to leave his birthplace and live in the remote interior of Yugoslavia or to emigrate to Italy, Austria, West Germany, etc., as a slave of monopoly capitalism. But for the Titoites any means to achieve their aim is acceptable. It was not for nothing and not accidental that Gjoko Pajković, member of the CC of the LCY, former secretary of the LCY for Kosova, proclaimed as an obligatory official line the «freedom» of the Albanians to renounce their nationality. At the 2nd session of the 3rd legislature of the provincial council of Kosova, openly alluding to the registration of Albanians as Turks, or rather the denationalization of the Albanians, he said: «Nobody can stop me going to a Turkish school if I want to... This is my freedom. I can be a Serb, a Turk, an American or whatever I please.» The cosmopolitanism of the revisionists has no limits, but this cosmopolitanism is expressed in a very definite direction: to deny the Albanians the right to be Albanians, under the so-called freedom «to choose» any other nationality.

In order to force the mass of Albanians to disperse in the interior of the Yugoslav territory, in the economic field the Titoites make extensive use of economic pressure and heavy taxes. From the economic standpoint all the Albanian regions in Yugoslavia are very backward, because most of the main industrial objects are concentrated in Serbia, Croatia and Slovenia.

In Kosova, the Dukagjin Plateau and the other Albanian regions the Titoite state has given importance only to those sectors of the economy, through which it

the Titoites removed to Turkey about 203 thousand Albanians.

can exploit the great riches of these regions, and it sends these riches to the interior or to the West, thus impoverishing the mass of the Albanian population. Such methods of typical colonialist exploitation are used in the rich mines of Trepçe, Deva, Golesh, etc. At these mines, the administrative staff and the specialists are all Serbs and Montenegrins. If you look for the Albanian in these mines, you will find him as an unqualified worker. At the Trepçe mine, for example, 90 per cent of the Albanian workers are unqualified. Even in the few existing industrial objects the Slav element dominates; for example, out of 400 workers at the tobacco factory in Gilan, only 90 are Albanians.

The regions inhabited by Albanians have been transformed into colonies and are being exploited intensively by the Serbs, the Montenegrins and the Macedonians. Unemployment is increasing rapidly. In connection with this, Slobodan Penezić stated clearly in Prishtina: «Despite the progress, the problem of unemployment is not being solved, the workers must go to other regions.» Whereas later Dušan Mugoša, the then secretary of the LCY for Kosova, openly declared: «We are still unable to ensure work for a large number of people. Each year about 7,000 inhabitants of this region, Kosova, go to seek work in other regions of the country, outside Kosova and Metohia.» Each year 14,000 new workers are added to the army of the unemployed. This phenomenon has continued at the same rates. On August 20, 1966, Tanjug reported that at the meeting of the Executive Council of Kosova and Metohia it was observed that «the number of people who get jobs in this region is steadily declining and the possibilities for new workers to find jobs are becoming less and less. According to statistics at the end of May this year 5,000 workers less than last May were employed.»

In these circumstances, displacement to the interior

of Yugoslavia is the main form of denationalizing the Albanian regions. As a result, since 1958 tens of thousands of Albanian inhabitants have been driven from their territories to the northern regions of Yugoslavia, Vojvodina, Croatia, or Slovenia, apart from the fact that up till now, according to press reports, more than 250,000 Albanians(8) have been forced to leave their homeland for Turkey. This is a catastrophic ousting of the Albanians from Yugoslavia.

The savage Great-Serb and anti-Albanian chauvinism of the Titoites is also expressed in the field of education and culture. The regions of Kosova have the highest percentage of illiteracy in Yugoslavia and Europe. Under different pretexts, the Titoites recently closed down a good number of the few schools which existed in Kosova and the Dukagjin Plateau, while most of the Albanian schools in Macedonia and Montenegro, with few exceptions, have been closed and complete elimination of them seems to be the aim; instead of Albanian schools, Turkish and Serb schools are opened.

Entire Albanian regions, which are under the administration of Montenegro and Macedonia, such as Ulqin, Tivar, Plava, Gucia, Tutina, Rozhaja, Ohri, etc., have no Albanian schools.

In face of such a situation the question arises: Who is responsible for the savage denationalization, for the typically colonialist oppression and exploitation of Kosova, for the expulsion of the people of Kosova from their land and homes to the interior of Yugoslavia or outside Yugoslavia? Who is responsible for the great economic

8 During 1913-1941, 500 thousand Albanians were removed from the Albanian territories in Yugoslavia, 380 thousand of whom migrated to Turkey, and the rest to Albania, whereas after the Second World War the Titoites have compelled over 400 thousand Albanians to leave for Turkey.

backwardness, the discrimination against the language, culture and traditions of the people of Kosova? Is it only the criminal Ranković and the UDB which, until yesterday, was commanded by him? Are only the lackeys and the tools of the Tito clique responsible for the vicious policy of denationalization? The Tito clique itself, the Titoite regime, from which the chauvinist national policy and the denationalization of Kosova stem, are responsible for the anti-Albanian course of denationalization and the all-round national oppression of the people of Kosova.

The Albanian population in Yugoslavia are convinced from their long experience that, despite the «sweet» words, despite the masks, the present manoeuvres of the Tito clique have only one aim: to strengthen the shaken power of the Titoite clique, to intensify the national oppression, exploitation and denationalization of Kosova. For the Albanian people in Yugoslavia and the oppressed peoples of Yugoslavia, the deep crisis which has hit the Tito clique was something expected, because it is an inevitable consequence of the antagonistic contradictions which have been simmering for years among this clique of renegades.

This crisis has severely shaken the Tito clique, which is feeling the earth slipping from under its feet, feeling insecurity, feeling the approach of the fatal end which history has in store for every renegade. In a speech which he delivered in recent days Tito openly expressed his concern and fear of the rising tide of resistance in different forms against his regime. He admitted that the country is not «solid», «united», «linked together», that «people in the republics have begun to speak about the division of nationalities.» This is only the beginning of the end of the Titoite leadership. The rivalries, the snarling between wolves, will increase and blood will flow among them. This is their law, the law of the jungle. The myth of the Titoite unity is over. The rot,

the betrayal, the fraud are emerging openly every day. The peoples of Yugoslavia and the genuine Yugoslav Marxist-Leninists see this and they will not always remain passive spectators as the Titoites of all hues lead them closer and closer to disaster. The removal of Ranković cannot easily fool the peoples of Yugoslavia and the Yugoslav revolutionaries. Tito, Kardelj, Vukmanović-Tempo, Koča Popović and others are criminals just as much as Ranković. Even after the removal of Ranković the UDB under the direction of Tito will use the most savage methods of the American police, which will be added to those of the UDB, to further oppress the peoples of Yugoslavia and make them bleed. However, the bitter experience of many years under the savage rule of the Tito clique has made the Albanian people of Kosova, the Dukagjin Plateau, Macedonia and Montenegro vigilant, has opened their eyes so they are not deceived by the demagoguery of the Titoite clique which has burst out recently all over the country, and are not falling into the trap.

The game which Tito is playing now with the aid of a handful of Albanian traitors is a very cunning and dangerous one. But Tito and his mouthpieces cannot deceive anyone. The Albanian population in Kosova, the Dukagjin Plateau, Macedonia and Montenegro know who the Titoites are. They know very well who are the traitors who permitted or collaborated in the bloody crimes of Drenica and Tetova, Ulqin, Prishtina and Peja, of the «action to confiscate weapons». When the Albanian population of those regions was bleeding and being slaughtered by the clique of Tito and Ranković, they prettified the murderous regime of Tito. The Albanian population of these regions will not be snared again by the lies of these traitors and their patrons, Tito, Kardelj, Bakarić and others, but alongside the other oppressed peoples of Yugoslavia, shoulder to shoulder with the genuine Yugo-

slav Marxist-Leninists, will continue the struggle to unmask the Titoite clique and defend their own interests.

However savage, cynical and cunning the measures of the revisionist rulers of Belgrade, they will never succeed in denationalizing, exterminating or annihilating the Albanian population in Yugoslavia. This people, who with marvellous heroism withstood the furious onslaughts of Ottoman and Slav occupiers during the centuries, who with heroic courage and determination have preserved their language, traditions, customs, culture, their individuality and vitality, all their national characteristics and features in face of all the efforts to denationalize and annihilate them, are a people who can never be subjugated or eliminated. They are eternal and they will triumph. The day will certainly come when Tito and his clique will have to render account for all their monstrous crimes, for the unprecedented genocide in Kosova.

SOME PRELIMINARY IDEAS ABOUT THE CHINESE PROLETARIAN CULTURAL REVOLUTION

Speech at the 18th Plenum of the CC of the PLA (1)

October 14, 1966

Comrades, I want to express some preliminary ideas about the Proletarian Cultural Revolution which is going on in China during these months. I say preliminary ideas, because this revolution is a major and serious problem which requires further consideration on our part, more detailed analyses, based on more complete facts, possibly requires clarifications by the Chinese comrades, and all these things we should analyse carefully in the light of Marxism-Leninism. Many things are not clear to us, we can and do make suppositions, but they remain only suppositions which require verification from the facts, from life.

However, although we do not have enough information, the Central Committee has to judge on those facts we have and form a more or less clear internal opinion. The possibility cannot be excluded that, for the reasons

1 This meeting of the Plenum was held to analyse and endorse the report to be submitted to the 5th Congress of the PLA; however, at the Plenum Comrade Enver Hoxha made the speech on «Some Preliminary Ideas about the Chinese Proletarian Cultural Revolution» which was not included on the agenda, but for which he had received the approval of the Political Bureau of the CC of the PLA at its meeting of October 10 and 11, 1966.

I mentioned above we may not be very accurate in certain judgments or definitions. However, the first preliminary brief analysis (because this problem does not figure on the agenda of this meeting of the Plenum of the Central Committee), and the criticisms we may make of the principles and forms of the Chinese revolution are impelled by good comradely aims, by the correct Marxist-Leninist principles, by the urgent and imperative need for Marxist-Leninist unity between our two parties and the repercussions this revolution may have in the international communist movement.

The Proletarian Cultural Revolution, as the Chinese leaders have presented it and are carrying it out, presents two aspects of a single problem: the national aspect and the international aspect. Our Party, the other Marxist-Leninist parties and the entire world are interested in both the one and the other of these aspects, and in the problem as a whole.

This Proletarian Cultural Revolution is viewed, analysed, interpreted, lauded or criticized from many different positions, there is a great deal of speculation about it, but we may say that the interpretation of it is done mainly in three directions: interpretation from the positions of the capitalist bourgeoisie, interpretation from the bourgeois-revisionist positions and interpretation from the true constructive Marxist-Leninist positions.

It would be a gross mistake on the part of the Chinese comrades if they were to confound these stands and lump them together, when the first two are diametrically opposed to the third. In this case they would be lacking in Marxist-Leninist objectivity.

Therefore, comrades, you will understand how difficult, not to say impossible it is for us to make a correct, open and comradely criticism of the Chinese comrades in these complicated circumstances I mentioned, or criticism of

the things I shall go on to speak about, especially in regard to the unrestrained cult of Mao Zedong. But, as always, our Party will defend the principles boldly, correctly and fearlessly and will find not only the courage but also the wisdom and cool-headedness, which have never been lacking and which it has gained in difficult struggle, to express its opinion to the Communist Party of China, to discuss patiently and in a comradely way with the Chinese comrades for the common benefit, for the benefit of Marxism-Leninism.

We base the opinions we shall express here on the facts of which you are informed, from the relations between our Party and the Communist Party of China for many years on end, the views of the Communist Party of China on the major international problems and the problems of international communism, to the exchange of opinions through letters and delegations by the two sides, the exchange of experience through party and state channels, etc. You are also informed about the development of the Chinese Proletarian Cultural Revolution from start to finish through our press and, in a more detailed way, through the voluminous material of the ATA which you receive every day, therefore I am not going to run through the history of it, but shall merely briefly recall certain moments which I consider of special importance:

1) At their congress, ten years ago, not only were the Chinese comrades unclear about the betrayal of Tito, but they made Stalin the culprit and exonerated Tito. We have facts about this stand, because this comprised the essence of their talks with us. Later, as you know, they corrected this stand, but continued to underrate the Titoite danger in face of the great Khrushchevite danger.

2) The Chinese comrades did not realize the danger of the Khrushchevites fully and properly. They did not openly acquiesce in the accusations and slanders of the

Khrushchevites against Stalin, but they believed a great part of them and strengthened their own opinion about Stalin in the time of the Comintern and later, about Stalin's alleged mistakes in regard to China, «mistakes» which Zhou Enlai outlined to us especially to «convince» us when he came here the last time, although he could not convince us. Even assuming for a moment that we accepted the things Zhou told us about Stalin, in our opinion they do not constitute serious faults or mistakes of principle, but at most are tactical stands adopted in various political and military situations, which, without comparing documents, and especially when a long time has passed since these events and there are no documents available, at least to us, can very easily be interpreted one-sidedly.

Later the Chinese comrades realized the dangerous nature of the Khrushchevites, but their tactics remained mild, especially at first, indeed even at the 22nd Congress of the CPSU and following it, when we were openly attacked and the heat of the revisionist fire was directed at our Party alone, the Communist Party of China tried to have the polemics stopped.

Nevertheless, immediately after the fall of Khrushchev, the Chinese comrades wavered somewhat, had some erroneous illusions and took some incorrect actions. You know about the episode of Zhou Enlai with the Albanian ambassador (2) and the stand of our Party.

Another erroneous stand of the Chinese, which had consequences especially in certain parties, like those of

2 The Chinese leaders described the fall of Khrushchev as a «radical change», hailed this change by a telegram to the new Soviet revisionist leadership and decided to send a party and government delegation to Moscow to take part in the November 7 celebrations. They tried to impose this stand on the PLA through Zhou Enlai, who asked the am-

Korea and Japan, was the proposal for the «creation of the anti-imperialist front including the revisionists.» We forcefully and resolutely rejected this proposal, and the Chinese comrades withdrew. Now the Koreans and the Japanese have raised the banner of this idea. You have had all this in the material you have read.

3) As you know, we have had a controversy over principles with the Chinese comrades, not mainly over the class struggle, but «about the existence of the feudo-bourgeois class as a class, as an entity which fights us, even from positions of state power, at a time when state power in our countries is the dictatorship of the proletariat». We know what our thesis is and this we base on our struggle, on facts and on Marxist-Leninist analysis.

The Chinese comrades have claimed the contrary. As you know, we have told them that it may be so in their country, but not in ours, because the class struggle in our country has been waged and continued consistently from the time of the National Liberation War and since the war right to this day, and it will go on against the remnants of the feudo-bourgeois class, etc., etc. There is no bourgeoisie in power in our country. The Chinese

bassador of the PRA to Beijing to inform the PLA that «he had also proposed to the Soviets to invite Albania to the November 7 celebrations». He insisted that the «Albanian comrades» should send a party and government delegation there. The PLA rejected this proposal by means of a special letter to the CC of the CPC. «We think,» the letter said, «it is impermissible for us ... that in these conditions when the Soviet government has broken off diplomatic relations on its own initiative and has committed outrageous anti-Marxist actions against us, to ignore these things for the only reason that the person of Khrushchev has been demoted.» Zhou Enlai went to Moscow on mission to unite with the new Soviet leaders, but he suffered ignominious defeat. (See Enver Hoxha, «Reflections on China», vol. 1, pp. 125-135, 177-180, Tirana 1979, Eng. ed.).

comrades demanded that we adopt their view which may have been formulated after an analysis of the situation in China. But it was in vain, because, confronted with our analysis, they were forced to lower their tone; nevertheless, we suspect that they are not convinced and continue to think that «the Albanians are wrong in their analysis.» And see, they even made their final attempt to impose their conclusion on us in the joint statement when our delegation went to China.(3)But they failed again.

4) In our opinion, the analysis which the Chinese comrades made of the causes of the advent of revisionism to power in the Soviet Union, a problem of major importance for international communism, has not been completely objective. They lay the blame on Stalin alone. This is of particular importance, and, if we are not mistaken, is done with ulterior motives. Our Party has another view; our analysis of this important problem agrees in some aspects with that of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, but does not agree and is opposed to it in some other aspects. The mutual exchange of opinions, criticisms and suggestions are natural, but they can be constructive only when carried out in the Marxist-Leninist way.

I mention these problems not because they have become obstacles in our relations with the Chinese comrades, but to enable us, as far as possible, to see more clearly into the recent events which are occurring in China, because, in addition to the things I pointed out, there may also be other things which we do not know about.

We have been informed about and have followed the recent developments in China only through the Chinese press and Hsinhua. The Communist Party of China and

3 In May 1966.

its Central Committee have not given our Party and its Central Committee any special comradely information. We think that as a party so closely linked with ours, it ought to have kept us better informed in an internationalist way, especially during these recent months.

You are acquainted with the expose Zhou Enlai gave us. He told us nothing more than what the Chinese press had said up till then, but as to what has been done since then and what will be done later, we know nothing apart from what has been said in the press. Hence, comrades, you will understand how prudent we must be in drawing well-grounded and complete conclusions, because many facts about what is going on inside their party are unknown to us. To some extent we know the external appearance of events, their outward development, as well as the orientation of the development of events, but we know nothing about their causes, their fundamental reasons. We may guess, make suppositions, build up hypotheses, but the great seriousness of the problem and the seriousness of our Party do not allow us to be imprudent and hasty.

If we are not mistaken, in the chronology of events, matters began with an article by Lin Biao about the army, which, we may say, did not imply anything special apart from the strengthening of the army and its popularization, which is natural in these international situations. It was continued with the criticism of some novels and articles and rose to crescendo in the universities of Beijing, in the rectorates and among the professors, the attack was shifted to the Beijing Party Committee (without even now mentioning the name of Peng Zhen), shifted on to some members of the Bureau, such as Lu Dingyi, to Lin Biao's deputy in the army, and thus, in turn, to the creation of the «Red Guard» and its activities. Meanwhile, Lin Biao's second article, which fanned

up the cult of Mao and again recommended the reading of his works, came out. This article, you might say, was the call to action, etc., etc.

Certain things draw our attention. It came out in the Chinese press, that the Beijing Party Committee, of course, including Peng Zhen, but without mentioning his name (Zhou Enlai mentioned it to us), Lu Dingyi, Luo Ruiqing and others were «revisionists, anti-party, agents of the bourgeoisie,» etc., they supported the bourgeois elements in the university, among the writers, etc., and the newspapers published criticisms of many other literary works. Hence, according to them this hostile activity is based in the field of culture and the school. But the three persons named and others were members of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee. Was it in this sector alone that they had betrayed? We cannot offer any opinion about this, because the Chinese are not saying one word. When was this «big plot», as they called it, discovered? According to them, the entire work, the whole line, all the collective and individual actions of the leadership have been analysed, as it is usually done in normal and especially in abnormal times. We can say nothing about this, because this is an internal problem of theirs; we do not know but can only say: how is it possible that this hostile work, which in fact was manifested openly, was not discovered earlier?

The fact is that it is now ten years since the last Congress of the CPC was held and the new five-year plan is going by without being examined in the Congress. This is abnormal, not in order, a violation of the Constitution and, as far as we can judge from outside, there has been no objective reason to prevent the holding of the Congress. This is not simply an organizational question, but first of all an issue of principle: the supreme leadership of the Party does not take decisions, and nobody renders account

to it, that is, it is disregarded. Why? It is impossible for us to know this, but we can say that it is a grave violation which may have very dangerous consequences.

So much for the Congress, but what about the plenum of the Central Committee? Four years without meeting! How is it possible? Facts are facts. The principal forums of the party have been disregarded. How have the problems been judged, in unity or not? In a distorted or correct way? We can say nothing about this because we do not know, but one thing we can say, that all this is irregular, unlawful, impermissible, condemnable and with grave and dangerous consequences for the party and the country. Such a practice cannot be found in any Marxist-Leninist party.

What has impelled the Chinese comrades to violate the most elementary and most vital rules of the party? We can imagine a lot of things.

On the basis of the experience and the norms of our Party, we would severely condemn these actions as hostile, would nip them in the bud and would never allow them to become established, because the example of the leadership with its good and bad aspects, is reflected right down to the base.

One can imagine how all that Chinese party with its huge numbers, divided into committees and territories and with many complicated problems, has been led.

Let us take certain questions. The 11th Plenum of the Central Committee of the CPC was held after a lapse of four years. Apart from the communique on the struggle against imperialism and Soviet revisionism and certain things I shall mention below, we know nothing about what was done, what was discussed, and what was decided there. But was the line of the party analysed, were the good things and the mistakes pointed out, were those who had made mistakes faced with their responsibility, indi-

vidually and collectively, what measures were taken to put things in order, etc., etc.? These are their internal matters and they are saying nothing. There was no announcement, either, about when their next congress is to be held, that means carrying on without a congress and this implies that matters are still not in order internally, have not been smoothed out and cleared up. Perhaps we are mistaken, but there may also be factions within the leadership; if this is so, then the differences must still be profound and, in the opinion and practice of our Party, it is difficult to eliminate them with those methods and forms used up till now by the Chinese comrades who continue to keep the factionalist elements, recognized enemies of the Party, not only in the ranks of the Party, but also in the Central Committee, and even in the Political Bureau.

What emerged officially from the meeting of the Central Committee? You know that, in particular, the 16-point declaration on the «Proletarian Cultural Revolution»* emerged, that Lin Biao emerged second in line after Mao, and a new ranking of the main Chinese leadership was published, in which new comrades come to the fore and Liu Shaoqi, Chu Deh and others go down to the eighth and ninth place and below. From this we gather that there were discussions at the meeting and measures were taken, but we know nothing concretely.

One thing we do know is that the «Red Guards» had been created and had gone into action before the plenum was held, that is, the Cultural Revolution had been launched and together with it the cult of Mao was raised to the skies in a sickening and artificial manner, as you know. Everything was identified with Mao; the

* See Enver Hoxha, «Reflections on China», vol. 1, p. 252, Tirana 1979 (Eng. ed.).

party, the Central Committee were hardly mentioned and it emerges clearly that «the party exists and fights thanks to Mao, that the people live, fight and breathe only thanks to Mao and to Mao's ideas alone.» And the worst of it is that Mao himself is doing nothing to restrain this cult about him. Can it be that they have reached the conclusion that their party has decayed from within and only the authority of Mao can save the situation? Of course, Mao's authority is of importance, but any action on the part of the Chinese comrades should be carried out in the correct Marxist-Leninist way.

Naturally, this thing worries us greatly and there is reason for us to worry about it, because it concerns the fate of international communism, the fate of the People's Republic of China, of socialism and the Marxist-Leninist relations between our two parties and two countries.

The Chinese comrades are giving unprecedented importance to this «revolution», but along with «its immense importance», as yet we are not seeing the clear orientations for this «revolution». In the 16 points, if we read them carefully, we shall find some laconic orientations and some general allusions on political and organizational problems of the party, which must have been discussed at the plenum and are given to the masses to bear in mind. On the basis of the classification of the communists or the committees made in these 16 points, Lin Biao speaks before the «Red Guards» saying that «there is a bunch of capitalists in the leadership», etc., etc. In regard to the question of how this Proletarian Cultural Revolution should develop, what paths it should follow, what its aims and objectives are, this is not very clear to us at least, because to sum it up as the «destruction of the four old things» and the replacement of them with the «four new things» can be neither a complete nor a clear explanation, but even if you concentrate on these «four old

things» you may come to the conclusion that the Chinese comrades are not thinking quite correctly about the cultural revolution and the development of socialist culture; you have the impression that everything old in Chinese and world culture should be rejected without discrimination and a new culture, the culture they call proletarian, should be created. Hence, the Cartesian theory of wiping off the past in order to build the new culture, and this will be achieved only through the «ideas of Mao», by reading his works and quotations which have now replaced everything in China.

Let me read you a quotation from Lenin, and I recommend you to restudy his book «On Culture and Art» published in Albanian ten years ago. One should continually delve into the works of Lenin and Stalin, and study how they dealt with this or that problem.

Here is what Lenin says about socialist culture:

«We shall be unable to solve this problem unless we clearly realize that only a precise knowledge and transformation of the culture created by the entire development of mankind will enable us to create a proletarian culture. The latter is not clutched out of thin air; it is not an invention of those who call themselves experts in proletarian culture. That is all nonsense. Proletarian culture must be the logical development of the store of knowledge mankind has accumulated under the yoke of capitalist, landowner and bureaucratic society. All these roads have been leading and will continue to lead up to proletarian culture, in the same way as political economy, as reshaped by Marx, has shown us what human society must arrive at, shown us the passage to the

class struggle, to the beginning of the proletarian revolution.

«When we so often hear representatives of the youth as well as certain advocates of a new system of education, attacking the old schools, claiming that they used the system of cramming, we say to them that we must take what was good in the old schools. We must not borrow the system of encumbering young people's minds with an immense amount of knowledge, nine-tenths of which was useless and one-tenth distorted. This, however, does not mean that we can restrict ourselves to communist conclusions and learn only communist slogans. You will not create communism that way. You can become a communist only when you enrich your mind with a knowledge of all the treasures of mankind.

«We have no need of cramming, but we do need to develop and perfect the mind of every student with a knowledge of fundamental facts. Communism will become an empty word, a mere signboard, and a communist a mere boaster, if all the knowledge he has acquired is not digested in his mind. You should not merely assimilate this knowledge, but assimilate it critically, so as not to cram your mind with useless lumber, but enrich it with all those facts that are indispensable to the well-educated man of today. If a communist took it into his head to boast about his communism because of the cut-and-dry conclusions he had acquired, without putting in a great deal of serious and hard work and without understanding facts he should examine critically, he would be a deplorable communist indeed. Such superficiality would be decidedly fatal. If I know that I know little, I shall strive to learn more;

*but if a man says that he is a communist and that he need not know anything thoroughly, he will never become anything like a communist.»**

In the same work Lenin says also:

*«Marxism has won its historic significance as the ideology of the revolutionary proletariat, because, far from rejecting the most valuable achievements of the bourgeois epoch, it has, on the contrary, assimilated and refashioned everything of value in more than two thousand years of the development of human thought and culture. Only further work on this basis and in this direction, inspired by the practical experience of the proletarian dictatorship as the final stage in the struggle against every form of exploitation, can be considered the development of a genuine proletarian culture.»***

This is clear, while the Chinese course, as it is publicized, is not very clear, at least it is not clear to us.

What does this Cultural Revolution, as it is being carried out in China, consist of?

The «Red Guards» are changing the names of the streets and restaurants, because they had a reactionary content, writing dazibaos and criticizing anyone just as they please, ransacking houses and putting the dunce's cap on kulaks and reactionaries and parading them through the streets and squares; it is said they are wrecking the graves of foreign imperialists and, what is more dangerous, they are attacking party committees, burning libraries and paintings, destroying old monuments, etc.

It is difficult for us to call this revolution, as the «Red Guards» are carrying it out, a Proletarian Cultural

* V. I. Lenin, Collected Works, vol. 31, pp. 319-320 (Alb. ed.)

** Ibidem, p. 356.

Revolution. The signs could be removed by the municipal organs, the enemies could and should be captured by the organs of the dictatorship on the basis of the law, and if the enemies have wormed their way into the party committees, let them be purged through party channels. Or in the final analysis, arm the working class and attack the committees, but not with children. (4) Why are such actions taken in this sensational way and with more of a political than a cultural character? And to all these people who have been set in motion to carry out this work the schools have been shut and they will not attend school or acquire culture for a year, a little red book with Mao's quotations has been put in their hands, a red band tied around their arms and they have been given permission to shout.

Who are the pioneers of the Proletarian Cultural Revolution? The students and school pupils, and the Chinese communiques say that they are backed up by the workers, soldiers and peasants. It seems to us that this may be so, but it is not a correct, principled course. It is dangerous, it is not serious. The socialist or proletarian cultural revolution, as the Chinese comrades want to call it, could not be carried out in a genuine Marxist-Leninist way with these principles and these forms.

The socialist cultural revolution is a very serious, very complicated problem, and the Chinese comrades know (or say they do) that it must be guided with the greatest care by the party, which must be vigilant at every moment to check up on the line, to verify its implementation, to correct the mistakes, to guard against the leftist and rightist deviations which are so prone to occur in such a broad and delicate sector.

One has the impression that having discovered «a

4 Reference is to the red guards who were school pupils.

grave hostile current in literature» (and why did they not see this and take measures earlier?), having discovered that «cadres in the leadership of the party and state are on the capitalist road» (and why did they not see this and take measures earlier?), having woken up from their heavy slumber to realize that capitalists and kulaks have grown fat and strong to the extent that it seems they are still in power (why was this allowed?), the Chinese comrades may thus have arrived at the conclusion that all these evils will be solved by the Proletarian Cultural Revolution, the «Red Guards» comprised of the youth, and the build-up of the cult of Mao to a fantastic level.

This is a matter which is not very clear to us. In appearance it is based on the correct slogan of the «line of the masses», but a line of the masses which goes beyond the norms and principles, which disregards the party and its justice and is based on the cult of the individual, on the exaltation of non-proletarian youth who improperly exploit all the successes achieved by the party and the people in all fields. Such a course may lead to anarchy, may weaken the confidence of the masses in the line of the party.

We think that this Cultural Revolution may be a rectification of the entire line of the party, but a rectification undertaken outside the Leninist norms of the party and the laws of the dictatorship of the proletariat, through the cult of Mao and hurling into action that stratum of the people which is the most easily carried away, the noisiest, the most delicate and most mobile as a stratum, lacking maturity and experience of the difficulties of life.

This may have grave consequences, either immediately or later, if the Chinese comrades do not correct these mistakes that can be seen. The experience of the Soviet Union after the death of Stalin taught us many things.

As you will understand, many matters which I mentioned above and of which I tried to make an evaluation, which may be mistaken since we do not have the facts, are internal matters of China, of the Communist Party of China, and we do not have the right to interfere or to express our opinion, if it is not sought. However, it is impermissible for us not to have an internal opinion of our own for general orientation, even a provisional one, with some points unclear and possibly some incorrect conclusions. It is likewise impermissible for us to be lacking in prudence and caution on a question of such major importance to the cause of Marxism-Leninism.

Our great aim and concern is and must be to avoid falling into errors ourselves, to try to see more clearly into this question, and when we have the opportunity, to exchange opinions with the Chinese comrades in a comradely way to the great general interest.

However, everything that occurs in China is not just an internal affair of China and the Communist Party of China. While being their affair, at the same time it has an international and internationalist character, because China is a big country, of great weight in the international communist movement.(5)

The Chinese leaders and the Chinese propaganda say that the «Cultural Revolution has shaken the entire world». This is a fact.

On October 1, Zhou Enlai said more or less: «The world has been split into two over the question of the Cultural Revolution, into enemies who fight us and friends who are with us and defend us».

It is precisely this international and internationalist aspect of the Chinese Proletarian Cultural Revolution that

5 This is how it was considered at that time.

I want to touch on now, after touching on the national aspect.

Today, the Chinese comrades and the Chinese propaganda pose the problem in this way: «The present epoch is the epoch of the ideas of Mao Zedong. Mao Zedong is the greatest Marxist of our time. Mao Zedong is the heir to all the classics of Marxism-Leninism, Marxist-Leninist science, and world science, he is the sun,» etc., etc. Hence, Mao Zedong's ideas should lead the entire world, and, in regard to the Proletarian Cultural Revolution, it is being developed and led by Mao Zedong personally. This is something unprecedented in the history of the world.

The posing of this great problem by the Chinese comrades in this way is not correct, not Marxist and far from unduly modest. But what is even more grave and dangerous is the fact that those same forms and methods they use within their own country, they want to use abroad too, that is, they want others to accept and apply this incorrect and erroneous posing of the problem in such dogmatic forms, without discussion, because otherwise, for the Chinese comrades, you go over to the other side of the barricade, to the enemies.

Now some orientations for us:

a) I want to stress certain things which the Party must keep well in mind, and which every communist should work out in his own head and not wait for directives from above about every stand. The stands of the Party, the communists and the cadres must be guided by the directives of the Congress, the Central Committee, the Political Bureau and the government. These things are clearly expressed in documents and our daily press, therefore they should be assimilated and we should be guided by them.

b) The line of our Party on the struggle against

imperialism and modern revisionism is correct, therefore we must proceed resolutely on this course, because it is decisive.

c) For our part, the economic and friendly relations with China will be maintained and developed only on the correct Marxist-Leninist road.

d) The cult of Mao or anybody else must be combated and we should proceed in everything, just as we have done, on the Marxist-Leninist course. Not the slightest concession or opportunism in this. With the correct stands of our Party, the Chinese comrades ought to be clear on this question. Even if they are not clear or take it badly, we cannot do otherwise, because this is an issue of principle. We respect Mao in the Marxist-Leninist way and within the Marxist-Leninist norms. In regard to Mao we shall use only the official descriptions of our Party.

e) As you have noticed, our press does not speak about the Chinese Cultural Revolution in the same terms and ways as Chinese propaganda does, and we have avoided doing so in a comradely way and without aggravating things, for the reasons I have mentioned above. Probably, in fact undoubtedly, this has not pleased the Chinese comrades, but we cannot act otherwise until everything becomes clearer to us and we consider it correct.

f) Our propaganda about China, its successes in all fields, including culture and the works of Mao, etc., should be carried out within correct norms, as hitherto, and any undue demand on the part of the Chinese comrades should be tactfully avoided. Concessions and sectarianism should be avoided, because neither the one nor the other serves our great cause which it is our duty to strengthen on the correct Marxist-Leninist road for the benefit of communism.

I think that in defining our line on many questions

in the report we shall deliver at the Congress we also indirectly define some of these stands towards the views of the Chinese comrades who, so to say, ought to take them as our objections, especially to the cult and to the Cultural Revolution, as we understand them. A delegation of the Communist Party of China will come to our Congress and we have hopes that we shall try to clear up these matters as comrades should.

That was all I had to say. The Central Committee must advise us whether we view the problems correctly. I think all these matters should be kept within the Central Committee, because they are very delicate.

The entire Plenum of the Central Committee expressed agreement with the matters presented by Comrade Enver Hoxha.

ON THE ACTIVITY OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE PARTY OF LABOUR OF ALBANIA

Report to the 5th Congress of the PLA

November 1, 1966

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THE INTERNATIONAL SITUATION AND THE FOREIGN POLICY OF SOCIALIST ALBANIA

Comrades,

The 5th Congress of the Party is being held in an international situation favourable to the cause of the revolution and the peoples. The fundamental features of this epoch are becoming more pronounced and emerging more clearly every day, marking it as the epoch of the transition from capitalism to socialism, of the struggle of two opposing social systems, the epoch of proletarian and national liberation revolutions, of the collapse of imperialism and liquidation of the colonial system, the epoch of the triumph of socialism and communism on a world scale.

The balance of forces in the world has changed and is changing ceaselessly in favour of the revolutionary forces which are fighting for national and social liberation,

for the construction of a new world without capitalism and colonialism, against imperialism, reaction and modern revisionism, which are in decay and disintegration, eroded by many internal and external contradictions, encircled by the peoples and exposed to the continuous blows of their struggle which is mounting higher and higher. Nevertheless, the great changes that have occurred and are still taking place in the world as a result of the peoples' struggle have changed neither the character of the fundamental contradictions of our time, which are growing deeper and more and more acute, nor the aggressive and reactionary nature of imperialism, which, far from renouncing its anti-popular, counter-revolutionary and war-mongering policy, is striving with all its forces and means to safeguard and consolidate the positions of reaction everywhere in the world and to strangle the revolution and socialism.

Today the United States of America stands at the head of all the forces of imperialism and reaction. As is rightly stressed in the 1960 Declaration of the Communist and Workers' Parties, American imperialism is «the main force of aggression and war», «the greatest international exploiter», «the main citadel of colonialism and world reaction», «the international gendarme», «the enemy of all the peoples of the world». It has taken over the crazy Hitlerite dream of putting the whole world under its heel, a dream which led German nazism to its doom, it is striving by all its means to enslave the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America and to suppress the revolutionary and national liberation movement, it is striving to subjugate the whole capitalist world economically, politically and militarily, while always having the destruction of socialism as its main objective.

In order to realize this counter-revolutionary global strategy, American imperialism is doggedly pursuing the

policy of aggression, is pressing forward at a rapid pace in the armaments race, especially in the field of nuclear weapons, and is feverishly preparing for a new world war. It is arming and inciting the West-German revanchists and the Japanese militarists, trying to safeguard and consolidate the aggressive imperialist military alliances, brandishing weapons, perpetrating aggressions and unleashing wars. Likewise, it is pursuing a neo-colonialist policy of penetration and economic subjugation on an extensive scale, in order to put the American yoke around the necks of the peoples of various countries and to undermine their national freedom and independence, with the aim of creating a new empire of unprecedented proportions. It backs and supports the reactionary fascist and racist regimes and forces and organizes coups and plots to bring its agents to power everywhere. All this is accompanied with widespread ideological subversion, to deceive and confuse people, to present black for white and vice versa, to implant fear and defeatism, to alienate the peoples from the struggle and the revolution, to slander socialism and the revolutionaries, and to disguise the American plans for world domination.

A great, ferocious, dangerous common enemy — American imperialism, confronts the peoples of the whole world. Today the struggle against this enemy is the supreme international duty of all the revolutionary forces of our time. Peace, freedom, independence, socialism cannot be achieved and defended without a determined struggle against American imperialism, without destroying its rapacious plans and designs.

The attitude towards American imperialism is a touchstone for all the political forces of the world. The question must be put like this: should American imperialism be resisted and combated, or should the peoples capitulate to it and unite with it; can it be vanquished

and victory be achieved over it, or should the peoples fall on their knees and submit to it? These are questions of principle, they are a demarcation line which separates the revolutionaries from the opponents of the revolution, the anti-imperialists from the lackeys of imperialism, courageous people from cowards and capitulators, Marxist-Leninists from revisionists.

The peoples and all revolutionaries have defined their stand. They are not deceived by the imperialist and revisionist propaganda and are not intimidated by threats and blackmail. They have risen boldly and confident of victory in a decisive struggle against the old reactionary forces, no matter how strong and invincible they may seem, and have laid bare their rottenness and weakness. They dare to rise in resolute struggle to conquer American imperialism, which is not only the strongest imperialism, but also the weakest imperialism ever, compared with the great revolutionary tide which has risen against it in the world today.

Angered and revolted by the enslaving policy of American imperialism, the peoples of various countries of all continents are rising, one after another, and are fighting it, encircling it in a ring of fire, dealing death blows from all sides at this monster with feet of clay. The contradiction between the peoples and imperialism has become extremely deep and acute, the waves of the anti-American storm are mounting higher and higher, inflicting to American imperialism successive defeats which are growing heavier and heavier. The heroic struggle of the revolutionary peoples of Vietnam and the Congo, the Dominican Republic, Laos, Angola and Venezuela, and other countries is revealing ever more clearly the weakness of imperialism in general, and of American imperialism in particular, as well as the courage and determination of the peoples to fight and win. With their

iron resistance, with their unparalleled heroism and revolutionary courage, they have shown and proved that it is not modern weapons, but the revolutionary consciousness of the people which, in the final analysis, decides the outcome of the war, that modern weapons associated with the degenerate morale of a mercenary army, which is fighting to oppress and plunder the peoples, are impotent in face of the force of the people's war of the masses, inspired by the great ideals of the revolution and of the liberation of the homeland. Great Lenin's prediction is being confirmed. Half a century ago, in connection with the liberation war of the enslaved peoples, he said:

*«...no matter how weak these peoples may be, no matter how invincible the power of European oppressors may seem, with all the miracles of military equipment and military art they use in their war, still if the revolutionary fight waged by the oppressed peoples is capable of really arousing millions of workers and the exploited, it contains such potential, such miracles, that the liberation of the eastern peoples has become fully attainable in practice today...»**

In its frenzied attempts to establish world domination, American imperialism, like a wild beast, has extended its claws over the whole world. This is by no means a sign of its strength, but of its weakness, because by acting in this way, it has dissipated its forces over an immense territory, over whole continents, from Europe to South America and from Africa to the Far East. These forces are insufficient to cope with and suppress the liberation struggle of all the peoples, and American imperialism is

* V. I. Lenin, Collected Works, vol. 30, p. 159 (Alb. ed.).

unable to concentrate them to the necessary extent in space and time. Furthermore, by intervening and perpetrating aggressions in various countries of the world, American imperialism has created possibilities for the peoples everywhere to wage an effective war against it and to deal it direct blows, separately or collectively, uniting their struggle against American imperialism in a single, powerful, international current. Even the numerous American military bases established in all corners of the world as weapons of neo-colonialism and as bridge-heads for aggression against the socialist countries have turned from a means of domination and strength into a means of the political and military weakening of the United States, because they have become suspect and intolerable, not only for the peoples, but even for the bourgeois governments of the countries where these bases have been established, because these bases are encircled by the peoples and will hardly serve the American imperialists at the required moment. Even the arms with which they have supplied and are supplying their allies to suppress the struggle of the peoples and to commit aggressions and provocations against the socialist and other countries which pursue an anti-imperialist policy, are a two-edged sword: they incite and deepen the contradictions and conflicts among the partners of the United States, serve as direct pressure against the American hegemony and some day they may even be turned against the United States itself.

The efforts for world domination and the operation of the law of uneven development of the capitalist countries have landed American imperialism in deep and irreconcilable contradictions with its allies — the other imperialist powers, with all the capitalist world in general. Not only has this caused irreparable breaches in the world capitalist camp, but, in particular, it has weakened and

undermined the economic, political and military potential of American imperialism.

Now the United States has lost its absolute hegemony over the other capitalist countries and is unable to re-organize the capitalist forces under its control. Far from blindly obeying the American dictate, the other imperialist powers have become serious competitors of the United States in the world market and are striving to rid themselves completely of its economic, political and military domination. Differences in all fields are disintegrating and wrecking the aggressive military blocs of NATO and SEATO which the American imperialists established with so much zeal and hope as bases for attacking the socialist camp. The American policy of intervention and aggression against the peoples does not find effective support among the allies of the United States, who do not want to get their fingers burnt pulling the chestnuts out of the fire for American imperialism. This completely confirms the brilliant prediction Stalin made in 1952, when he wrote:

«Outwardly everything would seem to be 'going well': the USA has put Western Europe, Japan and other capitalist countries on rations; Germany (Western), Britain, France, Italy and Japan have fallen into the clutches of the USA and are meekly obeying its commands. But it would be mistaken to think that things can continue to 'go well' for 'all eternity', that these countries will tolerate the domination and oppression of the United States endlessly, that they will not endeavour to tear loose from American bondage and take the path of independent development... To think that these countries will not try to get on their feet again, will not try to smash the

*US 'regimen', and force their way to independent development, is to believe in miracles.»**

Capitalist France has seriously challenged the American hegemony in Europe. It has embarked upon the course of open opposition to American imperialism. Revived big French capital cannot endure the American pressure and dictate, it feels strong enough to resist American domination. It exploited the general weakening of the American imperialist positions resulting from the peoples' war to throw off the fetters of the United States, The Americans are encountering France's opposition everywhere. With its stand France has greatly shaken and weakened the military and political power of NATO, in which its membership is now only a formality. In order to meet the pressures and threats of the United States and, at the same time, to further its own designs as a big capitalist power, France is striving to revive the old alliances with the countries of Eastern, Central and South-eastern Europe, as well as to link itself with Bonn Germany.

The contradictions between the USA and British, West-German, Japanese imperialists, etc., also are becoming deeper and more acute. They are trying to exploit their collaboration with American imperialism, in order to achieve their own imperialist, revanchist, or expansionist aims. For example, West Germany is trying to get possession of atomic weapons, to gobble up the German Democratic Republic, to re-establish the old borders of the Hitlerite Third Reich and to prepare for a new revanchist war, thus presenting a serious danger to the peace and security of the peoples in Europe and the whole world.

* J. V. Stalin, «Economic Problems of Socialism in the USSR», 2nd Alb. ed., pp. 39-40, Tirana 1968.

The existence of deep contradictions in the imperialist camp is, undoubtedly, in favour of the revolutionary Marxist-Leninist forces. The task of revolutionaries is, without cherishing any illusions about the real designs of imperialist wolves, whoever they may be, to correctly exploit these contradictions in order to further weaken the enemy camp, to isolate and strike heavily at the chief enemy — American imperialism.

The savagely aggressive and warmongering activity and the oppression and plunder of American imperialism, on the one hand, and its incurable weaknesses and contradictions, on the other, show that the peoples can and should fight imperialism, headed by American imperialism, mercilessly, should not be intimidated by imperialism and its blackmail, but should dare to defy its might and rise in struggle with unshakeable confidence in the final victory of their just cause. With the resolute common fight of the peoples of the whole world, of the revolutionary forces of our time, socialism, the national liberation movement and the international communist and workers' movement, the aggressive and enslaving plans of imperialism, headed by the USA, can be defeated, a new world war can be avoided, the revolution can be carried forward and the liberation of the peoples and the victory of socialism and communism can be achieved.

The struggle against imperialism for the triumph of the just cause of the peoples and the world revolutionary process do not and cannot forge straight ahead, always on the offensive, but they blaze the trail of history with zigzags, with ups and downs, with attacks and retreats, with victories and temporary set-backs. This is an objective law of social development. He who denies this and accepts the revolution only provided it can be carried out without difficulties and reverses, as Lenin says,

*«... is not a revolutionary, he has not freed himself from the pedantry of the bourgeois intelligentsia and, in fact, is bound to become ever more deeply involved in the camp of the counter-revolutionary bourgeoisie...»**

The imperialist propaganda openly and the revisionist propaganda indirectly are striving to present the temporary victories of imperialism and reaction and the temporary retreats of the revolution in certain countries as defeats of the peoples' anti-imperialist struggle and setbacks of the revolution. The imperialists and revisionists are rubbing their hands in glee and trying to undermine the peoples' confidence in victory, to confuse and corrupt them. But the enemies of the revolution and the peoples are rejoicing in vain: new, even heavier defeats are in store for them.

The general tendency of historical development is always that the revolution advances uninterruptedly, overcoming difficulties and obstacles, because it represents the new and the new is invincible, while the crisis of imperialism and all the reactionary forces is becoming deeper and deeper and they are heading relentlessly for their inevitable doom. The revolutionaries are not discouraged by temporary defeats and do not lay down their arms, but on the contrary, they draw lessons valuable for the preparation and winning of future victories and assuring the ceaseless advance of the revolution and the struggle against imperialism at home and on an international scale. As long as capitalism and imperialism, which exploit and oppress the workers and the peoples, exist, the upsurge of the drive to revolution is irrepressible and the victory of the revolution is inevitable...

* V. I. Lenin, Collected Works, vol. 28, p. 60 (Alb. ed.).

The revolutionary peoples are conscious that they are facing a fierce enemy, which they must despise, but never underestimate. Despite the heavy blows and great defeats it has suffered, imperialism, with the United States at the head, is still strong and able to undertake dangerous adventures against the peoples. Any overestimation of the strength of the enemy leads to capitulation and submission, while any underestimation of the strength of the enemy, any illusion about it, leads to the slackening of vigilance and to general unpreparedness against the enemy, or to dangerous adventures which end in defeat. The peoples must be prepared for a long, stern and difficult struggle which will demand bloodshed and sacrifices, the total mobilization of all their moral and material resources, all the heroism and unyielding determination, in which revolutionaries have never been and never will be lacking.

Today Asia, Africa and Latin America have become centres of great revolutionary storms. There imperialism is receiving heavy, direct blows. The Albanian people hail and support with all their might the just struggle of the peoples of these areas against imperialism and colonial slavery, which they consider as a struggle of historic importance for the fate of the revolution and socialism in the world, a struggle that is weakening the very foundations of the positions of imperialism. They consider this struggle as the powerful ally and reserve of the world proletarian revolution, as a great, real force to ruin the criminal aggressive plans of American imperialism, and to secure and defend peace in the world.

The attitude towards the revolutionary struggle of the oppressed nations and peoples, that comprise the overwhelming majority of the population of the world, is another important question of principle and one of the main lines of demarcation between Marxist-Leninists and revisionist renegades. It is the sacred duty of the socialist

countries and the communist and workers' movement in the capitalist metropolises to give the revolutionary movement of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America all their unreserved help and support.

The struggle against imperialism and its warmongering policy has aroused all the peoples. In this direction the revolutionary forces in the capitalist metropolises are playing a significant role. The working class and other oppressed strata of the population in these countries are more and more hurling themselves into victorious battles against the reactionary bourgeoisie and imperialism. Despite the damage caused by the treacherous activity of the Khrushchevite revisionists, the revolutionary upsurge of the working class is inevitable. Neither the temporary so-called prosperity of European capitalism, the bourgeois dictatorship of the fascist type, the demagogy and subversive activity of social-democracy, nor the Khrushchevite, Titoite and other revisionists can stop it. The new Marxist-Leninist forces which have emerged and are being formed in all the capitalist countries are successfully uniting the working class and other exploited strata of the population in the struggle against the bourgeoisie and imperialism, the American interference and dictate, for democracy, better living conditions and socialism.

In order to achieve their counter-revolutionary aims the bourgeoisie and imperialism have always employed two main ways and means, the hangman and the priest, violence and deception. Moreover, experience shows that the more victories the revolutionary movement scores, the stronger its positions become, and the more its power increases, the more the bourgeoisie and imperialists pin their hopes on the method of undermining the revolution and socialism from within, on support and backing of opportunism.

Treacherous social-democracy has long been and still

is the agency of the bourgeoisie and imperialism in the workers' movement, to inhibit the revolution and to safeguard and consolidate the capitalist order. Immediately after the Second World War imperialism found a new social backing in Titoism, which it supported and encouraged with all its means as a specialized detachment in the service of American imperialism to undermine socialism and sabotage the peoples' liberation struggle. With the emergence of Khrushchevite revisionism, however, world imperialism secured a new ally, a new very powerful agency for which it had very great need as a result of the failures and defeats inflicted on it through the historic victories of socialism and liberation struggle of the peoples who were advancing irresistibly.

The Soviet revisionist leaders entered into a «holy alliance» with American imperialism, the greatest enemy of the peoples of the whole world. The Soviet-American friendship and all-round collaboration is one of the most fundamental characteristics of the present international situation. This alliance is based on their common hegemonic interests and aims for the division of spheres of influence and for the establishment of the domination of two great powers over the world. Having the same strategic standpoints, the USA and USSR, as two big powers with great economic and military potential, cannot fail to take account of each other, need each other, undertake common actions and co-ordinate their plans.

At the same time, each of these two world powers is striving to win superiority for itself, to strengthen the groupings of friends around itself, to combat the groupings of the other party, in order to detach allies from it and to expand its own sphere of influence at the expense of its partner. Nevertheless, they are united in a close alliance with each other in order to attack the revolutionary peoples and socialism. This alliance is developing

in all directions: political, economic, ideological and cultural. In many directions it has been sanctioned in official documents, in various treaties and agreements, open and secret. They are going further and further in the direction of the conclusion of military agreements, plans and plots for aggression and oppression.

The Soviet-American alliance, which is developing and being concretized day by day, of course, not without difficulties and contradictions, constitutes a very serious danger for mankind, hence it is a main objective against which the struggle of all the peoples of the world is directed. The fact is that for the sake of this alliance, the Soviet leadership has sacrificed the vital interests of the peoples and socialism or is ready to do so at any time. Not only has it given up any kind of effective struggle against imperialism for its own part, but it has undertaken the shameful role of the fire-extinguisher to quell the flames of any people's liberation struggle.

The Khrushchevite revisionists are giving the imperialists great and all-round help. This is expressed in their attempts at prettifying imperialism and alienating the peoples from their liberation wars, spreading the illusion that freedom and independence will come as a gift from abroad or through UNO resolutions, intimidating the peoples with the horrors of war and atomic blackmail. It is expressed also in the attempts at suppressing the peoples' national liberation struggles by approving the dispatch of counter-revolutionary forces of the UNO to suppress them, or by supporting and arming reactionary cliques in various countries, etc., etc. It is a fact that the revisionist slogans of «peaceful coexistence», of «peaceful economic competition», of «peaceful transition», of «complete and general disarmament», or of a «world without weapons, without armies and without wars», and so on, have been enthusiastically embraced by the imperialists

as well as by all international reaction, including the Vatican, because with these «peaceful» slogans, they can throw dust in the eyes of the peoples, can camouflage the warmongering activities of imperialism and carry out joint Soviet-American plans for world domination.

But the subversion of the Soviet revisionist clique did not yield the results desired by American imperialism and world reaction. The betrayal by the Khrushchevites and the slogans with which it was camouflaged are being more and more exposed in the eyes of the peoples, they have set off chain reactions and caused deep contradictions which are inflicting grave and inevitable defeats on imperialism and revisionism, one after another.

Practice has proved that Khrushchevite «peaceful coexistence» and the policy of the law of the jungle pursued by American imperialism are two heads of the one snake which is preparing the enslavement of peoples and bloody clashes at their expense. Under the guise of «peaceful coexistence» the Soviet government, with the marked features of a bourgeois government, applies a policy of friendship, alliance and all-round collaboration with imperialism, and spreads false illusions about imperialism, trying to convince the peoples to preserve the status quo, to renounce any kind of struggle without exception, otherwise «any spark would flare up into a world conflagration», etc.

The peoples saw clearly that by pursuing the policy of Khrushchevite coexistence, the Soviet leaders, not only renounced support for the peoples' anti-imperialist wars, but became direct partners and accomplices in the suppression of the liberation war of the Congolese people in 1961, shamefully capitulated to American imperialism in the Caribbean crisis of 1962 (1), voted at the UNO for «the

1 Under direct and open pressure by the USA government,

cease-fire» in the Dominican Republic, and postponed the settlement of the German question indefinitely, sacrificing the national interests of the German Democratic Republic. The peoples are seeing that the Soviet leaders, together with the American imperialists, are manipulating the UNO, turning it more and more into an instrument of interference and aggression in favour of the imperialists.

The treacherous revisionist policy of non-resistance to imperialism and reaction, of capitulation to and collaboration with them, has led to the encouragement of imperialism, the intensification of its aggressive activity, the activation everywhere of reactionary, pro-imperialist forces and, as a result, the aggravation of the international situation seen in recent years.

Our Party and government have scornfully rejected and exposed the policy of Khrushchevite «peaceful co-existence» as a counter-revolutionary policy of betrayal. They have always adhered to the Marxist-Leninist policy of peaceful coexistence in relations with capitalist countries, while at the same time waging a resolute struggle against imperialism, headed by American imperialism, and unreservedly supporting the peoples' revolutionary liberation struggle. They have always loyally upheld proletarian internationalism, which constitutes the general line of the foreign policy of every genuine socialist country.

The Khrushchevite slogans of «general and complete disarmament» and «a world without weapons, without armies, without wars», which are used by the revisionists and imperialists, on the one hand, to lull to sleep and disarm the

during October and November 1962 the Soviet government ordered the dismantling and withdrawal of missiles from Cuba, which it had stationed there only a couple of weeks ago, while officially recognizing the American navy the right to control operations for their dismantling and withdrawal.

peoples, and on the other, to continue their ceaseless arming behind the backs of the peoples and their preparations for cruel wars, are a great fraud and nauseating hypocrisy. This is now more than clear and no demagogy can hide it. It is a fact that despite all their clamour about disarmament, both the imperialists and the revisionists are arming themselves to the teeth and are organizing new military alliances, so that these two big powers may dictate the law to the world. The Moscow Treaty on the partial ban of nuclear weapons' tests laid the foundations of this alliance. The new agreement which is being concocted on the «non-proliferation of nuclear weapons», is intended to consolidate the Soviet-American monopoly of nuclear weapons and to strengthen their nuclear blackmail against freedom-loving and progressive states and peoples.

Our party and government have energetically exposed and will continue to expose the manoeuvres of the imperialists and revisionists who, behind the curtain of endless talks on disarmament, are hatching up plots against the peoples and socialism. At a time when the imperialists and revisionists, far from intending to disarm, are continually arming themselves with the most up-to-date weapons, there is only one way open to freedom-loving peoples and socialist countries: they must be armed to liberate themselves from imperialism and defend themselves from imperialist aggression...

Our Party and government have not been and are not opposed to efforts to achieve concrete results in the field of disarmament, but these results cannot be achieved by making unprincipled concessions to the imperialists, by spreading illusions about them and by basing hopes on the «goodwill» of the imperialist leaders and on the talks with them. The only correct course in this matter, too, is the resolute and co-ordinated struggle of the peoples to

impose disarmament upon the imperialists and, in the first place, upon the United States of America.

In order to assist the imperialists and reactionaries, the Khrushchevite revisionists proclaimed «the peaceful way» as a strategic principle for the whole world, opposing it to the peoples' liberation war and to the revolution by violence as a universal law of socialist revolution. This was another act of diversion, an appeal to the peoples and revolutionaries to leave the bourgeoisie and reaction in peace and to pursue the reformist course so favoured by social-democracy. The so-called peaceful way is a deviation from every basic Marxist-Leninist principle in the revolutionary theory and practice for the liberation of the working class, the peoples and the oppressed nations.

Many events of our times as well as all historical experience have proved the falsity and danger of this revisionist line. Far from departing voluntarily from the historical arena, the reactionary classes and the imperialists forcibly suppress the revolution everywhere and anywhere, far from giving up their weapons, they are continuously strengthening their mechanism of oppression and violence against the peoples. The bloody events in Indonesia are a bitter but very vivid proof of how far reaction will go in its fury and savagery when it has the incitement and active support of the American imperialists and the backing of the Khrushchevite revisionists, who, vying with the American imperialists, are now trying to strengthen their friendship with the Indonesian military junta, which has the blood of more than 500,000 Indonesian communists and patriots* on its hands.

All the facts and all the events prove with the greatest clarity that the revisionist leading group of the Soviet

* See the article on p. 18 of this volume.

Union has become, in every direction, the ally and zealous assistant of imperialism, especially American imperialism, in order to prolong its existence, to save it from the inevitable defeat awaiting it, to extricate it from the encirclement of the peoples and the revolution, to liquidate socialism and to strangle the peoples' revolutionary and liberation struggles everywhere. In these conditions the struggle against imperialism, headed by the United States, is inseparable from the struggle against modern revisionism, headed by the Soviet leaders. Without exposing and struggling against the revisionist demagogy and betrayal, we cannot wage the struggle against imperialism successfully and carry forward the world revolution.

Imperialism, modern revisionism and all the forces of reaction and social regression, wherever they operate and however powerful they may be, are condemned to death by history. However, these sinister forces will never die of their own accord, they will never depart from the scene of history voluntarily and in a peaceful way. The nearer they approach their death, the fiercer become their attempts to preserve their existence and regain their lost positions. In their agony they will not hesitate to throw themselves into the most desperate adventures, to use the most inhuman means and commit the most hideous crimes. This is a law to which all social classes and forces on the brink of their inevitable doom adhere...

Faced with ferocious enemies — American imperialism, Khrushchevite revisionism and world reaction, we must maintain high revolutionary vigilance, must discover, attack and destroy all their aggressive plans and counter-revolutionary plots, must resolutely oppose the policy of war and aggression, colonialism and neo-colonialism, must expose the fraudulent and demagogic manoeuvres of

imperialism and revisionism, exploit all the contradictions that can be exploited in the enemy camp and wage a resolute struggle against imperialism, headed by American imperialism, and all its lackeys and stooges.

Resolute resistance and struggle must be waged against the imperialist and revisionist policy of economic expansion, which by means of «aid and credits», the «alliances for progress», or «the international division of labour», «the Common Market», or «the Council of Mutual Economic Aid», are attempting to put the yoke around the neck of different peoples, to undermine their freedom and national independence, to subjugate and exploit these peoples for their own purposes. There can be no true political independence without economic independence. In order to develop the national economy and culture, it is necessary to follow the course of self-reliance consistently, by utilizing all the internal material resources and manpower in a rational and efficient way. Aid is always a secondary factor and it should be provided in a completely disinterested way by the socialist countries, should not be accompanied with political conditions and privileges and should serve to assist the independent economic and political development of the receiving country. Marxist-Leninists consider the provision of such aid not as charity but as mutual aid and an internationalist duty.

The Marxist-Leninist parties and forces cannot but stand at the head of the historic struggle between the forces of the revolution and those of reaction. History has charged them with the glorious mission of upholding the banner of struggle against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism, the banner of national independence, democracy, socialism and peace, of uniting all the patriotic and democratic forces of the country in broad popular fronts based on the alliance of the working class with the peasantry, of mastering all forms of struggle and,

first of all, the people's armed struggle, by creating the revolutionary armed forces, indispensable both for national and social liberation and for the defence of the victories of the revolution, of safeguarding their ideological, political and organizational independence, and resolutely ensuring their hegemony in the revolution as a decisive condition for carrying it through to the end.

Thanks to the struggle of the peoples, of all the anti-imperialist and revolutionary forces of our time, the revolution is marching triumphantly forward. It has created new conditions in which no tyrant can lord it over the peoples in peace. Now the peoples have acquired tremendous experience, though not everywhere in an equal degree. They are not afraid of the oppressors and enslavers, not afraid to take up arms and rise in revolution. The great fire of the revolution is ablaze in the world today and there is no force which can extinguish it. This fire will envelop the imperialists along with all their stooges and lackeys and wipe them from the face of the earth.

Comrades,

The Albanian people are proud that their People's Republic is marching shoulder to shoulder with the army of the revolutionary peoples of the whole world, advancing in the forefront of the struggle against the forces of imperialism, reaction and revisionism and making its modest contribution to the struggle for the liberation of mankind from oppression and exploitation, for the triumph of the revolution and socialism.

The People's Republic of Albania, led by the Party

of Labour, always has pursued and always will pursue a revolutionary foreign policy based on Marxism-Leninism, a policy of friendship with all the peoples of the world, great or small, according to the principles of equality and mutual interests, the policy of the struggle against imperialism, headed by American imperialism, and active solidarity with all the states and peoples that fight for freedom, democracy and social progress, with all revolutionary peoples and forces that fight for the defence of peace and the triumph of socialism.

The Central Committee reports to the Party that by unwaveringly pursuing this principled revolutionary policy, our Party and our government have successfully carried out the tasks set by the 4th Congress in the field of international relations, have strengthened the national independence and sovereignty, have extended the relations of friendly collaboration with other states and have aided and supported the struggle of the freedom-loving peoples and of revolutionary forces everywhere in the world. Today Albania is stronger than ever, with many loyal friends, with a great and well-deserved international authority.

The People's Republic of Albania has always had an independent policy dictated by the interests of the Albanian people, by the interests of communism and peace. We uphold the view that all sovereign states, big or small, are equal and that each makes its contribution in the international field. We are against the concept that a small state should submit to a big state, against the interference of one state in the internal affairs of another state. The People's Republic of Albania has never permitted and never will permit anyone, whoever he may be, to encroach upon its national and international rights. In the future, too, it will fight with all its might and will never accept any political, economic and military pressure

that may be exerted in order to impose on our people a dictate harmful to their interests.

The Albanian people are peaceful and their People's Republic is a peaceful state, but they will never hesitate to strike mercilessly and with all their might and means at anyone who attempts to violate their territorial integrity, to plot against their socialist regime and their internal order and stability. The Albanian people will never again allow themselves to be trampled upon as in the bitter past. They have their rights, dignity and honour, they have the right to live, to take their own decisions on everything, just like any other people.

The People's Republic of Albania tore up all enslaving treaties and agreements imposed on the Albanian people by the anti-popular regimes and various imperialists. It will never allow the existing agreements and treaties signed by it with full will and consciousness to be distorted by any other signatory at the expense of the lofty aims of these agreements and treaties or at the expense of the Albanian people. Our government will respect all the treaties it has signed, on condition that the other signatories also respect them. The rights of the People's Republic of Albania in these treaties are neither more nor less, but equal to those of all the other participating states, big or small. The People's Republic of Albania has not permitted and will not permit any of its rights, however small, to be violated, and likewise it pledges, as it has always done, not to violate the rights of anybody else.

Our Party and government have waged and are waging a resolute struggle against the criminal attempts of the Khrushchevite revisionists and their followers to use the Warsaw Treaty and the Council of Mutual Economic Aid as instruments of pressure, interference and aggression against our country. We shall defend our rights

to the end and we shall persistently expose the treachery and plots of the new Tsars of the Kremlin not only in regard to the interests and rights of Albania, but also in regard to the rights and interests of socialism and peace in general.

In its economic relations and commercial exchanges, the People's Republic of Albania has always been correct in regard to reciprocal obligations, but will never permit that the above-mentioned agreements be violated and damage caused to its economy through no fault of ours, but as a result of the hostile activity of other states. It will demand reparations for damage down to the last cent. The same right belongs to our partners, should the People's Republic of Albania breach contracts and by its unlawful actions cause damage to others.

Our country has normal diplomatic relations with 35 states, (2) and commercial and cultural relations with a still larger number of states. It is continuously extending these relations and is ready to establish such relations with other states, too, regardless of the different forms of their social and political regimes, but always on the basis of the recognized principles of equality, non-interference, mutual respect for territorial integrity and national sovereignty, mutual benefit and peaceful coexistence. The People's Republic of Albania will continue its rigorous respect for these principles in its relations with other states and will demand that others, too, apply them in their relations with Albania...

² The PSRA had diplomatic relations with 95 states up to August 1981.

II

THE FULFILMENT OF THE 3rd FIVE-YEAR PLAN AND THE MAIN TARGETS FOR THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE ECONOMY AND CULTURE FOR THE NEXT FIVE YEARS

The 4th Congress of the Party of Labour of Albania marked the passing of our country to the new historical stage of the complete construction of socialist society. The 3rd Five-year Plan constituted the first step in the application of the line of the Party for the solution of the basic problems of this stage. Its main aim was to set our country on the course of its transformation from an agricultural-industrial country into an industrial-agricultural one, to increase the agricultural output more rapidly and, consequently, to raise the material standard of living of the working masses and further develop the peoples education and culture.

In order to fulfil these tasks the Party and the people worked and struggled in difficult conditions created by the treacherous Soviet revisionist leadership and its lackeys. The Khrushchevite revisionists, aiming to sabotage our construction of socialism, organized the total blockade of socialist Albania, arbitrarily annulled all the agreements on the provision of credits and economic, technical and military aid, withdrew the specialists, tore up all the contracts concluded with the Albanian government and cut off trade and diplomatic relations with the People's Republic of Albania.

In these new circumstances, our Party and government took and successfully applied a series of measures. Amend-

merits were made to the targets of the plan, the norm of accumulation of the national income was raised above the planned levels, increased reserves of materials essential to ensure the uninterrupted development of the economy and to guarantee the defence of the Homeland in any circumstances were accumulated, and the regime of economizing and the socialist organization of work were further strengthened, raising the effective mobilization and use of all our internal possibilities and reserves to a new level.

For the people and our Party, the period of the 3rd Five-year Plan was the period of the hardest test after the National Liberation War. Nevertheless, our Party comes to the 5th Congress with many major successes to its credit. The schemes of the revisionists and of the imperialists failed completely and ignominiously. Thanks to revolutionary enthusiasm and the lofty patriotism of the working masses, socialist Albania, led by the Party with wisdom, foresight and courage, forged ahead, broke the blockade, fought blow for blow against the revisionists and imperialists and emerged victorious, as always, because there is no force in the world which can stop the triumphant march of our socialist revolution.

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*B. — THE MAIN DIRECTIONS AND TASKS OF THE
SOCIALIST CONSTRUCTION FOR THE NEW
FIVE-YEAR PLAN 1966-1970*

The main targets of the 4th Five-year Plan which this Congress will approve derive from the main content of the stage of the complete construction of socialist society on which our country is proceeding. They respond

to the needs and possibilities of the development of our economy and culture and proceed from the internal and external conditions in which our Party and people are fighting for the construction of socialism.

The main objectives of the general line of the Party for the complete construction of socialist society have been and are: the uninterrupted growth of the productive forces and, on this basis, the raising of the people's well-being; the improvement of the socialist relations of production in correct revolutionary ways; the deepening of the socialist revolution in the fields of ideology and culture; the strengthening of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the unity of the people with the Party, by waging a sharp and irreconcilable class struggle against internal and foreign enemies and alien influences; the build-up of the defence potential of the country. Along with this, the Party follows the line of gradually reducing the distinctions between the working class and the peasantry, between town and country, between industry and agriculture and between mental and physical labour.

In conformity with this general line, during the 4th Five-year Plan the further development of the productive forces of the country must be ensured in order to accelerate the complete construction of the technical-material base of socialism. This is to be attained by continuing the socialist industrialization of the country and increasing industrial production through more complete use of the existing productive capacities and through the building of new projects, by concentrating the forces for a more rapid development of agricultural production, especially of grain production, in the first place, through the further intensification of agriculture. On the basis of the growth of social production, the material and cultural well-being of the people and the defence potential of the Homeland will be raised to a higher level.

In the field of industry, it is foreseen that total industrial production in 1970 will rise by 50-54 per cent as compared with 1965. To this end the branches of the heavy and light processing industries will undergo great development. Rolled ferrous metals, nitrate and phosphate fertilizers for our agriculture, caustic soda and soda ash, brass, enamelled kitchenware, electric light bulbs, fibre boards, various kinds of paper and cardboard and many other products will be produced in our country for the first time. The textile industry will be strengthened while the food-processing industry will be extended continually.

The new five-year plan envisages great tasks for the development of **agriculture**. Total agricultural production will increase by 41-46 per cent during the 4th Five-year Plan as compared with the 3rd Five-year Plan. The fundamental task for agriculture during this period is, first of all, to increase production of bread grain, potatoes, rice and edible fats. There will also be further increases in the production of industrial crops, in the development of livestock farming to ensure more milk and meat, and in the extension of forestry. Special attention will be paid to the opening up of new land.

In order to ensure the uninterrupted development of our economy and culture, during the 4th Five-year Plan **fundamental investments and constructions** will be greatly increased. It is foreseen that the volume of investments for this five-year plan will be about 34 per cent above that of the previous five-year plan, while the volume of capital construction will grow by about 18 per cent.

As a result of the development of industry and agriculture, of the rise in the productivity of labour, the increase in the number of workers and of the ceaseless reduction of the costs of production and circulation, the

national income in 1970 will be 45-50 per cent greater than in 1965.

In compliance with the growth of industrial and agricultural production and the rise in the people's well-being **socialist trade** will assume further development during the 4th Five-year Plan. The volume of commodity circulation in 1970 will increase by 25-27 per cent compared with 1965.

For the further development of the **cultural revolution** special attention will be paid to the continuous development of **education and culture**. During the 4th Five-year Plan the number of schools will increase, and compulsory eight-year schooling will be applied throughout the country. There will be all-round development of culture, especially in the countryside, while scientific research and experimental work will be raised up to a higher level.

1. — THE CONTINUATION OF THE INDUSTRIALIZATION OF THE COUNTRY REMAINS ONE OF THE VITAL TASKS FOR THE SOCIALIST CONSTRUCTION

Our Party has always considered industrialization as one of the most important tasks of the construction of socialism in our country, without which the socialist revolution on the economic front cannot advance. In conformity with this, it consistently follows the line of transforming the country from an agricultural-industrial country into an industrial-agricultural one and then into an industrial country with an advanced agriculture.

Our Party adheres to the principle that every socialist country, relying mainly on its own forces, must build a developed economy, with powerful industry and advanced agriculture, based on its internal assets and resources, an

economy able to guarantee the independence of the country and its ceaseless development on the road of socialism. The all-round development and strengthening of each socialist country is to the benefit of all countries. This does not restrict, but expands their economic cooperation on a correct Leninist basis, therefore the aid of the more advanced socialist countries to other countries should also be intended precisely to build the most advanced economy possible, so that every socialist or newly liberated country can stand on its own feet.

That is why the Party of Labour of Albania has resolutely condemned and denounced the treacherous line of the Khrushchevite revisionists, who, for their own nationalist and chauvinist interests, have tried and are trying to impose an anti-socialist economic policy with capitalist and imperialist aims on the socialist countries. Under the disguise of the so-called international division of labour, specialization and cooperation, the Khrushchevite revisionists are trying to obstruct the real industrialization of these countries to exploit them as sources of agricultural and mineral raw materials and as markets for the sale of industrial goods, to make them economically dependent and, on this basis, to undermine their economic and political independence, force them to submit to the revisionist dictate.

In the past, the Titoites, and later the Khrushchevites, tried to impose this sort of anti-socialist line on our country and to divert us from the course of socialist industrialization by using all kinds of «arguments»: sometimes promising that their industry could satisfy our needs, too; sometimes referring to the climate as though this had pre-ordained the future role of a «flourishing garden» growing fruit and industrial crops for our country; sometimes deliberately concealing the geological data in order to prove that we lacked the ne-

cessary raw materials for the development of industry; and at other times by interfering directly to stop investments in the oil and other sectors, alleging that such investments were a waste of money because there were no prospects for the development of the oil industry in our country, etc., etc. Had our Party followed the course the Titoite and Khrushchevite cliques tried to impose on us on this issue vital to the fate of socialism, that would have been suicide and betrayal of the supreme interests of the Homeland, our people and socialism.

But our Party did not fall for this trap. It fought courageously against the revisionist views and applied the correct Marxist-Leninist line of socialist industrialization. In applying this policy, through countless efforts and privations on the part of the working class and all our people, the aim of the Party has always been to create, step by step, a multi-branched industry, both heavy and light, which will enable us to exploit and process our natural riches and agricultural products, with the aim of ever better fulfilling the needs of the development of our economy, raising the productivity of social labour, attaining an intensive and complex development of agriculture, raising the well-being of the people and strengthening the defence of our Homeland.

Thanks to this policy, the role of industry, as the leading branch of the whole economy of our country, has grown. Total industrial production is 34.8 times greater than it was before the war. Production of means of production has increased 34.3 fold and that of consumer goods 35 fold. Industry provides 39 per cent of our national income instead of the 4 per cent it did in 1938. and industrial production represents 56.6 per cent of total industrial and agricultural production, against 8 per cent before Liberation. Albania, formerly an extre-

mely backward agricultural country without technical forces and qualified workers, a source of raw materials and an appendage of imperialist monopolies, now utilizes many of its assets above and below the ground. It processes oil, copper, iron and agricultural raw materials, produces machinery, technical equipment and chemical fertilizers, and builds combines, plants, factories, hydro-power plants and railways. It is gradually being changed into an industrial-agricultural country. The internal forces and means, the creative thought, the toil and sweat of the working masses have always been and still are the decisive factor in our socialist industrialization.

Pursuing its correct Marxist-Leninist line of socialist industrialization, the Party is paying special attention to the rapid development of industry on a sound basis in the 4th Five-year Plan, too. In the new five-year plan this development is closely linked, first of all, **with the expansion of the whole front of the exploitation of our natural resources, bringing ever more new resources of minerals and fuels into economic circulation and raising their value by processing them in the country.**

For this purpose, during the 4th Five-year Plan, a great stride forward, unrivalled in any past five-year plan, will be taken in the building of new mines and industrial plants so as to increase the production and processing of oil and other useful minerals and improve the structure of industrial production.

Putting this great program into practice will give a new and powerful impulse to the mining industry, which, in our conditions, occupies the main position in the production of means of production. On this basis the existing branches will be extended and new branches set up in the heavy processing industries, such as copper metallurgy, black and ferro-chrome metallurgy, the engineering and chemical industries, etc.

Thus, our country will enter a new phase of industrialization, the phase of the development of the heavy processing industry, which is decisive in ensuring the superiority of the production of means of production, within the framework of all industry. The transition to this phase of industrial development will not only bring about great qualitative changes in the structure of industry, but will also raise the potential of the whole people's economy, will strengthen its independence, provide greater assistance for the intensive development of agriculture and increase the ranks of the working class and, especially, the number of technicians, engineers and other qualified cadres. This will be another great victory of the policy of the Party for the industrialization of the country.

In order to guarantee the prospect of uninterrupted and rapid development of the mining industry and other branches of the heavy processing industry for as long a time as possible, **the Party has paid and is paying special attention to the intensification of geological work.** Many of our underground assets are still lying dormant. They must be sought and discovered so that they can be utilized on a broad scale for the benefit of the people and to strengthen the economy and the Homeland. The Party has entrusted our geologists with the lofty and noble task of leading our socialist industrialization through their work.

The geologists made an outstanding contribution during the years of the 3rd Five-year Plan, when they had to solve many complicated problems and overcome great difficulties, after the Khrushchevite revisionists withdrew their specialists from the sector of geology, abandoning the work already started and concealing or taking with them the geological data. With a resolute, heroic stand and with a lofty sense of responsibility, our workers, technicians and geologists, although young, did not inter-

rupt the work, but on the contrary, successfully carried it further. In December 1961, the geological workers pledged to fulfil the tasks set by the 4th Congress of the Party of Labour of Albania within four years and, for some minerals, within an even shorter period. They kept their word and accomplished the additional tasks they had pledged to fulfil.

The extension and raising to a higher level of prospecting and scientific-research work in geology, a sector as difficult as it is vital, constitutes one of the most important objectives of the party policy for the development of industry during the 4th Five-year Plan. On the basis of the results achieved and the experience gained, great tasks have been set in this five-year plan for the discovery of industrial reserves rich in oil, gas, chromium, copper, iron-nickel, phosphorites and raw materials for construction materials. For this purpose the investments in the geological sector will be increased more than 20 per cent as compared with those of the 3rd Five-year Plan.

The Party considers the strengthening of the fuel base and the increase of the production of electric energy as decisive links for the development of industry and the people's economy as a whole. In endeavouring to create the most effective and advantageous fuel structure, the Party emphasizes the need to increase production of oil and gas first of all, of course, without reducing for one moment the concern to increase the production of other fuels, especially coal.

The ceaselessly increasing needs of the people's economy and of the country's defence for oil and its by-products, the superiority it continues to have in the fuel balance, make the task of the rapid development of this branch one of the most acute problems of the 4th Five-year Plan...

In the development of industry, in fixing the rates

and the proportions of industrial production, the Party has always insisted that electric energy should be increased at higher rates... On the other hand, in order to meet the ever greater demands of the people's economy for electric energy and to ensure the prospect of its development, especially to meet the demands of electro-metallurgy, it has been decided to start the construction of the big, powerful Vau i Dejës hydro-power station on the Drin River during the 4th Five-year Plan.

Proceeding from the fact that wood remains the main household fuel and that it is very valuable for our economy and in short supply, the use of it with the greatest frugality should be considered a lofty patriotic duty by every worker and citizen. In this direction, the initiative of the Lushnja district for every agricultural cooperative to create its own forest to provide building timber and firewood for its own needs must be supported and widely publicized.

The ever better fulfilment of the increasing needs and demands of the working masses for consumer goods has been and **remains the object of special attention by the Party in its policy for the development of the light and food-processing industries, of handicrafts and other branches which have to do with various services.** Therefore it has been foreseen that during the 4th Five-year Plan the volume of production of light industry will be raised by 43-45 per cent and of the food-processing industry by 20-24 per cent.

While striving with all its might to increase production of consumer goods, the Party puts forward as an urgent task the improvement of their structure and quality in order to ensure, at all costs, that the goods produced will be of the best possible quality, simpler, cheaper, more durable and more attractive.

The work which the workers of the textile industry,

the clothing industry, the wood-working and other branches and enterprises of industry have begun to do in this direction must be resolutely pushed forward and their experience disseminated widely among all the branches of industry that produce consumer goods.

It must be clear to everybody that the struggle for quality is, at the same time, a struggle for quantity, because the goods last longer and social labour and material values are saved. That is why the struggle to produce goods of high quality must be just as or even more persistent than the struggle for the fulfilment of the plan in quantity.

The development of industry and the growth of industrial production must be achieved both through more complete exploitation of the existing productive capacities and through the creation of new capacities. It must be stressed, however, that the more time passes the more the intensive exploitation of the existing productive potentialities and the increase of the productivity of labour must become the main factors for the continuous increase of industrial production. It is precisely for this reason that in the 4th Five-year Plan about 60 per cent of the increase in industrial production will be ensured from the existing productive capacities and the increase in the productivity of labour of enterprises already functioning, and about 40 per cent from the new projects. Only proceeding on this course can ensure the continuous growth in the efficiency of our industry.

Good experience in this respect is not lacking. During the 3rd Five-year Plan, though some new industrial works were not built at all, or construction of them was postponed, the existing industrial plants and factories, by overfulfilling their plans, gave great assistance in the successful fulfilment, on the whole, of the targets set by the 4th Congress of the Party for the increase of total in-

dustrial production. In some branches and enterprises of our industry, such as the oil processing, copper metallurgy, cement, textile, sugar and other industries, the planned productive capacities were surpassed by an average of 10 per cent.

It is the duty of the party organizations and the economic organs to draw the necessary lessons from this experience, which should be made the basis of the work of every enterprise, workshop, brigade and worker, so that the maximum production is got from the machinery and equipment. To this end it is imperative to go over, as soon as possible and wherever possible, to the method of working with two or three full shifts, to avoid seasonal fluctuations of production, to ceaselessly raise the technical and professional level of the workers and to ensure regular and uninterrupted supplies of raw materials for industry, especially those from agriculture.

The party organizations and the working collectives of the industrial enterprises must make every effort to master, as quickly and thoroughly as possible, the new equipment with which our industry is being more and more supplied, in order to increase our industrial production rapidly on the basis of increasing the productivity of labour. In order to limit low productivity manual labour as far as possible and to improve the quality, special attention must be paid to raising the technical level of production in the cooperative handicraft enterprises.

In order to raise the level of mechanized work in industry, agriculture, construction, transport, handicrafts, etc., and to eliminate the bottle-necks of production, the time has come for our engineering industry to start to master the production in series of individual and complete machines and items of equipment. To fulfil this task measures must be taken immediately to set up design, construction and technological bureaus and to ensure that

the first steps taken towards the cooperation and specialization of production are extended and deepened by seeking and finding the forms most suitable and advantageous for the conditions of our country.

2. — THE DEVELOPMENT OF AGRICULTURE — THE MOST IMPORTANT LINK FOR THE FULFILMENT OF THE MAIN ECONOMIC TASKS OF THE 4th FIVE-YEAR PLAN

Throughout the whole period of socialist construction the Party has paid great attention to agriculture, considering it as one of the main branches of the economy. The people's power has made and is making colossal investments for the mechanization of agriculture, for drainage and irrigation work, for the provision of chemical fertilizers, selected seeds, qualified cadres and various credits, etc.

The Party has always linked the development of agriculture indissolubly with the building of socialism in the countryside, which is continuing as an uninterrupted revolution and which involves a series of transformations of a social, economic, ideological, cultural and technical nature.

Thanks to the correct Marxist-Leninist line of the Party, our countryside, organized in collective economies, has made great and all-round progress. Neither the growth of agricultural production nor the improvement of material and cultural well-being of our peasantry to the level that has been attained, is conceivable without the cooperativist order. Total agricultural production in 1965 was 2.3 times larger than in 1938, the area of arable land had increased 74 per cent, while the area under irrigation had increased 7 fold, and now about half of the arable land is under irrigation. Instead of the 30 tractors the

country had before Liberation, 7,630 tractors of 15 HP (3) are now operating in our agriculture. The yield rates of all agricultural crops are increasing year by year. The incomes of the peasants have increased and the economic, social and cultural situation in the countryside has steadily improved.

The development of agriculture and the experience of socialist construction in our countryside confirm the importance and universal value of the teachings of Marxism-Leninism, according to which the only way to build socialism in the countryside in the countries with fragmented peasant economies is the collectivization of agriculture. Any other way apart from collectivization leads only to the development or restoration of capitalism in the countryside.

The Yugoslav and other modern revisionists preach the spontaneous development of the countryside and do not accept the leading role of the party and state in its socialist transformation. They have dragged out of the dust-bin and propagate the old thesis of their predecessors about the spontaneous integration of the countryside into socialism only after the industrialization of the country has been completed. But life and the experience of our country and other socialist countries have proved that these views are utterly anti-Marxist, reactionary and hostile, because the aim of them is to preserve the positions of the bourgeoisie in the countryside and to perpetuate the capitalist system in agriculture.

In the countries where the revisionists are in power and where collectivization has been carried out, now they are moving backward on the road to the restoration of capitalism, precisely because they betrayed the Lenin-

3 In 1979 the number of tractors reckoned in 15 HP amounted to 18.369. The first tractor of Albanian make was constructed in 1978.

ist teachings on the way to build socialism in the countryside. Following the break-up of the machine and tractor stations in the Soviet Union, now measures are being taken to fragment the collective property by creating the so-called producer associations, which must pay rent for the land and the other means of production, the private plots are being extended at the expense of the collective property and the limits on the numbers of personally owned draft and productive animals are being abolished. Besides this, collective work is being replaced with individual work, payment according to the work done is being replaced with the principle of accumulating wealth, and the agricultural economies are entirely free to develop spontaneously and to adapt all their economic and productive activity to the anarchic demands, the competition and the free play of prices on the market.

This anti-socialist policy has given rise to great difficulties in these countries. The peasants are abandoning the countryside en masse. The rates of development of agriculture are slowing down. The plans are not being fulfilled and the appreciable shortages of agricultural and livestock products are increasing relentlessly. During the past seven-year plan agricultural production in the Soviet Union increased only 14 per cent as against the 70 per cent increase planned. The plan for opening up new land, the preaching of the maize cult and the Khrushchevites' organizations and re-organizations were nothing but great blunders which made the difficulties and chaos in agriculture even worse. Although the Soviet Union was a big exporter of grain in the past, in recent years it has imported unheard-of quantities of grain, holding out its hand to the American and other imperialists.

Our Party adheres to the line that we must have not only a developed industry, but also an advanced agriculture, that for our economy to be strong and inde-

pendent it must base itself on its two legs, both on industry and agriculture. This is a major issue of principle, which has special importance for our country. Ours is an agricultural-industrial country and the majority of the active population is engaged in agriculture. The needs of the population and the economy for grain and other agricultural and animal products are growing continuously. The rates of industrial development, especially in the light and food-processing industries, depend directly on the amount of raw materials furnished by agriculture. The demand for agricultural products for export is steadily increasing, too. The extension of the home market depends to a great extent on the rise in the incomes of the peasantry, on the increase of their economic exchanges, on the basis of the growth of agricultural and livestock production. Finally, the improvement of the economic situation of the population more rapidly cannot be thought of without ensuring the rapid development of agriculture.

Weighing up and assessing all these factors correctly, the Party is setting very great and important tasks for the development of agriculture during the 4th Five-year Plan. In this plan, agriculture occupies the main position in the development of the people's economy as a whole.

The basic task of agriculture and the whole people's economy is to increase production of bread grain...

The Party regards fulfilment of this task not only as a problem vital to solving once and for all the problems of ensuring the people's bread within the country and creating reserves for the future, but also as a means to give a fresh impetus to the development of all the other branches of agriculture and to relieve the people's economy as a whole of the considerable expenditure which the state makes for grain imports. This will be one of the greatest political and economic victories of our Party

and the people's power, because for us, the struggle to ensure the people's bread within the country has been and remains the struggle for socialism.

In setting the task of increasing the production of bread grain, the Central Committee of the Party has unshakeable confidence that the patriotic peasantry, backed up by the working class and the other working people of the town, will work with might and main and honourably fulfil this great task. Didn't this agricultural year show this very well? Mobilized under the slogan «Ensure our own bread», the working peasantry achieved very good results. Although the planned yield rates in grain were higher than those of any other year, they were achieved successfully. This year many mountainous cooperatives succeeded, for the first time, in producing all the grain they need for their own bread. The fulfilment of the production plan in potatoes was another great achievement. In response to the call of the Party, the area planted to potatoes was increased four fold and production will increase about five fold. The backward concepts that this plant can't be cultivated in large areas and in every district of our country have been overturned. A great source to ensure our daily bread has been created, because the potato is bread. On this occasion allow me to congratulate all the working peasantry for this important action and, in particular, the men of our People's Army, who, in the full sense of the term, became the pioneers of this important campaign for growing potatoes. Thus, the experience of this year is very encouraging and the target set in the 4th Five-year Plan for increased grain production will certainly be achieved.

The Party will continue its efforts to further strengthen the multi-branched character of agriculture and its profitable development. To this end, the production of industrial crops will be increased, fruit growing will be

extended, paying greater attention to the selection of the types of fruit trees, as well as to the radical improvement of agricultural technique, so that the value of the fruit will be increased both for the home market and for export. Greater attention will be paid to the expansion and the protection of our forests during this five-year plan.

Particular attention will be paid to the development of animal husbandry, which constitutes a priceless asset and an important source to fulfil the needs of the people and to expand some branches of the light and food processing industries. To this end, all types of livestock must be increased, giving special attention to increasing the number of cows, which are the basis for increasing the number of cattle. The increase of the number of cows and cattle in general is connected both with the extension and opening up of new land from the pastures, meadows, hills, woods and forests, and with the development of intensive agriculture.

In order to increase supplies of animal products it is necessary also to improve the breeds of all kinds of livestock and, in particular, of cattle. All the necessary measures must be taken to start herd improvement in cattle on an extensive scale both in the low-land zones and in the hilly and mountainous zones, according to the plan of regionalization which will be decided, and this task must be carried out in the shortest possible time. The key to the development of animal husbandry and the increase in animal products is to ensure and strengthen the fodder base. Despite the opening up of new land, this will not be damaged, but on the contrary will be enriched to the necessary degree as a result of increased care for the improvement of pastures, using them in a more organized way and increasing the production of forage crops...

For the rapid development of agriculture, along with the struggle for its intensification, the policy of opening up new land must be continued for a long time. Although very mountainous, our country still has big reserves for expansion of the area planted to bread grain and other agricultural crops. In general these reserves are at high altitudes and in remote zones. Therefore, for new land to be opened up we must direct our eyes to the hills and mountains.

There is no doubt at all that this directive of the Party and the task set in this five-year plan for the opening up of new land will be accomplished successfully. Suffice it to mention that during the first year of this five-year plan alone nearly 30 per cent more new land was opened up than during the last two years of the 3rd Five-year Plan taken together. This fact alone outstrips even the boldest forecasts in this direction.

It is the duty of the party organizations to keep alive the revolutionary enthusiasm of our patriotic peasantry for opening up new land, which burst out during the first year of this five-year plan, and raise it to an even higher level.

With the extensive opening up of new land in this and future five-year plans, great and brilliant prospects of development have been opened to the hilly and mountainous zones. The slogan of the Party, the state and the whole people must be **«Let us take to the hills and mountains, beautify them and make them as fertile as the plains.»**

For the development of these zones, besides the tireless work which must be done by the peasants themselves, and which will be the decisive factor for raising their well-being and cultural level, the Party and government have also taken some economic measures in their favour, such as: all the taxation on agricultural products

during the five years will be left at the disposal of the agricultural cooperatives, to be used for investments, and the wholesale prices of wheat and meat sold to the state will be raised. These measures, together with the other aid of the state in financial and material means and cadres, will help to strengthen the hilly and mountainous zones economically and will create the possibility to accelerate the rates of growth of production and social progress in these areas. Along with this, the agricultural economies of these areas, which have not yet been collectivized⁽⁴⁾ and which represent about 10 per cent of the peasants' land, must be helped by the Party and the state to find the most suitable forms for the organization of the work and production on a collective socialist basis.

The Party and the state must consider and study the development of agriculture in the mountain areas with great care and in an organized way. They must do persistent work in this direction, must not be content with little and not be carried away with premature enthusiasm over the initial successes, because in this gigantic undertaking unprecedented in the history of our country, they will run into difficulties and obstacles, which must and certainly will be overcome.

Right from this five-year plan, the opening up of new land in the hills and mountains must be carried out according to a perspective plan, which must foresee how much land, when and where it will be opened up by the peasantry and the agricultural cooperatives, and where and when it will be opened up by the state, bearing in mind that the new land which will be opened up by the state should comprise big blocks on the basis of which state farms can be set up.

⁴ Collectivization of agriculture in Albania began in November 1946, proceeded gradually and was completed in 1967.

The organs of the Party and state must solve the problem of manpower for these state farms. What ways can there be to solve this problem? Naturally the peasantry of the mountain areas constitutes one good source, but since we are already aware that the mountain cooperatives themselves will need more manpower, we must not expect much from them. Another source must be ensured from the low-land cooperatives. To this end, during the next ten years we must try to achieve the maximum mechanization of the farm work in the lowlands, so as to release a great number of workers who can be shifted to the mountainous zones. However, the main source to populate mountain zones in general must be the population of the towns, first of all the youth, who are courageous, patriotic, enthusiastic and always respond to the directives of the Party.

The development of our agriculture in this way will not only bring a greater increase of agricultural products, hence the creation of considerable reserves, but will also help normalize the distribution of the population. Going to the mountains will put an end to the noticed harmful, uneconomical, petty-bourgeois, bureaucratic tendency to leave those areas and go down to the towns, regardless of whether or not the needs of the economy require this.

By applying these orientations, our mountains, which are somewhat abandoned and impoverished at present, will flourish and become productive within a relatively short time. It is man who beautifies the country and our mountains will be transformed by the hands and mind of man.

We always say that the forests are a great asset and must be protected. Populating the mountains will truly turn the forests into a colossal asset, because they will have people to protect them and take care of them.

Not only will the people protect the forests from misuse, but undoubtedly they will enlarge the areas under forest.

The opening up of new land on an extensive scale will undoubtedly give rise, in the future, to the need for studies on the further development of the types of livestock in the mountain areas. Perhaps we should no longer remain prisoners to the present tradition that only sheep and goats can be raised on the hills and mountains. In the new conditions which are being created, in addition to sheep and goats, dairy cows must also be raised much more extensively, even in the mountains. Our mountains must become a big source of milk, meat, butter, cheese, etc. We must develop modern, profitable livestock farming, just as many countries of Europe have done, with an advanced milk processing industry, not only to create abundance in the country, but also to export our tasty and aromatic products.

Our people will welcome this colossal action enthusiastically because they will see a great future in it. The Party has especially great faith in the youth, who will respond enthusiastically to the call of the Party and will take to the mountains, conscious that in this way they are fighting for the prosperity of the Homeland, for the creation of new villages and towns in the mountains, for the dissemination of culture and progress everywhere, for the fusion of the people of the towns with those of the countryside. The youth, the future of our country, will be tempered with the communist spirit and the heroic features of our highlanders, and will become as strong as the mountains themselves.

The Party must take all the necessary measures for this great action — political, material and propaganda measures, so that it is carried out successfully. The propaganda of the Party should arouse love for agriculture, for livestock farming in the people, arouse their love for

the hills, for our heroic mountains, which from now on will not only be natural fortresses in defence of our Homeland, but will also become an important source for the development of our socialist economy.

The fulfilment of the great tasks which the 4th Five-year Plan sets for agriculture demands the **further economic and organizational strengthening of the agricultural cooperatives and their full treatment as voluntary economic organizations of the peasantry.**

In consultation with the broad masses of cooperativists, as always, the Party has recently issued a series of recommendations intended to improve the system of planning, organization and payment for the work done in the agricultural cooperatives, to improve and extend their relations with the state economic organs and with the other economic organizations, to invigorate their internal life, and ensure that the basic principles of initiative and cooperative democracy are respected.

The party organizations and the state organs must ensure that these measures are carried out thoroughly, so that they serve to strengthen the cooperatives, lead to greater mobilization of the cooperativist peasants and raise their socialist consciousness and revolutionary spirit.

In the new circumstances, the economic and organizational strengthening of the agricultural cooperatives is inseparable from the further invigoration of their internal life on the basis of democracy, from the strengthening of their financial discipline and better organization of their work. For this purpose, the role of the assembly as the supreme organ of management of the cooperative and the only one which decides all the main aspects of its economic and organizational activities, must be enhanced. In addition to this, the organs of state power at district and grass roots must improve the guidance they give the cooperatives on the fundamental issues and the

organizational forms of the leadership and work, without involving themselves with details and with the matters which are up to the cooperatives and the cooperative members themselves, and without stifling the initiative of the organs and cadres they elect, or depriving them of their authority.

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IV

THE FURTHER DEEPENING OF THE IDEOLOGICAL AND CULTURAL REVOLUTION

The further revolutionization of life in our country is inconceivable without the further development and deepening of the ideological and cultural revolution. It is accomplished precisely on the basis of this revolution, the fundamental aim of which is to instil and ensure the complete triumph of the proletarian socialist ideology in the consciousness of all the working people, while thoroughly eradicating the bourgeois ideology, to ensure the all-round revolutionary, communist education and tempering of the new man — the decisive factor in solving all the big, complicated problems of the construction of socialism and the defence of the Homeland.

Throughout its whole existence, our Party has devoted special care and attention to the all-round revolutionary education of the communists and all the working people. Especially since the 4th Congress and on the basis of its directives, our Party has done more persistent work in this direction.

1. — THE STRUGGLE FOR THE TRIUMPH OF THE SOCIALIST IDEOLOGY IS A STRUGGLE FOR THE TRIUMPH OF SOCIALISM AND COMMUNISM

In our country the proletarian socialist ideology is the ideology in power which sets the general tone for all the life and activity of our working people. Despite

the successes achieved, however, we are conscious that the struggle in this field is protracted and difficult. V.I. Lenin said:

*«Our task is to overcome all the resistance of the capitalists, not only their military and political resistance but also their ideological resistance, which is the strongest and most deeply entrenched.»**

The old idealist ideology of the exploiting society still has deep roots and exerts a powerful and continuous influence. When we speak of this influence, it is not just a matter of «a few remnants and alien manifestations that appear here and there», as it is often wrongly described in our propaganda, but the influence of a whole alien ideology which is expressed in all sorts of alien concepts, customs and attitudes, which are retained for a long time as a heritage from the past, have social support in the former exploiting classes and their remnants, in the tendencies to petty-bourgeois spontaneity, and are nurtured in various forms by the capitalist and revisionist world which surrounds us.

As long as the complete victory of the socialist revolution in the field of ideology and culture has not been ensured, the achievements of the socialist revolution in the political and economic fields cannot be secure and guaranteed, either. Therefore, in the final analysis, the struggle on the ideological front for the complete defeat of bourgeois and revisionist ideology has to do with the question: will socialism and communism be built and the restoration of capitalism be avoided, or will the door be opened to the spread of bourgeois and revisionist ideology and the return to capitalism be permitted.

* V. I. Lenin, Collected Works, vol. 31, p. 423 (Alb. ed.).

The ideological and cultural revolution is a part of the general class struggle to carry the socialist revolution through to the end in all fields. Contrary to the views of the modern revisionists, who have declared the class struggle in socialism outdated and a thing of the past, our Party holds that class struggle remains one of the main motive forces of society, even after the exploiting classes have been eliminated. This struggle includes all fields of life. It has its ebbs and flows and zigzags, sometimes it surges up, sometimes it falls back, sometimes becomes fierce, at other times more «mild», but it never ceases and dies right away.

As the experience of our country shows, this struggle is an objective and inevitable phenomenon in socialism. It is waged against the remnants of the exploiting classes, overthrown and expropriated, but who continue to resist and exert pressure by every means, first and foremost, through their reactionary ideology, as well as against new bourgeois elements, degenerate revisionist and anti-Party elements, who inevitably emerge within our society. It is also waged against bourgeois and revisionist ideology which is retained and expressed in various forms and degrees of intensity, as well as against the external pressure of imperialism. Thus the internal and external fronts of class struggle are interconnected, now merging into one single front, now operating separately, but always linked by the same objective: to overthrow the dictatorship of the proletariat and restore capitalism.

Acceptance or non-acceptance of the class struggle in socialism is a question of principle, it is a line of demarcation between Marxist-Leninists and revisionists, between revolutionaries and betrayers of the revolution. Any deviation from the class struggle has fatal consequences for the future of socialism. Therefore, along with the struggle to increase production, to develop education and culture,

along with the struggle against foreign enemies — the imperialists and revisionists, we must not neglect, must never overlook the class struggle within the country, for otherwise history will punish us severely.

The duty of the Party is not to shut its eyes to this necessity, not to benumb the revolutionary vigilance of the communists and masses, but to wage this class struggle vigorously and unwaveringly until final victory. The progress of our society and the revolutionary education of the working people are inconceivable and cannot be achieved outside the class struggle.

In practice we often come across a narrow concept on the class struggle and class enemy, which regards only the kulaks and other elements of the former exploiting classes, or the imperialists and Titoite and Khrushchevite revisionists abroad as class enemies, and only the struggle against their anti-socialist activities as class struggle. The struggle against these enemies remains, as always, a primary task for our Party, our state and our working people. But we should take a broader view of the class struggle. It is a many-sided struggle which is, first and foremost, an ideological struggle today, a struggle for the minds and hearts of people, a struggle against bourgeois and revisionist degeneration, against all alien remnants and phenomena which still exist and manifest themselves in various degrees among all our people — it is a struggle for the triumph of our communist ideology and morality.

The struggle against theft and misuse of socialist property, against parasitic and speculative tendencies to take as much as possible from society and to contribute to it as little as possible, against putting personal ease, the personal interest and glory above the general interest, against bureaucratic manifestations and distortions, against religious ideology, prejudices, superstitions and backward customs, against underestimation of women and failure to

respect their equal rights in society, against fashion and the bourgeois way of life, against idealism and metaphysics, against various «isms» of the decadent bourgeois and revisionist art and culture, against the political and ideological influence of external enemies, etc., etc., all these things are parts of the class struggle.

Thus, the class struggle is not only directed against external and internal enemies, but is also waged within the ranks of the working people, against any alien manifestation observed in the consciousness, the thinking, the behaviour and the attitude of each individual. No one should think that he is proof against any evil and has nothing to fight against within himself. A stern struggle between socialist ideology and bourgeois ideology takes place in the consciousness of each person. Everybody ought to look at himself as though in a mirror and clean his consciousness every day, just as he washes his face every day, by taking a communist attitude towards himself.

Class struggle is reflected within the Party, too, because, on the one hand, people from different social strata come into the Party, bringing with them all kinds of alien remnants and manifestations, and on the other hand, the party members, like all the working people, encounter the pressure of the class enemy, especially of the enemy ideology, from inside and outside the country. Consequently, in the party ranks as well as in the ranks of the working people there may and do emerge people who degenerate and go over to alien anti-Party and anti-socialist positions. Moreover, in all their activities our enemies give particular importance to the degeneration of party members in order to bring about the degeneration of the Party as a whole, because only thus can the way be opened to the restoration of capitalism. It should be clear that without contradictions of various kinds and without a struggle to overcome them, the life and development of the Party would

not be possible. This struggle should not be covered up under the pretext of preserving unity, but should be waged and carried through to the end, thus strengthening the true unity of the Party, its revolutionary spirit, its militancy and the dictatorship of the proletariat.

It is a primary task of all the ideological work of the Party to form a correct concept about class struggle in our country in all the communists and working people, to educate them in the spirit of irreconcilable class struggle, to instil in them the method of class analysis which is the only method by which to know and correctly solve all the problems, to teach them not only to accept the need for class struggle in words, but to wage it in all fields of life every day. This is not something new. Our Party has always stressed the need to wage the class struggle and carry out class education and has done a great deal of work in this direction.

We must fight indifference and formalism in our political work for the education of the Party and the masses and always link it properly with the active class struggle. We must resolutely combat alien concepts and manifestations opposed to the line of the Party and the interests of people and socialism, combat the tendency to avoid calling things by their true names, but to soften them and smooth them over, concealing their class essence and their social danger.

These shortcomings in the work of party organizations account for the fact that some cadres and party members do not always give priority to the common interests represented by the party policy, but often look at things from the angle of personal, local or departmental interest, look at various problems with the eye of a technocrat and bureaucrat, with the eye of a narrow-minded specialist and neglect the political and ideological aspects. They do not understand that there is politics everywhere, in

every work and sector, because there are no cadres or economic, administrative, cultural or military work divorced from politics or outside the policy of the dictatorship of the proletariat. All things are interconnected and interdependent and in this unity politics occupies the main place, and likewise all our cadres, in every sector where they work, should be, first and foremost, political people, should put the policy of the Party first and always guide themselves by it.

Our Party has always been characterized by its stern irreconcilability with the enemies of the people, socialism and Marxism-Leninism and its love for and boundless loyalty to the working people and their revolutionary cause, its wisdom and patience with all those who commit mistakes but can be corrected. Narrow, sectarian attitudes have always been alien to it. Therefore, the party organizations must resolutely combat any manifestation of sectarianism in their work because this damages the links of the Party with the masses, confuses the dividing line between us and our enemies and leads to the use of wrong methods in resolving contradictions among the people, which affect the working people themselves.

The ideological work of the Party must make the nature of the contradictions in socialist society thoroughly clear, as well as the ways to resolve them correctly... Any mixing up of the two kinds of contradictions leads to opportunist and sectarian errors.

It must always be borne in mind that the carriers and spreaders of the bourgeois ideology are not only elements from former exploiting classes but also our own people who are working for the cause of socialism. In these cases, while fighting mercilessly against the disease, the alien ideology, we must strive with all our might to cure the patient, the carrier of that ideology. Only in the case when the carrier and spreader of the alien ideology

is or becomes our conscious enemy, only then is the contradiction handled and resolved as an antagonistic contradiction and the method of persuasion replaced by that of compulsion. The Party must do a great prophylactic, educational and political work, patiently and systematically, to prevent anyone from falling into grave blunders, going from blunders to culpable faults and then to anti-state and anti-socialist crimes subject to severe punishment by the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Another very important direction of the ideological work of the Party is the inculcation of the new socialist attitude towards work, so that our people will work as revolutionaries and fight resolutely to put the revolutionary ideals into practice. Only in work and through work is the new man educated and tempered, because work is the greatest school of communist education.

In the atmosphere of great creative work full of selfless revolutionary enthusiasm, which is transforming nature and the consciousness of man, it becomes even more evident how alien and intolerable are the attitudes of those people who dodge work, who are afraid of difficulties and sacrifices, who do not want to disturb their personal ease and comfort, who try to occupy or hang on to some «soft spot», who do their work carelessly and try to grab the maximum from society, who proceed in everything from their own personal interest and material benefit and, with a thousand pretexts and excuses, shirk the duty of working where the people and the country need them. All these are bourgeois attitudes.

The party organizations must carry on a resolute fight against such alien manifestations, incompatible with our communist morality. They must regard the struggle against such manifestations as an aspect of the class struggle, as a struggle against the seed of the bourgeois and revisionist degeneration of people. They must implant the

revolutionary socialist concept and attitude towards work among all the working people of town and country, so that everybody regards work as a matter of honour and pride, as a lofty patriotic duty, without which life could not exist. Our people and, first and foremost, the cadres and party members must work with high consciousness and discipline, with military drive and tempo, boldly overcome every obstacle and difficulty, march steadily forward, place the interests of the people, the country and socialism above everything, spare nothing to promote these interests, and be ready even to lay down their lives for these interests. A modest son of our people, son of a family formerly oppressed and exploited by beys and landlords was Hekuran Zenuni, a soldier from the village of Tozhar in the Berat district. He made light of difficulties and sacrifices and went ahead to perform the duty with which he had been charged and, without hesitation, laid down his life in the flower of his youth, just as the 28,000 martyrs did to accomplish their tasks during the National Liberation War. Such are the new men which our Party has educated and tempered.

When we speak about the socialist attitude towards work, the correct understanding of physical work, work in production has first-rate importance. This is a great question of principle to which the organizations of the Party must give special attention in their educational work. The aristocratic concepts about work in production are completely alien to socialism and fraught with dangerous consequences. Any underestimation or deriding of physical work should be condemned as underestimation and deriding of the workers and peasants and the broad masses of the people — a thing that leads to isolation from the people and their work and life, and this isolation is the source of many evils. This should be taken into account especially by those engaged in mental work, the

cadres, officials, the technical and artistic intelligentsia, the pupils and students. The overwhelming majority of them have been educated since the liberation of the country and have emerged from the ranks of the working masses, are closely linked with the people and the Party and have displayed and are demonstrating a high level of patriotic and socialist consciousness. Nevertheless, these features should not lead us to underestimate the danger of their becoming infected by bourgeois ideology and, especially, by revisionist views. This is not an imaginary danger, it has a real basis. It is connected with the very nature and conditions of the work and life of people engaged in mental work, and especially the creative, artistic and scientific intelligentsia, who are still very out of touch with physical work and, in many instances, with the working masses and their lives. Among the intelligentsia more favourable ground can be and is found for the spread of individualism and careerism, conceit and haughtiness, unjustified pretensions and an easy life, intellectualism and disdain for the masses.

Our peoples intelligentsia must link itself as closely as possible with the people, must work and live with the workers and peasants and blend themselves inseparably with them. They must reject the bourgeois idea inherited from the past which still has deep roots, that the intellectual knows everything and he alone is able to lead, to guide, to teach and instruct others — an idea which in fact expresses the negation of the role of the masses. It must be clear that the decisive role in all fields of life, including spiritual life, does not belong to particular individuals, no matter how outstanding they are, but to the broad masses of the people. Knowledge does not fall from heaven. All knowledge derives from life and practice and is a product of the struggle of the masses to transform nature and society. Therefore, the men of science, art

and culture must listen with attention and deep respect to the opinions of the masses, sum up their experience, always be modest and humble pupils of the great and unmistakable teacher, the people, and make the judgement of the people the fundamental criterion in all their creative work. Some cadres in our scientific institutions are conceited and think that what they say is the last word of science, that any opinion opposed to theirs is worthless, incorrect, and must be rejected. No! Such concepts among the ranks of our scientists must be stigmatized. There is no advance in science or anywhere else without struggle, without clashes of opinions, without class struggle, without debate guided by the Marxist-Leninist principles, by the proletarian ideology, to discover the truth. The idea of the development and progress of science, and not personal glory, must guide each of our scientists in his own work.

The people of the intelligentsia must link their mental work as closely as possible with the physical work of workers and peasants and take part continually, in the proportions laid down, in work directly in production. This duty which has been put into practice widely for all the cadres, intelligentsia, pupils and students, has great theoretical and practical importance. It will help them to become better acquainted with life, to rid themselves of many alien remnants and manifestations and to temper themselves as genuine revolutionaries. This is an important step towards reducing the distinctions between mental and physical work, which, together with the reduction of distinctions between town and country and between the working class and the peasantry, constitutes a major problem which is closely linked with the prospects of our development towards communism. If we do not take measures now to narrow these differences and, willingly or not, allow them to deepen, then our country will not develop towards our final objective and these differences

will also become the cause of many evils, of unfair relations between people of mental and physical work, between town and country and between the working class and the peasantry.

Our Party has big tasks to perform also in connection with the inculcation of correct concepts about life so that the moral figure of the communists and all the working people will be the same, not only at work and in society, but also in personal and family life. The cadres, the communists and every worker should live like revolutionaries, lead a modest life of real struggle, they should be the first in sacrifices and the last in pretensions. As the Open Letter reads: «...not empty idleness and concern only for oneself, but the ideal of socialism, the struggle to build our socialist Homeland and make it flower with our own hands, the joy of creative work for the good of the people and in their service and the continuous raising of the standard of living of the working masses must be the main objective of their life and struggle, their main preoccupation.»*

The bourgeois and revisionist concept of life, putting money, pleasure, luxury, comfort, personal ease and well-being above everything, is alien to our people. The consequences of such a concept have become catastrophic in the countries ruled by the revisionists. Political degeneration, moral corruption, running after money and material gain, selfishness and frenzied individualism, the bourgeois way of life and fashion, and hooliganism are what characterize the life of these countries today, a life which is almost indistinguishable from that of western capitalist countries.

Such alien views on life may and, in fact, do take root in some of our people who are exposed to the strong influence of bourgeois ideology and morality. The party

* «Principal Documents of the PLA», vol. 5, p. 38 (Alb. ed.):

organizations must always be vigilant and carry out a great educational work and struggle to create in the Party, in the collective, in the family and everywhere such an atmosphere as to stifle decadent concepts about the way and purpose of life, sternly condemning all liberal attitudes and laxity in this direction. Through its work the Party must inculcate, especially in the younger generation, our new revolutionary concept of life that is inspired by the lofty ideals of socialism and communism.

All the ideological work of the Party, its propaganda and agitation, must be directed first and foremost at ideological and political education, the formation and tempering of people as genuine revolutionaries and communists so that they understand and put into practice the great slogan of the Party: «Think, work and live like revolutionaries» which constitutes the essence of communist education, the fundamental content of the educational work of the Party.

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3. — WE MUST RADICALLY IMPROVE THE METHOD AND STYLE OF THE EDUCATIONAL WORK

Our great objectives in the realm of the cultural and ideological revolution for the education of communists and all the working people in a high revolutionary spirit cannot be achieved without further improving the entire content of our educational work and especially the method and style of this work.

It must be said that up to now this work has suffered and is still suffering from dogmatism and stereotypism, from being out of touch with life, from verbosity, unexplained formulas and a heavy, boring style. Our workers of Marxist social sciences and propaganda have

been trying to present our experience in the known terms of theory, reducing it, in the best instances, to examples for illustration, and not enough work has been done to make theoretical generalizations from the Albanian practice, to raise the wealth of factual material that the life of our country during all these years has provided, to the level of science. Therefore, the Party must make every effort to combat this serious shortcoming, and to enliven creative thinking in the field of Marxist social sciences, in our propaganda, and in all our ideological and cultural work.

In addition there are some other weaknesses that have been noticed in the organization and conduct of political and cultural educational activities. In many cases the forms of educational work are standardized and rigid, without spirit or life, little effort is made to adapt them to new conditions and circumstances and frequently nothing is altered until instructions come from above. The fact is that the revolutionary spirit of the Party and masses has far outstripped the propaganda and agitation of the Party. Communists and non-party workers, co-operativists, youth and women are making thousands of innovations and rationalizations which revolutionize their minds and production. However, the same cannot be said about the party workers engaged in propaganda and agitation, or about the workers of the ideological and cultural front, who should advance not alongside, but in the vanguard of all the other working people, to light the way for them, to organize and mobilize them for great deeds. What is the reason for this? Is it that the comrades of the ideological front are incapable, have no ideas and opinions? No. They are some of the best comrades, with a high ideological and political level and tireless workers. The trouble is that they find it difficult to break away from the old stereotyped forms of work

and are not closely linked with the work and struggle of the masses.

In the field of ideology and propaganda the Party must struggle also against another serious shortcoming which is seen especially in the daily life of party organizations, as well as of state and economic organs. Here I am referring to the manifestations of empiricism and narrow practicism, the separation of practice from theory, becoming totally immersed in the swirl of daily life, facts and events, the failure to draw general conclusions from the experience of the masses, and the underestimation of theory, which leads to the loss of perspective and deviation from principles. It is regrettable, but a fact, that there are communists in the ranks of the Party who toil day and night but never open a book, that some leading cadres who have neglected their studies, have lagged behind and cannot respond to the great tasks with which life faces them. Some believe that since they have graduated from the University or the Party School they know everything and have nothing more to learn. Others are content with little and think that the study of theory is not necessary for the work they do. All these views must be condemned and sternly combated. The cadres, the communists and all the working people must learn all the time, must learn from life and from school, from practice and theory, from work and from books. This is a never-ending, unlimited job.

The Party has taken and will take measures to improve the work in this field of such importance, combating both dogmatism and empiricism, both lifeless theorizing and narrow practicism. However, these measures will never be sufficient and complete unless the organizations and committees of the Party and the workers on the ideological front use their brains, think and create with initiative, unless they elaborate and enrich the directives

of the Party and apply them in a revolutionary way in conformity with the tasks and circumstances. The work of the Party and its ideological work, in particular, is a living and profoundly creative work, which does not tolerate ready-made schemes and stereotypes. The enlivenment of this work is one of the most important tasks of the Party today.

The revolutionizing of all the ideological work, of its content and style, linking it closely with life, must assist, first of all, the more profound and conscious assimilation of Marxism-Leninism by the communists and all the working people of our country. Such an assimilation of Marxist-Leninist ideas and their transformation into a weapon for our working people in their daily struggle is the fundamental distinguishing feature that marks the process of the further deepening of our ideological and cultural revolution. The Marxist-Leninist ideas are the red flag of our Party, its invincible and triumphant banner. They are the foundation of the general line of our Party, they are our guide to action, they light the way for our ideological and cultural revolution, of which they are the basis. Therefore, they must become, and are becoming more and more each day, the property and weapon of the working people.

In this connection we must strengthen and radically improve the study of Marxist-Leninist theory in the Party School, in all categories of our schools and especially in the University and other higher institutes, with the aim that the younger generation and our cadres are formed and tempered as genuine revolutionaries, with broad political and theoretical horizons, closely linked with life and practice. Our schools must give the youth and the cadres profound Marxist-Leninist theoretical knowledge, and give it to them not in a dogmatic way, but creatively, not as an ornament, but as a compass to guide

them correctly in life and as a weapon for the revolutionary transformation of the world. The works of the classics of Marxism-Leninism and especially the documents, materials and experience of our Party, which are Marxism-Leninism in action in today's national and international conditions, must be the basis for the study of our triumphant doctrine. At the same time, we must intensify and improve the propagation of Marxist-Leninist ideas through the press and publications, by printing and publishing more articles, books and pamphlets, works of the classics of Marxism-Leninism, not only complete works but also selections on specific themes, dealing with particular problems on which the cadres and workers need direct help.

Our struggle for the assimilation of Marxist-Leninist ideas, for the deepening of the ideological and cultural revolution, cannot be waged successfully unless the whole Party, the communists and all working masses are drawn into it, unless the line of the masses, the line of thorough socialist democratization, is implemented boldly and in a revolutionary way here, as everywhere else. To put such a line into practice, a stern struggle must be waged against the reactionary bourgeois intellectualist concept that theory, philosophy, science and art are too difficult to be grasped by the masses, that they can be understood only by the cadres and intelligentsia, because the masses have not reached the level necessary to understand them! This means to make theory and science a bugbear for the masses. This means to make Marxism-Leninism a bugbear for the masses, too, because Marxism-Leninism is a theory and science. We must declare relentless war on this concept. Marxism-Leninism is not a monopoly of a privileged few who «have the brains» to understand it. It is the scientific ideology of the working class and the working masses, and only when its

ideas are grasped by the broad working masses does it cease to be something abstract and is turned into a great material force for the revolutionary transformation of the world. The historic task of our Party is to continually deepen the ideological and cultural revolution and carry it through to the end by relying on the masses of workers, peasants, soldiers, cadres and the intelligentsia and drawing them actively into creative revolutionary activity.

THE STRUGGLE OF THE PARTY OF LABOUR OF ALBANIA
AGAINST MODERN REVISIONISM AND IN DEFENCE OF
THE PURITY OF MARXISM-LENINISM

During the period since the 4th Congress, our Party has waged a resolute principled struggle in defence of the purity of Marxism-Leninism, a blow-for-blow struggle against the Khrushchevite and Titoite revisionists and their followers.

The Party of Labour of Albania considers it the duty and the right of every Marxist-Leninist party to defend the teachings of Marxism-Leninism from any rightist or leftist deviation, both within the ranks of the party and in the international communist movement, and to make principled criticism of any Marxist-Leninist party which violates and distorts the Marxist principles and the laws of the proletarian revolution. This derives from the principled content and the international character of the Marxist-Leninist doctrine, from the common interests and aims of all the detachments of the working class, from proletarian partisanship and from the responsibility of each party for the fate of the international communist movement.

Besides this, the correct understanding and development of Marxism-Leninism and its practical application in different countries is not and cannot be a monopoly of one party or a few individuals, but is a right and duty of every party and every communist or revolutionary group and, at the same time, of all of them jointly. Each

and everyone makes and has to make his own contribution to this great question of principle.

Marxism-Leninism does not recognise big parties and small parties, mother parties and daughter parties, leading parties and led parties. All the true Marxist-Leninist parties are equal and independent of one another, they are united to the end with one another for the great cause of the revolution; give one another reciprocal aid and support, consult and cooperate with one another, and co-ordinate their opinions and actions in order to achieve their common goal, inspired and guided in everything by revolutionary Marxism-Leninism.

The Party of Labour of Albania has always upheld these principles and this healthy revolutionary spirit and has acted in conformity with them from the time it was founded. Proceeding resolutely on this correct course, without wishing to impose its opinions on others, in this Congress the Party of Labour of Albania openly expresses its views on the major problems that are worrying the international communist movement. Everybody has the right and duty to criticize us openly, in case we are not right on some question, or if he does not share our views. We shall welcome any fair principled criticism.

1. — MODERN REVISIONISM — AN OFFSHOOT AND ALLY OF THE BOURGEOISIE AND IMPERIALISM

The Party of Labour of Albania considers the open, unrelenting struggle against modern revisionism, which has the Soviet revisionist leadership as its centre, to be one of the main tasks of all the Marxist-Leninists, because modern revisionism is the main enemy in the international communist movement, it is the «Trojan horse» of -imperialism and world capitalism, it is the «second

front» of imperialism against socialism and communism. Its strategic aim is to perpetuate the capitalist rule wherever it is in power and to restore capitalism wherever it has been overthrown.

The present-day Khrushchevite revisionism is a direct successor and continuation of the revisionism of Bernstein and Kautsky, Trotsky and Bukharin, Browder and Tito, against which Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin and the 3rd Communist International and the Information Bureau of the communist and workers' parties waged a stern principled struggle. The present-day revisionists are following in the footsteps of social-democracy, which is a servant of the bourgeoisie and a weapon for the consolidation of the capitalist order to suppress the revolution and undermine socialism. Revisionism and social-democracy are two manifestations of the same bourgeois ideology: the former in the communist movement, and the latter in the workers' movement. Their common ideological basis and common political aims are what bring revisionism and social-democracy together, unite them and fuse them into a single anti-Marxist, anti-socialist, counter-revolutionary trend.

The history of the emergence, development and triumph of Marxism-Leninism is the history of the uninterrupted struggle against all its ideological and political opponents, against traitors and splitters, against opportunists and revisionists of every hue. The international communist movement exists and develops in a society divided into opposing classes and systems, between which a stern class struggle is waged. This struggle finds its expression even within the ranks of the communist parties and the international communist movement as a struggle between Marxism-Leninism and various opportunist and revisionist trends. The dialectical law of development through the struggle of opposites, as a universal law, also

operates within the communist parties and the communist movement. Opportunism and revisionism have always been and still are the ideological and political sources of disruption of the unity of the communist parties and the communist movement in general. The history of the international communist movement shows that it has gone from unity to division and from division to a new unity on a new higher basis. In the struggle between Marxism-Leninism and opportunism and revisionism, victory has always gone to Marxism-Leninism. After each battle against opportunism and revisionism, the communist movement has scored great historic victories and Marxism-Leninism has been developed and raised to a higher level.

It was precisely the struggle of the great Lenin at the head of the Bolsheviks against the opportunism of the traitor Second International that ensured the victory of historic world importance of the Great October Socialist Revolution in Russia, which marked the greatest turning-point in the history of mankind, opened the era of the transition from capitalism to communism, ensured the triumph of Marxism-Leninism over opportunism, revisionism and social-democracy and led to the formation of the Communist International, which raised the world communist movement to a still higher level. Thanks to the struggle waged by J.V. Stalin, the great continuer of Lenin's work, at the head of the CPSU and the struggle of the Comintern, the Trotskyites, the Bukharinites, the bourgeois nationalists and all the other opportunists were routed, and this ensured the consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the victory of socialism in the Soviet Union, and carried forward the world revolutionary and liberation movement. This struggle directly assisted the formation and tempering of communist and workers' parties, confirmed the basic principles of the structure of Marxist-Leninist parties, consolidated the

revolutionary unity of the communist movement against the bourgeois ideology in its different variants, and armed the parties with great experience so they could understand and apply Marxism-Leninism correctly in accordance with national and international conditions.

The results of the work and struggle carried on by the CPSU, the Comintern and the individual communist parties were especially apparent in the fight against fascism and after the Second World War which ended with the total political and military defeat of fascism, the general weakening of the imperialist front, the great victory of the Soviet Union, the setting out of many countries of Europe and Asia on the road of socialism, the upsurge of the national liberation movement, the growth of the role and authority of the communist parties throughout the world, and many political and economic victories of the international working class.

The Soviet Union came out of the war stronger than ever, although it had suffered great material and human losses. Its economy recovered quickly. Great successes were achieved by the other socialist countries, too. This enhanced the economic and political potential of socialism in the world, and increased its defence potential, the power of attraction of the ideas of socialism and the influence of the Marxist-Leninist parties. The Marxist-Leninist unity of the communist and workers' parties and the international solidarity of the communists and peoples was strengthened and tempered on a sound basis, the cooperation and reciprocal assistance among the fraternal socialist countries were developed and strengthened in new Marxist-Leninist forms, the socialist camp was created and consolidated and became the champion of the peoples against imperialism, a mighty supporter of the revolutionary and national liberation struggles, a great school for the revolutionaries and peoples of the whole world for

their liberation from the yoke of imperialist oppressors and other enslavers.

The revolution was mounting, continuously advancing, while imperialism was moving towards its doom, decaying, and encircled by the fire and steel of the peoples of the whole world. In order to get out of its difficulties and to apply its counter-revolutionary and aggressive global strategy, the head of world imperialism — US imperialism, set in motion all its economic, political, military and ideological potential.

Precisely at these moments, when imperialism was in extreme difficulties and striving to emerge from the crisis with which the revolutionary impetus of the working people and the political, ideological, economic and military might of the socialist camp and the national liberation struggle of the peoples were threatening it, the modern revisionists, headed by the Titoite and Soviet revisionists, came to the aid of imperialism to rescue it from the crisis and defeat. Herein lies the great betrayal by the revisionists and their historic responsibility before the peoples.

Being ideologically and morally on the same track as US imperialism and world imperialism in general, despite the great military potential of the countries they ruled, the modern revisionists were terrified by American imperialism's threats of war and atomic blackmail and surrendered to it. They presented themselves to world capitalism as obedient lackeys and inveterate agents, with a political platform that is bourgeois from start to finish but camouflaged with Marxist phraseology in order to deceive people more readily. Thus, world imperialism achieved a success greater than it could ever have expected. Therefore, it was very pleased with all the steps and actions of the revisionists; it cheered, applauded and supported them and exploited them to the limit, trying to get them more and more deeply involved in betrayal

through blackmail and «concessions», through threats and credits.

The first and most dangerous spawn of imperialism was Titoism which, with the help of the bourgeoisie, the Trotskyites and social-democracy, seized power in Yugoslavia. It was used by imperialism as a political and ideological means to fight the socialist countries, to organize the subversive struggle within the international communist movement, to undermine the anti-imperialist struggle of the peoples and to formulate the principles of modern revisionism in the conditions when a party of Trotskyites and renegades is in power. But due to the penetrating foresight of Stalin this serious threat was discovered in time and a firm militant Marxist-Leninist stand against this treacherous trend was adopted. The traitor clique of Tito was exposed as an agency of US imperialism and the international bourgeoisie, was unanimously opposed by the whole of international communism and isolated in its lair.

After the death of Stalin, the camouflaged counter-revolutionaries within the ranks of the CPSU, headed by Khrushchev, began to stir, to plot and reorganize themselves in order to seize power. The Soviet Marxist-Leninists and the leadership of the CPSU were lacking in revolutionary vigilance and determination. They fell into the trap of the intrigues of the revisionists and renegades — Khrushchev, Mikoyan, Brezhnev, etc., who carried out their counter-revolutionary putsch. The people in the leadership of the CPSU not only gradually lost their vigilance, but they also proved to be as apathetic as they were cowardly, facing the rise of the revisionist counter-revolution. They did not rely on the party and the masses, but began bargaining and making concessions and indulging in illusions about a false, opportunistic «democratic»

solution, allegedly to save the undermined unity and their prestige which was being destroyed. And all this at a time when the traitor Khrushchev and his accomplices were taking everything into their own hands, bringing the revisionist plotters into key positions, and covering all this undermining activity with deafening propaganda about «prosperity», «strength», «the newly established democracy», about the «splendid prospects» for the development of the economy, culture and well-being, with unrestrained euphoria about the «freedom lost and regained», about «sensational successes» in the international arena and with the bombastic and almost daily speeches by the greatest counter-revolutionary history has ever known, the charlatan clown Khrushchev.

The Khrushchevite revisionists carried out intensive preparatory activity, openly and behind the scenes, both in the Soviet Union and in the other socialist countries and in the international arena in order to prepare the putsches, the terrains and the persons for «their great undertaking». The 20th, 21st and 22nd Congresses of the CPSU are the key moments when the modern revisionists came out openly with their treacherous political and ideological platform. They began their offensive against Marxism-Leninism, the revolution and socialism with the attack on the life and work of J.V. Stalin, who, as the great continuer of the cause of V.I. Lenin, had defended, developed and implemented a consistently revolutionary general line which ensured the construction of socialism in the Soviet Union, the victory over fascism in the Great Patriotic War and the commencement of the construction of communism in the Soviet Union. Since then, Khrushchevite revisionism has been developed and elaborated until it has become a complete theoretical and practical system, which has been concretized in the new program

of the CPSU, which is the code of modern revisionism.

Just as Khrushchevite revisionism did not emerge in one day, but went through its process of formation, organization and growth into a system, so the process of recognition of this revisionism by the Marxist-Leninists did not take place in one day, but passed through its own historical process. In order to conceal their treacherous aims the revisionists used sophisticated forms, manoeuvres, tactics, and methods, covered themselves with all kinds of masks in conformity with the international and national situations, with the development of the class struggle and their temporary victories and their defeats. There is a great truth in the Albanian saying, «The serpent never shows its feet». Thus it was proved that the most suitable form for the penetration of bourgeois ideology into the socialist countries and communist parties is revisionism, which is nothing but bourgeois ideology camouflaged with Marxist and socialist phraseology.

The history of the international communist movement has never known another revisionism developed to such proportions and so dangerous as Khrushchevite modern revisionism. This is connected with the fact that one of the most important features of modern revisionism is that now we have to do with revisionism in power which has infected the communist parties of several socialist countries, and first of all the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, which uses all the might, authority and means of the socialist state to defend and propagate revisionism. This is a great misfortune, but also a great lesson for the Marxist-Leninists, who must be able not only to fight this revisionism which is in power, but also to prevent the repetition of the revisionist tragedy of the Soviet Union in other countries that are building socialism now, or will enter the road of socialism in the future.

2. — THE STRATEGIC AIMS OF KHRUSHCHEVITE REVISIONISM

What the strategic aims of the Khrushchevite modern revisionists are and what enormous damage and evil they have brought and are bringing to socialism, the revolution and the peoples have already been proved with many facts.

The revisionists spearheaded their struggle mainly **against Marxism-Leninism** as the trustworthy theory of the world revolution and the struggle to defeat imperialism and capitalism, and replaced this theory with an opportunist, counter-revolutionary theory in the service of the bourgeoisie and imperialism. Under the false slogans of the «struggle against dogmatism» and the «creative development of Marxism in the new conditions», in fact they declared Marxism-Leninism outdated, negated its fundamental principles, stripped it of its revolutionary spirit and turned it into a doctrine which is not only harmless, but even helpful to the bourgeoisie. The revisionists replaced materialism with idealism and dialectics with metaphysics, and adopted the reactionary philosophy of pragmatism. They rejected the class struggle, the socialist revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat and replaced them with the bourgeois and opportunist theories of class conciliation, social reforms, peaceful transition and liberal-bourgeois democracy. There is no field of the Marxist-Leninist theory into which the revisionists have not introduced bourgeois and social-democratic ideology, which is their spiritual nutriment. The revisionists' aim is to disarm the party and the working class ideologically in order to open the way to the degeneration of socialism and the international communist movement.

The second objective of the struggle of the revisionists is **to bring about the degeneration and destruction of the**

Marxist-Leninist parties, to turn them into social-democratic parties, in order to support the counter-revolution, undermine socialism and defend and re-establish capitalism. They threw out the Leninist principles of the structure of the party of a new type, introduced into the life of the party forms and methods of work alien to Marxism-Leninism, eliminated the old revolutionary cadres and promoted opportunists, careerists and adventurers to leading positions, set out on the course of alliances with the bourgeois, liberal and social-democratic parties and are now preparing to liquidate the communist parties under the pretext of creating «united parties of the working class». The Khrushchevites negated the proletarian class character of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and declared it «the party of the entire people». They deny the leading role of the communist party armed with the Marxist-Leninist theory in the socialist revolution and in the system of the dictatorship of the proletariat, and preach that the transition to and the construction of socialism are possible under the leadership of other parties and classes, even of the bourgeoisie. It is regrettable, but a fact, that the parties which are led by the modern revisionists today are virtually indistinguishable from the social-democratic parties. They have become bourgeois parties of the working class, appendages to and servants of the bourgeoisie and imperialism. In this way, the revisionists try to leave the working class and the working masses not only without their revolutionary ideology but also without their militant vanguard, their leading political staff, at a time when imperialism, the bourgeoisie and reaction are organized and armed to the teeth and have gone on the attack against the working class and the revolutionary peoples.

Another objective of the Khrushchevite revisionists is **to achieve the degeneration of the socialist order and the**

liquidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the radical transformation of the Soviet Union and socialist countries into bourgeois countries and states of a new, Titoite-Trotskyite type. Under the false slogan of the «struggle against the cult of the individual and its consequences» the revisionists fabricated the most monstrous slanders against Marxism-Leninism, the communist party and the dictatorship of the proletariat, the whole socialist order and international communism. They attacked the construction of socialism in the Soviet Union, maligned its victories, discredited the Soviet people and tried to make people believe that Stalin with his «arbitrariness» and his «cult» had distorted Lenin's teachings. Hence «Stalinist socialism» had to be destroyed to its roots and turned into «genuine socialism» on the revisionist model, which would be acceptable to the social-democrats, the bourgeois liberals, imperialism and the bourgeoisie. Under the cloak of «the state of the entire people» the Khrushchevite revisionists eliminated the dictatorship of the proletariat in the Soviet Union and established their own dictatorship, which is a dictatorship of the new bourgeoisified stratum, which has now seized power and is oppressing and exploiting the Soviet people. This new bourgeois stratum, which is the social basis of revisionism and of which the political representatives are the Soviet revisionist leaders, has now paved the way to the restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union. It has taken radical measures to transform the socialist economy into a capitalist economy of a new type, following the example of Titoite Yugoslavia, to corrupt the education, the culture, the way of life, the healthy proletarian morality and to spread corruption and degradation, to open the way for the penetration of bourgeois ideology and morality and foreign capital and especially the US dollar. What the imperialist intervention, the white guards, the Trotskyites

and all the other enemies of the Soviet Union were unable to achieve in their time, is now being carried out by the Khrushchevite revisionists.

It has been and still is the aim of the Khrushchevite revisionists to **destroy the socialist camp**, which is the greatest revolutionary victory of the working class and all the working people of the world, and to replace it with the vague idea of the «great socialist family of the peoples», to destroy the fraternal Marxist-Leninist ties among the socialist countries and to replace them with hegemonic and chauvinistic ties based on blackmail and the economic, political and military pressure of the greater upon the smaller, of the stronger upon the weaker. The Soviet revisionist leaders trample upon the sovereignty of the other socialist countries and peoples, brutally interfere in their internal affairs, organize subversive activities against them, try to impose their dictate upon them in order to put the socialist countries under the control and heel of the Soviet state which has become Trotskyite. In the relations among the socialist countries the principles of proletarian internationalism have been replaced with new principles of bourgeois capitalist oppression and domination. In pursuing this course, the Soviet revisionists and their followers violated all the economic, political and military agreements concluded with the People's Republic of Albania, and pursued towards it a savage chauvinist and imperialist policy... They follow this policy in various forms and to various extent towards their friends and allies, too.

Another important aim of the strategy of the Khrushchevite revisionists is disruption, on an international scale, of the workers' internationalist unity, **the smashing of the international communist movement**, the subjugation of the communist parties to the Soviet revisionist leadership. The Soviet leading group has introduced in the

international communist movement the method of the «conductor's baton» and the concept of the «mother party». They have violated the Marxist-Leninist norms and principles of relations between fraternal parties and have established feudal-patriarchal relations of submission and domination... The Soviet revisionist leaders organized the public attack on the Party of Labour of Albania at the 22nd Congress of the CPSU. They and their followers transformed the congresses of certain other parties into arenas for slanders and savage attacks against our Party. In March last year the Khrushchevite revisionists organized the disruptive factional meeting in Moscow, they have supported and incited hostile anti-party elements to undertake factional activity against the fraternal parties, they have been and are carrying out extensive disruptive activity within international democratic organizations striving to impose their opportunist and pro-imperialist line on them.

The essence of the Khrushchevite revisionists' line, their loftiest ideal and their dream is **the Soviet-US** friendship and cooperation and the establishment of a **new alliance between US imperialism and Soviet revisionist imperialism for world domination**. The purpose of this new alliance is to divide the spheres of influence and put all the states of the world under the dictate of these two big powers. It is an undeniable fact that now the Khrushchevite revisionists, headed by the Soviet leaders, do not make any distinction between friends and enemies of socialism and the peoples, and have broken off any connection with Marxism-Leninism, the revolutionaries and the peoples. They have united with imperialism against socialism, have united with the USA against the peoples, have united with all reactionaries against the revolutionaries, have united with the Tito clique and all the other renegades from the working class

against Marxism-Leninism and the parties and forces which remain loyal to it and to the cause of the revolution.

Such is the anti-Marxist, anti-socialist, counter-revolutionary face of the Khrushchevite revisionists. Such are their treacherous strategic objectives. The main aim of the resolute principled struggle of our Party has been precisely to expose the treacherous features of the Khrushchevite revisionists in the eyes of all the communists and peoples, to expose the hostile aims of the Soviet revisionist leadership. Our Party is determined to carry this struggle through to the end, to the complete victory of Marxism-Leninism over Khrushchevite, Titoite and any other variant of modern revisionism.

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4. — INTENSIFY THE STRUGGLE AGAINST KHRUSHCHEVITE AND TITOITE MODERN REVISIONISM

The extension and further strengthening of the struggle against revisionism are linked with outright rejection of illusions about the «change» the new Soviet leaders have allegedly made, about their «change of course» and the «corrections» they are allegedly making to Khrushchev's mistakes. Such illusions are very harmful. The present Soviet leaders are the closest collaborators of Khrushchev, are those who, together with Khrushchev, prepared and carried out the counter-revolution in the Soviet Union, who worked out and applied the revisionist line, who furiously attacked Marxism-Leninism in ideology, in politics, economics and organization, in art and culture, etc., those who attacked and are fighting the Marxist-Leninist parties, those who have linked themselves with US imperialism, the international bourgeoisie and

reaction, who are working with might and main to form an imperialist-revisionist holy alliance against communism and the peoples of the world.

Marxist-Leninists are not deceived by external appearances, and by the demagogy that the new leaders of the Soviet Union use so freely. They must see through all the camouflage to the content, to the essence of things, and distinguish words from deeds. If we look at things in this way, then it is clear that the present Soviet leaders have not changed and have no intention of changing. They are determined to go down their course of betrayal. This is only logical. They could not return to a correct course without condemning themselves to death. Therefore, there is no hope that the revisionist traitors can change for the better. A change will certainly be made some day, though it will not be the revisionists who will make it, but the Marxist-Leninists who will put an end to the domination of revisionists and bring them before the court of the revolution.

In what do those who nurture illusions on this question see the «change» and the «change for the better» in the new Soviet leaders? In nothing concrete, but only in the Khrushchevite demagogy, in which, willy-nilly, they have got themselves trapped. And it must be admitted that in regard to demagogy, the new leaders of the Soviet Union — Brezhnev, Kosygin and company, are shrewder and more skilful than their teacher. In words they swear by Leninism and even allow some references to Stalin in more «objective» terms, but at the same time they swear by the 20th and 22nd Congresses of the CPSU. Can this represent a «change for the better»? Certainly not. We could talk about such a change only if they were to openly reject revisionism and betrayal, publicly denounce the decisions of the 20th, 21st, 22nd Congresses as anti-Marxist and proclaim the program of the CPSU ela-

borated at the 22nd Congress and all its theses on «the party and state of the entire people», etc., to be revisionist. There can be talk of a «change for the better» only if they fully and unequivocally rehabilitate Stalin.

Our Party has stressed and stresses again that the question of Stalin, in particular, is a fundamental issue, because the revisionists concretized their attack on Marxism-Leninism and the dictatorship of the proletariat with their attack on J. V. Stalin. Our Party is of the opinion that the Marxist-Leninists and all the revolutionaries should defend Stalin from any revisionist slander and attack and through their struggle restore the name and work of Stalin to the place of honour they deserve, because Stalin was and remains a great revolutionary and a great Marxist-Leninist. He followed a correct revolutionary general line both in internal policy and in foreign policy. He consistently adhered to the line of class struggle and the dictatorship of the proletariat, the line of the construction of socialism and communism and the struggle against bureaucracy and degenerate bourgeois elements. He led the Soviet people from victory to victory in stern struggle with all the enemies of the Soviet Union and socialism. J. V. Stalin made a priceless contribution to the formation and consolidation of the socialist camp and to the growth and strengthening of the international communist movement. Throughout his life as a revolutionary militant, Stalin waged a resolute struggle against imperialism in defence of peace and the security of the peoples, faithfully pursued the policy of proletarian internationalism, of aid and support for the oppressed peoples and their revolutionary, national liberation movements.

Stalin was a modest person. As a Marxist-Leninist, he always properly appreciated the role of the masses and the place that individuals occupy; he opposed the cult of the individual and more than once criticized it as alien

to Marxist-Leninists. Nevertheless, the Soviet propaganda, especially during the last years of Stalin's life, inflated the cult of Stalin to great proportions and the Khrushchevite clique, which out of fear had played an active part in the exaltation of Stalin, exploited this for its own anti-socialist and anti-Marxist purposes later. Stalin can be criticized, not because he developed and practised his own cult, but only because he did not take the proper measures to restrain this unnecessary propaganda, especially taking into consideration that the great authority which Stalin had gained by struggle and deeds and the boundless trust and love that the party and people had for him were sufficient to strike a heavy blow at the bureaucratic elements who were jeopardizing the dictatorship of the proletariat. Our Party of Labour has resolutely adhered and adheres to the Marxist-Leninist principles on the relations between the masses, the class, the party and the leaders, combating both the cult of the individual and negation of the role and authority of leaders who enjoy the love and respect of the masses, who faithfully defend the interests of the masses and lead them successfully in the revolutionary struggle. In this matter we always bear in mind the words of Marx, who, speaking of himself and of Engels, said:

*«Neither of us gives a brass farthing for our popularization... The participation of Engels and I in the clandestine communist society was made conditional right from the start on the removal from the Constitution of anything which contributed to mystical kowtowing to authorities.»**

* K. Marx, F. Engels, Works, vol. 34, p. 241, second Russian edition.

The historic merits of Stalin are undeniable. These merits constitute his fundamental characteristic as a leader and a great revolutionary. The revisionists' slanders against Stalin cannot in the least dim his outstanding figure and his monumental work which will shine for ever and will always serve as a great inspiring example and a banner of struggle for all the Marxist-Leninists of the world.

The new Soviet revisionist leaders speak about the «unity» of the communist movement and the «family» of the socialist countries, but at the same time they declare that in all matters of principle concerning foreign policy and the international communist movement they had no differences with Khrushchev. Can it be that these words constitute the so-called change for the better? Certainly not... But what is the reality? In fact, since Brezhnev, Kosygin and company took power, they have steadily increased their activities against Marxism-Leninism and the parties which defend it; their provocations and subversive activities have been extended and unity, both within the communist movement and within the socialist «family», has been undermined even more systematically. The unity in the communist movement and the socialist camp will be re-established, but it will be re-established by the Marxist-Leninists, without the revisionists and traitors and in resolute struggle against them.

The Soviet revisionists are making a great noise about «unity of action» against the imperialists, stressing that more things bring us together and few things drive us apart, but at the same time they loudly declare that they are for, and working actively to attain, all-round Soviet-American cooperation. Do these statements mean that here we have some «change»? Certainly not. Many facts show that the Khrushchevite revisionists are anti-imperial-

ists only in words, while in deeds they are pro-imperialists. They are expanding their economic, political and scientific relations with the United States of America more and more. All their diplomatic activity, especially their secret diplomacy, is aimed at strengthening the all-round links and cooperation with the various imperialists — American, Japanese, West-German, British and others, with the Indian reactionaries, with the Indonesian fascist clique, with all the enemies of the peoples, socialism and the revolution. What then unites the Marxist-Leninists with the modern revisionists? Nothing. Everything divides them. Their ideologies, policies and final aims are diametrically opposed.

The anti-imperialist front of the peoples of the whole world must be built on a solid foundation. It must be a genuine anti-imperialist front, uniting all those who, to this or that extent, effectively fight imperialism, headed by US imperialism. The Khrushchevite revisionists have excluded themselves from the anti-imperialist front through their whole policy and activity. To include the revisionists in this front means to bring in the «fifth column», the «Trojan horse», to undermine it from within. Our Party firmly upholds the idea of the great Lenin that it is impossible to fight imperialism successfully unless, at the same time, you resolutely fight its offspring and close ally, revisionism.

*«...If it is not closely linked with the fight against opportunism, the struggle against imperialism becomes an empty phrase and a fraud.»** Lenin pointed out.

To our Party of Labour it is an utterly unacceptable idea that «unity of action» with the Khrushchevite revi-

* V. I. Lenin, Collected Works, vol. 22, p. 367 (Alb. ed.).

sionists against American imperialism is a touchstone and an effective and positive struggle against revisionism.

In fact, to collaborate with the revisionists, to carry out «united actions» with them means to slip gradually into the positions of revisionism, to accept their treacherous line. It means to accept that American imperialism is not the most ferocious enemy of the peoples and the international gendarme, and to consider correct the policy of Khrushchevite «peaceful co-existence» with imperialism, the Soviet-American collaboration, the Moscow Treaty and all the other open and secret agreements of the Soviet leaders with the American imperialists and the reactionaries of various countries. It means to give up the struggle against imperialism and adapt oneself to the interests of Soviet-American collaboration, thus sacrificing the freedom and independence of the peoples. This is just what the revisionists are wanting to achieve with their attempts at «unity of action».

With their slogan of «unity of action» the revisionists are trying to attain their sinister aim of putting aside the deep ideological and political differences of principle allegedly for the sake of the struggle against imperialism, headed by the USA. This would be nothing but utter capitulation to revisionism, abandonment of the struggle against it and acceptance of ideological co-existence with it.

There is another reason why united action with the revisionists is a fraud and a demagogic manoeuvre. Unity in the struggle against imperialism supposes co-ordination of the economic potential and military forces which will confront the imperialist policy of war and aggression. But what do the facts show? ... They have placed their economic and military potential in the service of their general line for the establishment of the Soviet-American domination of the world.

Those who nurture illusions about the alleged change of the new Soviet leaders are enthusiastic about the latter's «readiness» to «give up the open polemics». Can this be taken as another serious proof to make us believe that the revisionists have allegedly changed? Certainly not. First, it is not true that the revisionists have given up the open polemics. Is not the fact that they are pursuing a line utterly opposed to Marxism-Leninism and the interests of socialism, a continuation of the polemics by deeds? ... What about the slanders and attacks in their daily press, the propaganda work, the letters and lectures which not only are delivered and discussed in the party organizations in the Soviet Union, but are also sent to other parties to be studied, are they not a continuation of the open polemics? Apart from these things, it must not be forgotten that the Khrushchevite modern revisionists were the first to start the open polemics. And at that time all of them parroted that this was «Leninist». Only when they saw that the open polemics was yielding negative results for them, because it helped to unmask their treacherous features, did they call it harmful.

Our Party believes that the open polemics is essential, a school for all the communists, because it enables them to distinguish the truth from lies. The revisionists would be very pleased even if we were to speak about them in general terms so long as they were not attacked openly and things were not called by their true names. But revisionism and the betrayal are not spectres, they are a living reality which is undermining socialism and the peoples' struggle. Therefore, this reality and not the spectre must be fought, if the Marxists do not want to fall into the Quixotic positions. Our Party thinks that the Khrushchevite revisionists must not be permitted to benefit from a single moment of calm to consolidate their positions to continue their treacherous activity unhindered.

To relax the struggle against modern revisionism in the slightest, on any pretext, means to deviate from principles. And principles cannot and must never be sacrificed for the sake of momentary interests and advantages of an economic or any other character.

Our Party thinks that the situation is such that every party and every person who calls himself a communist and a revolutionary should not be mere on-lookers, should not wait until they are attacked by the revisionists and content themselves with congratulating others on the struggle they are waging against revisionism. Time does not wait. The Marxist-Leninists must be on the offensive and not on the defensive, on the attack and not in retreat. They have never been afraid of the revisionists, of their threats and pressure. Fear is alien to Marxist-Leninists, they know it neither in the struggle against imperialism nor in the struggle against revisionism. It is the revisionists who are afraid: they fear imperialism and Marxism-Leninism. To be afraid of the revisionists means to be even more afraid of imperialism, and to have no confidence in the strength and triumph of Marxism-Leninism.

We think that the time has come to draw a clear line of demarcation with modern revisionism, with all its groupings and especially with the Soviet leading group, and to fight with all our might to isolate it completely from the Soviet people and from the revolutionary Soviet communists. We have never confused and never will confuse the Soviet revisionist leadership with the Soviet Union and Soviet people, with whom we have been and will be good friends for ever, come rain, come shine. But it is a fact that revisionism is in power in the Soviet Union now. And this revisionism must be fought mercilessly and in a principled way. This is in the direct interest of the Soviet communists and the Soviet people,

it is a great aid that we are giving their revolutionary struggle to put an end to the revisionist betrayal which has destroyed the very foundations of the victories of the October Revolution and the socialist and communist construction in the Soviet Union.

In the struggle against modern revisionism, as in all other problems, the only correct stand is the principled stand. There can be no haggling over principles; in defence of principles there can be no stopping half-way; a vacillating opportunist stand must never be adopted. The struggle between Marxism-Leninism and revisionism is an expression of the class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, between socialism and capitalism. There is no middle course in this struggle. As the experience of many years of history has shown, the line of «the golden mean» is the line of the conciliation of opposites that can never be compatible, is an unstable and temporary position. Nor can the middle course cover up the deviations from the Marxist-Leninist principles, because if the struggle against revisionism is inspired not by ideological motives, but only by certain economic and political contradictions and by national chauvinist motives, it is a fraud that will soon be exposed. Anyone who adheres to this line in the stand towards the renegades from Marxism-Leninism will, sooner or later, be in danger of slipping into the position of those renegades.

J. V. Stalin has strongly stressed:

«There is and there can be no 'middle' course in matters of principle. Either these or those principles must be the foundation of the work of the Party. The 'middle' course in matters of principle is the 'line' that benumbs the brains, the 'line' that covers up the differences, the 'line' which leads to the

*ideological degeneration of the Party, the 'line' which leads to the ideological death of the Party.»**

In the opinion of our Party, an urgent question which is prominent on the agenda today is not reconciliation and unity with the revisionists, but the split, the definite break with them. Lenin said:

*«Unity is a great thing and a great slogan! But the workers' cause needs the **unity of Marxists**, not the unity of Marxists with the enemies and distorters of Marxism.»***

Unity with the opportunists and the revisionists, Lenin said,

*«...really means unity of the proletariat with the national bourgeoisie and division of the international proletariat, the unity of lackeys and the splitting of revolutionaries.»****

Facing the attacks, plots and war threats of the united imperialist-revisionist front, the Marxist-Leninists must strengthen their unity on the national and international level and step up their resolute struggle against imperialism and revisionism. The times we are living are not times for endless, sterile, academic discussions, but times for bold, militant, revolutionary actions entailing self-denial and sacrifice. The modern revisionists and the bourgeoisie, through their parties, are loudly propagating pacifism and bourgeois humanism to create in people, even in communists who are vacillating and cowardly, the impression that

* J. V. Stalin, Works, vol. 9, p. 4 (Alb. ed.).

** V. I. Lenin, Collected Works, vol. 20, p. 256 (Alb. ed.).

*** V. I. Lenin, Collected Works, vol. 21, p. 387 (Alb. ed.).

our revolutionary militancy is allegedly «sectarianism», «adventurism», «dogmatism», «fanaticism», etc. We Marxist-Leninists are neither sectarians nor adventurers, neither dogmatists nor fanatics. We fight against these manifestations as alien and unacceptable to communists, but at the same time, we do not fall into the positions of our enemies, who, with these false accusations and for ulterior motives, try to cause us to become ideologically, politically and organizationally corrupt and thus to weaken or extinguish our struggle against them.

The ranks of the Marxist-Leninist parties and forces must be closely united and well organized, tempered and prepared to fight continuously. We must prepare ourselves perfectly politically, ideologically, economically and militarily for struggle, for revolutionary actions, by thoroughly and creatively mastering our all-conquering doctrine. The world communism of our days must be characterized by the militant revolutionary spirit of the heroic times of Lenin and Stalin and the Comintern. It was not without definite hostile aims that Khrushchev and his henchmen undertook the struggle to discredit the Comintern and its immortal work. Naturally, the times have changed and the question here is not that we should adopt or copy the forms and methods of work, organization and leadership of the Comintern, appropriate for that time, although they had both merits and shortcomings. Nevertheless, in the opinion of our Party the establishment of links for cooperation and co-ordination in conformity with the new present conditions is an essential and urgent matter.

Naturally, all the parties are equal and independent. As is stressed in the Moscow Declaration, each party works out its own general line, basing itself on the Marxist-Leninist principles and in conformity with the concrete peculiarities and conditions of the country and time. The modern revisionists also have these correct Marxist-Leninist

principles on the tips of their tongues, but while in words they are for independence, in reality they want all the other parties to be dependent on them and under their direction; while in words they are for proletarian internationalism, in reality they strive to prevent the Marxist-Leninists from uniting and adhering to a common line formulated on the basis of a profound, principled, objective Marxist-Leninist class analysis. The modern revisionists employ every means to split us, because the unity of Marxist-Leninists is fatal to them and their masters — the American imperialists. The Marxist-Leninists must rid themselves of these revisionist attempts, must overcome all the obstacles and strengthen their revolutionary unity on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. They must strengthen their cooperation and must work out a common line and a common stand on the most fundamental issues, especially in connection with the struggle against imperialism and modern revisionism, in connection with the new alliances, concretized in the real conditions of the existing situation, but always based on Marxist-Leninist principles.

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The situation in the world and in the international communist movement is developing in our favour and to the detriment of our enemies. But we must look events squarely in the eye and face them courageously, because, despite the reverses our imperialist and revisionist enemies have suffered, they have not laid down their arms. On the contrary, they are intensifying their cooperation and activity. In this situation there is no place for inertia, hesitation and wavering, but courage, determination and maturity are required. There is no place for insipid, mild, opportunist tactics and phraseology, but rapid militant

actions are required, fighting tactics that assist our revolutionary strategy every day and every hour, while at the same time being wise and prudent, in accordance with the situation and the circumstances in which each party is struggling. And there is no doubt that with a revolutionary strategy and tactics based on our victorious ideology, the Marxist-Leninist parties and forces will always march forward and score new victories in their sacred struggle together with the working class and the oppressed peoples and nations, against imperialism and revisionism, for the triumph of Marxism-Leninism, socialism, the revolution and peace in the world.

As for the Party of Labour of Albania, as an active member of the Marxist-Leninist forces of the world, it is fully conscious of the great historic task that is facing the communist movement today to defend Marxism-Leninism and carry forward the cause of the revolution and socialism... The Party of Labour will fight with all its might against imperialism, with US imperialism at the head, and against modern revisionism, with the Soviet leaders at the head, will spare no effort to support the just revolutionary struggle of the Marxist-Leninist parties and forces, and will work tirelessly for the consolidation and strengthening of the anti-revisionist unity of the Marxist-Leninist movement and the anti-imperialist unity of the peoples of the world, confident that Marxism-Leninism, socialism and the peoples will be victorious. This is the duty that this Congress puts before the whole Party for the coming years.

THE FURTHER REVOLUTIONIZATION OF THE PARTY AND THE STATE (1)

Speech delivered at the joint meeting of the basic party organizations of the Kërraba coal mine, the «Enver» plant, the «Wilhelm Pieck» agricultural cooperative, the army detachment No. 5009 and the University of Tirana

February 6, 1967

Comrade communists,

The organizations of the Party have an important event before them. During the next two months meetings will be held everywhere in the basic organizations of city and countryside, of various institutions and the armed forces to render account and elect the leadership of the basic party organizations and the party committees in regions and remote districts.

The rendering of account and elections are an event of great importance to the further strengthening of the Party. In the meetings that will be held for this purpose

1 This speech is a further elaboration of the ideas set forth in the decision of the Political Bureau of the CC of the Party «On the Struggle against Bureaucracy, for a Revolutionary Method and Style of Work». The discussion of this document proved the correctness of the historic decisions of our Party, its Marxist-Leninist maturity and vitality.

every communist must review his own work and that of the organization, must weigh up all the successes and shortcomings in the spirit of criticism and self-criticism, set the objectives which he will strive to achieve in the future, elect the secretary, the bureau or the committee from those comrades who have worked best, who have proved themselves to be capable organizers and resolute fighters for the application of the line of the Party.

The meetings of basic organizations for rendering account and elections must justify their being held. What I mean is that an accounting should be demanded of and rendered by each member, one by one, and not just how we have carried out the task in general, but how I, as an individual party member have carried it out, not only in the field, factory or office, but how I have done my duty in society, how I have mobilized myself and struggled to solve social, political and family problems, and, when I say family problems, I do not, by any means, refer to the internal affairs of the family, but to the social and political problems that preoccupy the Albanian family.

In the basic organization the revolutionary communists demand a rendering of account from their revolutionary comrades, since the problems on which accounting is demanded are not private, personal affairs, but political and organizational problems of the Party, problems of the collective, of the masses; therefore, we, as communists, bear great responsibility as a party collective and as communists, individual members of this collective.

We are waging a great and continuous struggle for the further revolutionization of the Party and have achieved very good results. Revolutionizing the Party means revolutionizing the communists. They must be soldiers, tough as steel, politically clear, courageous, kindly, straightforward and sincere and, when need be,

severe as well. They must destroy everything that is bad and support, organize the new and progressive and fight in the forefront for it... The entire Party and country ought to rise to eradicate the backward customs and break the neck of anyone who violates the sacred law of the Party in defence of the rights of women and girls. These are moral and political problems of great importance.

The demanding of accounting from communists is necessary, but it must be done in a revolutionary spirit and not from spite, over paltry non-political matters, not in the form of an inquisition, with slanders, trumped up charges or vindictive personal attacks. All these kinds of demanding account are alien to and condemned by our Party, for they are all inspired by petty-bourgeois views.

Therefore, I think we should get away from those forms of demanding account in general which yield no results, or from making stale criticism and self-criticism which has no effect, does not educate comrades politically and does not help them solve problems correctly.

In order to make the Party thoroughly revolutionary, every communist must assume and bear his responsibilities by carrying out his tasks to the letter and by rendering account to the letter. Frequently the rendering of account is not done properly and not demanded properly, because the tasks of each member, and first of all, his political tasks, are not understood properly.

Let us take, for instance, the members of party committees or members of the bureaus of basic organizations and even the communists of the basic organizations. It is usually said that not all are mobilized properly in the various affairs of the Party, and the criticism is often made that the bureau of the party committee, its secretaries, or the secretary of the basic organization, do

not organize the work with them well, and so on and so forth. These criticisms are to the point and fair, indeed they ought to be made more strongly, because the only more or less organized and planned work of the party committees and their secretaries is carried out with the instructors of the committees, with the people of the apparatus, and now and then, at occasional meetings, with the secretaries of the basic organizations. Looked at and done in this way, this work smacks of bureaucratic officialdom.

But these comrades are not the only ones at fault: there are others, too, who are criticized only lightly, or not at all, and when the time for the rendering of account and elections comes round, they do not render account but still are re-elected. I am referring in the first place to the members of the plenums of the party committees and of the bureaus of basic organizations. They are elected by the Party to lead, organize, mobilize and fight like revolutionaries and not just to wait for the two or three meetings a year of the party committee and to think that with this their job is done. At these meetings their work has just begun.

They may say: «Well, the secretaries do not call us together, they do not mobilize us,» and so on. May be so, but we have never seen these comrades call the secretaries to task over this, or finally, throw them out if they fail to do their job properly. Let us assume that the bureaus and secretaries are to blame, but we very rarely see the members of party committees use the rights the Party has given them in a revolutionary way. Rarely, if ever, does any one go to check up, assist, instruct and take steps on the spot in basic organizations other than his own, or visit and assist economic organizations besides the one he is directly connected with, without having been appointed by the committee to do so. He won't lift

a finger without consulting and getting the permission of the secretary. A party committee member ought to co-ordinate these things with the secretaries, should demand facts from the party apparatus, and should discuss with the secretaries what he has seen, what he has done and what he suggests should be done. If he takes no trouble, no initiative of his own within his competences, this cannot be called revolutionary work, but merely taking an interest in the tasks under the jurisdiction of his basic organization. This is simple concern over local interests.

The proper exercise of all prerogatives and duties by every communist, whether of the rank-and-file or elected to the leading organs of the Party, does not mean he violates the party norms to which I shall refer later, on the contrary, he fights to strengthen them. If he fails to exercise these rights he is tolerating a method of work which strengthens the bureaucratic spirit in the work of the apparatuses of the Party and leads to a state of affairs in which those appointed to the party apparatuses become all-powerful, emerge on the stage as «infallible expert party workers», and people say of them that «they have the affairs of the organization at their fingertips.» This is true also of certain rank-and-file members of the Party.

There is no doubt that there must be organization of the tasks and division of the work among the communists in the basic organization. In certain cases this is done well, in others not so well; this we must improve, but it is impermissible for any communist to remain idle if no specific job is assigned to him. How many tasks there are waiting to be done! Then, what kind of a revolutionary is that communist who waits for someone to assign him a task to do?

No, such a communist cannot be called an energetic, active revolutionary with initiative. The Party

has no need of such members; its members must understand that only in revolutionary struggle can heroic communists be created and tempered.

Therefore, all party meetings, particularly those for rendering account and elections, are a great school for the revolutionization of party cadres.

The rendering of account and elections should set in motion also all the non-party workers of the collective who are not, and cannot be, indifferent towards the successes or shortcomings in the work, towards the tasks the party organization will set for the future, or who will be elected to the leadership of the party organization. Therefore, in preparing themselves for the meetings for the rendering of account and elections the communists must talk with the workers, listen to their opinions, complaints, criticisms and suggestions and study these carefully, so that the opinion, not only of the communists, but also that of the non-party masses, will be reflected in the meetings of the Party. A preparation of this kind will help to ensure that these meetings are conducted in a militant revolutionary spirit...

Nineteen sixty-six was the year of great creative initiatives by the working class, as a consequence of which many new shops and factories were set up, it was the year during which all the peasantry in the mountainous regions embarked on the road of collectivization of agriculture; it was the year of a further strengthening of the defence potential of our country and of a revolutionary mobilization of every citizen of our People's Republic.

These successes are an incentive, a great encouragement for every communist and every worker of our country. They strengthen our confidence and conviction that we shall fulfil the tasks of 1967 and the future years of the 4th Five-year Plan which the 5th Congress of our glorious Party adopted, just as successfully as we fulfilled

the tasks of the first year of the five-year plan, or even better.

Our Party teaches us communists that we must never become dizzy with success. We must not hide the shortcomings in our work behind our successes. We know that, despite the successes achieved in the great work done by the party organizations to mobilize the masses, there have been and still are defects which the Party must struggle with determination to eliminate.

The Central Committee of the Party has constantly emphasized that the basic party organizations ought to have more initiative in their work. But sometimes this matter is not understood properly. Thus, an idea exists that analysis and discussion of the decisions of the party committees in the basic organizations is a burden on them and inhibits their initiative. Analysis and discussion of decisions sent from higher organs should not be considered something superfluous and unnecessary. Such an idea would be wrong, because it would follow from this that we should not inform the Party as a whole, should not teach it how to work and think, or give it directions and generalizations of the experience gained.

We must not for one moment forget that our Party is based on democratic centralism. That is to say, the democratic life, the democratic activity of our Party, is conducted under a centralized leadership, elected in the most democratic way by the entire Party. Hence on the basis of this democratic centralism, not only must the important decisions of the higher organs of the Party be made known to all, to the lower organs and to the Party as a whole, but the lower organs must go into them more deeply and find the best ways and means to apply them, to put them into practice.

These vital decisions of the Party cannot be carried out when a liberal, petty-bourgeois spirit prevails, when

the dangerous attitude of «what do I care» exists in the Party. No, in our Marxist-Leninist Party, in a militant proletarian party, there is no room for liberal political and organizational indiscipline, for sham democracy.

Our Party is leading the great proletarian struggle of the people, and in order to win every battle, it enforces an iron discipline which is such in the Party because it is conscious. These and other norms of the Party, about which I shall speak shortly, must be preserved and strengthened, and one should not think for one moment that, since the Party is in power, since we are building socialism successfully, we can permit any relaxation in the strict implementation of the norms of the Party. By no means! These norms consolidate the Party, make it a vanguard and invincible.

Analysis and discussion of decisions or suggestions about work, about forms of work and tasks sent from higher organs is essential. Such a thing does not limit the horizons, does not inhibit the initiative of the basic organizations. But the question is what differentiated assistance is given to them so that they understand and carry out these decisions in the real situation in which the particular basic organization lives and gives leadership. Here we have a great weakness.

The field of action of every basic organization looks alike, but it is not entirely so. Therefore, we cannot recommend that the elaboration of a decision should be done in the same way in the city as in the countryside, in the factory as in the brigade of a cooperative or in a school. We should not insist that every organization should deal with all the problems which a decision may raise, in a uniform way.

An organization ought to be guided, informed, so that it has a good general understanding of the whole decision, and then go deeply into those parts of it which

constitute acute and actual problems for it... The party committees must realize that the work in the party organizations in the countryside has its own specific characteristics which often, and especially under our concrete conditions, is quite different from the work in the party organizations in the city.

To forget or ignore the differences between our town and our village, between the life and customs of the city and those of the countryside, and to use the same method of work, the same forms in both the city and countryside in an automatic and stereotyped way is bound to yield unsatisfactory results. The secretaries and instructors of party committees pay no great heed to this. For instance, they do not take properly into account that the press, for various reasons, is not delivered as quickly in the country as it is in the city, that the cultural centre in a cooperative does not function and is not frequented like that of a factory in the city, that the remnants of the past in the consciousness of the peasant are more persistent than in the consciousness of the worker, that the cultural level of the peasant is still lower than that of the city dweller. Then, what should the secretaries and instructors do? There are two ways: either to plod along like cart horses or to rack their brains more to find the most appropriate way out. It is difficult to issue a prescription, because, as I said, every village or group of villages may require special methods according to the situation and circumstances. But one prescription is infallible and the main remedy to cure and set the work on its feet. This is thorough, profound, well-based knowledge of the situation in the countryside, knowledge of the people, of the cadres of the village one by one, knowledge of their capacities, their inclinations, their will and their hearts. The same thing holds good for the city organizations, too. Only on this basis can there be initiative and self-action

in the basic organization, and only on this basis can the party committees and instructors give qualified assistance. Elimination of this shortcoming in the method of work of the committees and basic organizations will help the party organizations to become more militant and to give better leadership in the work to accomplish the great tasks they face.

Now that the party organizations are preparing to go to their meetings for rendering account and elections, they should bear their special characteristics in mind, along with their shortcomings, paying particular attention to the latter when it comes to elections.

It must be said that, in connection with elections to the Party, the party committees have created a tradition which must be rid of the things that yield no fruit or are outdated. One of these is the custom of talking about all the problems at the meetings for rendering account and elections. It seems to me that the comrades ought to look into this matter more closely. We may adopt the practice that reports at these meetings should be confined to one or two main issues, let us say, of production, or only to matters of culture and education, to those topics where there are more weaknesses and shortcomings, and every communist should render account, should make criticism or self-criticism about these. Just what problems to take up is closely linked with the characteristics of the basic organization, its specific field, its weaknesses and deficiencies.

Our task is to temper our Party continuously so that it will always be militant, dynamic, active, irreconcilable with shortcomings and weaknesses. To this end, it is essential to bring new blood into the Party, to admit new members from the ranks of the working class and the cooperative peasantry, and the most outstanding revolu-

tionary elements of the intelligentsia. The Constitution (2) adopted at the 5th Congress of the Party clearly defines the conditions necessary for admission to the Party and the measures that must be taken for the preparation of candidates. The task of the basic organizations is to explain these requirements and their objective well so that they are understood correctly. If the directives of the Party on admissions are explained well and understood correctly, then it will be clear that the new requirements of the Constitution do not close the doors of the Party, but on the contrary, open them. But to whom? To the best people, to the revolutionaries. On the other hand, they close the doors to those who are unworthy.

Why does some comrade think that the new conditions might hinder the entry of new blood into the Party? Because, hitherto, members and party organizations have sometimes proposed admissions without sound criteria and have admitted people into the Party without testing them well. Now the criteria are sound and the tests differentiated. People have to become accustomed to these new forms, and there is no reason to think that the doors of the Party will be closed. If the doors were closed to the people, that would be very bad, just as it would be very bad to keep the doors wide open for anyone to enter when it pleased him. But some take the directive of the Party blindly, whereas it is differentiated for different categories — for workers, for cooperativists, for intellectuals and for office employees. If these differentiations and the requirements laid down for people of

2 According to this Constitution, the probation period for the party candidate was prolonged from 1 year as it was previously, to 2-3 years, in accordance with the social status, the nature of work and the ideo-political preparation of each candidate. It is another deep-going measure taken by the Party to have only such people as are more tempered and better imbued with the qualities of the working class admitted to its ranks.

various strata are not taken into account, and both the miner and cooperativist and the intellectual or office employee are sent all over the place to do their period of probation as candidate members, this means that the directive has not been understood and this is fraught with danger.

Let us take the question of those who propose a candidate for party membership. The instructions of the Central Committee say that **«a stand should be taken»** against those who make irresponsible proposals. This must be understood correctly. Proposals must be made and the proposer is responsible to the Party, but this should not be taken to mean that punitive measures must be taken against him without fail on mistakes and offences which the candidate may commit during his life in the Party, because in that case no one would propose new members. The question must be seen in the dialectic of development.

Let us take the requirement of the Constitution that the candidate may change his occupation when he is doing his probation period. This may be done in principle, but should not become a rule, because such a thing is not in the interests of the work or of the candidate.

A candidate may be transferred from his own district, but this, too, should not become the rule. When the candidate is a bachelor the problem is easier. But now we have many different sectors with difficult jobs in every district, to which we can send the candidate. The question of their education with the difficulties of work should be looked at in regard to workers and cooperativists, too; we should proceed cautiously in regard to women candidates, especially when they are married and have children, but we must be more exigent towards office employees and intellectuals. Thus, the directives of the Party should be interpreted correctly and the problem of admitting members on the new basis, of strengthening the Party

with new blood, should be pursued continuously, with the greatest care, for this is a vital matter to the Party.

These questions are of importance to the improvement of the work of the Party. But they are not the only ones we should bear in mind in connection with the campaign of rendering account and elections in the Party. The further revolutionization of our Party and the organs of our state, the strengthening of the Party and the state depend on a complex of problems. I want to talk to you about two problems of principle:

First, **about the strict implementation and observation of the revolutionary principles and norms of the Party.**

Second, **about the consistent and determined fight which must be waged against bureaucracy.**

ON THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE NORMS OF THE PARTY

Right from the time it was founded, our Marxist-Leninist Party has given primary importance to **democratic centralism, criticism and self-criticism, proletarian democracy, critical analysis of problems and events, sound secrecy, conscious iron discipline, the line of the masses, the class struggle, and so on and so forth.** The moral and political situation in the Party, the ideological uplift and revolutionary spirit in the Party and among the people, the implementation of the line of the Party without disquieting mistakes, and the fulfilment of plans are proof of the good results in this direction.

It would, of course, be a mistake of self-satisfaction and short-sightedness to say that everything is perfect in our country, that everything is done perfectly. Self-satisfaction, becoming dizzy with success, creates that state of inertia which minimizes the mistakes, allows them to get worse, and glosses them over with the idea «we have

achieved successes,» «now everything is going well,» «we need not be perturbed about certain reprehensible manifestations» which we consider as accidental.

Self-satisfaction over the correct decisions taken and, hence, the idea that those who have formulated them on the basis of the experience of the Party and the state are infallible, above criticism, maintaining towards them an idealist, mystical, non-revolutionary, non-Marxist-Leninist, non-dialectical attitude, is wrong, a wrong concept. One should always proceed from the principle: trust and check up, love and respect every person who works and strives hard, correctly and with perseverance, on the line of the Party, but leave no one, whoever he may be, uncriticized and un-corrected when he errs; do not hesitate to expose and deal stern and merciless blows at anyone who takes the enemy course against the Party, against the people, against socialism.

To continue to revolutionize the Party with great tenacity — this should be our greatest concern. The Party cannot be revolutionized except through thorough knowledge, deep philosophical understanding and strict revolutionary application of the Marxist-Leninist principles which guide the Party and the Leninist norms which govern its life and that of the communists.

This great vital problem cannot be understood in a formal way, and we cannot allow these principles to be applied mechanically, to be learned as cut-and-dry, lifeless formulae. One of our main tasks is that, while learning and applying these principles and norms properly, we should, at the same time, discover the real, deep reasons why these norms are not understood and applied properly in general, or by some in particular, in this or that basic organization, by this or that communist.

The workers of the Party are now capable of continually making this necessary diagnosis of their work

and must prescribe the necessary remedy, both on a general level for the Party as a whole as well as for individual communists. The remedy for individual communists who do not understand and apply the norms properly, or violate them, is study of the Marxist-Leninist theory and the revolutionary struggle, and this is part of the general education of the Party in these directions.

Let us look at some lessons the experience of the Party teaches us.

Despite the great progress achieved, in the basic organizations of our Party there is not a very intensive life, debates and discussions are not as lively as they should be, there is no thrashing of opinions and opposing views, from which comrades learn, and correct conclusions and measures emerge, a thing which will lead to enhancing the personality of every communist, will increase vigilance and make it easier to carry out the directives, the line and the tasks correctly. This is a cardinal question for the life and struggle of the Party.

Should we devote special attention to this problem to find out the real reasons that hinder the basic organizations from being at their revolutionary peak? Most certainly! Without fail! Or should we content ourselves with the results we have attained and take no account of the fact that a number of communists take no active part in discussions and debates? Should we be content to ascribe this to their «low level» or consider the faults of a communist who is being criticized as mainly subjective and not delve deeper into the matter and come to the conclusion that, though this or that communist is to blame for his mistake, we, the basic organization, bear a share of responsibility because we have not helped him? Or, when a communist or group of communists fail to accomplish their tasks and fulfil the plans, is it sufficient to say that they are to blame, while we, the basic

organization, disclaim any responsibility when something unpleasant occurs and solidarize with them only when everything goes well? No, by no means!

But why do such things happen in basic organizations, why do such things happen among communists? This is not the first time we have analyzed these things, either superficially or profoundly; this is not the first time we have called attention to them, and yet they still occur, despite the organizational and educational measures we have taken and are continually taking.

I think we should not delude ourselves, should not allow ourselves to become self-complacent on any question, to think we have done our duty by taking these measures, or, in the end, to say that we have results (and in fact we have results), but «it is inevitable that such things will happen. This is the dialectics of life and struggle.» We must not be content with these ideas, therefore we should always go more deeply into the analysis of things, should strengthen the measures we take and organize them better. It seems to me that this is what we must insist on.

I have emphasized at other times that the meeting of the basic organization ought to be an event of great importance for the communists, and in order to be so, this requires a great deal of preparation by all, and not just by the secretary, not just in drawing up a good agenda, but a preparation by all the communists, down to the minutest details of the problem which the basic organization takes up for examination and discussion. If this procedure is followed, it is impossible not to have discussions in the basic organization, it is impossible not to have debates and controversies, not to have new ideas, right or wrong, not to have criticism and self-criticism. This is the kind of basic organization we are after. We must fight for such a basic organization. This is the basis

of every good beginning, of every sound education, this is where the communists are tempered with the correct norms of the Party, where their political and ideological and their technical-organizational level is raised, because the organization of the work, the practical accomplishment of tasks, the individual and collective efforts to raise the technical level of communists and non-communists depend greatly on the revolutionary debates in the organization.

If the calling of everyone to account, the demand for discipline from everyone is not done persistently in the basic organization, then, where will it be done? If criticism and self-criticism are not carried out properly, according to the norms of the Party in the basic organization, then where will they be carried out properly? If the communist does not have the courage to express his opinions in the basic organization, will he be able to express them properly in his meetings with the masses? If the communist is not educated to understand and apply the dictatorship of the proletariat and all the norms that emanate from it in life, in his conscience and in his work, then the question arises: How will he make the masses understand what the dictatorship of the proletariat is, what its political, ideological, ethical, organizational and repressive norms are?

We teach the broad masses and want them to speak freely, to criticize the shortcomings and the persons responsible so that the latter will be educated and corrected. Of course, such a thing cannot be carried out properly by the masses when the Party as a whole and the individual communist do not understand and carry it out properly.

The question is not that our Party and our communists are not acquainted with these norms and do not apply them in practice. No, but here there is a good deal

of formalism, of automatism, a lack of profound understanding and failure to see the benefits that may result from thorough understanding and proper implementation of them and the dangers that may arise in the opposite case.

I think that the basic norms that govern the life and struggle of the Party, hence, of the basic organization and each communist, ought to be known well, thoroughly, known from their ideological and political aspects. On this we have not insisted as much as we should and in the way we should.

To illustrate this conclusion, let us take the Constitution of the Party as an example. The Constitution is the communists' guide, the basic document which regulates the life of the Party. It synthesizes the principal directions of the Party, the rights and duties of the communist, who without knowing them, without understanding them thoroughly and carrying them out in life, cannot be considered a good communist.

If he violates these norms of the Constitution, he is liable to punishment up to expulsion from the Party. But a very strange thing happens: the Constitution is not studied, is not used as a basic material for the communists, either rank-and-file or leading members. Some read it and say: «We agree. We know these things well. We base ourselves on them.» It is true that we know many things, but then why do we blunder, why do we violate the articles of the Constitution? This shows that we do not know the articles well. Sometimes we are completely ignorant of them and they have not become the obstacle they ought to be in our consciousness to erroneous things and an inspiration to always proceed correctly and in a revolutionary way.

Every year, ever since our Party came into being, we have given lectures on the Constitution. This work

has yielded results, and still does so, but we must continue to seek both the reasons for these facts and the best methods to ensure that every communist has the Constitution in his mind and his heart in every step he takes...

Let us take the question that all do not participate properly in the discussion of various problems in the organization. The problem here is the phenomenon itself and not some mechanical rule that all the members of the basic organization absolutely must discuss everything. Why don't they take part in discussion? This should preoccupy us first and foremost.

There is no discussion, or the discussion is dull when the problem is not well understood, when it is not studied and presented correctly with well-founded arguments.

There is no discussion when the problem is communicated in a cut-and-dry way and at the last moment, taking the organization by surprise and placing it in the position either of not discussing it at all or discussing it in a perfunctory way. Hence, the problem is raised just to have it done with, it is dragged on as a drudgery; in a round-about way the ideas of the person who raises the problem are imposed on the organization and those members who find it easy to get up and speak, but who often have no ideas, but only platitudes to offer, get the opportunity to shine.

It is not hard to see what negative consequences such a thing has for the work and education and what relations are established between the leadership and the base.

Preparation of the problem to be brought up for discussion is the only way to enliven the organization. He who has mastered the problem is able to discuss it, to offer suggestions, to criticize, foresee and propose. If everybody approaches the matter in this way, then there

is no doubt that good opinions will clash with bad ones, they will be sifted out, the best ones will be chosen and measures to overcome the difficulties will be envisaged. But during this debate the true worth of each member will be recognized. This is what we mean by revolutionary struggle in the organization...

When a person applies to join the Party and is accepted, he has rights and duties which it is absolutely essential that he must know and carry out courageously. You cannot call yourself a member of our Party and, on the other hand, be a coward. A party member may not be well versed in many things or may know only a little about some things; these the Party will always teach him in many ways, but those things he does know, those things he has learned, a party member must express as he knows them, as much as he has learned them, and put them forward in discussion, and as the communist that he is, should listen to the revolutionary critical judgment of the comrades, that is, he should calmly accept bolshevik criticism and courageously rebuff un-bolshevik criticism, honestly acknowledge where he is wrong and march ahead.

Everybody says, «this is right but, unfortunately, there are some who do not dare,» and so on. But who do they blame for this, the Party, its norms, or because it constantly urges them to forge ahead like revolutionaries? If such persons see the Party in one person who suppresses their correct ideas, who smothers their criticism, it is they themselves who are to blame, not the Party or its rules. If such communists allow a person they themselves have vested with functions to overshadow the collective strength of the Party, then they are far from understanding the norms of the Party. However, there are also those who are well acquainted with the formal aspect of the norms of the Party but in whose heads

other, petty-bourgeois norms are brewing; in this case the collective of the Party must point out and fight these alien norms and educate the people concerned.

We must look at this major problem from all angles, since there are directors, heads of departments and secretaries who make mistakes, but there are also those who are neither directors nor managers, but who are intolerant of criticism, discipline, or rendering of account and take any requirement or rule imposed on them as a personal attack against them. We are acquainted with such glib talkers who slander the director (just as we are acquainted with arrogant directors), but when the matter is brought before the organization it is judged fairly by the collective and it is only here that the truth comes out.

The only correct and complete judgment comes from the check-up by the collective, which verifies and must verify the case. This is what «control by the masses», and «the policy of the masses» means. Everybody, without exception, must submit to the judgement of the masses about their work and conduct in society. The communists must submit to a two-fold control, to that of the Party and that of the masses. No one can say that this is a personal, private affair, when it is linked with the society, with the socialist norms and the norms of the Party. No one should meddle in the personal affairs of another, but when this other maltreats his wife, for instance, or leads a life of luxury beyond his means and income, and so on and so forth, then the collective has every right to criticize him, and if it turns out that the norms and laws are being violated, then other action is taken. Such an action strengthens and does not weaken our society. On the contrary it weakens the petty-bourgeois views on life, on the norms of the old life which made man a slave, without personality, freedom and initiative.

The elections and rendering of account in the Party are very important for the further tempering and revolutionizing of the Party and the cadres. Any formalism in these important meetings, any hesitation in applying the norms that govern the life of the Party must be done away with. The leadership must render account at these meetings, must prove with facts whether it has or has not accomplished its task properly, and not just present general observations and criticisms of others. Conversely, every communist must do likewise.

The election of the leadership must be done on sound criteria in conformity with established rules, without any one forcing a leader or leaders on the basic party organization. The members must nominate the candidates themselves, sift them out themselves, elect their leaders themselves, and revoke them themselves in a democratic way when they do not work well.

In nominating candidates we seem to have departed somewhat from the revolutionary norms we used to apply. Now, under the pretext that cadres are well known, their biographies are not asked for, or asked for only formally. This must be re-established properly, regardless of whether the nominee is well known. He must stand before the comrades of the organization and give his biography, in which he should avoid boasting of his past, the merits of which are known to the masses, but should speak more concretely about the weaknesses he has displayed in his work or the mistaken views he may have, and pledge to correct them.

These norms must be retained and developed properly in the Party, but I think that, among the masses as regards those who are appointed to state functions, especially the main cadres as directors, assistant-directors, heads of planning, accountants, chief-accountants, and so on, norms more or less the same as these should be

applied. These cadres are appointed and we may not have to change many things in the principles and norms pursued so far, but the economic organization or any other unit must certainly be introduced to the new person who is coming to lead it. Not only must we introduce the appointed employee to the masses, and do this not in a formal way, but we must adopt the practice that he comes before the masses himself, to give a frank account of his biography so the masses can judge him and tell him: «Look here, brother, do your job well, behave well, apply the rules and laws correctly, demand that we render account to the letter, since we will demand the same thing from you; listen to us, because we will help you if you do your job well. But, mind you, if you blunder we will pull your ears while if you keep on blundering we will throw you overboard, and bear in mind that there is no one who can protect you; the Party is ours, the power is ours, we are in power, the dictatorship of the proletariat is in power, therefore, we shall break your neck if you do bad things and on the other hand, we shall love and respect you immensely if you do your job well.»

If we resolutely apply these norms we will see how well the work will go and how quickly those persons who do what they please at present will be corrected.

Why is it so important to know and apply the party norms properly, and why must we be so insistent about knowing these norms and making them the basis of our lives?

We know that our Party of Labour, like all genuine Marxist-Leninist parties, is an organized detachment of the working class. This means that only vanguard people, the best, most revolutionary and most indomitable people are in the Party. These individuals do not fall from the heavens; they emerge from the ranks of the people and

distinguish themselves in work and in struggle by their virtues and conduct. Those who are admitted to the Party come from various classes of our society, from the working class, from the cooperativists, from the office employees, the intellectuals and other strata. Nevertheless, our Party is not an arena of classes in which each class, in proportion to its numbers, has its representatives who defend the separate interests of each class, etc. No, in our Party the working class, with its ideology, Marxism-Leninism, has hegemony, regardless of the fact that the percentage of members of worker origin or status may, for known reasons, be lower at present than that of those of peasant origin.

Likewise, the organized detachment of the working class in our country, which is the Party of Labour, is not an arena within which a class struggle, in the classic sense of the word, is waged, but it leads the class struggle. This means that our Party is a monolithic Party with steel, Marxist-Leninist unity of thought and action; there is no room in it for anti-Marxist, revisionist, Trotskyite, liberal, social democratic and other factions and oppositions. It has defined its strategy and tactics, always based on the Marxist-Leninist theory and the objective conditions of our country, taking account of its peculiarities and the time, analyzed in the light of dialectical and historical materialism. Thus, the tactics of the Party cannot evade or run counter to these principles.

It is on this basis that the Party has defined its own norms to attain its end, which is its program, the complete construction of socialism and of the classless society, communism. This can be achieved only under the hegemony of the working class which is led by the organized Marxist-Leninist detachment of this class, the communist party, with us, the Party of Labour.

Why must there be perfect organization, iron discipli-

ne and bolshevik norms in the party? These are needed since they are, so to say, the cement of the party. The party is not a multitude of persons without ideology, without criteria and without aims, or with opposing criteria and varying aims got together to go to a wedding. No.

The Party of Labour of Albania was founded and engaged in a terrible war against fascism, such as mankind had never experienced. The fate of our people was in the balance and only a Marxist-Leninist party like ours could and did save them. Hence, our Party was the keen, gleaming, unbreakable and indomitable sword in the hands of the Albanian working class and people. And it became such a sword because it was imbued with Marxism-Leninism and tempered in battle with the norms it had established for itself. Thus, it was under the leadership of the Party that the National Liberation War was won. that our people's revolution was carried out and that socialism is being built successfully today. Our Party will have completed its noble task when communist society has been built in our country and the proletarian revolution has triumphed everywhere in the world.

How many fights the Party has had to wage to achieve what it has achieved! It fought the German and Italian fascists, fought the Ballists and the local feudal-bourgeois coalition; it fought the Titoites and their innumerable agencies both within and outside its ranks, it fought the conspiracies and agencies of united imperialists; it fought the Khrushchevite traitors and their agents both within and outside its ranks; it fought the ruthless fascist coalition of modern revisionists, headed by the Khrushchevites.

Our Party overcame all these dangers and emerged successful for the reasons I mentioned earlier, and not because our people numbered tens of millions or because our

Party had millions of members. In the Party it is not the quantity but the quality of the steel that counts, and thanks to their defence of Marxist-Leninist principles the Albanian communists have truly become an unbreakable steel.

Our enemies do not fail to claim that Albania stands on its feet and exists thanks to others. This, of course, is piffle. We would not be Marxists if we denied the international solidarity of the world proletariat, but first you must fight and defend yourself, must work correctly, and only then can others help you.

Many things occurred in the Soviet Union and in the countries of people's democracy that led to the overthrow of the socialist regime and to the degeneration of their parties. Why did these things not occur among us? For the reasons I mentioned above and, precisely for those reasons, nothing will occur in the future, either. Is there not a constant imperialist and revisionist coalition against the Party of Labour of Albania and socialist Albania? This coalition is on its feet, but so are we and always have been. We have grappled with them and have won, and may grapple with them again and we shall win again. This will happen again and again. Therefore, the victory will be ours, our people's and our Party's to the end.

All of us must study the materials of our Party, from the time it was founded, for in them we shall find colossal experience. These materials may not have the proper forms of philosophical dissertation which intellectuals or stylists are so fond of, they may contain unnecessary, trivial repetitions and, at times, even erroneous things, but they are of a kind that tempered a party and inspired a small but unconquerable people who were never brought to their knees, who were never conquered, because they remained loyal to Marxism-Leninism and its norms.

The modern revisionists and reactionaries call us Stalinists, thinking that they insult us and, in fact, that is

their aim. On the contrary, however, they glorify us with this epithet: it is an honour for us to be Stalinists, because, since we were Stalinists, the enemy could not conquer us, and never will conquer us as long as we remain Stalinists.

The documents of our Party record certain moments of great historic importance which I wish to mention, moments during which, had we not acted the way we did, we would have brought the people great difficulties, if not a total loss of the independence won at the cost of bloodshed.

Our Party did not allow the sharing of power with elements of the bourgeoisie, even of the liberal bourgeoisie. It did not allow the creation of bourgeois parties either inside or outside the Front, not only because this was the experience of the Soviet Union, but because our Party and people knew from the past, learned during the war and confirmed after the war what the Ballists, the «democrats», the «independent democrats» and others like Riza Dani and Shefqet Beja and Co, were. At the appropriate moments, the Party appealed to all of them in their time, held out its hand to them and even supported a number of them who became deputies. These were correct, necessary tactical acts, but the Party did not turn them into a strategy or make them its political and ideological line.

Let the enemies accuse us of sectarianism and terrorism, but we were not dupes; our Party and people made short work of the enemies who turned their guns against us. We were not terrorists but revolutionaries, and the proletarian revolution led by the Marxist-Leninist party does not allow you to admit the wolf to the sheepfold, to keep the viper in your bosom. The enemies were dealt with successfully, because the Party was the keen edge of the people's sword.

Our Party always kept its ranks pure, as they must be in a proletarian party that has to pass through a thousand dangers to attain its final objective. The Party never lost its bearings in this vital matter; it always bore in mind that in order to vanquish our people the enemies had first to vanquish the Party, and that is why they waged a continuous and co-ordinated struggle both within and outside its ranks.

Our Party crushed all its internal enemies, ranging from Anastas Lulo⁽³⁾ to Liri Belishova. This was a systematic, revolutionary struggle. The Party has never allowed the work of enemies to become firmly established in the Party, at no time has it failed to use the methods of patient explanation and persuasion towards all those who betrayed it and took the anti-party and anti-people course, but when the cup was filled and facts were obvious, it expelled them from its ranks without hesitation and those who had conspired it handed over to the court which sentenced some of them to death. Our enemies shed tears over them while the people rejoiced at being rid of these traitors.

A self-respecting Marxist-Leninist party cannot allow the existence of two lines in the party; that is, it cannot permit the existence of one or many factions. If such factions appear the party cannot and must not tolerate their existence, not even for a short time. A faction in the party is against the Marxist-Leninist unity of thought and action and tries to transform the party into a social-democratic party and the socialist country into a capitalist country.

³ Member of the former «Youth» Communist Group. Both at the meeting for the merger of the groups and the founding of the Communist Party of Albania and later he adopted an anti-communist stand, began to sabotage the war and was condemned by the Party.

These are all historic moments for the Party, therefore every one should read the materials and decisions taken about them, should study them and rely on them, for they are vital lessons and a guide for our actions at all times.

The struggle of our Party is a great revolutionary school which teaches it to keep its ranks always pure, because, although the Party is not an arena of class struggle, its members, although in the vanguard, sometimes bring with them non-proletarian hangovers which must be purged and combated; and this is the form of class struggle which we constantly insist must be waged against these vestiges within the Party. In this great struggle some communists get weary, some others succumb. That is why they can become dangerous, therefore, the Party must go on and on educating its cadres ideologically and politically, through work and struggle, to ensure that they never succumb, but are always revolutionaries. Looking at this question from this angle, the only Marxist-Leninist angle, one can see how important are the Marxist-Leninist norms that govern the life, work and struggle of the Party, the people, the communists and the non-party patriots.

The more profoundly the correct line of the Party is grasped, the more thoroughly the principles and norms of its life are understood, the more correctly and profoundly they are applied with revolutionary courage, the stronger and more unyielding will our Party be, and thus socialism will forge ahead successfully.

That is why we have fought for these things and will go on fighting for them to the end, with our heroic Party at the head, for our glorious people, for socialism and communism.

MORE ABOUT BUREAUCRACY

Allow me, on the basis of the historic decisions of the 5th Congress which guide us in our work, of the Open Letter of the Central Committee of the Party and the Call of the Central Committee and the Government, which have become notable events in the work of the communists and the broad masses and have yielded major positive results in revolutionizing all our work, to express some further ideas regarding the ceaseless struggle which we must wage against bureaucracy and its bearers.

It would be a mistake to think that the struggle against bureaucracy has come to an end, or that we should slacken our efforts following the campaign we undertook and the initial results we have attained in this direction. It must be understood that this struggle will never come to an end, so long as classes and the class struggle exist; it will be continuous.

Why will it be continuous? Because it does not consist simply in taking certain technical measures, as some understand it, such as getting rid of superfluous cadres, eliminating unnecessary links in the staffing of state, administrative, economic and cultural organs or in the party apparatus, or doing away with excessive letter-writing and red tape and achieving a more correct definition of individual and collective competences and responsibilities. These measures have played and will continue to play a positive, militant role against bureaucracy but this is not all there is to it. This is a minor aspect and remains a technical aspect of the problem which could itself be turned into a «bureaucratic measure» if the content of it is not understood politically and ideologically, that is, if what bureaucracy is and how it comes into being, how it creates its concepts, where it has its sources, what

objective and subjective factors nurture it, are not understood ideologically and politically.

We may have reduced the number of persons in an institution from 100 to 50, but this does not rid us of bureaucracy if the 50 who remain do not have a deep understanding of what bureaucracy is and do not fight as revolutionaries. The same thing holds true for red tape. There may be fewer letters written, but they might still retain the bureaucratic spirit. We should attach due importance to forms, they play their role and help when they are good, do damage when they are bad, but we must never forget that what counts is the essence of the matter, its ideological-political meaning.

Bureaucracy which develops in concrete forms and assumes ugly features is inspired by idealist concepts which develop, take various forms in order to serve feudalism, the bourgeoisie and capitalists, to dominate the masses, to oppress them, to exploit them to the maximum. Therefore, bureaucracy is a form of thinking and acting in open opposition to the people and their vital interests.

Hence, bureaucracy and the bureaucrats are anti-popular and enemies of the people. The concepts that form bureaucracy and the bureaucrat are idealist, reactionary, anti-revolutionary and anti-Marxist. Therefore, bureaucracy and the bureaucrats are the most evil and wily enemies of a Marxist-Leninist party which must fight them continually, persistently and ceaselessly, in all their manifestations and, first and foremost, must smash their political and ideological concepts. At the same time it must smash the organizational or structural system that they establish or strive to keep alive in various forms and ways.

The people, the masses are educated and led in two ways in the world. Where the revolution has triumphed

they are educated in a revolutionary way, while where capital dominates, in a bureaucratic way. In the former type of society, a socialist society, the people are in power, the dictatorship of the proletariat has been established and the Marxist-Leninist party is in power, the line of the party, the line of the masses is in force. Here there is wide and genuine democracy for the broad masses, and there is no democracy for the reactionary minority that has been deprived of all power as oppressor and enemy of the masses. It must be kept under pressure and great vigilance, which must never be slackened, must be exercised towards it through the class struggle and the dictatorship of the proletariat.

In countries where capital dominates there is democracy for the capitalists, oppressors, exploiters, while there is oppression for the majority, for the masses, for the people. There the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, the dictatorship of fascism exists, there the bureaucratic order reigns.

Therefore, there are two concepts of leadership: the bureaucratic anti-popular concept and the revolutionary popular concept. The one wages a life-and-death struggle against the other. Where the revolution triumphs, bureaucracy has lost the first battle, but it has not laid down its weapons and fights in other ways which have their source in the traditions of former regimes, for the old sins of which we are still paying, and especially in the mentality, prejudices and world outlook of people.

The mental concepts of bureaucracy, that is, its idealist ideology are, at the same time, the concepts of the minority, subjectivist concepts that develop in individuals and form the ideology of the minority class ruling over the majority, concepts which the minority does not fail to inculcate into the minds and consciousness of the majority through culture, education, politics, moral

and political degeneration, so that they become their second nature, a way of life in thought and action.

Therefore when the revolution triumphs, we should not think that everybody gets rid of these idealist, subjectivist, individualist thoughts and prejudices immediately, and that these do not influence, do not inhibit the progress of people, do not hinder the revolutionization of them and their concepts and world outlook and the rapid consolidation of socialism. No! We must not think in this way, for then we would not be realistic, would not be objective, would not be or act like revolutionaries.

We destroyed the old bureaucratic regime of the feudal-bourgeoisie and fascism to its foundations and established the dictatorship of the proletariat, the regime of people's councils. We cannot say that certain manifestations of the old way of running things did not remain in one form or another in our new people's state power. It is true that during these two decades or so we have modernized and democratized our people's state power and have continually brought it ever closer to the masses. But we still have to wage a continuous struggle to make our state power democratic not only in its form, its structure, but especially in its content. We must strive to make the democratic essence of our state power predominate, to make its profoundly popular character prevail, because this will eradicate the bureaucratic elements left over from the past or reborn in new forms, and this democratic character alone is capable of perfecting structures and forms, and of creating the laws which shape the organization and orientation of the state.

In order to fight bureaucracy and the bureaucrats successfully it is necessary to understand thoroughly and resolutely apply the directives of the Party, especially those about «power belonging to the masses», bringing it

«as close as possible to the masses», and ensuring «a broad democracy for the masses», and so on.

Some comrades think they understand and apply these principles well, but their practice proves that the contrary is true. They think the state power is democratic simply because there are elections, and that this is sufficient. Elections are held in the bourgeois democracies, too, and there are debates during elections in the bourgeois democracies. But the deputies there, far from being men of the people, although they are formally elected by them in a thousand fraudulent ways, are men of the bourgeoisie, in the service of the bourgeoisie, to protect and fill the coffers of the capitalists through the blood and sweat of the people. Such deputies enact repressive laws in order to maintain and strengthen an anti-popular, anti-democratic, bureaucratic regime. This is the regime of the bludgeon and the gallows, of moral and political corruption.

Therefore, our elections and theirs are diametrically opposed in principle, in content, in their aims and deeds. Ours are popular and revolutionary in essence. The deputies to our people's councils and our People's Assembly are men of the people, linked with the people, elected and revocable by the people. They enact revolutionary laws in the interests of the people and they themselves, together with the people, apply these socialist revolutionary laws, ordinances and norms. The will of the broad masses of the people is sovereign and can annul these laws and ordinances, it can correct and amend them if it finds them unsuitable, out-of-date or wrong.

The role and duties of our deputy in the people's democracy are not confined to his going once or twice a year on formal visits to contact his electors and to apply the ordinances and decisions bureaucratically in the place where he works. **He is at the same time, the representative and a member of a great mass of the people,**

who not only implement, but also create, decide, discuss, criticize, propose and amend. The true struggle against bureaucratic concepts is based on profound understanding and proper practical application of these things. Here lies the great field of the battle between revolutionaries and bureaucrats, between champions of the masses and bureaucrats, between heroes and cowards, between those who strive to link the Party firmly with the popular masses and those who strive to alienate the Party from the people.

The bureaucrats are afraid of the masses, the revolutionaries are not. The sense of fear is an individual attribute, not an attribute of the masses. It may be communicated to the masses for a moment and even create a temporary panic, but the masses cannot be intimidated.

If we look back at the great experience of the National Liberation War we find examples of individuals who were afraid to take part in the fight, who hesitated, but finally came out, joined the valiant people, lost their fear and became valiant themselves. On the other hand, when the masses were fighting heroically there were individuals who became terrified and deserted the ranks of the masses. Thus, this was due to subjective causes in the individual. Such an individual took fright, because his non-revolutionary, bourgeois, petty-bourgeois, individualistic and cowardly world outlook impelled him in this direction.

The bureaucrat is a coward, because his world outlook is idealist, mystical and individualist. This is the main-spring of all evils like arrogance, servility, lies, deceit, etc., all of them to preserve the individual position acquired, to climb in position, to profit in illegal ways and do a thousand and one crooked things. Of course, a fault of this kind cannot escape the eye of the masses, cannot resist the struggle of the masses, the revolutionary

impulse of the masses, therefore the bureaucrat will do his uttermost to dodge every revolutionary norm, will try to make the revolutionary laws and ordinances ineffective, in order to annoy the masses, to make them dissatisfied and, finally, indifferent. He will try to turn the state apparatus into a closed administrative repressive weapon, to turn it into an administration in the service of bureaucracy in order to intimidate and oppress the masses rather than an apparatus in the service of the people and against bureaucracy.

We must seek out and fight the dangerous bureaucrats who strive to raise bureaucracy to a system, or to keep its spirit alive, particularly in the government apparatus and in that of the Party, in the management of economic and industrial enterprises and cooperatives, in the leadership of educational and cultural institutions.

The bureaucrat is afraid of the masses, he is afraid to work among the masses and when he is obliged to go among the masses, he wants to be vested with authority, tries to impose himself on the masses through his authority and the functions he has. In this he distorts the revolutionary, democratic essence of the state and its laws. He violates democracy, suppresses criticism, while allegedly upholding «the correctness of the directive» or the law and the authority of the Party and the state. In fact he does the opposite. He degrades the authority of the Party and the state and, with his sinister secret and sometimes open aims, he alienates the masses from the Party...

The question arises: How much is the skin of these individuals worth when compared with the great revolutionary masses of workers among whom they behave in these anti-popular ways? Not a penny. Why do the masses not sweep away these bad and unscrupulous people? Who protects them, why the delay in exposing

them and taking measures against them, when the evil things they do have long been known by the masses and have been pointed out many times, and still they are allowed to continue? Without doubt, it is bureaucracy, routine, formalism and certain individuals of the apparatuses that protect them. Nobody else.

These bureaucratic officials who imagine that they are the true upholders of principles and laws, are afraid of the voice of the masses, of their criticism. In the meetings which are held sometimes the situation created is not very revolutionary. No peal of bells is heard chiming there, but only «a single bell,» and when something is heard that is not in harmony with «what has been decided,» an alarm is sounded and efforts are made to bring everything within «the established norm,» which is not the true norm. Where then, are the fiery debates, the thrashing out of opposing opinions we require, where are the constructive criticisms so we can correct immature and wrong ideas? No such things can exist at such meetings. Indeed, the voice of the masses is not heard there and, like it or not, the masses are not allowed to think, to criticize, to decide or to propose. Thus, a restraint, a regime of restriction, formalism and bureaucracy is established under the banner of the slogans of the Party, under the banner of the application of the revolutionary norms of the Party and the people's power.

Those who understand the directive or the law in a bureaucratic way cannot carry it out in a revolutionary way. To them, the directive or the law is an order from above and must be carried out blindly. They do not take the trouble to look deeply into the origin of the law or directive, into the circumstances that have compelled the leadership to issue it. As a result of such a superficial and bureaucratic view of this problem they apply the laws and directives in a bureaucratic way, too.

It is not sufficient just to explain the law or directive once or even twice but, from political, ideological and organizational analysis of its content, it ought to become a mighty mobilizing force. The idea of carrying out the directive without relying on the masses, without thinking and seeing in practice whether the masses approve it or not, is fruitless. The right thing to do is to accept and encourage the masses to express their opinions for or against. This is troublesome and the bureaucrat is afraid of troubles. He must safeguard «the good opinion» his superiors have created about him, he must curry favour with his superiors and forums and say to them: «The directive you have issued is one of genius, flawless, fitting and popular.»

How can a Marxist-Leninist party be afraid of the masses, of their voice and criticism? A party which fears them cannot be called Marxist-Leninist. However, it is never the Party that fears them, but certain individuals, certain members of the Party, certain state functionaries, It is the bureaucrats that fear the masses, those who hide under the authority of the Party and the state to suppress the voice of the masses. We must crush these individuals and they must be crushed in a revolutionary way by the Party and the masses at the same time.

Comrade communists, comrade workers, are we going to allow such persons, disguised with the name of the Party or their state functions to trample underfoot the laws of our proletarian revolution, to distort the life-giving revolutionary norms of the Party, to tarnish the dictatorship of the proletariat with bombastic words which hide evil deeds? By no means, for then we would have sealed the doom of our people.

Comrade workers, are we going to permit such a state of affairs to please a handful of such persons and damage the great cause of the people? By no means!

Is it imaginable that the masses of the people led by our Party, that the working class and its glorious Party of Labour, could be afraid of a few such corrupt individuals? Not for one moment could such a thing be imagined.

It should not be thought, however, that since they are few they can do us no harm and therefore we should not put them in the iron vice of the dictatorship to straighten them out or get rid of them. We must never forget the tragedy of the Soviet Union. Under the leadership of the Party and the working class, the masses of the people must always be on the alert in everything, to defend the dictatorship of the proletariat, its laws, its ideology, its policy and its achievements. This is the only correct, sound road of salvation which our Party teaches us and advises us all, without exception, to follow to the end.

There are but two roads: either with the Party and the people or against them. Therefore, nothing should be allowed outside the laws and norms of the Party and the people, nothing should escape the vigilant eye of the Party and the people, no one should be exempt from rendering account of his work to the Party and the people, and from receiving his deserts from the Party and the people...

Let us do away with the existing very ridiculous wall bulletins and turn them into revolutionary wall bulletins which will help revolutionary education. Let us do away with the editorial boards of these wall bulletins made up of opportunist scribblers who «uphold the dignity and authority of the director» and of themselves at the same time, and let everyone write what he thinks about the work and the people, in big letters and without fear.

They say: «We must protect the authority of cadres. If we do not act in this way we will discredit the

cadres.» That means that those who think like this accept, in advance, that cadres are infallible and the masses err in their judgment. To think in this way is a very grave mistake, is to think not as a Marxist, not as a revolutionary. Nobody discredits a cadre who works well. On the contrary, everybody loves and protects him. But what evil is there and what norms are violated when the masses openly criticize the cadre who makes a mistake? Nothing but good comes of it. Why should we suppress or discourage criticism from below under the pretext of «protecting the prestige of cadres»? What evil comes to the Party from such a thing? Many evils come if we act wrongly. The authority of the Party among the masses declines, we corrupt the Party, we keep unworthy elements in the Party and protect them, and educate the Party badly.

We sometimes hesitate to take measures against experienced cadres who have been in the Party a long time. This is a great mistake when this cadre makes one or two mistakes. In such cases we should see that a good method of work and revolutionary conduct are not always linked with the ability of the cadre, but more especially with his political and ideological world outlook.

Therefore, the education of the cadres and people in the revolutionary spirit is a major, permanent duty, because success or failure of the struggle against bureaucracy and the bureaucrats and their correction, depend on whether the work done in this direction is good or bad.

If we subject the bureaucrats to close scrutiny we shall see that they do not study Marxist-Leninist theory as they should and subjectivism predominates in their work. They are very touchy about their opinions. They are megalomaniacs and servile at the same time, megalomaniacs towards the masses and servile towards their superiors.

Bureaucrats cover up their ignorance with bombastic

words and phrases. They use the fact that they have stayed a long time in one position without being shifted as individual, personal capital. They arrive at the idea that they have become untouchable, irreplaceable, think they have created an adequate opinion of their «ability» round about them and see no danger of being demoted, transferred, etc. They think only of being promoted and work towards that goal.

All this non-revolutionary state of mind creates among them «a sense of stability in the soft seat they have occupied», «a certainty of their own infallibility in their work» and of «the perfection of their method and style of work», which has brought about this state of affairs, and thus they develop a way of thinking and living in the family and society of a new bourgeoisie within our people's democracy. This is very dangerous. If we do not extirpate these views of the bureaucrat, he will spread them from his position of authority and infect others with them.

Thus, in addition to educating the cadres and the masses in general, ideologically and politically, in addition to the many forms of fighting manifestations of bureaucracy, I think we should study more seriously and apply a further correct circulation of cadres, since we have cadres who have been mouldering in the same place for more than 10 to 15 years and who, willy-nilly, have assumed certain of the features I mentioned above. Their replacement with the people from the base will be good for the Party and the state at the top, and be beneficial for the base and for the persons who go from higher to lower ranks. Naturally, all the latter will not be over-enthusiastic about going, but we can be certain that we are doing the right thing, because in this way we combat the non-revolutionary views which have been manifested in these people. We shall cure them.

A worker or cooperativist is not greatly concerned when he changes his job. He is never afraid of work or life in general. He is used to difficulties, he earns his daily bread anywhere with the sweat of his brow. An intellectual or office worker, on the other hand, finds it difficult to move for many reasons: first, because he has created a view of superiority of the «intellect» and «officialdom» and, second, the question of pay, the question of financial treatment. These two views which are not manifested among the workers and peasants, must be combated among the intellectuals and officials.

Knowledge, science and wisdom are not the attributes of only a certain few who have «special brains» or «special virtues», who alone are able to teach and issue orders for others to obey. It is the broad masses of the people who create, who build and transform the world and society and when they do this, it means that they place every merit, without belittling the merit of each one separately, in the service of society as a whole. Therefore, the merit belongs to the masses who work, think, create, apply, think and create again.

Therefore, we must combat the thinking of those who possess some degree of knowledge, but who utilize it to impose themselves on the masses, since this is bourgeois, reactionary thinking, just as bourgeois and reactionary as the thinking of «officialdom», in the sense that it hides the bad intentions of the person, his anti-Marxist, anti-revolutionary bureaucratic world outlook and activity.

The worker and peasant are well aware that their income is connected with their work, with their sweat, while a functionary connects his salary both with his work and with his post. Therefore, whether he goes to the base willingly or not, depends on whether or not he is demoted, whether or not his salary and «rank» are reduced.

Of course, it would not be right to give personal salaries

to those who go from higher to lower levels for reasons of work. But, in the general interest, we should proceed with still greater courage towards narrowing the gap between the wages of workers and the salaries of officials, and among the various categories of officials. This is a correct Marxist-Leninist course. It is likewise Marxist-Leninist that this measure should be accompanied with the creation of economic abundance.

From all these things, the Party is faced with major tasks to further revolutionize its work. The great successes we have achieved in our party work must not make us dizzy and close our eyes to the shortcomings and weaknesses which exist and are not to be neglected. It would do us great damage if we failed to go further with and fearlessly apply the line of the masses, true democracy of the masses, if we failed to go more deeply into and apply the norms of the Party, democratic and non-bureaucratic centralism, bolshevik criticism and self-criticism, proletarian discipline and proletarian morality, correctly, in a revolutionary way. and through to the end.

We will strengthen our Party by proceeding along this correct course, so that our Party, socialism and our people may never have any headache, heartache, nor bodily pain.

We have all the possibilities for this, because our Party is strong, tempered and has great revolutionary experience, because we have courageous, heroic party members and a marvellous people closely linked with the Party.

REFLECTIONS ON THE CULTURAL REVOLUTION. ANARCHY CANNOT BE COMBATED WITH ANARCHY

April 28, 1967

Of course, from lack of facts we may be mistaken, because in this question, which is such a major one and at the same time so complicated, it is characteristic that we do not find a continuity in the reporting of facts by the Communist Party of China.

The official Chinese press and first of all the newspaper «Renmin Ribao», which is the organ of the Central Committee, reflects this uncertainty, it guards against expressing its real opinion and the analysis of events. Therefore, in place of these things, it writes mostly to prove that «Mao's ideas have always been and are correct», that «Mao has understood everything correctly, he foresees everything correctly, and everyone should follow the teachings of Mao», which are given through quotations and have been filling the newspapers and covering the walls, people's bodies and things for the last year. It seems that the Chinese comrades explain events as if they are the outcome of the ideas of Mao, and thus every article, every note, is directed to convincing people that Mao is a «genius», instead of explaining concretely what is occurring in reality. This is a serious shortcoming in the presentation of things.

It seems to me, however, that this is not accidental. It represents a chaotic situation and a method of work and struggle unsuitable for putting things in order. I

think, and perhaps I am wrong, that the Cultural Revolution was begun without clear perspectives, the course on which it was to proceed was not defined, and neither the expected nor the unexpected things were foreseen. I think that the general staff of the revolution did not exist. They went into the revolution without the party.

What became of the party? Where is the party? Who led the party? According to information, the party was not in the hands of Mao, others were manoeuvring it. Hence, **the party, as a Marxist-Leninist party, did not come out in revolution and did not lead the revolution.** A few communist cadres, with Mao at the head, led this revolution, but not as a party.

The «Red Guards» rose in revolution, but this was not the party, nor the communist youth organization, nor the trade-union organization, nor the working class. This is a great minus from the angle of principle and organization. The «Red Guards» rose in revolution, but what was it to do, what road was it to follow? I have the impression that this thing was not clear at the start or even later. The «Red Guards» was ordered to demonstrate its strength, its loyalty to the ideas of Mao, to expose the revisionists, and to seize power from them.

Hence, the main question was the question of state power. To struggle to seize the power implies that someone else is holding this power and is not relinquishing it, therefore you must rise in revolution. Thus, as it turns out, they rose in the revolution to take power without the party at the head, or to put it better, the party had power, but the party was not on the right road.

Was the party on the right road or not? If not, then it should be clearly stated why, what the mistakes consisted of, who had made these mistakes, and how they had to be corrected. If the party was on the right road, why did it not lead the revolution in fact? If the revisionists

are the minority, then why does the party not eliminate them immediately, and especially now that the revolution is being carried out?

These things are not clear, are left obscure; perhaps the revolution will resolve them and make them clear.

I think that the revolution is the most serious thing that can be undertaken, and it does not permit spontaneity, lack of iron discipline, vacillations on principles, anarchy, or confusion. All these things, which should not be allowed, we find in the Chinese Cultural Revolution. Not only have these things not come to an end, but, the way they are going, they will continue for a long time to the detriment of the revolution and socialism in China.

If it does not strike down the leaders of the betrayal, or at least mention them by name, the revolution is not revolution.

But let us take the question of the unmasking. Is this being done correctly, and who is leading it? It is a fact that the party is not doing this, it is not working as an organized force within certain limits, it is paralyzed, if not destroyed. The «Red Guards» is carrying out this exposure through dazibaos. The «Red Guards» and all «those who are making the revolution» say whatever they want, abuse and discredit whoever they want. In a word, it is not the party as a party which is leading all these activities, but Mao is leading them with a series of comrades whom it is difficult to control all over that great China, where, effectively, there is no party, and where the enemy has been working intensively for tens of years. **The existing anarchy cannot be combated with anarchy.**

I think that the great mistake of Mao and the other comrades lies in the fact that they are not handling the «question of the party», the question of the line and the cadres of the party correctly. In my opinion, the question

should be presented in this way: Has the party made mistakes during seventeen years or has it not?

Naturally, the Communist Party of China has made serious mistakes. Somebody led it on to a wrong road and the party was not able to see where they were leading it. Hence, together with a few individuals, many others have made mistakes, too. It is essential that the party analyse its incorrect line and correct it first of all. If the party does not see its mistake, the mistake cannot be corrected. Questions are not put forward in this way in China, and the party is treated in an off-hand manner.

The problem arises: Who is right and who is wrong? «Have Liu Shaoqi and Deng Xiaoping made mistakes», and Mao not? Of course, some people there have been wrong, and these are the gang of Liu Shaoqi. However, together with Liu and Deng Xiaoping, **the whole party has gone wrong, hence even Mao himself, who has allowed the party to go wrong.** In that case, the party has to analyse and assess this whole situation, and take the necessary measures. In fact, the party has been pushed aside, and others — the youth, the «Red Guards», have been allowed to criticize the party from outside, not the party directly, but people, everywhere without discrimination. Individuals ought to be criticized, even with dazibaos; but is there, or is there not a party which leads, sanctions, says: «This is good, or this is bad?» Such a thing has not been seen for a whole year.

Who is left in the Communist Party of China who has not made mistakes? Apparently, Mao with two or three others. Then how will this work be done, with all this mass of mislead cadres who have made mistakes, perhaps unwittingly, for years on end? Will they rely on these, separate the wheat from the chaff, and build the party to work normally, in a revolutionary way? This is

not yet clear, since the final liquidation of the traitor group of Liu and Deng is still not coming to an end.

It seems to me that many cadres have been exposed and rehabilitated in an incorrect way. The party did not meet to make an analysis of the work and judge the cadres one by one, to face them with their responsibility, to mention their names in dazibaos when the occasion warranted. Chen Yi, for example, is subject to grave accusations in dazibaos. But he is defended by Mao and leads the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. This is not serious work, nor is it on the organizational road of the party, but there are millions of cadres in this position.

These things can hardly be put in order with an article about «The Treatment of Cadres», or «Down with Anarchy!», because these voices do not catch the ear of the party as a party, as an organized detachment of the class. The party is in confusion, they are keeping it in confusion, and justify this by saying, «the revolution is being carried out». Without the party there is no genuine revolution, without the party the revolution will be lame, will run into serious, unexpected difficulties.

Why don't they begin with the strengthening of the party at the base, if it is difficult to achieve this at the centre? Why are they trying to put things in order from above only? It is clear that the comrades are not relying on the party as an organized or a re-organized party after the shake-up. They are only appointing committees, like that of Beijing (which changed three times, and despite this they hailed it as an event of major international significance).

As I see it (and maybe I am wrong, because we are still in the dark about many internal facts of their party), the Chinese comrades **have a pronounced dose of liberalism and opportunism in their activities. Naturally, this is very harmful.** These tendencies cannot be either new or ac-

cidental. The fact that for seventeen years two lines have been observed in their party and have co-existed without a great deal of friction between them (recently, it has been alleged that there was friction, although they seem so adjusted to each other, that they appear to be a single whole), proves the social-democratic opportunism in their line.

You cannot excuse a mistake or, to put it better, fail to apply a Marxist-Leninist line in the correct manner, by invoking the specific conditions of China. **It is essential that Marxism-Leninism is applied in an undogmatic way in China and everywhere else. The laws of the revolution, of the class struggle, of the nature and role of the Marxist-Leninist party cannot be manipulated as you wish, under the pretext of an allegedly «flexible policy», or of the need for «fair compromises» dictated by the circumstances. If principles are not adhered to, the alliance and compromises take a wrong course, and endanger the line, the party, and the proper progress of the revolution.**

The fact is that the Communist Party of China has gone on for tens of years on end tolerating two lines in its ranks. **If it proceeds from the principle that two active lines are necessary in the party, then the party cannot be a Marxist-Leninist party.** Even within the party a class struggle must be waged, indeed a stern struggle, to totally liquidate the anti-party, anti-Marxist faction as quickly as possible. We have not seen such a struggle in the Communist Party of China, even when some leaders (who have not been alone) have been condemned as factionalists. On the contrary, they have remained not only in the party, but even in the main leadership.

Even now, in the face of this grave situation, with the revolution being waged to seize power from the hands of the revisionists, we see that same sort of dilettantism,

soft-heartedness, slowness to act and liberalism towards anti-party elements opposed to the working class. We see that the iron discipline, which ought to exist in the party and in the revolution, is lacking; we do not see its democratic centralism as clear as it should be, especially in revolutionary times, we do not see the true authority of a leader, which is essential, or even the authority of a whole collective leadership in the centre and in the provinces which is indispensable at any time, and especially at the time when the revolution is being waged.

It is a mistake of catastrophic proportions to leave the party in the dark and to oppose the masses to it, to put the leadership of the party, the true collective leadership, under the uncontrolled, undirected fire of the broad masses, or the «red guards» who are inspired in a spontaneous and irregular manner. Such laxity cannot be justified with the slogan of the «policy of the masses». The party, organized on correct organizational principles, with a clear political and ideological line, with Marxist-Leninist centralism and iron discipline, must guide the policy of the masses. **We have had the idea, because this was the impression given, that all these correct norms and principles existed in the Communist Party of China.**

Of course, the group of Liu Shaoqi had distorted the principles and norms of the party, or had put them in the service of a hostile, anti-Marxist and anti-class aim. But to fail to wage a stern, persistent and continuous struggle within the party, and not only in the leadership, in order to elaborate and apply the line from class positions, from Marxist-Leninist positions, from party positions, is a colossal mistake. Nothing can excuse this. This proves that the line has not been clear to all.

It is a great mistake to continue not to tell the party where it has gone wrong. It is told simply that all the

mistakes have been made by the group of Liu and Deng. This is one aspect, but the whole party has worked on this line and has been wrong. To try to make the party conscious of its mistakes through the mistakes and betrayal of Liu and Deng, in the way that this has been done from outside, with isolated, disorganized dazibaos, is not in order, is not fruitful, will not temper the party properly in the course of recognizing and correcting its mistakes, and will have further bitter consequences when the party is reorganized.

Apart from a series of non-Marxist stands, such as the raising of the cult of Mao to the national and international level, **the Chinese propaganda is acting in the same way with the Proletarian Cultural Revolution, calling it «as great as, if not greater than, the work of Marx and the October Revolution» (1), etc. This is baseless and vain boasting.** According to the Chinese propaganda, all of us have to go through this phase of theirs, because their Cultural Revolution is universal! This is not so, and cannot be so. If a Marxist-Leninist party, which has taken power and is building socialism falls into such a deep sleep that the new revisionist bourgeoisie and the suppressed capitalist classes have almost recaptured power, as is the case in China at present, then power must be retaken, the revolution must be carried out again and it can be called proletarian only if the objectives which it sets and attains and the way it is carried

1 Proceeding from the most recent data and facts Comrade Enver Hoxha writes in his subsequent analysis: «...The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution was neither a revolution, nor great, nor cultural, and in particular, not in the least proletarian. It was a palace putsch on an all-China scale for the liquidation of a handful of reactionaries who had seized power.» (Enver Hoxha, «Imperialism and the Revolution», p. 392, Tirana 1979, Alb. ed.).

out are consistently on the basis of Marxism-Leninism.

A Marxist-Leninist party like ours, which is building socialism correctly, which wages the class struggle effectively and not just with words, which is deepening the proletarian revolution with success, cannot proceed on the road the Chinese advocate. The road of our party is revolutionary, consistent and Marxist-Leninist. A Marxist-Leninist party like ours builds socialism, deepens the revolution, but does not carry out revolution like that which is going on in China today, because our party has not allowed and does not allow anyone to take power from it, but holds it firmly in its steel grip and there will never be any danger of accidents if it always proceeds resolutely and vigilantly, as it is proceeding, on the Marxist-Leninist road.

«Reflections on China», vol. 1

ON SOME ASPECTS OF THE PROBLEM OF THE ALBANIAN WOMAN

*Speech delivered to the 2nd Plenum (1) of the
CC of the PLA*

June 15, 1967

Comrades,

Concluding the first item on our agenda, I wish to express some opinions on this problem.

Our Party has always given very great importance to the problem of women, this exceptionally big social problem with which the destiny of our people, socialism and communism and the future of our country are linked. The problems of women are not peculiar, in the sense of specific, separate and isolated from the other problems of society, are not easily solved problems that can be taken lightly, or, even worse, ignored. The problem of women is not just a problem of sentiments and, hence, to be treated in a sentimental and romantic way. It is a

1 It was held on June 15-16, 1967. where the report of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Party «On the Further Deepening of the Struggle for the Complete Emancipation of the Woman and the Enhancement of Her Role in Socialist Society» and the report «On the Results Achieved and Measures to Be Taken for the Spread of Advanced Experience and Scientific Experimentation in Agriculture», were heard.

major problem of life, of the dialectical materialist development of the history of mankind.

That is why Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin and all their disciples have given first-rate importance to the problem of women, to their liberation and emancipation, to the formation of their personality in a free society, without oppressors and exploiters.

Far from ever neglecting or underrating the problem of the Albanian woman, our Party, throughout its whole struggle and in every aspect of its struggle, has taken special care to stress, and not in a sentimental way, the great role of women, both in the war for liberation⁽²⁾ and in the struggle for the construction of socialism. This our Party has done with full Marxist maturity, and, taking account of the obstacles that it would meet at every step on its way (and at the same time, putting forward the unshakeable principle that in the struggle to liberate the people from every kind of bondage, the emancipation of the Albanian woman was urgent and a condition of first-rate importance), it achieved major successes which we are adding and deepening day by day. That is why this special session of the plenum of the Central Committee on the problems of the Albanian woman in our socialist regime assumes great importance.

Very careful study of social phenomena as they develop, of the relations of people in production, of the development and application of the new ideas our Party inspires, of the state of classes in our society at different stages and the changes they undergo during this continuous process, all this is of extraordinary importance to the Party, because it confirms the accuracy of principles,

² Six thousand out of 70,000 fighters in the National Liberation War were women. Tens of thousands of others took an active part in work in the rear, procuring clothing and footwear, food, etc. for the partisans.

enriches the theory of socialism with practice, gives the Party great opportunities to make generalizations and carry these generalizations to the masses, and this will create new opportunities, new situations, new values, which will ensure uninterrupted development and progress.

Socialism is the work of the Party and of the masses, therefore, its directives cannot be understood and applied unless we know and prepare the terrain in which they are to take root and be transformed into objective reality. Correct application of the directives of the Party depends, first and foremost, on how correctly and thoroughly they are understood by the masses. Therefore, the masses must be able, or rather, we must make them able, to understand them thoroughly. This depends on the level of the political, ideological and organizational work of the Party, and for this work to be done well, it is absolutely necessary to do what I said above: to become well acquainted with the terrain by studying the social problems.

I think this is a job for all and not only for a few specialists in philosophy, social problems or political economy, or only for writers, dramatists or artists, either. First and foremost, this is a party matter, a matter of the line, a matter without which the work of the Party can make no headway, and as a consequence, the writers, the scholars and the artists cannot be inspired properly, make profound studies, or turn out works of socialist realism and of Marxist-Leninist science.

Hence, this is how we must act in regard to the social problems of the countryside and the city, how we must act in regard to the specific problems of the youth; and we must act in the same way in regard to the major social problem of women and the family, which we are concerned with today at this plenum of the Central Committee.

Our proletarian revolution led by our Marxist-Leninist Party had to overthrow the old feudal and bourgeois system as it did, and foil both the attempt to implant fascism in our country through the Italian fascist and German nazi occupation, and to establish their organs of power and their superstructure. Our proletarian revolution had to establish, and under the guidance of our Marxist-Leninist Party did establish, develop and enrich, the socialist system, the dictatorship of the proletariat and its new proletarian organs and build a genuine socialist superstructure based on, inspired, guided and enriched by the Marxist-Leninist theory and socialist practice.

In the context of this great revolutionary upheaval, when the old world was smashed and the beautiful, new socialist world was built on its ruins, the liberation of the Albanian women, half the population of our country, which is of incalculable importance to the future of our Homeland and socialism, was effected.

Through the economic and social revolution, through the destruction of the economic and political power of the feudal-bourgeoisie, the proletarian revolution created the true terrain and suitable conditions for the liberation of the people, and especially the Albanian woman, from exploitation of man by man.

Our socialist society is in the process of development; great qualitative transformations are taking place among us through our people's revolution. These qualitative transformations are based on the materialist transformation of our society and have created and are creating new social ideas and theories which combat the old ones and replace them. The new ideas are a great force representing the changes of the material life of the country and lead it forward to progress.

It is essential that these new ideas are explained and understood, for our society cannot do without them. It

needs these ideas, for they mobilize and organize the masses against old, idealist, mystical bourgeois ideas and prejudices which the old society has left to us as our worst heritage.

The Party is opening the way to the progressive forces of society, one of which is the women. The Marxist-Leninist ideas of our Party reflect the objective need for the further development of the material and moral life of our society. Hence, it is clearly essential that the Albanian woman must be freed from all the shackles of the past, from every reactionary idea, opinion, or prejudice, which has its roots in the mentality of the old feudal-bourgeois society. The liberation of the Albanian woman must be guided by the Marxist-Leninist theory of the economic development of society, by the laws of the development of production. From this angle we see how urgent becomes the participation of women in production, how correctly and quickly the Party must arrange their new relations in production. The economic development of socialism is at war with the moral and material backwardness of women. The law of materialist dialectics operates here, too, as it does in everything.

Therefore, the tasks which the Party is raising concerning the problem of women fully conform to the material conditions of the country created by the Party.

The establishment of the people's socialist common property both in industry and in agriculture, in place of the feudal-bourgeois property, and the appropriate revolutionary laws that organize, govern, enrich and consolidate it in the interests of all the working masses, have brought about a gradual progressive change in the minds of men regarding the concept of property, from that of private property to that of common property.

Thus, through intensive ideological and political educational work done by the Party always in an organized

way, based on the material changes, the old, bourgeois, idealist concepts on these fundamental problems of our economic and social life have begun to change. It is clear, of course, that these changes have not ended, that they are and will always be in the process of dialectical development. The old, which is dying, will always be in struggle against the new, which emerges and grows stronger. We still have a great deal to do and a hard battle to fight against reactionary idealist concepts which lurk in the minds, consciousness and feelings of men, which are manifested in life and operate with greater or lesser virulence, but which always hinder progress. Marx says in one of his works that all the prejudices of all the dead hang like a great incubus over the living. Such is the strength of the past.

Herein lies the importance the Party is attaching to the problem of the further revolutionization of itself and the whole people, because only in this way will we gain a more correct and profound understanding of the transformations of material and spiritual life we are bringing about, will we gain a more correct and more profound understanding of the laws that govern these economic and social transformations in socialism, and will we be able to master them better and more effectively in order to build socialism more quickly and on steel foundations and go on to communism.

Excuse me for deviating a little from the topic we are dealing with, but I am doing this precisely to lead into the theme. The capitalist system with its sacred private property, its exploitation of man by man, its economic and spiritual enslavement of man, has weighed heavily on all, but especially and more barbarously on women. Women were the first slaves, even before slavery in the history of mankind. Throughout this history, not to speak of pre-history, whether in the period of the Hellenic civili-

zation, in the Roman epoch, in the Middle Ages, in the epoch of the Renaissance, or in modern times, the contemporary bourgeois epoch of so-called «refined civilization», women have been and are the human beings most enslaved, oppressed, exploited and humiliated in all respects. The laws, customs, religion, the masculine sex have oppressed them, kept them down-trodden.

*«...The first class antagonism which appears in history,» says Engels «coincides with the development of the antagonism between man and woman in monogamous marriage, and the first class oppression with that of the female sex by the male.»**

«I found woman more bitter than death,» says the Ecclesiastes, while St. John Chrysostom holds another opinion about women. He says: «Among the wildest beasts you cannot find one more harmful than woman.»

St. Thomas Aquinas, the theologian and philosopher who was one of the most prominent philosophers of mediaeval obscurantism, held the opinion and prophesied that «the destiny of woman is to live under the heel of man», and finally, to cap these barbarous quotations, Napoleon said, «nature has made women our slaves.»

Such were the views of the church and the bourgeoisie on women. Among the bourgeoisie they prevail to this day. In Europe and throughout the world there are innumerable philosophers and writers who have made a myth of the superiority of men over women. For them man is strong, warlike, courageous, and hence wiser, therefore, predestined to dominate, to lead, whereas woman, for her part, is weak, defenceless and timid by nature, therefore, she must be dominated and led. Bourgeois

* K. Marx, F. Engels, Selected Works, vol. 2, p. 234, Tirana 1975 (Alb. ed.).

theoreticians like Nietzsche and Freud likewise uphold the theory that the male is active while the female is passive. This reactionary, anti-scientific theory must lead, as it did, to nazism in politics and to sadism in sexology.

Our mothers, grandmothers and great-grandmothers have suffered under this dreadful slavery, have borne these physical and spiritual cruelties on their own backs. Now, when the revolution has triumphed, when socialism is being built successfully in our country, the Party sets before us as a major task, one of the greatest tasks, the complete and final liberation of women from all the fetters of the bitter past, the complete emancipation of the Albanian women.

Marxism teaches us that their participation in production and their liberation from capitalist exploitation are the two phases of the emancipation of women. Through war and revolution, our Party, which follows and faithfully applies the principles of Marxism-Leninism, liberated the people and the women in particular from capitalist exploitation and engaged them in production.

Hence, we can say that by completing these two phases, by completely eradicating capitalist exploitation and by vigorously developing the participation of women in production, we have achieved major successes in their emancipation which must be further developed and deepened. In addition to their participation in the very fruitful work of production, women, who are a colossal progressive force, are participating in the great educational and cultural revolution, breaking down every barricade, overcoming every obstacle and prejudice, displaying their creative, physical and mental force, their spiritual and moral integrity in every field; they are taking a more and more active part in governing the country, in managing industry, agriculture, education and culture. Lenin's directive that «every cook must be taught

to run the state» is being applied successfully, day by day by our Party.

Therefore, the Party must thoroughly understand the problem of the mass participation of women in production, in running the economy and affairs of the state, in acquiring learning and culture, seeing this, not only as an important, progressive economic factor, which it is, but at the same time as a factor of major ideological, political and cultural importance. Without the awakening of women, without their active and conscious participation, nothing can be done properly and as it should.

People must understand thoroughly, once and for all, that the emancipation of women, the support and assistance we should give them to take the place they deserve in socialist society must not be considered as a boon but as an imperative duty, must not be considered as an act of kindness of the so-called «stronger» sex towards the so-called «weaker» sex, or as some kind of concession, as any giving way to women by men who are allegedly superior as regards their intellect and physical structure and predisposed to lead and command. Hence, people must apply this teaching of the Party, not just because the Party said so, but thoroughly understanding the ideological, political and economic reasons that prompted the Party to insist so strongly on this major problem.

I re-emphasize these things because many party comrades understand them only superficially, while others do not understand them at all or understand them wrongly. Let us take the problem of the admission of women to party membership. Some progress has been and is being made in this direction, but still the principled importance of this matter is not understood as thoroughly as it should be. The fact is that the overwhelming majority of party members are men. Why is this so, particularly after Liberation? I think that this stems from the

ideological unclarity of party members about the role of women in the revolution, in socialism, from those backward feudal-bourgeois views lurking in the minds of communists on the supposed superiority of men over women, in physical and mental capacities, from the views I pointed out above which are, of course, attenuated, but still exist, that men ought to run the state and be in charge, therefore, they should precede women in the Party. We must fight and eradicate these erroneous views, must understand the danger of them and put women and men on absolutely equal footing for admission to the Party. Admission of both sexes must be guided by the same conditions and rules of the Constitution of the Party but, first of all, by the ideology of the Party, which runs through every word of its Constitution and activity. This is the crux of the problem.

Women must really feel that they are members of their own Party, that they give leadership through their own Party, that they take part actively in working out the laws of their own Party and that they carry out and supervise them through their active revolutionary participation in life, in production and in management.

The great problem of the complete emancipation of women is inconceivable and cannot be attained without the active participation in it of women themselves, not only in practice, in carrying it out. but also in leading this great work, which constitutes one of the decisive factors in the formation and tempering of the new socialist man. in creating the most appropriate conditions for the new generations that will perpetuate socialism and communism.

Let us take the opportunity of this very fruitful discussion we are having at this plenum of the Central Committee on this very important problem, to delve deeper into and clarify this problem from the philosophi-

cal and ideological aspects, on the basis of the immortal teachings of our classics and the objective reality of our society.

One of the major scientific deductions of Marxism-Leninism is that which says that the enslavement of women is linked with the appearance of private property. This major theoretical deduction is found in Engels' famous book «The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State». In order to understand these problems properly from the Marxist-Leninist theoretical philosophical aspects, in order to understand the dialectical materialist development of our Albanian society in the past and at present properly, in order to understand and interpret correctly the phenomena of life which are developing rapidly before our eyes and to define the line that must be pursued to build the new life in a correct Marxist-Leninist way, every communist must make efforts to study this book, or selected parts of it, which, if they do not exist, we must prepare in abridged form so that everybody can understand them.

If we carefully study Father Shtjefën Gjeçovi's (3) work «The Canon of Lek Dukagjini», and especially the chapters on property, inheritance, the family, women and marriage, we shall recognize in our own reality the great truth and genius of Engels. We shall see how private property keeps the woman in terrible slavery, how, in reality, she is turned into a simple possession that can be bought or sold. It says concretely:

3 Shtjefën Kostandin Gjeçovi (1874-1929), a patriotic, progressive and anti-Zogite clergyman, who is known as the first Albanian archaeologist and ethnographer, and collector of «The Canon of Lekë Dukagjini», one of the most valuable documents of the history of the Albanian canon right. He was assassinated by the Great-Serb chauvinists on October 14, 1929, in Kosova. The People's Assembly of the PSRA has decorated him for his valuable contribution to Albanian science and his patriotic activity.

«The husband is entitled to beat his wife, to bind her in chains when she defies his word and order... Whereas the father is entitled to beat, chain, imprison, and kill his son or daughter... It is the duty of the wife to obey her husband... A woman's blood is worth 500 grosh*,» etc.

Of course, we are centuries removed from the integral application of «The Canon of Lekë Dukagjini». Likewise, we are far removed from the period in which Father Gjeçovi collected and recorded it. But this does not mean that its spirit and routine do not exist to some extent, of course not so clear-cut as in the past, in many of the customs we encounter, especially in the social life of our mountain regions.

The trouble with our Party in the North and with our scholars of social theory in general is that they have not turned their attention as they should to the social reality and its development in these regions, nor have they taken the trouble to study Father Shtjefën Gjeçovi's work, which has historical and social importance. A study of this work will help our scholars to make a good diagnosis of the existing state of social relations in the North, in order to see their radical transformation, their evolution, and to strengthen our ideological, organizational and propaganda work.

Colossal changes have been made in the social life of our country, in the social and private relations of the people as well as in their philosophical world-outlook, and not only by comparison with the laws of the Canon collected by Gjeçovi, not only by comparison with the time of Zog's feudal-bourgeois regime. All these changes make it incumbent upon us to re-examine our Civil Code which, although it has been drawn up during our state power, has

* Old Turkish coin

many chapters and articles which, if seen in the light of the great revolutionary transformations our Party is bringing about, may have become obsolete.

Let us take, precisely, the question of private property, the source of so many evils. The Party is overthrowing it, destroying it to its foundations, materially and theoretically; it is no longer the material basis of our socialist order, which is founded on the common ownership of the means of production. In line with our materialist philosophy, we are now in the process of overthrowing private property along with its whole superstructure and philosophy, and replacing them with our own superstructure, with our own materialist philosophy. Herein, especially, lies the source of our success in the problem which interests us today at this plenum, the problem of the complete emancipation of women.

But we must not consider the question of the elimination of private property as totally achieved physically and much less ideologically. Marx says:

*«Private property has made us so foolish and narrow-minded that a thing is not **ours** if we do not possess it, i.e., if it does not exist for us as capital, if we are not in immediate possession of it, if we do not eat it, drink it, wear it...»**

And Marx continues:

*«Therefore, **all** physical and moral sentiments were replaced, through a simple deterioration of **all** these sentiments, by the sense of **ownership**.»***

* K. Marx, F. Engels, «On Literature and Art», vol. 1, p. 188, Tirana 1976 (Alb. ed.).

** Ibidem.

It is precisely this terrain occupied by the feelings and sentiments of private, personal ownership, which Marx refers to, that we have not yet cleaned up, and to do this job we must wage a big, protracted ideological and political struggle in order to catch up with the material reforms in the physical transformation of property and many other matters.

Our proletarian revolution led by the Party has created all the material and moral conditions in our country to enable the remnants of idealist ideology to be cleaned from the consciousness of the people through a continuous dialectical revolutionary struggle of opposites. The task devolves on us to carry the revolution continuously ahead, to create and strengthen the new world-outlook in the minds and consciousness of people, who should live and think like revolutionaries, who should explain the phenomena of life, develop and settle relations among themselves, between themselves and society, no longer in the old way, no longer according to the idealist, religious, bourgeois outlook, but according to the materialist, atheist, socialist world-outlook. In this field, in addition to the material development of our socialist society, the Party will have to wage a great struggle for a long time for the moral development of our society on the Marxist-Leninist course.

Our Party has not left the Marxist-Leninist education of our people to spontaneity and will never do so. But if it is not to be left to spontaneity the organization of the education of the Party and of the masses must be strengthened and it must be made more profound.

Everything we construct, transform, create, is done according to Marxist-Leninist laws, nothing is done contrary to the objective laws of nature and society. But everything must be explained and understood, for it has

its old aspect which is collapsing, dying, and its new aspect which is born and waxes strong. But the old dies hard, and precisely because of this, the new is born with toil and struggle. To enable the new to grow up quickly and healthy, of course, we have to clearly explain the laws of its development and the laws of its hindrance, as you might say, because only in this way does education become complete.

On the question of the problems of women, as the Report of the Political Bureau submitted by Comrade Ramiz Alia and the valuable contributions of the comrades brought out very well, we must take specific material organizational measures in the directions defined in the Report, measures which, although they look specific, are component parts of the overall development and consolidation of the socialist economy, because they create further conditions for the more extensive participation of women in production, lighten their burden of household chores, and are by no means without effect in all fields. On the contrary, they help to combat the petty-bourgeois ideological hang-overs which still keep women in a kind of bondage or state of inferiority to men.

If we study the development of our society, and not only ours, carefully, we shall find that it has become a deep-rooted habit of the women themselves to consider their inferiority to men something right, something entirely natural. This common idea is the result of the social conditions which have shaped the lives and thinking of our mothers and sisters. We must strive to do away with this common idea, because we are changing our social conditions. One of the aims of these social changes, which our proletarian revolution is bringing about, is to do away with the antagonism between the sexes, that is, the subjugation of women to men.

The antagonism of sexes, Engels teaches us, can be

considered as the first manifestation of the class struggle in the history of mankind.

Just as it does away with capitalism, the bourgeoisie and its ideology, just as it does away with exploitation of man by man and leads mankind to a classless society, the proletarian revolution also does away with this antagonism between sexes. It does this by liberating women completely from anything that hinders them from enjoying equal freedoms and rights with men.

Marriage is a very important event in the life of man, with which many backward customs are connected, customs which, even though they no longer exist in our country in so acute a form as in the past, still perpetuate some very burdensome traditions.

Engels says that marriage based on love is moral, and only where love lasts is there marriage.

In our socialist society we should be guided by this principle in this major event in the life of man...

Frequently, if not always, love is stigmatized as something amoral «which leads women to prostitution and men to degeneracy». These are erroneous concepts. If there is one thing which has nothing at all to do with prostitution, it is genuine love. There is no love in prostitution.

Fortunately our country has not been afflicted with the terrible plague of prostitution, the slightest tendency towards which we must fight and which might appear as a result of a wrong anti-Marxist-Leninist approach to the question of love and marriage, of our failure to fight, both in practice and in theory, against bourgeois and idealist views and practices on this matter.

Our country has known marriages through violence, the enslavement and torture of women under the polygamous laws of the Sheriat, it has known the laws of Catholicism, of the Vatican, which not only enslaved and

degraded women, but also savagely tortured them spiritually. The segregation of the state from the church, the establishment of the Civil Code, the National Liberation War and the construction of socialism have brought about that in our country the law does not recognize any marriage other than that contracted with the completely free will and desire of both the bride and bridegroom before the state registrar, doing away for ever with the social practices of the past. Despite this reality, however, although many prejudices have been eliminated in practice, we would be wrong to think that we have put everything in order on these problems and that we need no longer worry about them, or to leave it to time to correct them. Work must be done to use the time well to create socialist customs and the appropriate public opinion for the present and future generations...

Marriage is an act, a social fact, and should not be considered as a philosophical concept. But this social fact has its own philosophy, both in our society and in bourgeois society.

For the bourgeoisie, marriage is a market in which husband and wife sell themselves to each other. These marriages are based not on pure sentiments, but on the savage sentiments of property and private interest, wealth, inheritance, the prostitution of man and woman. In the bourgeois-capitalist regimes the appearances of freedom are false, the alleged modern innovations are intended to demonstrate the freedom of the individual, the liberation of women from capitalist enslavement, and pure sentiments which, in reality, do not exist at all. In the countries where capital rules, these positive social qualities are to be found only within the ranks of the proletariat.

In our country, however, where the liberation of

women has been secured, the conditions for marriages to be based on love have been achieved. We are passing «*from the realm of necessity to the realm of freedom,*» as Engels puts it.

The pure feelings must be further developed and tempered by our Marxist-Leninist ideology. We have a lot to do in this direction. What does Engels tell us? Speaking about repercussions of the communist order on the family, he says that the communist order,

*«...will transform the relations between sexes into entirely personal relations... This will be achieved when private property is abolished, when social education is provided for children, thus destroying the two fundamental bases of the present (bourgeois) marriage, that is, the submission of the wife to the husband and that of children to their parents.»**

This is a major working program for us. We have to give a lot of thought to these teachings of Marxism-Leninism!

Is it not one of the most important tasks for us to keep reviewing the nature of parent-child relations with a Marxist-Leninist eye, to place these relations on the right road and to cleanse them of everything that is outworn, idealist and petty-bourgeois? Of course it is.

Very often in these matters of such wide scope and delicacy, the parents' pure feelings for and fair advice to their children and, vice-versa, of the latter to their parents, are confounded with the bourgeois and petty-bourgeois concepts of property and idealist views connected with it.

Here I am not referring to the pure sentiments of the

* K. Marx, F. Engels, Works, vol. 4, pp. 336-337 (Russ. ed.).

love of parents towards their children, the care they take to bring them up and educate them, not to the deep love, respect and gratitude children should have for their parents throughout their whole lives. These Marxism-Leninism does not abolish, but on the contrary, it tempers, strengthens and develops them to such a great degree that is not confined to the family alone, but extends to the whole society. I am speaking of those manifestations and trends in our social relations which are created and develop, seemingly as a «normal process».

.....

The coming generations of our country will be completely liberated from many prejudices and survivals of old from which our own generations have suffered. Our daughters, the worthy mothers and citizens of the future, will no longer feel oppressed as our mothers did, will no longer suffer from ignorance or be dependent economically on their husbands, sons or daughters as our mothers were. Their complete economic emancipation, their socialist education and culture, the merited place the Albanian woman will occupy in production, in the state and in society, will make a powerful contribution to the perfecting of this new world which the Party is forging, in which material and spiritual life will flourish as never before, in which the pure feelings of man for man, of husband and wife towards each other, of parents towards their children and vice-versa, will find full natural development, completely free from the backward, idealist, religious, patriarchal and bourgeois hang-overs which still create and foster harmful and inhibiting opinions among us.

We are well aware that all this great work that lies ahead for the Party to do, will come up against all kinds of difficulties and will not be accomplished within a short period. It will take several generations, but the course, the line, the method of the Party to guide the

coming generations on to this course is very important. Each generation will do its bit towards development and perfection. The Party assigned our generation the task of laying the sound foundations of and setting out on the brilliant road to socialism. The Party is leading us with courage, boldly but prudently, on this clear course. In a great harmonious complex, with mighty efforts and struggle, characterized by a profoundly revolutionary spirit, all the masses of people are transforming the country and transforming themselves, the socialist economy is being strengthened, culture and education are developing, the new man of our country is being revolutionized, and, in struggle against the old views, is being imbued with new ideals, worthy of socialism. On this brilliant, complex course, which constitutes our proletarian revolution that is forging ahead rigorously, we are fully convinced that the sooner, the better and the more completely conscious the Albanian women become of their role, their rights and their obligations in the society of our country, the greater will be the achievements of our revolution and the shorter the time required to attain that happy period, which the generations that follow ours will build and beautify.

Our Party has always considered the great struggle for the emancipation of women as an integral part of the revolution and socialist construction, as a condition *sine qua non* for development and progress in genuine freedom and democracy. Our Party never loses sight of the teachings of Marx, who defines the development of a given historical period by the level of the progress of women towards freedom and regards the relations between husband and wife as a measure of the level of development of human society.

Thus, so long as there is not true freedom for women in the society of a country, there can be no genuine freedom in that country.

On this major problem, our Party has not contented itself simply with enacting laws on the equality of man and woman and allowing these laws to remain a dead letter, but it has applied them and is applying them more and more thoroughly in practice, because Lenin advises us that this equality of man and woman by law is still not equality in life. And in the rapidly changing tableau of our socialist life we see the truth of Lenin's brilliant thesis, because, despite the laws we have on this matter, we encounter many difficulties and obstacles and feel the need to take many further measures to fully achieve our objective.

The Party and our whole people should in no way underrate the major role of women in life and in the revolution. Therefore, all the doors to work, learning, production and management should be thrown open to the women and girls of Albania. They should be protected from the danger of retrogression and helped to create their own personality on sound foundations, to acquire self-reliance and courage in everything, attributes which are not the monopoly of any one sex but are created, gained and tempered in life, in work and in study.

*«Education, culture, civilization, freedom,» says Lenin, «in all the bourgeois capitalist republics of the world, all these resounding words are associated with unbelievably humiliating, terribly filthy, savagely brutal laws on the inequality of women, such as the laws on the right to marriage and divorce, on the inequality of children..., on the privileges of the husband, on the humiliation and abasement of the wife.»**

* V. I. Lenin, Collected Works, vol. 30, p. 120 (Alb. ed.).

Therefore, the emancipation of women in our country follows neither the course nor the aims pursued by the bourgeois capitalist countries. In the direction of the emancipation of women we have to work to make up for the time lost. The emancipation of the Albanian women has nothing in common with the so-called «emancipation of the coquettes of the bourgeoisie». We realize the emancipation of our women in the course of the proletarian revolution, through the Marxist-Leninist spirit and the marvellous qualities of the women of Albania throughout history.

Despite the social oppression and being kept in ignorance (within the general ignorance in which foreign invaders and the local feudal-bourgeoisie have kept our people) women in Albania have played a role by no means small and insignificant in strengthening the Albanian family, in strengthening our nation, in safeguarding the traditions and virtues of the Albanian people.

*«In the history of mankind», says Stalin, «no important liberation movement has been effected without the direct participation of women.»**

Despite the conditions of oppression, the Albanian women, especially the peasant women, have been an important factor of economic and social development, hence, a progressive factor, with pronounced freedom-loving and patriotic sentiments, and linked with the work and the land, and this has made them able and intelligent heroines.

«The present revolution,» says Lenin, «is based on the countryside, and herein lies its importance and its strength. The experience of all liberation

* J. V. Stalin, Works, vol. 5, p. 57 (Alb. ed.).

*movements has shown that the success of the revolution depends on the level of the participation of women in it.»**

When we speak of the liberation wars of the Albanian people in history, the great struggle and resistance of the Albanian women, beside their husbands, brothers and sons, both with arms and with passive resistance, against the invaders, against enemies of our people and our land, can never be left out. We understand very well that, under the social conditions before Liberation, the contribution of women was not publicized, but this major moral and material contribution was substantial, undeniable and powerful. During our National Liberation War this contribution and the participation of the Albanian women shoulder to shoulder with their husbands, sons and daughters was massive, powerful and visible in the countryside and in the cities. After Liberation their strength, valour, wisdom and patriotism burst out with great force which built up into a mighty, irresistible torrent.

What colossal changes have been made in the life of Albanian women, what great progress has been achieved in all fields of activity of our new life which, despite the efforts made, the Report submitted to the plenum of the Central Committee today was incapable of reflecting properly! Only real life in all its grandeur can give a true idea of what mighty vital forces the Party released with the liberation of women, what progressive creative strength lay dormant in this large part of our population, what marvels they are performing and will continue to perform, and with what incalculable moral and material values they will enrich our socialist life.

The emancipation of women in our country, led by

* V. I. Lenin, Collected Works, vol, 28, p. 196 (Alb. ed.)

the Party, is far from being a «feminist movement», as in the capitalist countries, but is the advance of women to a high level, the rise of women to the level of full equality of rights with men, the march of men and women hand in hand, in a harmony of the purest and loftiest sentiments, aims and ideals of humanity, it is the march towards communism.

Works, vol. 36

ON THE ROLE AND TASKS OF THE DEMOCRATIC FRONT IN THE STRUGGLE FOR THE COMPLETE TRIUMPH OF SOCIALISM IN ALBANIA

*From the Report to the 4th Congress of the
Democratic Front of Albania*

September 14, 1967

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I

THE HISTORIC ROLE OF THE FRONT IN THE LIBERATION OF THE COUNTRY. THE DEFENCE OF NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE AND THE CONSTRUCTION OF SOCIALISM

At all stages, the Democratic Front has always been a powerful weapon of the Party for the political unity of the people around itself, a great platform for the development of the vigorous self-activity and initiative of the broad masses of the people in war and construction.

The experience gained during the 25 years of the existence of the Front, which has fully indicated the

correct policy of our Party in regard to this organization, has great theoretical and practical importance. That is why the constant study and summing up of this experience is a task of primary importance for all of us, because in this way both the party organizations and those of the Front will be enabled to draw as many useful lessons as possible for their work in the future.

1. — THE PARTY OF LABOUR OF ALBANIA — THE SOLE LEADING FORCE AND POLITICAL PARTY IN OUR COUNTRY

The Democratic Front is the direct continuation of the National Liberation Front, which was born, grew and became strong as a voluntary political union of the broad masses of the people. Its foundations were laid from below, in the fight against the fascist invaders. The Front is the work of the Party. The Marxist-Leninist Party of the working class has been at the head of it as its guiding force right from the start and ever since. It has won this leading role through its correct line, which expresses and defends the vital interests of the Albanian people, and through its heroic struggle, the struggle of the Albanian communists who, with their courage, determination, spirit of sacrifice and self-denial, have demonstrated that they are the most consistent fighters for the cause of the people, the Homeland and socialism. The Front was not and is not a political party, it was not and did not become a coalition of parties, because, apart from our Party, there was and is no other party in our country.

Our Party constitutes, perhaps, the only example of a Marxist-Leninist party of the working class that was created in a country where neither a socialist, social-democratic nor any other bourgeois party existed previously,

and which remained the only Party of the working class and the only political party in the life of the country.

In the first period following the proclamation of independence, for a time there were intentions and the first attempts were made to create bourgeois-liberal parties, in some cases even with progressive tendencies. However, no sooner they were all created than they disappeared, because their programs were not clear and militant, they did not express the aspirations of the masses and the objective tendencies of the development of Albania at that period, while from the organizational viewpoint they amounted to little or nothing and, therefore, they disappeared leaving no mark on the life of our country.

With the advent to power of the bourgeois-landowner regime of Zog, which suppressed all democratic liberties, free expression of opinion or attempt at organization, any possibility of the creation of different legal political parties by the oppressed and exploited classes vanished. Moreover, even the ruling exploiting classes, the feudal chiefs and the bourgeoisie were quite unable to create their own political parties. As we know, the system of many bourgeois parties exists in the developed capitalist countries. This is linked with the situation of the bourgeoisie itself as a class long developed and consolidated, the different groupings and strata of which create separate political parties in order to defend their own interests and positions within the state. With us the situation was altogether different. Albania was marking time between two historical periods, that of the decline of feudalism and that of the development of capitalism, with the big landowners as an old class heading towards their ruin and with the bourgeoisie not having attained that level of development to have even a single political party, let alone a number of them. These were the conditions in which the fascist invasion found Albania.

In this grave situation that was created for the fate of our Homeland, which had lost its freedom, and when the very existence of the people was in danger, the imperative duty of every Albanian was to take up the rifle and begin the sacred anti-fascist war, the war for national liberation. Precisely at these decisive moments, in a revolutionary situation, in the heat of the liberation war, the Communist Party of Albania emerged as the party of the working class, the party which, with its program, responded to the desires and aspirations of the broad masses of the people, to the concrete objective conditions prevailing in our country. The Communist Party of Albania was created by the Albanian communists as a revolutionary Marxist-Leninist party, as a party of the new type, from the theory that guided it, the organizational principles on which it was built, and its political program. It was born as an objective necessity in order to lead the revolutionary war for national and social liberation.

Thus, the only party of the working class was created from the bosom of the people, with a clear, scientifically elaborated political, organizational, military, economic and social program. The working class, though few in numbers, was the most revolutionary and most progressive class of our society. No other class, no other political stratum or group emerged with its own party to take up the standard of national liberation, because none of them was capable of playing an independent role in the political arena of the country, of having its own independent say, of creating its own stable political party on sound ideological and organizational foundations.

The Communist Party of Albania was and remained the only vanguard party, which undertook and honourably carried through the heavy but glorious burden of mobilizing and organizing the people and leading them in the liberation war against the foreign invaders and local

traitors. Thanks to the Party and its correct revolutionary leadership, our people triumphed over the enemies, defeated them and drove them beyond the borders of the Homeland, completely smashed the old state power, set up their own new state power of the dictatorship of the proletariat, secured and strengthened their complete freedom and independence and are now successfully building socialist society.

The traitors of the Balli Kombëtar and all their friends, the American and British imperialists and others, have spread and continue to spread the slander that allegedly the Communist Party of Albania did not permit the creation of other political parties in our country and was not prepared to cooperate with such parties in the liberation war. It is evident that with this our enemies want to portray our Party as an undemocratic, sectarian party and rigid as to tactics. The objective reality, however, categorically refutes these slanders. It is an historical fact that no anti-fascist political parties other than the Communist Party of Albania were created in our country. Had any such progressive parties been formed our Party would not have been against cooperation with them on the question of organizing the war against the invaders. As a Marxist-Leninist party, it had no reason to be afraid of cooperating with them. The wartime documents of the Communist Party of Albania state explicitly: *«...we do not mean that we are against the formation of different political parties but, if these parties are formed, they should have in their program, first and foremost, the war against the invader, the war in deeds and not in words, and these parties should take part in the National Liberation Front, while having the right to retain their individuality.»**

* «Principal Documents of the PLA», vol. 1, p. 212, Tirana 1971, second Albanian edition.

In regard to the historical fact that no other political parties existed in our country, we assert that for the working class and for the Albanian people, for the cause of the revolution and socialism in Albania, this was an immensely great advantage while for the bourgeoisie, for national and international reaction, it was a great misfortune, a fatal loss. What character and what aims would other political parties have had, what would they have represented and whose interests would they have defended? Obviously, the interests of the beys, the aghas, the merchants, the capitalists of city and countryside. Had they been created, they would have played a reactionary role, would have served the fascist occupiers directly, would have collaborated in different forms both with the occupiers and with the Anglo-American imperialists against the people. All their activity would have been to the detriment of the unity of the people, to the detriment of the liberation war, would have been directed against the people's power, against the great economic, political and organizational reforms, would have been detrimental to the reconstruction of the country and the building of socialism.

This was proved to the hilt during the National Liberation War, when the political organizations of the Balli Kombëtar and Legaliteti, in which the representatives of the ruling and exploiting classes of the country had gathered, went over openly to the side of the nazi-fascist occupiers and became tools in the hands of the Anglo-American imperialists in order to undermine the liberation war of the Albanian people. This was proved after the liberation of the country, too, when the representatives of the bourgeoisie and agents of the Americans and the British, Riza Dani, Shefqet Beja, Gjergj Kokoshi and others, attempted to form a political party to undermine the people's power and the construction of new social-

ist Albania, an attempt which was crushed by our Party and the Democratic Front.

Precisely because the bourgeoisie and internal and external reaction have had no success in attaining these anti-popular objectives, they accuse our Party and regime of people's democracy of «suppressing democracy and liberty». It is evident what they mean by «democracy and liberty». They demand democracy and liberty for the enemies of the people, for the big landowners and capitalists, for the reactionaries and counter-revolutionaries. That is why it is intolerable to them that in Albania there is only one party, that is why under the guise of «democracy», they demand that there should be many parties, so that real democracy for the people will never be established, there will never be a truly democratic state, and socialism will never be built, but our people will languish for ever under the iron heel of capital.

In our country the interests of all the working people are fully represented and defended by the Party of Labour, the organized vanguard of our working class. The interests and aims of the working class, which the Party of Labour represents, are, at the same time, the interests and aims of the working peasantry and our socialist intelligentsia. All these strata of the population are united in the Democratic Front, the only front of the Albanian people, and strive to put into practice the policy and directives of the Party, in which the aspirations of the people are expressed. To whom, then, would other parties within or outside the Front have been of any use, the interests of which class would they have represented and defended when it is known that every political party expresses and defends the interests of a given class, strives to realize its aims and leads its struggle for power? It is clear that they would have been of use only to those strata and elements of an exploiting minority of big landowners and capitalists

who were defeated in war and through war, who were crushed politically and economically by the working class in alliance with the peasantry under the leadership of the Party, by the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Our experience shows that, provided the party of the working class pursues a truly Marxist-Leninist revolutionary line, provided it boldly defends the interests of the people and the freedom and independence of the Homeland through its resolute and exemplary struggle, it can perform its historic mission for national liberation, for the accomplishment of the socialist revolution and the construction of socialism even better when there are no other bourgeois parties in existence.

2. — THE FRONT AS THE MAIN LINK IN THE POLITICAL UNITY OF OUR PEOPLE

The Party cannot go into war and revolution on its own. The revolution is the deed of the masses. That is why the main and foremost duty of every revolutionary party is to make the masses conscious, to unite, organize and lead them. The form which our Party found to be the best and most effective for this purpose in the circumstances of our country at the time was the creation of the National Liberation Front. The Conference of Peza, which was held only ten months after the founding of the Party, laid solid foundations for the political and organizational unity of our people on a national scale, and adopted the program of the National Liberation War, worked out by the Communist Party.

The National Liberation Front was the united front of the whole people against the foreign enemy who had invaded our country. The line of the Party in the Front was for the unity, regardless of class, region, political

opinion and religious belief, of all true Albanians, of all the patriotic and democratic forces of the country, of all those who were ready to fight the fascist occupiers and traitors for a free, independent, democratic people's Albania. This orientation was absolutely correct and responded to the situation in our country at the time when the internal class contradictions had receded to the secondary plane, while the external contradictions between the Albanian people fighting for their freedom, independence and sovereignty, and the Italian and German invaders occupying our country, had become the principal contradictions.

By applying this line the Front included in its ranks the overwhelming majority of the population — the working class, the poor and middle peasantry, the urban petty and middle bourgeoisie, the patriotic intellectuals and all the other anti-fascist elements. The foundation of the Front was the alliance of the working class with the peasantry. This alliance has vital importance for every country which rises in war and revolution. It constitutes the highest principle of the dictatorship of the proletariat. However, in the conditions of our country, where the working class was few in numbers and the peasantry constituted the overwhelming majority of the population, the drawing of the latter into the war under the leadership of the working class and its revolutionary party was the decisive factor which determined the outcome of the war and the revolution. Our Party evaluated this problem correctly and seriously. The countryside became the main base and the peasantry the main force of our liberation war. Our Party, as the party of the working class, also expressed and defended the interests of the working peasantry at the same time. The issues with which the peasantry was preoccupied, the economic, political and educational reforms to which it aspired, were embodied

in the program of the Party and were consistently championed and put into practice by our Party. In the Party of the working class, for the first time in history, the peasantry found its genuine revolutionary leader of its struggle for freedom, land and prosperity.

The foreign policy of the National Liberation Front, which was inspired by the Party, likewise, was a policy of alliance with all the anti-fascist states and peoples fighting against fascism, and particularly with the Soviet Union which, through its wise policy and legendary war led with mastery by the great Stalin, became the hope of the peoples from the fascist plague that was threatening them with extermination. The line of the Front to collaborate with Great Britain and the United States of America in the common war against the nazi-fascist coalition was correct, too. Nevertheless, never for an instant did we relax our revolutionary vigilance, because we were aware that we were bound to clash with the rapacious, colonialist, enslaving and oppressing aims of the imperialists towards the peoples. And subsequent events fully confirmed that we were right. The Anglo-American allies attempted by every means to take over the leadership of our National Liberation War, to liquidate the Front and the Communist Party and, finally, to land troops and occupy our country, as they did in Greece. However, these attempts failed and this is a great merit of our Party and the Front which did not allow the imperialists to poke their noses into the internal affairs of our country.

The program of the National Liberation Front was, in fact, the minimum program of the Party. It was a clear, understandable, militant, revolutionary program. The main tasks of this program were: relentless and uncompromising war against the invaders and traitors for the liberation of the country, for national freedom and independence,

for a people's democratic government; the general armed uprising and the creation of the National Liberation Army, the organization of all-round political and economic assistance for the people's war, with the people of town and countryside as the decisive source of aid; destruction of the state power of the occupiers and their collaborators (who represented the interests of the main exploiting classes of the country), the creation of the state power of national liberation councils as the only political power of the people; extensive political and ideological preparation of the masses for the people's general uprising and for the continuation even after Liberation of the struggle to safeguard the victories achieved, to reconstruct the country and to effect major social and economic transformations in the interests of the people.

The National Liberation Front attained all these objectives which the Party had set it. It successfully accomplished all the main tasks embodied in its revolutionary program. Thus, the war and experience confirmed that the Party had acted correctly in creating the Front and in working out the line of the Front which responded to the wishes and aspirations of the people and was appropriate to the historical conditions of our country.

The formation of the National Liberation Front was a mortal blow to the foreign invaders and all internal reaction which had made common cause with them. The revolutionary impetus of the National Liberation War, the growth of the authority of the Communist Party and the strengthening of the political unity of the Albanian people in the ranks of the Front terrified them. Facing this situation, the reactionary forces sounded the alarm over the great danger threatening them. At first, they announced the creation of the Balli Kombetar and, later, Legality organizations, which were directly opposed to the

National Liberation Front. These two organizations, which were set up with the support of the Italian and German occupiers and the encouragement of the Anglo-American imperialists, were not political parties, but heterogenous collections of the reactionary forces of the country, the landowners and big merchants, bourgeois intellectuals and reactionary clergy, the dregs of our society, who had made common cause with the occupiers.

What was the aim of these organizations? Despite their apparent differences, which were utterly insignificant, and their pseudo-patriotic and pseudo-nationalist disguises, their common aim was to liquidate the Communist Party, to wreck the National Liberation Front, to put down the National Liberation War, to secure all political power for themselves after the war in order to retain their domination over the people unimpaired. The policy of both the Balli Kombëtar and Legaliteti was alliance with the fascist occupiers against the National Liberation War of the Albanian people and the anti-fascist coalition of states and peoples fighting fascism. For reaction and its traitor organizations, the principal contradictions were the internal contradictions with the Communist Party and the National Liberation Front, which they turned into antagonistic contradictions by attacking us, arms in hand, together with the occupiers.

Our Party, adhering to its line in the National Liberation Front for the unity of all Albanians in the war against fascism, «regardless of religion, region and opinion», tried its utmost to prevent the transformation of the contradictions with the Balli Kombëtar and Legaliteti into principal and antagonistic contradictions. The Party and the Front repeatedly appealed to them to fight the invaders of the country together, tried to show to them the correct course, to turn them from the course of betrayal and avoid fratricide. All these numerous attempts

of our Party and Front, however, were sabotaged by reaction. The Party was convinced that this was what would occur, because it was well aware of the counter-revolutionary character of these organizations, as representatives of the interests of landowners and the bourgeoisie. However, there were a few people who, at first, had various illusions about the nature of these organizations and about the «patriotism» of the persons taking part in them, and they, too, had to be convinced. They had to be convinced through their own experience, in the heat of battle, that the «patriotism» of the Balli Kombëtar and Legaliteti chiefs was a sham and their «patriotic» appeals were nothing but demagogy to disguise their betrayal.

The only touchstone was their stand toward the foreign enemy who had invaded our country. The Party and the Front demanded that these organizations throw themselves whole-heartedly, unreservedly, uncompromisingly, and immediately, without waiting for «the day to come», into the war against the Italian and German invaders. Consistent in their betrayal, the Balli Kombëtar and Legaliteti not only did not fire a single shot against the invading enemy, but united completely with them in the war against the people. But that was not all. When the end of the fascist invaders was in sight the Balli Kombëtar and Legaliteti went over openly into the service of the Anglo-American imperialists, intending with their support to snatch the victories from the hands of the people and to attain what they had been unable to attain with the help of nazi-fascists. Thus, the anti-popular and anti-national character of the big landowners, the bourgeoisie, the bourgeois intellectuals, etc., was completely exposed. Consequently, in our country the war against the fascist invaders, the war for national liberation, was combined

with the war against the collaborators with the invaders, against the main exploiting classes and their political organizations, the Balli Kombëtar and Legaliteti. This had major revolutionary consequences for the development of the National Liberation War of our people and in its political outcome. This gave the National Liberation War the character of a profound people's revolution and brought about that the traitor organizations were smashed together with the defeat of the invaders, that together with the liberation of the Homeland the main exploiting classes of the country were ousted from power.

It was the great merit of our Party and the National Liberation Front that they never separated the war for the liberation of the country from the foreign invaders from the struggle for the seizure of power by the working masses. The historic importance of the Conference of Peza lies not only in the fact that it was there that the National Liberation Front was created, but also in the fact that it was there that the foundations of the new people's power were laid. The national liberation councils that were set up everywhere in our country, emerged and grew as revolutionary democratic organs of the people's power, under the sole leadership of the Communist Party. They were the negation of all the organs and organizations of the anti-popular and exploiting state. The new people's power was extended and strengthened parallel with the growth and intensification of the armed struggle. The Congress of Përmet and the second session of the Anti-fascist National Liberation Council in Berat, held in May and October 1944 respectively, were two great events of extraordinary historic importance, which fulfilled the will of the people that all state power should pass into their own hands, the new Albanian state should be created and the new, democratic people's Albania should be built. Thus, on the eve of the liberation

of the country, the problem of state power had been solved in favour of the people.

Our Party has always been vigilant and has fought mercilessly against any capitulation or betrayal in any direction. It consistently defended its political and organizational independence and its leading role in the Front and in the National Liberation War and did not allow the bourgeoisie to take over the leadership of the war, which was one of the main objectives of the Anglo-American imperialists and the Balli Kombëtar and Legaliteti traitor organizations. The Party knew that submission to the bourgeoisie, assumption of the leadership of the war by the bourgeoisie, would bring about only the failure of the revolution and the perpetuation of the old regime of oppression and exploitation. This was the aim pursued at Mukje. Herein lies Ymer Dishnica's capitulation to the bourgeoisie. That is why the Party and the National Liberation General Council resolutely rejected the Mukje meeting as an act of betrayal of the interests of the people and the revolution, that opened the way for the leadership of the war and political power to pass into the hands of the reactionary bourgeoisie, which, far from consenting to fight the fascist invaders, had collaborated and was still collaborating with them against the people and their war.

The creation of the Front and the slogan of uniting in this organization all those who were for the war against the invaders, constituted one of the main tactical tasks of the Party in order to achieve the fundamental strategic objective of that time, which was the complete liberation of the country and the establishment of the people's power. Life proved the correctness of this line, as well as its full approval by the people. It likewise, confirmed the great and irreplaceable role which the National Liberation Front played in uniting the people around the Party and under its leadership, in mobilizing

all the energies and creative capacities of the people to serve the great cause of the revolution.

3. — THE ROLE OF THE FRONT IN THE STRUGGLE FOR THE CONSTRUCTION OF SOCIALISM

Even after the liberation of the country the Front continues to function under the leadership of the Party as a democratic organization of the broad masses for the development of the socialist revolution and the construction of socialism. The line of the Party in connection with the Front remains that of steadily enhancing its major role in uniting all the working people in the ranks of this organization, in educating them in the spirit of patriotism, of love for the Homeland, and the defence of the freedom and independence won, in mobilizing the masses of the people in the struggle for the construction of socialism and communism, in educating them with feelings of proletarian internationalism.

Armed with rich experience and carrying on its traditions from the National Liberation War, the Front continues to make a major contribution to the attainment of all the victories of our people in the struggle for the construction of socialism and the defence of the country. The directives of the Party, which express the vital interests of the working people, have always been and are also directives of work and struggle for the Democratic Front which has found and developed various forms of work, organization and education in order to apply them in practice and make them reality. The Front has always been that powerful lever, by means of which the Party has linked itself ever more closely with the masses, has taken its correct line to them and has educated and mobilized them to perform great and heroic deeds.

In the heat of the revolution, in the great struggle for the construction of socialism and the defence of the Homeland, the Front has been strengthened politically and organizationally, has carried to the masses and applied the teachings of the Party on the class struggle, against bourgeois and revisionist ideology, feudal and patriarchal survivals, backward customs and religious prejudices, against everything that weakens the unity of the people, the alliance of the working class with the working peasantry and the people's intelligentsia and that hinders the progress of our society towards socialism and communism. The Front is a great school for the political education of the masses of the people.

The Front is the broadest organization of the masses in our system of the dictatorship of the proletariat. This system includes all the other organizations of the masses, like: the Trade Unions, the Labour Youth Union and the Women's Union. These organizations, together with the Democratic Front, are levers of the Party to link it with the masses and have played and play a very important role in the life of the country. Bearing in mind the specific problems and requirements of workers, youth and women, they build their political, educational and organizational work so that the directives of the Party are understood and applied correctly by all these strata of the population. All the organizations of the masses carry on their activity in close connection with one another, but the work of one cannot replace that of another. Each organization has its own specific task and role to play in the struggle for the construction of socialism. Whereas the other organizations have to do with given strata of the people, the Democratic Front is the organization in which the political unity of the whole people is achieved. While militating in their respective organizations, the members of the other organizations are, at the same time, members

of the Democratic Front and take part actively in all the debates and activities of the organizations of the Front.

Thus, the Front is the broadest support of the Party and people's power and, at the present stage of the construction of socialist society, its role far from diminishing and coming to an end, becomes even more important.

The sole leading and guiding force in our system of the dictatorship of the proletariat is the Party of Labour. Without the Party and its leading role, the Front, like the other organizations of the masses, could not exist as a truly democratic people's organization which embodies and safeguards the interests of the masses. It is the Party that inspires them, co-ordinates their work and directs all their activities to serve the great objective — the triumph of socialism and communism.

Our Party has rejected and condemned the preachings of the modern revisionists who deny the leading role of the Party in the system of the dictatorship of the proletariat and in the organizations of the masses, who preach the «independence» of the organizations of the masses from the Party, who oppose Stalin's Marxist-Leninist thesis that the organizations of the masses are levers, transmission-belts to link the Party with the masses. The «independence» the revisionists demand is a fraud. So long as the class struggle continues in society, no individual, let alone an organization, can stand above classes, above the Party, outside and independent of politics. The independence which the revisionists are after is nothing but independence from proletarian politics, from the communist party, in order to go over to full dependence on bourgeois politics and bourgeois parties.

The line followed by our Party in the Front and our experience in this direction, regardless of the

peculiarities which are connected with the concrete historical conditions of our country, once again confirm certain fundamental teachings of Marxism-Leninism which are essential to the successful advance of the cause of national liberation, the revolution and socialism.

The experience of our country has proven also that only the Marxist-Leninist party as a conscious and organized vanguard of the working class, which is consistently revolutionary, loyal to the end to the ideological principles of our doctrine, can lead the country and the people to victory, both in the democratic national liberation revolution and in the proletarian revolution and the struggle for the construction of socialist and communist society. Both our experience and the experience of the world revolutionary and liberation movement prove that, in the stage of imperialism, the bourgeoisie and its political parties are incapable, from their very class nature, of carrying either the struggle against imperialism for genuine national liberation or the democratic anti-feudal revolution through to the end. The preachings of the Khrushchevite, Titoite and other modern revisionists who deny the leading role of the proletarian party in the revolution and the socialist construction and who propagate the idea that it is possible to go over to socialism even under the leadership of other parties of a bourgeois and petty-bourgeois character and even of trade-unions which are in the service of capitalist monopolies, are a major betrayal of the principles of Marxism-Leninism, the working class and its revolutionary cause.

For the cause of liberation and the revolution to triumph it is necessary that the Marxist-Leninist party unites all the revolutionary forces in a broad popular front, under its leadership. In creating broad popular fronts, a Marxist-Leninist communist party must never pin its

hopes and concentrate all its efforts on alliances and collaboration with the chiefs of various political parties and organizations. Without neglecting this work, it is the duty of the party to devote all its attention and efforts to the struggle to create the unity of the people from below, through extensive work of clarification and persuasion with the masses, especially through the organization of well-considered, well-prepared, concrete actions.

Experience has shown that the core of the united front, its foundation stone, is the alliance of the working class with the working peasantry. Without this alliance there is no popular front, no national liberation front. These are two main motive forces of every genuine revolution of our days, and they comprise the overwhelming majority of the population of every country. Hence, in order to be a truly broad, militant, revolutionary political organization, the front must be, first of all, a union of the broad masses of the people achieved with struggle and in the course of struggle, and not a simple union of parties, and even less, of chiefs of parties, achieved on the basis of various political combinations.

In the conditions of a democratic popular revolution and of a national liberation war, when various bourgeois and petty-bourgeois parties are in existence, the communist party can and must try to achieve cooperation with them in a broad democratic popular or national liberation front. In these cases the front has its own peculiarities which distinguish it from our National Liberation Front, in which there were no other political parties save the Communist Party. It is clear that when a communist party goes into war and revolution together with other progressive parties, it has to overcome many difficulties both to ensure victory in the liberation struggle and to develop the revolution from the democratic anti-imperialist and anti-feudal stage to the stage of the socialist

revolution. It will not be able to pass through this process as easily or in the same way as our Party did. The problem is that when bourgeois and so-called socialist parties see that the interests of the classes they represent are being damaged or jeopardized they will resort to many political, organizational and military manoeuvres, in order to weaken the liberation war, the revolution, to break up the alliances, destroy the common front, and in particular to undermine the leading role of the communist party in this front. This is linked with the class nature, position and tendencies of the bourgeoisie. Therefore, while pursuing the line of collaboration with various strata of the bourgeoisie or with their parties, the communist party must, at the same time, also apply the line of struggle against their vacillations and duplicity, against their compromises with the forces of the occupier and reaction. To pursue the line of unity alone and to neglect the line of struggle against splitting and reactionary activities in the front means to take an opportunist stand with very dangerous consequences for the liberation struggle and the revolution.

Operating at present in the world political arena, in addition to the now discredited bourgeois and social-democratic parties, are the revisionist parties which have betrayed the interests of the working class and its revolutionary cause. The Marxist-Leninist forces and parties must wage a merciless struggle against these parties to expose their treachery, their counter-revolutionary aims, to smash them as political parties by winning away their rank-and-file members and without entering into any compromise with them over principles. Certain revisionist parties will indulge in demagogic talk about the armed struggle, others, to save their face, may even undertake some sort of action. Marxist-Leninists must not be misled by these cunning tactics, must never confound the

desire of the masses for struggle with the aim of the revisionist chiefs to sabotage their struggle. Therefore, the only way is to make contact with the rank-and-file in the heat of the struggle and for the revolutionary struggle, and this in order to neutralize and liquidate the revisionists.

While pursuing the line of cooperation with other parties in the national liberation and democratic revolution, it is essential that the Marxist-Leninist communist party maintains its complete ideological, political and organizational independence as a party of the working class; that it does not stand aside from or tail behind events, and must not dissolve itself in the Front, but must always strive to acquire the leading role, must struggle for hegemony. At the same time, it is essential that it never for a moment forgets the perspective of the development of the revolution and attaining its ultimate objective. The true Marxist-Leninist party and true revolutionaries must always remain loyal to the principles of Marxism-Leninism, to the laws of the proletarian revolution, even in the conditions of war with imperialism and its modern revisionist stooges. They must never lose sight of these principles and these laws, never fall into the trap of adventurism and pseudo-revolutionary forms or empty slogans which allegedly conform to the «specific» conditions of different countries. Specific conditions exist and must always be taken into account, but these specific conditions can be utilized correctly only on the basis of the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism and the laws of the proletarian revolution. Any departure from these principles and laws, under whatever form or pretext, leads inevitably to defeat for the party and the revolution.

The creation of the broad popular front must in no way serve as a basis for the spread of opportunist and reformist illusions that allegedly the existing order of

things can be transformed peacefully and automatically and the victory of the revolution and transition to socialism secured through winning the majority among the masses and in the bourgeois parliaments. On the contrary, the front which is set up during the process of the revolutionary struggle must serve the cause of the political education and unification of the people and their mobilization for the armed struggle to overthrow by force the imperialists, the occupiers and the local reactionary classes, who, as history has proved, never relinquish their positions voluntarily. The revolution with violence is a universal law, not only of the proletarian revolution, but also of any genuine democratic liberation revolution of our time. The preachings of the Khrushchevite and Titoite revisionists about the so-called peaceful way, which they have proclaimed as a world-wide strategic principle, spell only defeat for the party of the working class, the revolution and socialism.

After the dictatorship of the proletariat has been established and consolidated, a thing which is achieved under the leadership of the communist party, the existence for a long time of other parties, even «progressive» ones, inside or outside the front, even formally, on account of their alleged traditions, has no meaning, is against reason. Every progressive tradition is merged in the revolutionary line of the communist party. The revolution overturns a whole world, let alone a single tradition. Since the class struggle goes on during the whole period of the construction of socialist society and the transition to communism, and since political parties express the interests of specific classes, the presence of other non-Marxist-Leninist parties in the system of the dictatorship of the proletariat would be absurd and opportunist, especially after the economic base of socialism has been built. This in no way infringes democracy, but, on the contrary, strengthens genuine pro-

letarian democracy. The democratic nature of an order is not determined by the number of parties, but is determined by its economic base, by the class in power, the whole policy and activity of the state and whether or not it is in the interests of the broad masses of the people and serves them.

With a view to achieving their counter-revolutionary aims in the service of the bourgeoisie and imperialism, the modern revisionists are ever more zealously pursuing the course of the degeneration of the communist parties and the socialist regimes. They are liquidating the parties of the working class, by denying their proletarian class character and proclaiming them «parties of the whole people». In fact they have turned them into bourgeois parties of a new type. The degeneration of the communist parties and the socialist order in a number of countries, where revisionist cliques are in power, is bringing about the revival of the system of two or more bourgeois parties with pseudo-socialist disguises allegedly in the name of the development of socialist democracy. Such fronts, as there are in some of these countries, exist only on paper; they are lifeless and the signs are already apparent of the revival and political and organizational activation of parties taking part in these fronts in order to win dominant positions in the socialist state which is increasingly assuming the features of a bourgeois state. The more extremist groupings of modern revisionists, particularly in the capitalist countries such as France and Italy, are striving to persuade their revisionist colleagues in the socialist countries to proceed at top speed on this course, to provide the Western bourgeoisie with further proof that they are prepared to put an end to «Stalinist socialism» and to re-establish a new bourgeois socialism of the social-democratic type and to facilitate the work of the revisionists in the capitalist countries in their efforts

to unite and merge with the bourgeoisie and its political parties, to join with them in building a «socialist» order of this type in these countries.

The experience of the Democratic Front over 25 years shows that our Party has always pursued a correct line, has successfully defended and applied the principles of Marxism-Leninism and the laws of the proletarian revolution and the socialist construction. This has ensured for our Party and people all the great victories which we enjoy today. Experience up to now also shows that the Front remains to this day, as the 5th Congress of the Party put it, the main link of the political unity of the people around the Party and people's state power for the construction of socialism and the defence of the Homeland, a great tribune for the enlightenment and education of the workers with the line of the Party, a powerful means to ensure the active participation of the broad masses of the people in running affairs and solving major social and state problems.

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II

2. — THE ROLE OF THE DEMOCRATIC FRONT IN FURTHER STRENGTHENING THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT AND EXTENDING SOCIALIST DEMOCRACY

The experience of our free and independent country has shown that without the dictatorship of the proletariat the victories of the revolution cannot be secured, the resistance and activity of external and internal enemies cannot be smashed and defeated, the defence of our socialist Homeland cannot be guaranteed, and the construction of socialist and communist society cannot be carried forward.

Like all the other organizations of masses, the Democratic Front has played a major role and has done all-round work for the continuous strengthening of the people's power. It has educated the working masses of town and countryside in the spirit of devotion and loyalty to the state, has mobilized them to carry out its decisions and laws, and has drawn them more and more into state and social activity.

More than once the Party has stressed that the strengthening and further democratization of the people's power cannot be attained without combating bureaucracy, and has waged a consistent and resolute struggle against it. In recent years, especially, it has launched an attack over a broad front against bureaucratic manifestations and distortions in the apparatus and organs of the state, the economy and the Party. The results of this struggle are very good. Within a relatively short time a colossal amount of work has been done and a number of revolutionary measures, familiar to all, taken. The important thing is that, as always, these measures of the Party and Government were strongly supported by the working people of our country and are being carried out with their direct and active participation. This has given the struggle against bureaucracy the nature of a broad popular movement of profound ideological content. The essence of this struggle is to strengthen the dictatorship of the proletariat, to carry our socialist revolution through to the end, to block the way to revisionist manifestations and any possibility of restoration of capitalism in our country.

But, while we may have struck a heavy blow at bureaucracy, we have not liquidated and vanquished it completely as yet. Therefore, there is no room to be satisfied with the results attained. We have a great deal of work ahead of us to make the revolutionary movement of the struggle against bureaucracy more thorough-going.

First of all, the Democratic Front must continue to do extensive, all-sided explanatory work with the masses of the people so that they understand the real danger which bureaucracy represents now and in the future for our people's power, for our socialist order and the achievements of the revolution, to make them conscious and resolute fighters against it. Let it be thoroughly understood by all that the struggle against bureaucracy is a long and all-sided one, that it is, first and foremost, an ideological struggle to eradicate bureaucratic concepts of management in order to inculcate and temper revolutionary concepts which must fully respond to the profoundly popular character of our state. This is the only way to successfully combat the narrow concept which reduces the struggle against bureaucracy to cutting down on paper work and administrative personnel and to avoid the practice of conducting this struggle in sporadic campaigns.

The check-up by the broad masses of workers and peasants, by our people as a whole, on the activity of the organs and employees of the state is one of the most important conditions for the further strengthening and democratization of the people's power and for success in the struggle against bureaucracy.

The Democratic Front is called upon to organize and encourage the check-up of the masses on the state organs and persons working in them, on the one hand, and, on the other hand, to conduct extensive, ideological, political, educational work so that state functionaries and employees, the representatives of the people in the state organs of all levels always feel that they are servants of the people.

But what does being a servant of the people mean? Above all it means to serve the people with great loyalty, on the basis of the militant line of our Party, to be a tireless worker in carrying out the decisions and laws in force, and never for a moment to abuse the trust which

the people have placed in you for personal gain and privileges, but to be always correct and sincere, irreconcilable with any manifestation of favouritism, partiality and nepotism. This means, also, to be polite and considerate towards people, not only during work-time, but also outside it, to maintain close links with the masses and to listen carefully to their opinions, to maintain a principled stand towards complaints and criticism by the people, to be irreconcilable with manifestations of arrogance, conceit and haughtiness. Finally, it means to always put the interests of the people, the interests of our socialist society above everything, to subject your personal interests to them, and to be prepared to make any sacrifice in the interests of the people.

Every state employee of whatever rank should carefully review his activity and fight in himself anything at variance with his function as a servant of the people. The people, too, should examine the activity of state officials from this same viewpoint. The idea that «there are special people to supervise the activity of state officials» must be discarded as an erroneous idea which hinders the initiative of the masses and that of the organizations of the Democratic Front to organize and encourage the control by the working people. No other control can replace the control of the people united in their organization, the Democratic Front. Therefore, this supervision and control must be exercised regularly, with full force and in the right way so that it helps the ceaseless improvement and strengthening of the work of all the people and organs of the state...

The problems of the state are the concern of all the working people. They are decided on and solved not by a few councillors and elected representatives, and even less by a few appointed functionaries, but by the people in power. We must understand this thoroughly. Therefore,

the broader the participation of the working masses in state activity, the better and more correctly will the problems be studied and solved. In this regard, a major role belongs to the organization of the Democratic Front to increase the participation of the masses in the study and solution of major problems of the people's state power, to make the masses fully conscious that they should take part actively in running the affairs of the country. Without this there can be no talk of the further strengthening and democratization of the people's state power, of successfully fighting bureaucracy.

*«Bureaucracy», Lenin says, «can be fought to the end, to complete victory over it, only when the whole population takes part in running the country».**

...The participation of the masses in running the country also requires their extensive participation in drawing up the decrees and the laws that guide all the activity of the state organs and regulate the life of our socialist society, as well as their mobilization to apply these decrees and laws in practice. The Democratic Front must do a great deal of work to make the laws of the state known, and not simply their technical aspect, but mainly the political and ideological content of each law, to educate the people in the spirit of respect for the laws of the state and irreconcilability with any bureaucratic manifestation and distortion in their application.

Our Party has always striven consistently to develop and strengthen the broad democracy of the masses of the people and we have scored great victories in this direction. Not only the elections, but also all the activity of the organs of the state and the economy, of education and

* V. I. Lenin, Collected Works, vol. 29, p. 196 (Alb. ed.).

culture, the whole life of our country, take place on the basis of socialist democracy.

The struggle against bureaucracy, which is being waged with success in our country, is cleaning up and opening the way for a greater development of proletarian democracy, is strengthening its revolutionary and popular spirit and raising it to a higher level. In the context of this struggle, the Democratic Front must do a great deal of work to ensure that the people are not afraid to have their say about everything, because they are the masters of the country and the political power, their will is law for all and cannot be violated by anyone. At their meetings, the organizations of the Democratic Front should encourage broad and free discussions by the people of every problem that interests or worries them. In particular, they should encourage open and unreserved criticism by the masses of shortcomings and mistakes. The criticism by the masses at meetings or through flash-posters should mercilessly deride the bureaucrats, those who remain indifferent and anyone who violates the directives of the Party and the laws of the people's state.

By strengthening the control of the masses from below over the activity of the state organs and their apparatuses, by increasing the participation of the people in running the country and by continually developing our socialist democracy, we shall dry up any source that gives birth to bureaucracy, we will bar the way to any manifestation of the birth of revisionism and any possibility of the restoration of capitalism in our country, and consolidate and further democratize our people's power, the most powerful weapon in our hands, for the complete construction of socialist society and the defence of our Homeland.

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ON COOPERATION AND THE TECHNICAL-SCIENTIFIC REVOLUTION

*From the closing speech delivered at the 3rd Plenum (1)
of the CC of the PLA*

October 14, 1967

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In my speech closing this plenum of the Central Committee I want to stress certain aspects of cooperation and the technical-scientific revolution, which comprise the essence of the reports of the Political Bureau and the very valuable contributions of the comrades of the Central Committee and of other comrades.

Cooperation, which concerns our industry today, in the broad sense of the term is not a new problem for the Central Committee and our Government. It is a problem which we have to understand both theoretically and

1 The 3rd Plenum of the CC of the PLA was held on October 13-14, 1967. At the Plenum two reports of the Political Bureau of the CC of the PLA were delivered: «On the Work Done and the Measures to Be Taken for the Full Utilization of the Productive Capacities of the Engineering Industry, for Its Further Specialization and Cooperation», and «On the Work of the Organizations of the Party, Mass Organizations and State Organs for Inventions, Rationalizations and Savings in Industry and Constructions and on the Further Measures to Be Taken for the Development of This Movement».

technically, because it seems as if it is only a technical administrative problem.

The correct interpretation and application of cooperation in the system of our socialist economy is of major importance. Cooperation in the capitalist countries is completely different from cooperation in our country, both as to its meaning and as to its purpose.

In the capitalist countries cooperation exists, both among different branches of the economy and within different branches of industry, it exists among the industrialist capitalists of a state, between them and their bourgeois slate, and among the trusts and consortiums of various capitalist countries. Such a course has also led to international organizations, in which the most powerful capitalist trusts dominate.

All this capitalist form of cooperation is based on capitalist private ownership, on the savage capitalist exploitation of the working people, on the struggle for domination in national and international markets, on the law of the jungle according to which «the big fish eats the small fish», on the creation of omnipotent national and international trusts, in order to rule and barbarously exploit the peoples and the wealth of their countries.

The savage law of competition in the capitalist markets inevitably leads, amongst other things, to anarchy in production, which it is impossible to control. The powerful capitalist states strive by brutal methods to overcome it, fighting desperately to bring about the capitalist economic integration of the weaker capitalist countries with those which have greater economic and military strength. This leads to the loss of the political and economic freedom of the country which sets out on the course of capitalist integration. It is transformed into a colonial country and its people into an enslaved people.

This is the plight in which the treacherous Titoite

course has landed Yugoslavia and its peoples. Yugoslav «self-administration» has fully opened the way for the colonization of Yugoslavia by American capital and that of the other capitalist countries. In Yugoslavia, thousands of factories are being closed allegedly as non-profitable, but this means the creation of big concerns, which gobble up the small ones and which transform the whole economy into a capitalist economy and subordinate it to foreign capitalist concerns. Finally, this radical transformation in Yugoslavia has resulted in the creation of that typical anarchy in the economy, in the market, in policy and in ideology, which we are seeing every day in the Titoite capitalist hell. The whole Yugoslav economy is in the clutches of American and international finance capital, which makes the economic, political and ideological law in Yugoslavia.

The Soviet revisionists and their satellites in the former European countries of people's democracy, likewise, are proceeding on this same course. Irrespective of the forms they employ, they are sticking faithfully to the Yugoslav course and the essence and aims of this course are the same. Such a course of capitalist development, which is guided by the principles and aims I mentioned above, cannot accept the economic development of the country on the basis of a centralized plan, although the revisionists have their own plan of development, but this plan is based on principles and aims diametrically opposed to those by which our socialist economy is guided and run. This is why we see that in Yugoslavia, the Soviet Union, etc., they have rejected or are rejecting the socialist principles of the centralized socialist planning of the economy.

Comecon has been transformed into a revisionist organization for the cooperation of industry and many other branches of the economies of the member countries. In

this organization it is the Soviet revisionists who rule and through it they aim to exploit and direct the economies of the other member countries in their own hegemonic interests, to force these economies in the directions that suit the Soviet revisionists, to lie up the economies of the other countries in such a way that, besides this sham socialist cooperation, they dominate these countries politically, too.

Of course Comecon is nothing but a kind of «common market», or the bourgeois «joint economy of the European community», set up on the basis of the principle of exploitation and oppression of the small by the mighty, therefore within it there can be nothing but great contradictions and struggle with one another. The reactions of the Socialist Republic of Rumania. (2) which still remains a member of Comecon. against the Khrushchevites' enslavement are well known. Not satisfied with the form of cooperation in Comecon, the Khrushchevites even tried to include the whole border area of the Rumanian territory, including Bucharest, within the Soviet Union as an allegedly economic measure, which more frankly would mean the complete political colonization of Rumania, too. The anti-Marxist cooperation within the framework of Comecon is accompanied with double capitalist enslavement, since all the members of the revisionist Comecon. with the Soviet revisionists at the head, individually, by means of credits and cooperation, have put themselves in bondage to and into the clutches of American and other monopoly capital.

Our Party and Government, on the other hand, along

2 The contradictions between the Comecon members are also obvious in the reactions of the Rumanians against the Khrushchevites' plans with regard to «The International Economic Complexes» in the context of the Comecon. (See «Viata Economica», June 12, 1964.)

with their complete denunciation of the treacherous Khrushchevite revisionists also relinquished and denounced all the forms of enslaving economic collaboration and cooperation that they have established among themselves. All of us can remember the struggle of our Party against the old renegades from Marxism-Leninism, the Yugoslav Titoites, who, under the disguise of the alliance, attempted to bring about the political and economic unification, designed the close co-ordination of our economic plans, in order to open the way to the colonization of our country on their part. However, our Party and people successfully resisted all these hostile attempts and triumphed over them. Thus we gained valuable experience in the theory and practice of the construction of socialism, an experience which today is helping us to develop our economy correctly and successfully on the socialist road and to score successes, whereas the modern revisionists, on the contrary, suffer defeats.

The development of our socialist economy is carried out according to a state plan, based on Marxist-Leninist principles and organization, inspired by our theory and experience. Such a plan is realistically based on the objective situation and reality of our country, in the dynamic process of its development, and mainly on our own possibilities and forces.

Our state plan develops and thoroughly utilizes all the material and moral resources of the country for a single great aim — the complete construction of socialism, the continuous improvement and raising of the material and cultural well-being of the people. The development of our economy is harmonious, does not know the various ills from which the capitalist economy suffers and which are part and parcel of that economy, does not know crises of capitalist over-production, unemployment, stagnation or competition on the market.

An intrinsic part of the state plan for the development of the economy is the question of the harmonious cooperation of the different sectors of our economy, the sectors of the production of means of production, the raising of the level and training of the cadres, etc. Hence, the problem of cooperation is neither a new nor an unknown problem to our Party and state. In every sector of our development we have a complex of forms of cooperation, which often go unnoticed, but are very obviously operating and without which neither that harmonious development nor that obvious progress can exist. Cooperation exists, or the possibilities are created for cooperation between different sectors of the economy and within each separate sector.

Let us see how this question stands in the agricultural cooperatives. The very name cooperative tells us that the great idea of cooperation exists there. In the agricultural cooperatives the transition of means of production from individual ownership to common ownership has become a fact and on this basis, they are working, collaborating, cooperating together, socially. Hence, socialist cooperation on the basis of working together socially and the common means of production exists in the agricultural cooperatives. This cooperation, these basic factors are carrying our agriculture forward, revolutionizing the people and production, because they organize, raise to a higher level what you might call the artisan style of work of the former backward, fragmented individual economy, in the direction of the cooperation of various branches of this agricultural economy, in which the petty-bourgeois sentiments of small proprietorship, anarchy in production, in a word, the narrow interests of the family economy, the interests of private capital with all its evils, etc., formerly reigned.

However, apart from this basic ideological-political

and economic cooperation of the peasantry that the Party created in the countryside, within it there exists another major economic cooperation which is so closely linked with it that it seems to us like something natural. Both on the old individual property in agriculture in the past and on the common socialist property today, there is close and permanent cooperation of agriculture with animal husbandry. They are production sectors of the same economic trunk, the one cannot do without the other. The cooperation of agriculture and animal husbandry, which has become a tradition, a way of life, has its own laws of development and organization, which if they are violated, if they are not known and applied properly, if they do not respond to the objective situations created as a result of the revolutionary and objective transformations, result in damage being done to both sectors simultaneously or one suffering as a consequence of damage to the other.

We are struggling to develop this harmonious cooperation further, on scientific foundations. The formation of cooperatives in the countryside creates the possibilities and imposes the duty on us to develop these two main branches of agriculture harmoniously and with new socialist norms.

Our peasant has experience in agriculture, gained through the centuries, but it must not be forgotten that in this, as in everything else, there is the old experience of the development of agriculture, which was determined by the small-scale property, the narrow perspective of the capitalist development of this property in which the cooperation of agriculture and animal husbandry, within the property, was organized on the capitalist basis of profit, the market, etc.

In the past, there was still another aspect of the division of these two natural sectors of agriculture in

our country. There were also capitalist livestock-farmers, with big flocks of sheep, who developed this branch separately from agriculture.

Therefore, agricultural cooperation must not be considered as something easily attained, as something everyone knows about, so that we act in an anarchic or unorganized way. In this «great factory without a roof», with many known and unknown factors, where the factor man plays a major role with his progressive or backward judgements, in which known and unknown, lasting and temporary biological conditions for the plants and animals operate, in which there are objective laws of nature which must be known and put in the service of man — all these things open up to the Party and all the working people without exception a great field of battles and experiments.

Battlefields have been opened up to us for the further improvement of cooperation in agriculture, for the strengthening of the sense of common ownership and working together socially, but, at the same time, with the further development and progress of the socialist economy in agriculture we are waging and must wage the big, extensive and thorough-going battle for science, for modern agrotechnique.

The development of cooperation within different sectors of the agricultural cooperatives should be carried out and extended so as to impart a fresh impetus to their economy, to the well-being of the cooperativists, and to the narrowing of the distinctions between town and countryside. Beginning from the united cooperatives, **(3)**

3 The united cooperatives, which resulted from the union of some small cooperatives, had new possibilities to strengthen themselves from the economic and organizational aspect, to make better use of the superiority of the new socialist order, and consolidate their economic links with the state.

the local processing of milk and milk-products, the processing of various types of fruit and vegetables, the production of a number of products urgently needed for the life of the village from the remnants of plant products will create a new material and psychological situation in the life of the cooperativists. The development of handicrafts services in the agricultural cooperatives, and not only in the direction of repairing work tools, but of clothing and soft furnishings, wood working for furniture and house building, the creation of the teams of carpenters and joiners together with the building squads in the villages — all this cooperation will give a great, unprecedented impulse to the material, cultural and moral life in our socialist countryside.

On the other hand, in the agricultural cooperatives we must raise a great number of cadres who, besides their knowledge of agriculture and animal husbandry, are equipped with other skills, necessary and indispensable for the village, and if need be, to come to the assistance of the state sector. This is a method, although empirical, of the polytechnical education of the village folk on a mass scale. If such a method of work and education is also applied in the army from which a great number of people go back to their villages when they have finished their military service, it will strengthen this very necessary orientation for our countryside.

If we seriously want to know the past, so as to build the new on solid basis, we must not fail to study how the internal cooperation between agriculture and animal husbandry was understood and developed in the time of private ownership and how it is understood and applied today and how it will be developed in the future. In the knowledge of the land, in working it well, in selecting and determining what crops to grow, in the development, raising and diversity of the animals, in the rational utili-

zation of production, implements, modern agricultural machinery, draught animals and production stock, down to the mental and physical forces of people, there are so many affinities, so many forms of indispensable cooperation, which must be studied in detail and during the process, the good aspects which time and experience affirm must be preserved and further perfected, while other new ones must be created. In a word, the Party must be continuously preoccupied with this great process which comprises an harmonious, scientific cooperation of all the branches and means of agriculture. With this I want to say that the problem under discussion today has a powerful and indispensable influence on our socialist agriculture, too.

In the socialist industrialization of the country we are following and perfecting the same process guided by a plan and based realistically on the conditions and possibilities of our own country, in the first place. Starting from a handicraft situation we progressively set up our heavy and light industry, built mines and factories. However, at this stage of the industrial development of our country, too, cooperation has existed in various forms, both in industry and handicrafts, within each of them and between each other, as well as between industry and agriculture and other sectors. These forms of cooperation are already well developed and are still developing and being perfected.

As yet we are unable to give up artisan forms of producing industrial commodities, but after a period they will be completely replaced by industrial forms of production, while artisan forms will remain in repair work.

The purpose of the study we are doing and the measures we are taking is to ensure full utilization of the productive capacities of our industry, especially of

the engineering industry which we must concentrate and specialize.

The engineering industry now has solid bases. In addition to the many engineering departments in factories, vehicle parks, the MTS's and various workshops, equipped according to requirements and availability with lathes and other metal-cutting machines, special engineering plants have been set up in our country.

In order to raise their economic effectiveness and ensure their further specialization, now it is urgently necessary to bring about the concentration of these means, so that they are no longer left scattered all over the country. Obstacles raised by government departments and at individual enterprise level, which want to have these weapons, as you might call them, at their disposal for their own needs and try to convince us about their needs, must be overcome. Of course they have needs, but many of their needs will be fulfilled by the engineering plants. While they ought to keep only some minor machinery for urgent repairs to equipment.

The claims that each enterprise should keep these means, justifying this by demanding that they should be set supplementary tasks, so that they work at full capacity, on three shifts, etc., etc., do not hold water. Experience up to date has proved this.

We must be clear about the great benefits of this concentration.

In the first place, concentration brings about improved utilization and organization, creates greater possibilities for specialization in the production of spare parts for all the machinery in our country. At the moment this is the main task, the task that comes first and takes precedence over all others, and second, there is the question of the perspective for the growth of the production of the means of production, beginning with the

equipment for small factories, and later for larger plants. This cannot be achieved without concentration, and without concentration there is no specialization.

Some may complain and say: «How are we going to manage without them?» How did we manage when we lacked spare parts? At that time we imported them, overcoming a thousand obstacles. Are we to go on like this? No. Then let's produce them at home, and in order to do this means are needed. Therefore, these means can no longer be at the disposal of every kind of factory, enterprise, or workshop, which, along with the means, also hang on to the most outstanding mechanics of the country, who are capable of and would be better employed, teaching whole generations of skilled tradesmen rather than turning on occasional detail.

While strengthening our engineering industry, today we are stressing the indispensability of the extension of cooperation among the various branches of industry. This will be a marked feature of this period. I say a marked feature, since cooperation within our industry at this stage will strengthen and extend the links and cooperation with many sectors of our economy, with agriculture, transport, construction, food-processing industry, with the sector of schooling and education, etc., etc.

We are now developing cooperation in the manufacture of spare parts, agricultural implements and building materials, etc. In the production of machinery we are in our infancy, you could say. Relying on our own forces we have begun to build some small factories, some complete agricultural machines, but we shall not stop at that. The development of our socialist economy has opened up new possibilities and perspectives which are fully attainable within not a very distant future. We have built and are extending our chromium, copper, iron-nickel, and other mines. Our studies and prospecting work will further enrich this range

of minerals. We have laid the initial bases to start the metallurgical processing of copper and iron, have planned the setting up of iron-nickel and ferro-chrome metallurgy, have created and are extending the electric power base. All this creates possibilities for the phase of a higher, more complex cooperation, which will enable us to build machinery, and factories ourselves, relying on our own forces. As we are seeing, the Party is preparing this phase. This is our reality, this is the perspective. We must strengthen the reality so that the perspective will be realized.

Then what must we do? We must go into the technical-scientific revolution with multiplied forces, not only in industry, but also in agriculture and in all other sectors. We must progress beyond the artisan level in all directions, to advanced technology and modern agrotechnique. We can say that we have the necessary bases to deepen the technical-scientific revolution. We have the vital duty to fully utilize all the available capacities and possibilities, have the duty to increase these capacities and create new possibilities, to increase our products over their entire range and to produce ample quantities at low prices and with good quality.

In order to do this properly, we must place the technical revolution on the order of the day. The Party must make it clear to all the working people, the pupils and students that the further development of our socialist economy, the rapid and continuous raising of the well-being of the people, depend on the level of understanding of this revolution and the most active possible participation in it. Our people have to acquire modern know-how. This requires work and study, first of all.

The minds and consciousness of our people must be forced from that sense of inferiority, which has prevailed and is still felt, that allegedly we are incapable of master-

ing modern equipment, that we are backward, have neither qualified people, nor the necessary means. Finally, it should be borne in mind that importing many things which could be made, which could be produced at home with our own minds and hands, must gradually come to an end. The technical cooperation is part of this technical-scientific revolution which has begun with the setting up of our industry, with the training and qualification of cadres, with the labour legislation, the agrotechnical code and many other measures taken in agriculture and other sectors of production. If we take a critical look at the technical development of our cadres and workers, we can say with complete conviction that the result is very positive and exceptionally encouraging and there is no room to say that «we cannot make this», «we cannot make that». Our people are capable of making anything, the same as the best of the other countries, provided we further develop the possibilities for work and study.

All our people are very much concerned about their own advancement, a task connected with the building up and development of the economy. Everyone is trying to learn, to invent and to create. What he invents or creates (it is of no importance whether they have invented it in other countries which have advanced very much further) embodies that great creative will and that political and ideological principle of the class which the Party teaches us, which make our man very capable and prepare him to pass from the artisan stage imposed by the objective conditions of our country in the past, to that of inventions and rationalizations.

In Tirana and elsewhere, these recent years we see that around nearly every big plant that we have built, workshops and sometimes many small factories are going up, in which products are transformed and new consumer products are turned out. Sometimes they might not be all

fully profitable, but apart from other reasons, this comes about because the amount of production is still small. Taking into consideration the large quantity and wide range of products that our people need we are duty bound to begin to build new automatized modern production machinery, with our own forces, on a more extensive scale and of a higher level. When I say that they are automatized, I don't mean complete automation at this moment. This will come later, nevertheless we must never lose sight of this question when we import machines and factories from abroad.

The more developed and more organized co-operation we are establishing will play a major role in the strengthening of these small factories. These workshops, ranking as small factories, which are very necessary for the present, will continue to be good auxiliaries to our light industry for a long time, even when we are able to build modern factories.

In order to deepen our technical-scientific revolution, basing ourselves on the objective reality of our country and its inevitable perspective, we have to act in many directions.

The technical-scientific revolution requires all-round mobilization, special attention and concern for the study of theory and practice, closely linked with and never isolated from each other. Theory must not be underrated, as it is by some, who, lacking the will to study, slip into positions of practicism, which in many cases they allow to degenerate into a routine devoid of perspective. Practice is blind without theory, while theory is dead without practice. Development takes place on the basis of a series of genetic, biological, physical, chemical and other laws, and without knowing them in their complexity and particularity you cannot carry forward the technical—scientific revolution. Some think in a simplist manner and say: «Well, even without schooling, even without theory, we are

carrying the work forward, basing ourselves simply on experience and practice». Such people forget that the laws of which I spoke above operate in practice even without being thoroughly known, but they do not operate in harmony, therefore, through ignorance of them, many unexpected and inexplicable things occur, or for which they give an empirical explanation and without foundation, whereas for the results achieved they find fortuitous reasons, very often non-existent and imaginary, or ones that are not even remotely connected with the phenomenon.

But the lack of theory, science, and special culture makes the overwhelming majority of simple practical workers careless in their practice of observing, recording, and combining acts and phenomena, in the comparison and confrontation of them with one another. They leave the conclusions to the unknown and unexpected, to chance. Their discipline in practice is slack, their methodology is weak and many a time non-existent. Even if a certain level of development is achieved through lengthy practice, still the result must be considered unsatisfactory, because it has taken a long time to carry out this experiment, much time has been lost, and the result is continually outstripped, if further attempts are made for advance.

On the other hand, the theory learned in the books and detached from life and practice (or perhaps linked only with the laboratory, this being considered as a purpose, not as a means) remains something inanimate, lifeless, something dead. Some overrate such an understanding of science and theory, but we can consider them people without much value and anti-scientific, since they have not understood the ABC that the theory and science which is learned in the books explains or synthesizes long practical experience, explains the objective laws of nature, and these laws and experience have to be tested in the continuous dynamism of the ceaseless development of the

material world that never stands still, as such so-called scientists do when they stand unenlightened over their books in laboratories devoid of life.

It would be wrong to think that only a few learned people who have both theory and science, even if they amount to some thousands, will carry out the technical-scientific revolution. No, like every genuine revolution, the technical-scientific revolution will be carried out by the broad masses of the people, the broad masses of the working people, who are still far from mastering theory and science, and for this to be achieved a long time yet will be needed and a continuity must be created on this endless question.

The appropriate material means for such a suitable mass education are lacking for the time being, but these means — and with this I mean the schools of every kind, the institutes, and the faculties — we partly possess, and we are developing and enriching them every year. There is no end to this enrichment, but nevertheless the broad masses will not all be capable of rising to a high level in regard to the study of theory.

However, there is a remedy for this impossibility. Our people, who complete their schooling in many directions, by linking themselves closely with the people of production, with the practice of production, must vest this practice with their scientific knowledge and scientific discipline.

What do I mean by vesting with scientific knowledge? I think that one of the principal duties of the person who has learning and schooling, having first gained experience of practice himself and linked it closely with science, is to explain to the practical workers the scientific laws which are the basis of his experimental and practical work. He must not proceed from the principle that a certain worker is making bolts or the cooperativist works with the hoe, therefore

there is nothing more I can teach them. Such education is carried out through many courses and conferences like those being held, in which there is a very praiseworthy spirit, but also during work, as well as in free, individual conversations, provided only we always bear in mind the great objective — that cadres should be educated en masse with scientific knowledge. In this way we shall create whole armies of people who cannot attend special schools, but for whom possibilities are created to clarify and enrich their practical experience gained in the course of work with theory, so that broad horizons of work and development are opened to them and real possibilities for study, progress and development created. In this case science and learning will no longer be a boggy to them.

What do I mean by vesting practice with scientific discipline? Without iron discipline the socialist revolution degenerates to anarchy. The same thing happens with the technical-scientific revolution, too, which, like every revolution, is guided first of all by politics. Hence, this, too, must be guided by a strong scientific discipline.

The peasants to a greater extent and the workers somewhat less, do not recognize, do not feel the need for and the force of this scientific discipline in the revolutionization of production. This is the source of all those shortcomings and weaknesses which we criticize and combat every day. We are fighting to establish this scientific discipline, but still we are very far from what we want to attain.

There are rules, discipline is required in every process of work. This discipline does not consist only in the fulfilment of the norm, the speed of the drill, or turning out for work in the fields in the morning. Scientific discipline is based on knowledge and proper application of the process which develops and transforms matter and the process itself. The smelting and tempering of iron have a definite

scientific process, but there is also a scientific discipline connected with it, and if you do not apply it properly, at the given time, the process does not proceed normally. This is what happens with many other processes of industry, too. The same can be said of the processes of agriculture as well.

The discipline of time in agriculture, when the various crops should be sown, when they should be hoed, irrigated, etc., is an empirical discipline which is not the only thing required. No, we must establish a scientific discipline in all these work processes, because the development of production and its revolutionization do not depend on a mechanical, amateurish working, but the soil, the plant, the fertilizer, water, sun, etc., etc., have their biological, genetic, physical, chemical laws in the complexity of which neither amateurism nor anarchy are permissible, because they operate and influence each other for better or worse. Not only must we know these processes, but we must also act according to rules and with scientific discipline so as to prevail over those laws and guide them to serve the aims of man.

Scientific experiments, to which we must give an impulse in all directions, are part and parcel of this great technical-scientific revolution which we are carrying out and must develop everywhere. These scientific experiments need scientific discipline and this requires scientific knowledge of the process and scientific application of this knowledge, to the point that account is taken of the slightest change that things undergo in the course of development and transformation. As yet we have not succeeded in summing up all these scientific experiments properly and applying their results on a national scale. There is great hesitation about putting them into practice. Their dissemination and the revolutionization of production are hampered to a considerable extent by the lack of centra-

lized organization, bureaucracy and the routine of the plan, viewed narrowly from the standpoint of avoiding worries and brain-racking. The discipline of the plan which is always mentioned, but which is violated in many cases, is made the most serious obstacle when it is a matter of the revolutionization of production...

In a few words we must:

1. Attach very great importance to the systematic education of cadres en masse in all sectors through schools, courses, work, etc. In the outlook of our people we should implant the need to learn throughout their lives, the need for continuous improvement, and not just in the narrow, petty, egoistic sense of earning one's living, but first of all in order to understand and master science and knowledge, to transform nature, to make the Homeland and the life of the people prosperous.

Only the formation of such a broad and correct concept of learning and improvement will remove and eliminate the mean spirit which is expressed in the views: «I should make some efforts to attain a higher category and so increase my pay»; or «Since I have already attained the highest category, due to my qualification, why bother myself with further learning». These are mouldy ideas that stop you seeing beyond your own nose, because if everyone were to think so narrowly then we would mark time and never be able to produce our own bread. Every citizen of our Republic ought to have the perspective clear and work to achieve it, by passing from simple education to the highest and most complex education. Everyone ought to keep up with the times, the situations, the conditions that are created and with the needs, not just of himself and his family, which are narrow personal needs, but those of the whole society.

The masses must have a clear view of the perspective and the future, must see our world in development so

that everyone will be able to emerge from the narrow integument of his petty world.

2. The advanced equipment, which we have and to which we shall add in the future, must be mastered and set in motion by vanguard people of a high political, ideological and technical level.

3. Individual advances, innovations and rationalizations should be understood and become component parts of the work of broad collectives, should be considered assets of the masses to achieve the aims and aspirations of the entire people.

The movement for inventions and rationalizations must not have a restricted individual direction, notwithstanding that individual ideas and efforts are on the foundation of it and should be encouraged, since they are indispensable. Through his invention and rationalization, the individual should feel himself politically a member of the collective in which he works, and his idea and rationalization should be embraced by the entire collective not when it has assumed its perfect form, but it should be subjected to discussion and improvement by broad groups of workers of the collective right from the start, because this is the only way to develop and sharpen the creativeness of the masses, and on the other hand, to combat the hankering after «personal glory» which is an egoistic and petty-bourgeois feeling.

I think that if we act in this way the procrastination and bureaucratic work in accepting and applying inventions and rationalizations will be combated. A director, an engineer or a ministry will find it hard to delay or to leave in a drawer, gathering dust, the work over which groups of workers and specialists, who have combined their creative forces, have toiled, as they are able to do with the invention or rationalization of an individual.

4. The complete unity of workers and technicians,

the close links of work and mutual education in Marxist proletarian modesty, the joint creative work, the common struggle against any manifestation of conceit and harmful inhibition, against any underrating of the other's work and creativeness, against any kind of conservatism and scepticism in regard to the strength and creative ability of our working people, should be achieved.

5. We must raise the entire younger generation to a high political, ideological and technical level so that they become the pillar of this technical-scientific revolution, part and parcel of our socialist revolution. The university students must have a thorough political and ideological understanding of the value of the learning and science which they acquire at school and in practical activity and strive to develop it further in life, in the interests of the people and socialism.

In all our industry, and especially in the engineering industry, we must give the greatest attention to the qualification of the workers. In this direction, all possible forms and all the concern of the leadership of every factory, engineering plant and the various engineers must be utilized. The struggle must be concentrated on the efforts to turn the workers into specialists, to prepare thousands and thousands of real master craftsmen without whom our industry in general and the engineering industry in particular, cannot advance. These skilled workers are its backbone. Without them, the technological processes cannot be applied properly, the capacity of machinery, the working time and speed of machines on precision work cannot be fully exploited, inventions and rationalizations which give an impulse to production cannot be made, the internal reserves cannot be properly exploited or raw materials used frugally and productivity cannot be increased. Hence, without these skilled workers, the work cannot be done properly.

The perfect organization of work in factories and plants is based not only on adopting administrative measures, but mostly on what I mentioned above, never forgetting that, along with the work to train workers who are real masters of their trade, we must work to ensure that they are also vanguard workers from the political and ideological aspect. Hence, the role of the Party, of the basic organization is great, many-sided and not simple and easy as some may conceive it. The task of the Party and its education is not and must never be divorced from the technical training of workers and master craftsmen. The very fact that these problems have been taken up and discussed by the Central Committee proves this, because, otherwise, they could be dealt with simply by government decisions through the Ministry of Industry and Mining.

Therefore, when we speak about the application of technological processes, the reduction of the hours of work in various processes, when we speak about production and skillful use of precision instruments, about the qualities which metals have or we must give them, about the technical-economic aspects of specialized production and production in series, we must not forget at any moment the factor man, the main, decisive factor. Therefore we must work to ensure that man is educated, specialized and attains the highest political, ideological and technical level.

The training of cadres themselves on this extensive scale to achieve the great cultural and technical-scientific revolution calls for perfect co-operation between work and school, between the needs and the possibilities, between quantity and quality, between the present situation and the perspective.

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FOR THE FURTHER REVOLUTIONIZATION OF OUR SCHOOL

*Speech delivered at the meeting of the Political
Bureau of the Central Committee of the PLA*

March 7, 1968

As it happens, the day on which the Political Bureau is taking up the question of the school coincides with Teachers' Day, therefore, on this occasion we direct our thoughts to all the men and women teachers of our country who work tirelessly to perform a great patriotic task, and while expressing our gratitude, we wish them further success in the revolutionary education of our younger generation on the road of the Party.

Our people say: «Life itself is a school». In terms of our materialist philosophy, this means that learning should always continue and proceed uninterrupted, parallel with and throughout the whole of life; it means, at the same time, that mental work is indissolubly linked with practical work. This means that throughout the whole life of man, work, production and thought are in a complementary relation to one another, in which matter is primary and thought secondary. Learning and thinking are products and reflections of the dialectical development of matter.

Hence, the truism that learning, the progressive devel-

opment of thought, is not merely a duty, but must be considered a natural phenomenon, which is linked with and originates from the transformation of matter, from its dialectical development and transformation, hence, an objective necessity for man and society. At all times, at every stage of his life, man, as a natural material being, undergoes continuous transformation, like everything that surrounds him. He creates, thinks, learns and again creates and transforms. All this must be considered as a continuous, uninterrupted process from the cradle to the grave. This is a natural law. The schools we are discussing today, have been organized on the basis of this law of materialist development. Schools and learning should not be considered separate things which belong only to one period of the life of man, or as a basis adequate for all time, perfect, within a cycle of norms laid down to facilitate the organizational work of education and teaching.

From this law stems the question of mass participation in schooling and education, that is, what the Party has always said that all of us without exception should apply ourselves to learning, should acquire education throughout our lives, so that we are able to create, so that thought guides production and development. But to ensure that this development proceeds correctly on the road of our uninterrupted socialist revolution, our thought, education and schooling must have our materialist philosophy as their basis in everything.

We say, and it is a fact, that 8-year schooling is obligatory by law, but we ought to say and understand that all the schools in their various forms, and not just those of the cycles we have set down at present, should be obligatory for all, not in the simple legal sense, as our 8-year school is, but in the sense of the law of our materialist philosophy.

The problem of the organization and pursuit of schooling, that is, of uninterrupted education throughout to whole life of man, is a very important matter that cannot be achieved and perfected within a short period and only within the bounds of the existing organization of the school, because, regardless of the progressive changes our school has undergone and is undergoing, it still contains certain idealist concepts inherited from the philosophy of the bourgeois school, concepts which have become a routine, fettering the minds of many of our people and our teachers, whom they drag astray, hinder and make conservative, without their realizing this or desiring it.

Our new school, like everything else in our socialist order, must have its own laws of development which conform to and serve our economic and social structure, since the school and education are an important part of the superstructure which must be guided by our Marxist-Leninist materialist philosophy.

In our socialist order, the school and education should be organized in the same way as work and the extended socialist reproduction are organized, and parallel with them, so that they respond to the objective needs of socialism and communism, so that the experience of production serves thought, so that the development of matter clarifies thought and the latter guides and assists the development of revolutionary practice, the development and transformation of society.

From the pre-Liberation period we inherited a heterogeneous cycle of schools extending from elementary to secondary schools, lacking regular organization, with great shortcomings, both in their forms and in the criteria of their structure, in the content of the subjects, not to mention their political, ideological and pedagogical line utterly alien to our socialist school. The Zog regime, an oriental feudal regime, was opposed to the educational and

cultural uplift of the people and, consequently, schools were its last concern.

Elementary schooling was limited, not only in the villages, where organized ignorance reigned supreme, but also in the towns. In those districts where there were some elementary schools, the number of them was insufficient, but especially insufficient and nearly a privilege were the secondary schools, gymnasiums, lyceums and technical schools. These could be counted on one's fingers and were located in a few big cities only.

It was the circumstances, the conditions of development of the country that imposed this policy in the field of schooling on the Zog regime, although it did its utmost to impede even this law of development by pursuing a reactionary, obscurantist policy. Thus, we can say that even those few primary or secondary schools which were opened in the time of this regime, were due more to the desire and pressures of the people, of the progressive-minded teachers and intellectuals, rather than to this regime and its policy. For that little progress education made during the Zog regime, regardless of its flaws in form and its rudimentary content, we are indebted to the people's eagerness for learning which, willy-nilly, opened the way for the penetration of the light amidst the great obscurantism of the feudal regime.

The criteria of the structure of the school during the Zog regime were feudal, bourgeois, but even within this framework, they were utterly chaotic. As a result of the servile policy of the Zogite regime towards the different imperialists who had predatory ambitions in regard to our country, the criteria of differing bourgeois schools were in conflict with one another, the winner being the criterion of the imperialists who paid most to the regime, which did not forget to favour that imperialist bourgeoisie which wanted to exert its own influence and

gain concessions for a second stage. When one imperialist gained strong positions in our country, then we saw radical changes also in the structure and content of our schools, extending even to the primary schools. Thus, during the Zog regime we had «national» gymnasiums, religious gymnasiums, French lyceums and American and Italian technical schools. Only Turkish and Greek gymnasiums were not opened and this is understandable, because the bourgeois regimes of those countries did not manage or could not afford to buy these concessions from Zog, who was ready to sell off the Homeland piecemeal to any one, just as he granted many territorial concessions to the Yugoslavs, the British and, finally, to Mussolini's fascist Italy, to which he sold the country, lock, stock and barrel.

The only praiseworthy note struck amongst this chaos in the schools of our country was the gigantic effort of teachers and professors to establish a system in our schools, to stabilize them in order to fulfil, as far as possible, the desires and aspirations of the people for knowledge and learning.

In short, the process of the founding and development of our school system could not be done before the liberation of the country. It is not my intention to make an analysis of this process on this occasion, for that is up to specialists in education to do in an objective way. This analysis is of major importance to us today, if it is made, and it must be made, in the light of Marxism-Leninism.

Why is this of major importance and why must it be done?

First, because, despite the defects which our schools had at that period, still they played a major role in the awakening of the people, training cadres most of whom, within the limits of their knowledge, served the people

to the best of their abilities at those very critical moments. The overwhelming majority of those few scholars and teachers, doctors and engineers, agronomists and technicians of medium training stood by the people and served them. Therefore, their role is not to be neglected or disregarded.

Second, because after the liberation of the country and until we carried out our first reform of the school in 1946, we based ourselves on the old schools, on the old teachers and professors. This heritage has had a heavy influence, and still has to this day (naturally with many differences) and is manifested in the pronounced conservatism of many older teachers and professors and of some young ones, too. Nevertheless, just as everything in our country was undergoing progressive changes, the school was being transformed, too. The reform of the school which we carried out exerted a positive influence in this direction and the experience of the Soviet school helped us to some extent in this matter. We say to some extent, for later we saw that the Soviet school grafted on to our old school retained many features of the remnants of bourgeois pedagogy and it, too, had many shortcomings which time, the experience gained and the development of our country made obvious to us, compelling us to make continual, partial corrections, both in the structure and in the programs and policy of our school.

In the matter of our school, it was hard for us to act differently from what we did, because we lacked experience, means and cadres. We could not simply «wipe off» the school of the past, and it would have been a mistake to do so. We had to proceed towards turning it into a people's school, to extend it everywhere in cities and villages, to make elementary schooling compulsory, to establish the 7-year school, to increase the number of secondary schools, to make 7- and 8-year schooling obligatory, to increase the number of technical schools and

send students to pursue their studies abroad until we founded our own university(1) within the country. On the other hand, since the first days after Liberation, it has been the continuous concern of our Party and state to make our school, this cradle of knowledge, an important centre for educating the youth with the policy of the Party.

It is true that the teachers and professors adhered to the policy of the Party, that some adapted themselves to it, nevertheless, they still preserved in their consciousness, method and style of work, the trends and hangovers of the old pedagogy and the old school which they themselves had attended in our country or abroad.

Now matters are different. We have nearly 25 years of new experience of the school in which a continuous positive process has been going on, in which many objectives set by the Party have been achieved, and basing ourselves on this, we have the duty to make a qualitative leap forward in our schools, a thing imposed on us by the need to develop production, to complete the construction of socialism and advance towards communist society.

However, if we are to make this qualitative leap as we should, it seems to me that we must define the principles and course on which we must proceed and how we must proceed with the greatest care and avoid falling into mistakes of nihilism or grafting on unjustified things without sound criteria.

The policy of our Party towards the school has always had a pronounced class tendency. To the best of its ability, it has tried to steer the school and education on to the course of Marxism-Leninism, to link them with the immediate and future needs of the all-round develop-

1 On September 16, 1957, on the basis of the institutes set up after Liberation, the University of Tirana, which today has 83 chairs and prepares cadres for 41 specialities, was inaugurated

ment of the country, production and the construction of socialism. And the best proofs of this are the formation of the conviction among the ordinary people that learning is necessary, and creation of opportunities for them to learn, especially now that schooling has been made available to all the masses, the economic progress, the training of a large number of cadres who are working with loyalty and devotion, running things for the people, for socialism on the course and according to the teachings of the Party.

Nevertheless, if we delve a little deeper into this problem, we shall see a shortcoming which lies in the fact that the school was considered more as the domain of the teacher and professor, in which everything was subordinated to the pedagogical aspect, to the method of instruction. In other words, there was the tendency that the only people competent in school matters were the teacher and professor and it was sufficient to lay down the lines and criteria for them to follow, because they would arrange and manage all the rest.

We have continually criticized the comrades of the Party over their failure to take a serious interest in the schools. Even when obliged to visit schools, their interest in them has centered on the pass-rate of pupils, some material needs, whether the pupils attend regularly or not, etc. Thus, they have concerned themselves with the more or less formal aspect of the problem, because they felt remote from the school and they justified this, because they had a great deal of other work, economic work in the first place. Thus, our party comrades did not properly understand the connection of the school with production, and when we say this, we must understand that this connection is paramount, decisive.

On the other hand, the teachers and professors were entirely divorced from production; they felt the needs

and benefited from the changes that our economy was undergoing, but in their schools and in their teaching they applied, in a stereotyped and bureaucratic way, outdated pedagogical forms and methods and a style of work which was often anachronistic. And, what was still worse, they imagined and were convinced that they were performing their task to the letter. Meanwhile, the Party and its people who guided this major political, economic, ideological and organizational transformation did not take the detailed interest they should have taken in the school and the changes that should have been made from time to time in the dynamic process of its development.

During these last two years, the Ministry of Education and Culture found itself under strong pressure from all the revolutionary measures taken in our country, their quiet was disturbed and things began to burst at the seams. This corroborates what I said above, that the problem of education and the school is not a bureaucratic one, nor can it be in general the domain of the teachers alone; it cannot be considered the realm of theory divorced from production, from work, but is a major problem of the Party, the people, the economy, the structure and the superstructure.

Moreover, it is not enough just to make 8-year schooling compulsory or to assign students to various faculties. No, the problem is not so easy — it is much deeper, much more complicated than it looks, and this is precisely what has brought the Ministry of Education and Culture face to face with new problems which demand solution. It is precisely up to us to find the most correct Marxist-Leninist solution to these problems.

The problems are many and are not so simple as to be solved at one discussion or at a stroke of the pen. In solving them, we must guard against anarchic methods disguised as alleged forms of listening to the voice of the masses, must be wary of subjectivist views, must guard

vigilantly against trends and inclinations of sympathy towards foreign schools or our own schools of the past, sympathies which, in the course of time and through routine, certain people have turned into dogmas which seem to them «the best», without which, according to them, the school cannot turn out to be good and may be altogether worthless. Therefore, everything that exists in our new school must be subjected to the meticulous analysis of Marxism-Leninism, since our new socialist school must be pervaded from end to end and guided in everything by our materialist philosophy. This is the fundamental condition.

Our new school cannot be a school of any kind, it must respond to the needs of the development of production, be appropriate to and in compliance with the structure and superstructure of our socialist country. Our school, therefore, must represent and embody our Marxist philosophy in all its cycles, in all its forms of organization, methods and style, and must follow and assist the revolutionary development of the structure and superstructure. Guided by the Party, it must become an integral part of the superstructure, assist production, and develop creative thought and progress.

Our teachers and educationalists and we ourselves would be wrong to think that in building our school, everything has proceeded according to the criteria I just mentioned, or to think foolishly that since we took the Soviet school as a model we have made no mistakes. Mistakes have been made in our country, not only because we lacked experience, but also because the Soviet school itself had serious mistakes and shortcomings, had not reached perfection and was in the process of development. Moreover, the stage of economic, educational and cultural development in our country (to which I shall refer later) was different from that of the Soviet Union.

In the changes, improvements and corrections which we shall make to our school we must base ourselves on the existing situation and the results attained, while subjecting them to a detailed Marxist-Leninist analysis. By a detailed analysis I do not mean a statistical analysis in the field of education alone, but this should be linked with the existing concrete situation of our country, with the development of production, the economy and culture, with their needs, with whether or not these needs and gaps are filled, knowing how they are from the material angle, such as the number of cadres, and their qualitative aspect. Thus, we shall know the actual stage of both our economic development and our educational and cultural development, shall see where we have deficiencies, and then our needs will emerge more accurately than at any other time.

It cannot be said that we have proceeded in such a more or less perfect way, but neither have we ever gone ahead blindly. After Liberation, in view of the backward economic and cultural conditions of the country, we had no alternative but to accept certain features of the old school and, for the same reason, to give importance to general culture, and so, apart from making primary schooling compulsory, we strove to establish a network of many kinds of secondary schools for general education and vocational training. During the second decade after Liberation in particular, we opened many schools through which we aimed to raise the general cultural level of our youth and create a contingent of highly trained cadres of various profiles, for which our country under reconstruction had great need. Regardless of the shortcomings, and there were many, this orientation was correct. The orientation for the training of teachers en masse was correct, too.

However, the question of technical education did not

proceed fully on this course. Whereas during the first period after Liberation we opened the indispensable minimum of vocational schools, later there were cases of negligence and many shortcomings in the development of vocational schooling in general. Some may seek to justify this with the fact that we had not yet reached the present stage of development of our industry, but this cannot excuse the lack of care and failure to clearly see the perspective as regards the material construction of factories and, especially, the development of that very important sector, agriculture, for which we should have taken serious measures right from the start by opening agricultural schools. Learning from these mistakes that have been made in our work with the school and basing ourselves on the analysis I have just referred to, we shall certainly arrive at correct conclusions and take measures to ensure that our school truly becomes a new, revolutionary, socialist school.

This study will show us that the construction of socialism, the further development of production, the economy and culture require large numbers of trained people, not just sufficient to complete the staffs of some planned organisms, but masses of them, people with knowledge and science of all levels, and not all uniform in everything and for everything. Learning and education in schools should not be considered as a means of speculation and personal gain, as bourgeois philosophy considers them, but as a powerful weapon in the hands of the new man of socialist society to build this society, to promote our common socialist production, to develop the socialist culture in the service of society.

If we have a proper grasp of how many-sided our needs are in regard to both quantity and quality, and if, also, we view the fulfilment of these needs from the angle of the dynamism of the dialectical materialist and

historical development, we shall come to the conclusion that we cannot and must not have only one type of school, but a whole range of schools, including various courses of a few months' duration.

As regards the 8-year school, it seems to me that it should remain unchanged, a unified school. Its nature and criteria should remain as they are, that is, it must equip all children going through the 8-year school with general culture, the same for all without exception. Meanwhile in my opinion, improvements could and should be made in its programs. The ways of doing various jobs can be included in them, but should not be turned into technical specialization. After completing the 8-year school our youth will have a variety of schools of every branch and of every profile open to them, regardless of whether they take a job or continue their studies in another cycle of school higher than the 8-year school.

We shall have a greater variety of schools, especially secondary ones. The Ministry of Education and Culture has submitted variants which may be considered a sound basis to start from, except that these variants should be further elaborated, because it seems to me, they include two basic defects.

The first defect is that the Ministry has found itself under direct pressure from the base, which in order to meet the great and urgent needs which emerge from the development of production, seeks the way out and finds it by establishing in cooperatives and plants schools with ill-defined programs and varying profiles.

The second defect is that the Ministry of Education and Culture views the future and the improvement of the school mostly from the professional, didactic or pedagogical aspect, as general or special education, as formal disciplines fixed once and for all, and less from the aspect of linking it closely and inseparably with produc-

tion. The fact is that these major problems of education are studied and conclusions are reached by the staff of the Ministry of Education and Culture; but these problems go beyond the limitations of the staff of the Ministry of Education and Culture, even if the latter is made up of hundreds of competent teachers and professors. The problem of education is a major problem of the Party, the state and the whole people.

To handle all this work we are going to do in regard to the school, I think it is necessary to set up, under the direct guidance of the Central Committee of the Party, a broad and important commission made up of the best people from education, industry and mining, agriculture (state farms and cooperatives), the youth, women, doctors, sportsmen, musicians, philosophers, and so on.

Why are all these people necessary? Because, while defining the guide-lines, which I have just referred to, they will establish the vital links of the school with the economic and social development of the country. Each of them will present the immediate and future needs, and from this the proportions and priorities will emerge more correctly, and the time necessary to fulfil the needs and the various types of schools required will be defined. This is one aspect of the work of this commission. The other, equally important, aspect is that of the subjects, of the proportions each of them ought to have in each given school or course, so that every person who completes a school or course may find the corresponding school or course for his continuous further training. The way these things are being done or being attempted at present is not very correct, because sometimes there is no objective orientation. This results in simplistic and anarchic forms, in proceeding, for instance, along the road of adding or subtracting this much or that much from this or that subject, thinking that everything

is being settled properly in this way. These operations are certainly done with good intentions, in order to give the best possible reflection of the line of our Party in the textbooks, nevertheless, they cannot be considered adequate and always free of mistakes.

Another problem is that of the «equivalence» of schools. This is not understood correctly. I think that in this matter we should not permit the incitement of inclinations alien to us, because it is petty-bourgeois to think, «I must get a degree, become a man of authority, receive a fat salary and occupy an important position». This feeling which lurks beneath the so-called urge to study is, in fact, a latent anti-socialist survival which we must get rid of while we strengthen the genuine socialist eagerness to study.

There are some who think that a part of the younger generation should go through a normal cycle of schools while the remainder should go through courses and schools simplified to meet the needs of production, with or without school certificates, and that these schools should be given the equivalence of full gymnasiums and technicums. This is of no interest and is not right. Some say: «Why should we close the doors of the university to these people?»

This question must be understood correctly. The university is a higher school. It trains higher cadres who, during the development of the country, will be specialized still further at work and in various forms of qualification. Therefore, this higher qualification requires sound and complete educational foundations. The doors of the university are not closed to any one, but those who are to attend it must have the respective schooling, and this we must define well. We have just begun to raise the problem of the selection of students who are to be admitted to the university. But are we doing well or not in this

case? The commission which will be set up for this purpose should study this question and define it more correctly. However, I think that, at a later stage, the requirements for those who are to pursue higher studies will be tightened up, and this will come about as a result of the new conditions of the development of production, technique, science and the modernization of our economy. The transition to a more advanced educational-cultural and technological-economic stage, which will also bring about radical changes in our schools, must always respond to the needs and conditions of every period and moment.

But we need not only higher cadres; we have very great needs for middle cadres, too. Therefore, equivalence or graduation from this school or the other cannot become a barricade to block the solution of this problem. An individual who, for many objective and subjective reasons, has not attended school regularly cannot have it as easy as his friend who has done so. Nevertheless, this individual cannot be left without schooling. Our society does not abandon him. It has created possibilities for him to complete one school, to continue his studies by correspondence at another higher school of this type, while if he wants to go to university, he will have to pass a series of examinations or competitions in the subjects not included in the programs of the school he has been through.

The Commission in question will open up much clearer horizons and prospects for the Central Committee, the government and party organizations, by proposing improved forms of organization and work for the progress of our new school.

How do I view the question of the study of the periods of progress of our school from one stage to another?

- 1) This study will make clear to us the results at-

tained from the time of Liberation to this day, will explain in a dialectical way the development of education and culture from one level to a higher one, closely connected with the various stages through which the construction of socialism has passed in our country, and will detect deficiencies and define our current needs.

2) It will determine, in a scientific way, the forms, methods and steps we have to take, along with the economic development, to raise the general culture of the masses to a more or less defined level, to fulfil the needs of the economy for middle technical cadres up to a defined level, and likewise, the needs of our economy, education, and culture for higher cadres up to a defined level.

3) If, for example, we call this the first stage of development then, in order to advance to the second, more advanced stage, many of the forms, methods and measures that were useful in the first stage, will not fully serve our purpose for the second, because this requires improved methods and measures, since our economy and the people involved in it will have been raised to a higher level and achieved a higher degree of qualification.

Many forms of school will be discontinued and will have to be replaced with more specialized ones. In our country today, people are no longer illiterate, they have completed their 8-year schooling, or those who have not done so, have been through special courses and schools, plus their experience of life and the Party's ideological-political work, and all this has brought about changes in them as radical as the advances in the construction of socialism.

Thus, from one stage to another, our school, like everything else, will undergo changes in form, structure and content. One thing alone will never change: the backbone of it — the Marxist-Leninist materialist philosophy,

which will always guide it in all directions and in all its transformations.

Therefore, first and foremost, using all means and methods, the Party must teach Marxism-Leninism — the science which lights the way to all sciences, to everybody: pupils, teachers, professors, the people, workers, peasants, old and young.

Thorough knowledge of Marxist-Leninist philosophy, of dialectical and historical materialism by the students, teachers and professors must be our concern, and in this connection we must revise the textbooks, forms and methods of work. The sciences, including natural, exact, social sciences, etc., in short, everything which is taught in schools, must be placed entirely on firm Marxist-Leninist foundations. A radical re-examination of textbooks with a view to purging them is one of our most serious duties, which we must not imagine the teachers alone can do well. Textbooks must be considered an important field in which the line of the Party, its policy, present aims and programs and preparations for the future are concretized. Our new socialist school is inconceivable with textbooks of any kind in which the bourgeois idealist world outlook co-exists with the Marxist-Leninist world outlook. We must make no concessions to bourgeois idealist philosophy and, least of all, to theology.

There are many things we have to set on the right track. I have said at other times that our textbooks contain a lot of superfluous matter, but I must explain this a little, because it seems to me that, in practice, this is being interpreted narrowly, being oversimplified, because there is a tendency to chop off subjects, left and right.

Let us take science. It has made great progress. To chop off any of the sciences at random and without

criterion is not scientific; it means to underrate science. Nature must be studied profoundly in a revolutionary way. In this direction everything must be expressed absolutely clearly in our textbooks; science must be liberated completely from theology. Through the development and progress of science we explain materialism and dialectics which we must exert every effort to impart to the students, teachers and professors, because in this way they will be able to understand the theory of development in its full scope.

I have heard that our teachers have taken up for discussion the question of whether the Linnean theory should be upheld, whether all the classifications of Linnaeus (2) should be retained or should be curtailed. This discussion is positive, but it will be more so when these amendments to Linnaeus' theory, or to any other theory, are made in the light of materialist dialectics, that is to say, discarding those things which the further development of botany or any other science and materialist dialectics have proved to be superfluous or incorrect. And they should not go about it like those who say simply: «Why do we need this or that?» The methods of these scientists have attained a certain degree of perfection and only the ignorant can eliminate them with a stroke of the pen. Boys and girls attending schools — and let us not forget or underrate this — should learn true theory and science, because in this way they will get a better grasp of the theory of the relativity of human knowledge, a continuously developing reflection of matter.

Some say simply: «Why do we need these things at all?» But such people do not understand that without learning these things, without dealing with them in various forms, from the lowest to the highest, it is impos-

2 Swedish naturalist, author of the classification of plants and animals.

sible to impart a materialist philosophical world outlook to our people of socialism, and far from advancing, we shall fall back and be overwhelmed by ignorance, theology and bourgeois philosophy. Lenin expressed the idea that without sound philosophical arguments, neither natural science nor materialism are able to withstand the pressure of bourgeois ideas and the revival of the bourgeois world outlook. Our scientists of socialism must apply themselves patiently to study and be the most ardent supporters of Marxist philosophy, in short, must be dialectical materialists.

The programs are of decisive importance in schools of every category. Differentiated programs must be drawn up for every kind of school that will be established, and the respective textbooks must be revised or re-written. Parallel with this we must also give serious consideration to the problem of training new cadres and raising the qualification of the existing ones. This is a matter of primary importance, for it will be these cadres who, having grasped the programs well, will apply them in our different schools. Their training must not be left to routine, but for them, too, it is a matter of discipline, of schooling.

Therefore, the commission which I propose, should set up sub-commissions of specialists in the respective subjects, and their work should be guided by sound criteria and aided and supervised by the central commission, not once in a blue moon, but at definite periods.

There are many different kinds of programs. I am not competent to speak about them but I think that, in addition to correct political and ideological orientations, there must be an organic connection over the whole range of the subjects taught in various classes, without a single break or mechanical repetition. I think that in this way, if the text is clear, simple and complete, the student will

forget nothing during his schooling, and he will thus be able to build the knowledge imparted to him on a sound basis. When these connections have been well built organically, they will not be damaged by the necessary culling of subjects which will be done at each stage of schooling or even in each class, or by putting the subjects on sound foundations in the light of dialectical and historical materialism, which makes absolutely essential both the culling and the organic links, both the clarity and the accuracy of whatever science it may be.

Any fear of lack of comprehensive erudition, which some people may raise, should not bother us at all, because we must give people this necessary erudition progressively, and, if we build school programs and texts in the way I just pointed out, the students will acquire a sound, broad and relatively complete culture and school education. They will keep many things in their heads, indeed more than when the aim is to impart to them an immense erudition which does not fit into the time available and does not match the development of their intellect and practical knowledge. Thus, our language experts, whether linguistic scientists or teaching specialists, must combat the tendency to teach pupils the Albanian language in an academic way, by stuffing their heads with all sorts of categories, with the aim of giving them superfluous, dry, abstract knowledge, of no use in practical life. Linguistic science must give the school greater assistance so that the pupils gain a sounder foundation and greater ability in the practical use of the living language.

The acquisition of erudition requires a longer time, more profound studies, and greater specialization than any school cycle can provide. Nevertheless, a person who has been through the regular school cannot be considered ignorant: the more so as in the course of life he will learn many other things, will extend his knowledge. Hence the

foundations of studies, programs, textbooks, the various experiments and the struggle in life to put this knowledge into practice and to enrich it with further learning are important. We must attach importance to the programs and textbooks of all schools for all subjects.

In addition to the things I mentioned above, we must attach particular importance to the sciences, to physics, mathematics, chemistry, to the specialized sciences like medicine, geology, mechanics, and so on. All these sciences must be taught well and, in order to teach them well, not only must textbooks be clear and the program well integrated all through the whole cycle of school and university, but the teacher must master the subject well. too.

The main principle, then is that our dialectical materialist concepts should run through the textbooks, programs and teaching, so that through these sciences the pupil, the student and the teacher himself form their communist world outlook and see the development and practical application of these sciences from the angle of materialist dialectics.

Special attention must be paid in schools to history and geography, too, first and foremost of our country, but also of the world, since there is a tendency not to give them adequate attention. This tendency must be combated.

It is absolutely necessary that we know the history of our people in the light of historical materialism, therefore the textbooks and programs of this subject must be re-examined with a critical eye.

The same applies to the history of the peoples of the world. To this end. I think radical changes must be made in textbooks and programs and new ones compiled in a planned way and within set time limits, since the old ones have been borrowed from abroad and, most of them, particularly those of the higher schools, have been com-

piled on political and ideological criteria inappropriate for our new socialist school. Correct proportions in their descriptions of history do not exist in them and the organic connection which we need to give the teaching of this subject, the history of the development of human society, from the viewpoint of historical materialism, is lost. Therefore, there is a lot of work to be done in this direction, in regard to quality, content, politics and ideology, as well as volume.

The teaching of the geography of our country is of major importance and, if it is underrated, the source of this manifestation must be sought in the concepts of foreign schools, in the influence of oppressive regimes both of local reactionaries and of foreign invaders, who were interested in preventing our people from knowing their own country, so they would not love it and link themselves with it. Therefore, impelled by all these things, the teaching of the geography of Albania was done in a formal, extremely simplified way, listing rivers and mountains, etc. It is absolutely necessary to change this situation completely in our programs, texts, teaching methods, and so on. The geography of our country, physical, political and economic, must be turned into a real science so that, during the whole school cycle, our people become fully acquainted with our Homeland, its development and prospects, that they know it and touch it, for it is on this land that they live, work and create. The geography lesson should be one of the most lively and most interesting; the lesson in the book should be linked with the terrain, the fields, the mountains, the rivers and the livestock. What vast prospects such a lesson in the geography of our country opens up! It is linked with the tempering of patriotism and love for the country, with the economy, agriculture and industry; it helps in the training of good geologists, engineers and agronomists for the future, develops health, sports and tourism. If we conceive

geography in connection with all of these things and if we know that we must link the teaching of geography in schools with nature, with the land, then we will reach the right conclusion that we must make qualitative changes in this subject.

Major changes should be made also in the teaching of world geography, which in the forms and proportions it is being taught in our schools at present, is unsuitable for us.

The revision of textbooks from this angle means work on pure scientific foundations, work which, from the primary schools to the university and beyond, links theory and practice properly, for practice helps theory and theory helps and guides practice. If this organic connection is made properly, then we shall be able to serve the present and, at the same time, prepare for the future.

The revision of textbooks from the angle of materialist dialectics must be done for all kinds of schools which we decide upon, while the adaptation of subjects for each type of school or course of high or low level must be done separately, so that they respond to the needs for which that type of school has been opened, and the educational level of those who attend it. In general, however, I think that these adaptations must always follow well-studied, scientific criteria and conform to certain given orientations, and not work one against another, subtracting 10 hours from this and adding 20 hours to that. This should be avoided.

I have spoken a little about the sciences. Now I wish to say a few words about how this purge of science textbooks must be done and new ones compiled. Since we want our textbooks compiled from the viewpoint of materialist dialectics, they cannot be compiled by people who are not competent and have philosophical outlooks alien to Marxism-Leninism. He who is to work in drawing up the new textbooks must not only be well acquainted

with Marxist-Leninist philosophy, but must also feel it and know how to apply it, in short, to materialize it in text-books, to link it with life. I am not referring here only to the technicians and scientists from the old schools who, in general, have a good political stand, are devoted to the Party, to the people and to socialism, but who, willy-nilly, remain bound with the threads of bourgeois idealist ideology, indeed this must be said even of our young cadres of higher training who have graduated from our state University. We have many specialists who, although they have graduated from higher schools, where they have learned philosophy and have been working for some years at the base, are still unable to link their knowledge with life, have not yet achieved what the Party requires, that, as genuine materialists, they should be militants and draw revolutionary philosophical conclusions, as Lenin says.

Then what should we do about the problem I am raising? A close collaboration of teachers of these subjects and scientists, men of literature and Marxist-Leninist philosophy must be organized under the direction of the Central Committee of the Party and the Ministry of Education and Culture. But this major basic work must not be left to the teachers and professors alone, no matter that they are competent, no matter that they may be party members. The problem here is that they do not master Marxist-Leninist philosophy properly.

If we take the social sciences and, particularly, literature, which is dealt with in the schools of all profiles, we shall find very serious things, although many communist comrades have had a hand in it and the Party has devoted major attention to it. If we look carefully into the way our own and foreign literature are handled both in school and out of school (and this we must study in detail in the light of our philosophy), we shall see not only weaknesses, irre-

gularities, disproportions, amateurism, unhealthy enthusiasm and erudition, but also grave mistakes which cost us dear and which will cost us dearer yet if we do not correct them. In this question, we see the reflection of the philosophical views of the bourgeois school, the individual sympathies of one or the other according to his inclinations, according to the school and culture with which he has been moulded, since he has not yet succeeded in cleaning the «Augean stables» completely. All these ideas and views of which he has not rid himself thoroughly, all the sympathies or passions of his cumbersome and confused erudition for a local or foreign author, he transmits in school or in life through lessons, lectures, conferences, articles and books he writes. This constitutes a great danger and, if we fail to put this matter in order, we will have made concessions to bourgeois philosophy and allowed it to fight us openly and almost officially on our own ground.

The epoch of our Renaissance is a democratic revolutionary epoch, of great importance in the history and literature of our people, an epoch enlightened and guided by the illuminist ideas of our most outstanding men of that period, which has rightly been called the rebirth of the nation, its emergence from mediaeval-feudal and imperialist darkness to light, to insurrection, to the fight for freedom, independence and democracy, for enlightenment and education.

In one of his works Engels has written about the Renaissance, not our Renaissance, but the «Cinquecento» (the period of the second half of the 16th century). He says it was a brilliant epoch which brought forth prominent men, not only artists and painters but also scientists and philosophers who were burned at the stake by the church, physicists, astronomers and others who burst asunder the heavy mediaeval darkness, destroyed faiths and systems and gave a further impulse to economic, cultural and scientific development. But the analysis Engels makes of the epoch of

the Renaissance is a materialist dialectical analysis and not an idealist one, since the impulse the men of the Renaissance imparted to society was neither complete nor perfect, it would be transformed and developed further and local and general upheavals would occur in the development of human society and in the various sciences. New or complementary laws would emerge and, as Lenin says, these upheavals

*«in most cases give birth to major and minor reactionary philosophical schools and trends»**

And only our materialist philosophy can disperse the fog of them and ward off the damage they bring.

It is precisely from this angle that our Party has viewed the epoch of our Renaissance, which must be re-examined more thoroughly from the viewpoint of dialectical materialism, so that this period will be transmitted to the school children, students, teachers, professors, and the people as clearly and correctly as possible, analyzed in a Marxist-Leninist way from both the social and economic, and the educational, cultural and historical angles, and not to suit the inclinations of this or that individual. This must be done in this way.

The men of our Renaissance must be seen in the proper perspective, in the epoch in which they lived, worked and fought; their ideas, which were the product of the development of society of that epoch, and their immediate and long-term aims must be brought out. If matters are presented in this correct way, it will emerge that the men of our Renaissance were outstanding people with progressive ideas, were courageous revolutionary illuminists, burning with ardent love for their country.

* V .I. Lenin, «On the Importance of Militant Materialism», Collected Works, vol. 33. p. 254 (Alb. ed.).

They fought with rifle and pen for the freedom and independence of the people, for their awakening. All of these are their great positive aspects. All these attributes and characteristics of the Renaissance and of the men who led it we must present to the people.

But we must not forget for one moment that these men of our Renaissance also have their negative aspects, which must be subjected to our Marxist-Leninist criticism. Their weaknesses lie in their philosophical concepts which are idealist. This is a heavy impediment, it is the philosophy of their epoch which is in contradiction and struggle with our ideology.

Should we keep quiet about this antagonism, about this merciless, life-and-death struggle we Marxists wage against idealist philosophy, against religion and religious beliefs? Should we consider the ideas of the men of our Renaissance inviolable, taboo, just because they have expressed them? Can we co-exist with these ideas at a time when we are waging a stern fight against theology, religion, the churches and mosques, the priests and hodjas? Can we exalt those parts of the work of Naim Frashëri where he expresses his Bektashi philosophy, or of Mjeda where he speaks of Christian theology, or of Çajup where he says, for example, that Baba Tomorri is «the throne of God», etc. and feed all this to the people as ideological nutriment, simply because they are men of our Renaissance, great men who laid the bases of and developed our written language, because their political verses are beautiful and rich in delightful figures?

No, as Marxists and in the interest of the people and socialism, we must combat these negative aspects. In ideology we cannot make concessions to the beauty of verse or the language. The assessment Engels made of Luther's language as the basis of the German literary language did not in any way prevent him from judging the role of the

Reform, before and after the Peasant Revolt in Germany, in its true light and exposing it as reactionary.

Therefore, for us, too, the question of textbooks on all these subjects, and especially on literature, within and outside the school, must be subjected to a thorough analysis and examination from the angle of our philosophy.

The question I raise about the men of our Renaissance must be understood and solved correctly. It is impermissible and not Marxist to obscure this epoch. We must make selections on sound criteria from the works of the authors of our Renaissance for the different categories of schools and the public, eliminating the negative passages without hesitation, for if you give the children of the 8-year schools poems and writings of an author of our Renaissance in which he speaks of God, and on the other hand you praise this author highly, then you have also exalted his idealist, deistic or polydeistic philosophy. No matter how much you criticize it, the school child will not understand you, will not understand what you are eulogizing and what you are criticizing. In the higher schools, however, their texts can be more extensive, but never without serious Marxist-Leninist criticism of their idealist views.

On the other hand, we must be on our guard against the idealization and cult of the men of our Renaissance. We must view this question from the angle of our Marxist-Leninist philosophy. Since the time of our Renaissance, colossal changes have taken place in our country in the economic, social, cultural and educational fields. Albania is no longer what it used to be, nor are its economy, culture, education, language, regime, politics or ideology. According to the law of materialist dialectics, everything has changed and is in the process of change. If you do not keep all these changes in mind, if you exalt one and forget the others, if you live only with the old and forget the new, if you think that the old alone

should influence the new and that the new plays a minor role, then you are heading into a blind alley. While bearing these things in mind, we must combat any tendency to belittle the literature of the period of people's power. The doors of our schools should be flung open wide to this new literature of socialist realism, for it reflects the sentiments and efforts of a glorious new epoch and can and should assist the all-round education of the masses with the lofty ideals of socialist and communist society.

The other periods of the development in thinking, in science and literature, in art and music which are portrayed in textbooks, should also be examined with these same criteria. As I said earlier, in the textbooks these must be complete, but we must not permit the exaggerated mania of certain prominent erudites who are unduly keen to teach pupils, within a short period, all these things which they themselves took a whole lifetime to learn.

This, I think, should not be interpreted to mean that we have no need for eminent scholars, for great experts. On the contrary, we have great need for them, they are the well of science and knowledge and through them we will multiply and qualify our higher cadres, but we should not mix up the stages of development. A very learned person has and must find the possibilities to make his teaching very understandable to the university student without over-loading him, while he should know how to increase the dose for the specialist sent to him for further qualification.

As to world literature, I think that it has long been in a chaotic and very dangerous state in our schools and among the public. Although some improvements have been made during the last two or three years, the situation is still disturbing. In this field there is a lack of sound criteria; and where these exist or have been defined, they have been distorted, bastardized. Therefore the Cen-

tral Committee of the Party must take this seriously in hand, for there are matters of principle which must be forcefully asserted and the supervision of their implementation must be well organized. Someone takes a fancy to a novel, translates it and wants it published; if the translator is some personality and the novel a «classic», it is printed and fed to the public, regardless of the ideas expressed in it. On the other hand, this same translator will deliver a lecture on behalf of the Party, attacking the ideas of the novel he has translated. He is not bothered by his own inconsistency, nor is the Publishing House which overfulfils its plan.

We must supply the people and the younger generation with school textbooks and other books, not to confuse them and corrupt them spiritually but to help them know the development of society and, at the same time, to arm them with our ideology. Foreign literature is a wide and varied field. A careful selection of what we need in this field is feasible, but also difficult. The people who are to make this selection must have extensive culture and well-formed Marxist-Leninist views. These people must have a good grasp of what is needed, not as a whole, but in separate categories. While translating and publishing foreign literature, they should have a clear idea of the definite aims and intentions of our Party. In this important and delicate problem we should not allow snobbery, individual tastes, or unhealthy predilections, nor should we allow nihilism, merely saying, «we have no need of it at all». No, we need it, but we shall take as much of it as will help our mental, artistic and cultural development.

Every nation has its own literature, and this is made up of a variety of schools of thought, in the various phases of its development and decadence. The bourgeoisie has created and is creating its own literature

with major and minor writers, poets, musicians, artists, etc. some of whom have withstood the test of time while some have trickled away to obscurity. But it is unthinkable that we should translate them «en bloc», as if «we cannot do without them», or as if we cannot be abreast of the times without them, as some may claim. We should select among the most progressive, and most revolutionary books and the authors who have written about the most revolutionary moments, so that they will illustrate to our reader what he has learned about the history of peoples, about their class struggle, and about the development of their progressive thought. Such writers, poets and artists exist, but we should never forget that we will not find all we want or in the way we want it in them, because even in these progressive or revolutionary authors we shall find the reflection, to some degree, if not complete, of bourgeois ideas about life and the prevailing ideas of the period in which the authors lived.

Then how should we proceed in this matter? I think we should not be guided by the mania that we must give the school children, the youth and the public a novel to devour whole, even when this novel has three good parts and five bad. In this case, we can and should give them selected parts, precisely the three good ones, without neglecting to make our criticism of the book as a whole. I think that to perform this delicate task well, we must always, in every step we take, consider whether and to what extent it serves the formation and education of our people, whether it assists or damages what the Party is building every day and every hour. Because if, on one hand, we wage a persistent daily struggle to eliminate petty-bourgeois survivals from the minds of people, or combat the influence of religion and superstitions day by day

and, on the other hand, we give our people books by world famous authors in which they serve up these ideas «sugar-coated», then, with our own hands, we demolish by night what we build by day.

These criteria, I think, should be followed also regarding the literature in the University, instead of following the inclinations of individual professors and loading the programs with the works of Aristophanes, as a criticism by a student which I read in the newspaper «Studenti» quite rightly said. The philosophy of our Party, materialist philosophy, should prevail in all the programs of the University, as well as in deciding their structure, in compiling textbooks, in the forms and methods of teaching.

I stress once again that the study of Marxist philosophy must be one of our major concerns, because if we do not know and master it we cannot construct these things in the way I have just mentioned. But I think that this important basic study is being conducted by old, stereotyped formalist methods borrowed from the Soviet school, unenlivened and unrefreshed with the vivid, militant experience of our Party and the construction of socialism in our country. I think also that this important study of materialist philosophy is not properly linked and coordinated with the other subjects, since the structure of the programs and the way lessons are taught in the practice of various departments of the university leave a lot to be desired in this direction.

The genuine materialist world-outlook must be created among our intellectuals, in general, and among the students and professors, in particular. Their study of Marxist-Leninist theory must follow a number of parallel courses in order to arrive at the point of their Marxist-Leninist philosophical formation.

The first course is that of teaching dialectical and historical materialism as one of the most important separate subjects. This study should be conducted in a serious way, with appropriate, understandable forms. In other words, all the materialist philosophical syntheses formulated by our great classics should be taught, and illustrated with the struggle and practice of our Party and the international communist movement. Hence, the method in which we teach the Marxist philosophy today must be retained and perfected, and the current Soviet attempt to eliminate Marxism-Leninism as a guiding science and reduce it to the status of «logic» must be exposed and condemned as revisionist. This must be the solid foundation of the teaching of our philosophy, which is the theory that gives us our bearings and guides us.

The second course or means, which re-enforces the first and opens clear vistas for its practical application and use as a compass or guide, is that all the textbooks, lectures, teaching methods and conduct of experiments and practical work must be done, reconstructed and developed in conformity with our theory. They should be illustrated and explained, step by step, in the light of our theory, so that the student and professor, the teacher and pupil can see concretely, in theory and practice, that the genuine and correct development of the sciences advances on the course of progress only when it is guided and enlightened by dialectical and historical materialism.

The third, just as important, course, is the active participation of the pupils, students and teachers in the political and economic problems of the country, while they are still being formed in schools and the university, since in this way they emerge from the study of books and laboratory practice into active revolutionary life, where the basic principles of our Marxist-Leninist materialist philosophy are put into practice in a great

variety of creative ways, yielding concrete results that can be seen and touched.

While every aspect of teaching and education must be organically permeated by the ideology and policy of our Party, this must be achieved together with the Marxist-Leninist principle of linking lessons with work and the polytechnization of the school. We took some steps in this direction as far back as the Plenum of the Central Committee of our Party in 1960, when we reorganized our schools on the basis of this principle. During recent years and in the revolutionary atmosphere of the whole life of our country, these steps are being enriched with new forms, initiatives and experiments. We shall continually extend and intensify this work.

These three main courses must be well combined.

For the first, which our great classics have left us as a colossal heritage, we must perfect our methods of work and study; for the second, we have a great deal to do and must embark on this process with great care and in a revolutionary way; for the third, we have already started but we must extend, complete and perfect this process.

I wish to say a few words also about the method and style of work of teachers and professors.

Our socialist school requires a new, revolutionary method and style of work from teachers and professors, and to achieve this the teachers themselves must be revolutionaries, must be educated in this way so that they, in turn, can educate the pupils and students. The programs and textbooks constructed in this spirit and with the new methods will teach the teachers and educators themselves in this way. There is no doubt about that, but this will be insufficient if they shut themselves up within their ivory tower, in the world of their school, and

do not feel and temper themselves as active participants in the vigorous revolutionary development of our socialist society. If they do not live and act in this way, regardless of the textbooks and programs, they will not be militants, innovators and revolutionaries in their method and style of work, but will be overcome by routine, formalism, stereotypism, and their method and style of teaching will be flabby, lifeless, and will turn into that style and method of the bourgeois school which does not fail to give prescriptions which, pretending to be «didactic», or to come from a «pedagogy with experience», are anti-dialectical, non-revolutionary, reactionary and static.

The methods and style of teaching comprise one of the main skills of teachers and professors, who must become competent and improve these skills. We would find it difficult and would be wrong to issue prescriptions, and the teachers and professors, likewise, would be wrong to think that their method and style of work have reached perfection and should be taken as a perfect model for all. The good experience in this direction should be publicized, but the work and struggle, the improvement of abilities, will create still better methods and styles of work. There are no limits to perfection. Therefore, I think this important problem should not be shackled with formalism and stereotypes but should be in continuous development. This should not be taken to mean amateurism, but improvement based firmly on the existing programs and textbooks. The example to follow is that of the worker who is an innovator and a revolutionary in his work, who produces with his lathe the detail required, as near perfect as possible, and not something which is not required or which is the product of a sick imagination. The good method and style of work must serve the overall aim.

Everything will be done well when the teacher and

professor thoroughly master their subject. Apart from this, there can be no good method and style of work either for the worker, or for the teacher and professor. Once a teacher masters his subject well, he will be able to gauge the cultural level of his students, their inclinations and psychology, because this will impel him to deepen his knowledge of subjects, to keep modifying the style and method of his work to comply with the situation, and he will thus arrive at that stage of his method which he will consider perfect.

Such a method of work will oblige the teacher and professor (and here they will prove themselves revolutionary and enterprising) to use different forms for the presentation of the subject, a variety of forms that will take them far from stereotypism, dogmatism, formalism, etc. It is only in this way, I think, that they will not be afraid of questions asked by the pupils and students, or the latter of the questions asked by the teachers and professors. This will create a vigorous life in the school and a suitable community of pure, modest, revolutionary feelings in the process of the interchange of ideas between the pupils and the teacher and of imparting the teacher's knowledge to the pupils.

The verbosity and unhealthy «academism» of a teacher are nothing but a mania and a pronounced weakness, behind which lies the weakness of his knowledge of the subject and the tendency to hide this from the pupils. A teacher of this type resorts to such methods to conceal the void in his «knowledge» and cover it up with meaningless verbiage. This, sometimes of course, creates a false situation between the educator and students, is a stumbling block to the complete education of the pupils who grow inattentive and try to escape from boredom by talking, making noise, or scribbling on their notebooks. The teacher with a poor method of work and inad-

equate preparation blames all these acts of misconduct, which are caused by an objective situation, subjectively on the pupils, on their lack of discipline, lack of education, etc. To correct this situation which seems to him abnormal, this teacher, being incapable of making a self-critical analysis of his own work and feeling superior to the students in all respects, resorts to misplaced coercive «pedagogical» methods, with the emphasis on «authoritarianism», formal discipline, the force of marks, unhealthy antipathies, spiteful acts — all of them anti-educational and anti-pedagogical and contrary to sound teaching principles. The Party should take account of these and many other matters in the political, ideological and methodological education of teachers and professors who have been entrusted with a major task.

While we give our fullest support to the more extensive application of the line of the masses in the development of education and the work of our schools, and in this context, give the fullest encouragement to the initiative of schools and rank-and-file teachers to apply the teaching programs in a creative way, to use textbooks creatively and to view them with a critical eye, to perform experiments, we must insist that these initiatives should always be based on the policy for education laid down by the Party which embodies the principle of democratic centralism...

Life is a great school and the school itself is nothing but a component part of life. Therefore, the school should be closely and harmoniously combined with the activities, the work and the thinking of man, should serve him in life and serve society as a whole. The socialist society and the future communist society which the Party is building and preparing, have their own laws and rules of development, of revolutionary transformations in each period and at each stage, laws and rules which we

should know, learn, master and apply consistently.

Preparations are necessary in everything, both before the action, in the course of the action and even after it; we build the present but, at the same time, we look ahead and prepare for the future. In all this process of development, not peaceful, not spontaneous, but revolutionary development, the struggle of opposites creates progress and the dialectical development of opposites brings about those qualitative transformations which lead our society from a high stage to a still higher one. In this great revolution the decisive role is played by the masses, led by the communist party of the proletariat and its Marxist-Leninist ideology. Thus, through its ideology, the Party must make the broad masses of people conscious of this role, educate them from every aspect and make them capable of knowing, mastering and applying the laws of nature properly, and of turning them to the material advantage of man and society. Therefore, the school along with the other activities of men, is an important stage.

In building socialism, the major objective of the Party is to form and temper the new communist man with a sound Marxist-Leninist political and theoretical outlook, with the Marxist-Leninist ethics, zest and taste and the militant, revolutionary, Marxist-Leninist spirit of daring to create and carry things through. Our new man must find the line of the Party and its philosophy materialized in this revolutionary struggle for formation and transformation, in this battle for education and re-education, in this clash of opposites, in the class struggle, of the new with the old. At every moment, from his birth till his death, wherever he works, creates and thinks, wherever he sets his foot or lays his head he should find the materialization of the line of the Party and its philosophy, he should understand the policy and the theory of the Par-

ty and the practical application of its line, should draw philosophical and practical conclusions from these achievements, should arm himself and forge ahead with multiplied energies, conscious at all times that all these are his achievements, the achievements of the masses of the people led by their Party and its materialist philosophy.

Losing one's bearings, or losing the track, as our people say, in any of these matters spells defeat. No sector or sub-sector of social activity can be underrated or developed in isolation from the others or in anarchy in regard to the whole. Undoubtedly, there will be inequalities in the development of this sector, or that there will be progress and retrogression, but these will be problems of growth, of development, and we should never allow them to spring from political and ideological deviations.

One of the major causes of the catastrophe which befell the Bolshevik Party of Lenin and Stalin after the latter's death is this unevenness in the understanding and proper application of the line in all fields, the sclerosis of the theoretical and organizational principles of the Party, failure to wage the class struggle in a radical, continuous and consistent way, along with bureaucracy and many other factors which have been the topic of many previous studies and analyses of our Party and which need not be enlarged on here. In short, the Khrushchevite modern revisionists seized power, liquidated the Party as the Party of the working class, eliminated its Marxist ideology and replaced it with idealist ideology, and are turning the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat into a bourgeois state with a capitalist economy.

The modern revisionists have wrecked the Soviet school and are turning it into a bourgeois school in order to create an anti-communist younger generation as a prop

of the capitalist regime which they have restored in their country.

In conclusion, we must not for one moment forget all these situations, these dangers; we must have clear heads and an iron fist against the enemies of the people, of the Party and of socialism; we must be clear about the role of the masses and the colossal importance of the younger generation, which strengthens the present and guarantees the future, we must never forget that in all this great struggle which the Party is waging with success, the struggle to succeed in building a new socialist school is one of our greatest and most delicate tasks, and we are fully convinced that our Party will emerge from this struggle with success, as it always does in everything.

*«Reports and speeches
1967-1968»*

THE BUDAPEST CARNIVALS

Article published in the newspaper «Zëri i popullit»

March 15, 1968

February is carnival month in a number of countries. People disguised in all sorts of fancy costumes amuse themselves by playing the most diverse roles. The carnival sponsors draw large profits from these performances. However, in history, there are carnivals and carnivals.

Voltaire, the renowned French thinker and author of the 18th century, wrote about the carnivals of Venice. He put various dethroned kings in the role of clowns and poured scorn on their ridiculous dreams and desires. This is a well-known work in the history of world literature.

The present-day world knows another kind of carnival, the Budapest carnivals. Precisely in the month of February, during carnival week, the modern revisionists, dressed up in various disguises, met in the Hungarian capital.

The Khrushchevite revisionists had gone to great pains in their preparations for the revisionist meeting in Budapest. Even before it opened, the first signs became apparent that this meeting would not serve the hegemony so greatly desired by the Soviet revisionist leaders. Under pressure from their partners, the Soviets were unwillingly

compelled to make certain liberal opportunist concessions on the eve of the conference and publicly declared, through a speech delivered by Brezhnev in Leningrad, that Moscow was no longer «the leading centre of world communism», that the unity which the Soviet leaders were seeking was allegedly based on the idea of «proletarian internationalism», on the «struggle against American imperialism», and was in the general interests of «socialist construction».

Of course, they covered all this with a «fig leaf» by posing as the real bearers of Marxism-Leninism which will be applied according to the individual interpretation and «specific» conditions of each revisionist party. These were the «conditions» imposed on the Soviet revisionists for the participation in the meeting of a group of revisionists who pose as autonomous and allegedly as the most «revolutionary» among the revisionists. Indeed this group, in announcing its decision to attend the meeting, also presented its own theses: no party should interfere in the internal affairs of other parties, no party has a right to criticize the actions of other parties which are «fully entitled» to interpret and implement Marxism-Leninism as they wish, to suit their own fancy.

These ideas not only go beyond the revisionist idea of Togliatti's polycentrism, but even suggest that each party should become a centre in itself. In other words, this means that not only one and two interpretations of our revolutionary theory will be permitted, but even dozens, if not hundreds of them. It is obvious that the aim of such ideas is to attack Marxism-Leninism from all sides, to sow great ideological confusion, to disorientate the political, ideological, military and organizational struggle of peoples, and to discredit the socialist system and communism.

Thus, even before the meeting, behind the scenes, in

principle and in practice, the following main question was put forward: should they go into battle against Marxism-Leninism by the classical methods and under the hegemony of the Soviet revisionists, or should they reject both the classical methods and the Soviet hegemony and adopt «newer, quicker and more reliable» methods to smash and completely disintegrate the communist movement? The latter viewpoint was strongly supported by Tito, Longo and the «autonomists». Apparently it was very attractive also to the new liberal groups of revisionists who have just come to power. The partisans of one or the other thesis had their own supporters who canvassed for them behind the scenes and on the stage at Budapest, during the carnival week from February 26 to March 5.

The Soviet revisionists failed in their fundamental aim, which was to force the Budapest meeting to take up as the main problem that which is worrying them more than anything else: the total mobilization of all the revisionist parties obedient to them in the fight against the Party of Labour of Albania and other Marxist-Leninist parties. Only the solution of this problem could relieve the Soviets of a heavy burden on their backs, which is also the main cause of the further deepening of the split within the revisionist front.

According to the Soviet revisionist leaders, the fight against the Marxist-Leninist parties can have no success without the unity of all the revisionists and without the hegemony of the Soviet leaders in this fight. This is what Khrushchev sought and failed to achieve through the meeting of the communist parties which he proposed in 1964; his successors also tried to achieve this at the revisionist meetings in Moscow in March 1965 and in Karlovy Vary. They failed in both instances and things went from bad to worse. Therefore, to extricate themselves

from this situation, at Budapest the Moscow revisionist clique left no stone unturned to force the others to agree to the holding as soon as possible in Moscow of a meeting of the revisionist parties which, they hoped, would take the «decisions» they most desired, that is, the co-ordination of the fight of the modern revisionists under the leadership of the Soviets against Marxism-Leninism.

The Budapest meeting, which its sponsors hoped would be a meeting of revisionist unity, became a meeting of splits, quarrels and the further degeneration of the revisionists. The Budapest discussions brought out in the open that not everybody conceived the future meeting in Moscow as the Soviet revisionists desired it, and that, although they had given it their approval, their various opponents have not renounced the aim of defending their own narrow interests, of fighting the Soviet leaders and imposing their own views on others. The preparatory period up to the end of this year will witness still deeper and more spectacular divisions. The Soviet revisionists will come up against opposition from the most diverse quarters, because the other opposing revisionists do not want such a meeting and are in no hurry to hold it. The participation of the so-called big revisionist parties is more than indispensable to the Soviets, although they claim that they will hold the meeting irrespective of who absents himself. Everybody understands that they cannot hold the meeting they yearn for only with the «party» of Guadeloupe, with Larbi Buhali,(1)Koliyannis,(2)or with any other permanent

1 Secretary of the Communist Party of Algeria, menial servant of Khrushchev. At the time when the Algerian people were shedding their blood for the freedom of the country, Buhali, who lived in the Soviet Union, passed his time in amusements.

2 Then First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Greek Communist Party.

resident of the Moscow hotels, for this would be an irreparable catastrophe for them.

Certain revisionists, who have interests opposed to those of the Soviet revisionists, have other objectives, they want to intensify the fight against the Marxist-Leninist parties, but with their own forms and methods and without the Soviet hegemony, to strengthen their ties and relations with the bourgeois capitalist states, to reach agreements with the social-democrats and the other bourgeois parties, to take a direct part in governing the country on the road of capitalist exploitation, etc. Therefore, these revisionists are not in favour of the sort of meeting the Soviet revisionist leaders advocate, but want a meeting without definite aims, allegedly to «exchange opinions», to become better acquainted with what one or the other thinks about this or that problem, and all this should be done publicly, allegedly in the most «democratic» forms.

To these revisionists, those «democratic» and «open» forms of debate genuinely express their concrete plans and daily work for the achievement of the objectives we mentioned above. On these questions, too, they want to assert officially that bourgeois democracy is the objective of their efforts, and the «free and well-informed bourgeois press» is, so to speak, the embellishment of their line of the «specific», «democratic» parliamentary road, in order to establish friendship with the capitalist bourgeoisie and come to power.

On the other hand, the «independence» of these parties is by no means to the liking of the Soviet revisionists who, leaving aside their hypocritical statements imposed by the circumstances, will do everything in their power, will use every form of pressure and blackmail to clamp down on the dissidents. Blackmail and economic pressure, the stirring up of trouble within dis-

obedient parties and countries, the incitement of territorial claims in those countries where they exist, etc., are the usual weapons which Soviet revisionism resorts to in order to intimidate others and impose its views on them.

Naturally, these weapons are not always ineffective, but the results cannot be to the advantage of the Soviet revisionists all the time and in all countries. The general trend is not favourable to them, and the number of dissidents and opponents of the Soviet hegemony in the revisionist camp is steadily increasing. However, despite all the failures they have suffered and are suffering, the Soviet revisionists will continue to use these favourite weapons whenever they can. In this respect they have the advantage of their economic potential and the bonds and chains which they have forged for their satellites, their military potential which terrifies the cowardly, and the network of agents which they have set up in the revisionist parties and the countries where they are in power.

The Soviet revisionists behave towards their satellites and clients just as American imperialism does towards its satellites and clients, whom it keeps in chains. Just as the United States sets the voting machine in motion in the United Nations, so the Soviet revisionists set the voting machine in motion in their own «United Nations», which they are seeking to call the «international communist movement». But just as capitalist cliques break away from the American dictate, just as there are those that aim a few kicks at American imperialism, so there are also revisionist cliques that break away from the Soviet revisionists. And there are some who, being unable to break away, kick out at them at times, while there are those who are permanently abject slaves.

The carnival conference of Budapest was like a basket of crabs. And the Soviet revisionists sought to

establish order there, precisely where order can never be established.

Now, after the preparatory campaign and the Budapest meeting, when the centrifugal, nationalist and dissident tendencies of various revisionist groupings have become further crystallized, the dangers for the Soviet revisionists have become more numerous and more all-sided.

The main danger, the one which worries them most and which presents them with a fresh grave problem, comes from the revisionist cliques who are in power. It must be said that now none of them likes the Soviet revisionist yoke and they will not tolerate it much longer. In one way or another they are all trying to get rid of it as quickly as possible, though keeping up appearances of their «friendship» and «alliance» as far as they are able, and aiming to extract the greatest possible economic and political advantages from the existing circumstances which compel the Soviet revisionists, under attack from all sides and in weak positions, to make concession after concession in order to pacify the «unruly children».

However, as the centrifugal tendency is rapidly mounting, the revisionist cliques in power do not present a single united front in their opposition to the Soviet hegemony and in their claims for «independence» from it. The section bent most aggressively on breaking away from and openly eroding the Soviet hegemony amongst the revisionists is, at the moment, represented by the Tito clique and its closest associates. All these, who enjoy the support and obvious encouragement of US imperialism and the big bourgeoisie of the West, interested in further weakening the Soviet positions in Eastern Europe and re-establishing their old alliances with these countries, are openly challenging the Soviet leadership and opposing it as a new contestant for the leading role, if not in all

directions, at least in the political and ideological fields, over the revisionist parties of this area.

Other new followers of Tito's example have begun to advance on this road, too, but for the time being they prefer not to exacerbate their differences with the Soviet revisionists, because this would open a new front of struggle for them at a time when they have not yet consolidated their own internal positions.

The Gomulka clan is extremely anti-Soviet but at this juncture, on account of its immediate interests, which stem especially from its policy towards Germany, it is standing closer to the Soviet revisionists, while trying to preserve the authority of an «equal» partner. Likewise, the Germans cannot fail to have major contradictions with the Soviet and all the other revisionists, but the issue of the German Democratic Republic in the context of Europe is at the mercy of the Soviet revisionists and their satellites. The other revisionist cliques of Eastern Europe are floundering in more or less similar waters.

A second danger, though less acute than the former one, threatens the Soviet revisionists from the big revisionist parties which carry out their activities legally in the capitalist countries. The Brezhnev-Kosygin cliques is making every effort and using every means to keep them on the lead rope and have their support. But even in these parties there is no unanimity about the question as to how far they should follow the Soviet revisionists, where they should part with and where they should be opposed to them. For well-known reasons the French Communist Party of Waldeck-Rochet is closest to the Soviet revisionists and spares no effort to place itself at their service somewhat more than the others. Meanwhile, the Italian revisionist party which, in comparison with the French, is like a poor relation to the Soviets, kicks out at them

a bit more and tries to appear more «independent», as though it is maintaining its own «specific» standpoint. You might say it is the Titoite party in the capitalist countries.

The remainder of the legal revisionist parties in the capitalist countries, whose existence is dependent on the goodwill of Moscow, make up a large part of the revisionist «UNO».

As regards the other revisionist parties which carry out their activities illegally in the capitalist countries, they do not cause the Soviet revisionists the slightest concern. The leaders of these parties are simply an agency of the Soviet revisionists, are totally at their service and provide an additional number of disciplined votes in the Soviet «assembly». The first and last objective of these revisionist parties is to become legal, to be permitted, through the generosity of the capitalists of their respective countries, to act in the recognized forms of the legal bourgeois minority opposition.

Like all their revisionist associates, these parties have abandoned the revolutionary road, the class struggle, the armed struggle, and have adopted Khrushchev's road of peaceful coexistence. Having betrayed Marxism-Leninism and lost any connection with the masses, they have pinned all their hopes on the support which the Soviet revisionist policy and its alliances with US imperialism and world capitalism might give them. They have now been reduced to the status of the scum of revisionism, a revisionist «bohemia» willing to sell itself for a penny. The Soviet revisionists desire the legalization of this contingent of agents, with whom they act as they please, as soon as possible. This was the aim of the directive of the Soviet and Greek revisionists, that all the Greek emigres, communist or not, should go back to Greece openly, at the time when Venizelos and his ilk were ruling there. The revisionist party of Spain has pursued and still pursues

a similar policy. The Soviet revisionists achieved this aim by sending Baghdash to Syria. This policy of legalization and renunciation of the struggle against imperialism and the ruling oligarchies has been suggested to all the revisionist parties in Latin America, as well.

In this troubled and unstable situation of the revisionist herd, the Titoite trend, which is seeking to gain time in order to fully consummate the split, is openly opposing the Soviet aims of calling a meeting that would support their plans as soon as possible. The clan of the old and new Titoites think that time is working for them, and that is why they have taken enough courage to challenge the Soviet revisionists on their most vulnerable points. For the Soviet clan the affairs brook no delay. They are trying to save the ship from sinking, to do something as soon as possible, before it is too late. They think, and practice has confirmed, that through bilateral meetings between revisionist parties nothing is achieved but temporary deals, transactions and intrigues of small proportions. For home and foreign consumption, they need to organize from time to time, and the more often the better, some broad meeting of the revisionist parties to see how they are placed and to patch up the holes. Therefore, despite the stubborn opposition of the Titoite trend, the Soviet revisionists took the decision in Budapest that the coming meeting of the revisionist parties should be held in Moscow at the end of the current year. At this meeting, under the smoke-screen of unity in the struggle against imperialism, they are to discuss the problem that is really worrying them: the co-ordinated fight against Marxism-Leninism, against the parties which stand loyal to it.

This objective of the coming meeting was quite categorically expressed by Suslov, not only behind the scenes and in the corridors, but also in the official speech he

delivered in Budapest. The agenda and the aims of the meeting, so much desired by the Soviet leaders, were defined even more clearly by the Polish representative, Kliszko. The mob of revisionist «hooligans», that made up the majority of the votes at the Budapest «UNO», enthusiastically cheered the meeting proposed by the Soviet leaders, because it is only at such a place that they can deliver some speech or other, so that their voices will be heard. They have to bark, at least occasionally, for the bones thrown to them!

Thus, the obstacles raised by the neo-Titoites in the way of the coming meeting could not withstand the persistence and pressure of the Soviet revisionist leaders. The condition which they set for their support for the Moscow meeting was merely a tactical manoeuvre and that is why it could not be very effective. When they said that all the parties should be invited to the coming meeting, everybody knew that they did not mean either the Communist Party of China, the Party of Labour of Albania, or the new Marxist-Leninist parties, but the Yugoslav Titoite party, which has laid down as a precondition for its «condescending» to sit down at a revisionist general meeting, among other things, the repudiation of all that was said about it in the documents of the 1957 and 1960 Moscow meetings. Now Tito is demanding not only that the Soviets should publicly recant, as Khrushchev did when he went to Belgrade in 1955, but that everybody should fall on their knees before him. The Soviet revisionists, on their part, have accepted such a thing in practice and in principle, but, as it seems, due to the complicated situation which they themselves have created, they are not yet ready to agree that the denunciation of Tito be officially and demonstratively revoked from the said documents and by the meeting they will hold.

The Italian revisionists, too, who are not very enthusiastic about the coming meeting, tried to raise obstacles to it, although of a different nature. They want the coming meeting to be a bazaar in which all sorts of different parties should be invited to take part, just so long as they carry a placard proclaiming that they are «democratic», «progressive», etc. They want this meeting to be an evidence of their first sincere step towards integrating themselves into capitalism and serving the capitalistis of their country with devotion. The French supported this «brilliant discovery» provided that such a meeting should take place after the one proposed by the Soviet revisionists.

All this shows that the Titoite trend intended not only to hinder the Soviet revisionists in their work in Budapest, but also to strive to prevent the coming meeting demanded by the Soviet leaders from taking place at all. This revisionist wing is thus seeking to gamble on two tables: to exert pressure and blackmail on the Soviet revisionists by threatening them with a new revisionist grouping in the ranks of modern revisionism, and, at the same time, to gain still more credits and support of all kinds from the various capitalist groupings.

The open splits that took place in Budapest will cause the Soviet revisionists further great troubles. But, of course, they will not be sitting with folded arms, either. The consensus of revisionist opinion is that efforts must be made to bring the «lost sheep» back to the fold, either with gentle measures or with whatever kind of pressure that might be needed at the time and which would serve the preparation of the sham conference of international communism in Moscow.

The fact is that the so-called «third position», that appeared in Budapest and which has Tito behind it, seems to have divided the roles with its Belgrade boss to

act in two specific directions: one in the direction of the secret revisionists and the other in the direction of the intermediate capitalist forces.

Although, as one Yugoslav commentator wrote, «many communist parties that will be represented in Budapest have views identical to ours», the Yugoslav Titoites were not at Budapest. However, despite their great glee and the broad publicity which they devote to similar occasions, this time they are not making much noise about the new splits at Budapest. This is not accidental, they do not want to jeopardize and compromise their followers. Having compromised themselves as open agents of American imperialism, they left it to the neo-Titoites to approach and win over the so-called «neutrals», «independents», and all the secret revisionists in the «international communist movement». And now it is beyond any doubt that the neo-Titoites have the support of these so-called «neutrals» when they raise the question of and call for the «cessation of polemics», against holding a meeting which would encourage attacks on China and Albania, against allowing the Soviet leaders to establish their leadership under any form at all. It is precisely the banner of these «neutrals» that they raise when they oppose the Soviet revisionists, and demand that a conference should be held, but its aim should be the creation of a «broad anti-imperialist front» including revisionists, communists, socialists, democrats, pacifists, etc., etc.

Under attack from all sides and seeking to avoid a further deepening of the cracks in the revisionist front, the Soviet revisionists were obliged to give their approval to the calling later of an open meeting of parties of all shades, on the condition that this must not be confused with their meeting or make it unnecessary, as the Titoites, the Italians and others are demanding.

Thus, two general tendencies were crystallized at Bu-

dapest: one to hold the meeting proposed by the Soviet revisionists and then, perhaps, to hold the other. The second tendency is to hold the meeting proposed by the Soviets, but to hold another one without polemics, without ideological questions, a purely formal meeting against imperialism, a meeting to which everybody could come, even the Pope of Rome if he wishes. The thesis of the Soviet revisionists prevailed, and with this the Budapest fair came to an end. But this does not mean that the problem of the coming meeting, its character, agenda and the question as to who will participate in it, has been finally settled. Until it is convened, if it does take place at all, it is very possible that mutual concessions and compromises will be made again between rival groups, so that it may have an aspect and direction entirely different from what those who have planned it envisage at the moment.

Now, following the Budapest meeting, some of its participants, since they were not fully in agreement with the Soviet revisionists on all questions, are throwing out their chests and posing as the «strong men of the fair», making endless statements, writing articles and adopting decisions, to convince public opinion that their action and line are allegedly pure Marxist-Leninist. According to them, the polemics against class enemies and party enemies must cease, the revisionists should not be criticized either for their foreign policy or for their internal policy, but should be left in peace to act as they like, whatever they do it is their own business. And all this theory is presented as living «proletarian internationalism»! In reality, nothing could be more opportunist, more anti-Marxist and more anti-internationalist than this line of ceasing the polemics. Lenin and Stalin, like Marx and Engels, could not live even one minute without polemics, without struggle, without fighting most fier-

cely against deviators and betrayers of the cause of the proletariat and the revolution. Their whole lives were nothing but a ceaseless struggle, the fiercest and most principled polemics against all enemies of communism.

It is an axiom of all genuine communists today that without struggle, without polemics, there is no revolution, there is no Marxist-Leninist party, there is no socialism, there is no communism. But here we have certain gentlemen who pose as Leninists, as the «purest» Leninists, what is more, who claim that there should be no more polemics, no more criticism. Tito, too, defended this thesis, when the Information Bureau put him with his back to the wall on account of his treachery. At that time he rose against the alleged «interference» in the affairs of his party. With this he meant, «leave me in peace to call myself a communist and to betray communism, leave me at my ease to become an agent of imperialism», as he in fact became.

Khrushchev, also, sought to follow this road but was unable to do so. In trying to play his anti-Marxist card of the «cessation of the polemics», he got his fingers burnt and his successors no longer try to use it. They prefer other tactics and means to shut some people's mouths, but their old tactics which some present as new, do not work any more. One cannot remain for long on two chairs. There cannot be Marxist-Leninist communists who cease the fight against modern revisionists, just as there cannot be revisionists who do not fight Marxist-Leninists. Those who are now demanding the toning down of the polemics and who preach the peaceful line are scared to death by the other revisionists and want the aid and support of capitalists, regardless of what betrayal may cost. And the capitalists will give them this support, because this «tactic», that is, the «middle line» in the labour movement, greatly serves their aims.

The revisionists say that the aim of their meeting is to unite all possible forces in struggle against imperialism and its aggressions, threats, etc. But this is the most shameless deception, utter demagogy and an obvious fraud. Of what fight against imperialism can the Soviet revisionists speak, when they have made their alliance with the United States of America for the division of spheres of influence and the establishment of the domination of the two great powers over the world the fundamental basis of their entire policy? Can it be said that by undermining the struggle of the Vietnamese people and by openly and secretly supporting the Americans in the enslavement of the Vietnamese people, they are fighting imperialism? Were they defending the Arab peoples against the imperialist aggression when they left them in the lurch at one of the most critical moments and struck behind-the-scenes bargains with their sworn enemies? Or perhaps they claim they are supporting the liberation of the peoples when, at the UNO, they approve the US armed intervention to suppress the Dominican insurgents, or when they grant credits and sell arms to the Indonesian hangmen, the murderers of hundreds of thousands of communists and honest patriots?

There is an endless series of acts of betrayal of the supreme interests of the revolution and peoples' liberation committed by the revisionists. Day by day the world is witness to hundreds and thousands of acts of the rapprochement and collaboration of the Soviet revisionists with US imperialism, but it has not seen even one single action of theirs opposed to its aggressive policy. Let us not go too far back in search of examples. While the Soviet revisionists in Budapest were making demagogical appeals for unity for the sake of the fight against imperialism, their representatives in Geneva, jointly with their US colleagues at the 17 Nations Conference on the

treaty on non-proliferation of nuclear weapons, presented a joint declaration on the guarantees the Soviet Union and the USA will allegedly provide for the non-nuclear countries that sign the treaty. The efforts to preserve their monopoly of nuclear weapons and to exert atomic blackmail against the peoples are quite obvious. Of what anti-imperialism can one speak under these conditions?

The «anti-imperialism» of the revisionists has never had any concrete form, it is an empty phrase, a mask to camouflage their collaboration with imperialism. It is a piece of demagoguery with which they want to speculate, to deceive the peoples, to quell the flames of the struggle against imperialism which are spreading to all the continents.

At the Budapest meeting the Soviet revisionists were able to wrest approval from the other partners to go to Moscow for the meeting set for the end of this year. The bosses of the Kremlin are now making a great fuss and are beating all their propaganda drums presenting this as a great «success». But this «success» is a Pyrrhic victory. For one reason or another, many of the revisionists do not want the meeting, but they are obliged to hold it, because our struggle, the creation of the new Marxist-Leninist parties, the upsurge of the revolution and the peoples' national liberation struggle compel them to do so. They are compelled to raise a cardboard barricade, a smoke-screen against these successes and this powerful march of Marxism-Leninism.

But any effort of theirs will be in vain. Other greater defeats are in store for them, still deeper splits will take place. The forthcoming Moscow meeting, too, will end up in the waste paper basket as did the March 1965 meeting, that of Karlovy Vary and the Budapest meeting which has just come to an end.

The revisionists' decision to hold a general meeting is one thing, but what to raise there, how to raise it, what

to decide, how to decide and communicate it, let alone how to implement it, is another sad story for the modern revisionists, and for the Soviet revisionists first of all. It is they that took the decision in Budapest, but it is also they that did not go there. In the first place there is Tito, for whom the Soviet revisionists have very great need, because if he stays out everything is ruined, while if he comes in, he demands great concessions. In their dilemma the Soviet revisionists are ready to make concessions to him, but not all that Tito would like, because he wants both the keys and the house, their mother and their father and the title deeds.

The not distant future will again confirm what our Party has stated, that the division, degeneration and bankruptcy of the modern revisionists are inevitable. There has not been and never will be unity between them. They can never establish order within their herd. History has shown that whoever raises his hand against Marxism-Leninism, whoever joins with the enemies of the working class, with the bourgeoisie against the revolution and the liberation of the peoples is doomed to utter defeat, to the shameful end of all traitors. The revisionists are trying to turn back the wheel of the historical development of society, but that wheel is ruthlessly smashing and crushing them under its great weight.

*«Against Modern Revisionism
1968-1970»*

**THE WORKING CLASS IN THE REVISIONIST
COUNTRIES MUST TAKE THE FIELD AND
RE-ESTABLISH THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE
PROLETARIAT**

Article published in the newspaper «Zëri i popullit»

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In all the countries where the revisionists are in power the dictatorship of the proletariat is being smashed and replaced by the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, the socialist regime is being replaced by the bourgeois capitalist regime, and the party of the proletariat, degenerate from within, serves only as a smoke-screen to conceal this betrayal, to blunt the vigilance and suppress the legitimate revolt of the working class and the working people. **The vigilance and legitimate violence of the working class against class enemies is what terrifies the revisionists. It is the only force that can beat them, it is the only way out of this disastrous situation in which socialism and communism are placed today in the countries where the revisionists are in power. Thus, the rekindling and fanning of the flames of the proletarian revolution in these countries is the road of salvation sine qua non.** As events have developed, any other course can bring no lasting benefit to the dictatorship of the proletariat and socialism. It could only serve as a posture of harmful and temporary compromise with grave consequences for socialism.

Only the working class at the head of the masses, only the working class headed by its true Marxist-Leninist party, only the working class through armed revolution, through violence, can and must send the revisionist traitors to their grave.

All the countries where the revisionists are in power, without exception, both those in the vanguard, such as Yugoslavia, the Soviet Union, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Poland, etc., or those which, under different masks, hide and camouflage their revisionist, anti-Marxist line, have turned into bourgeois-capitalist countries, or are rapidly sinking into that stinking morass.

The main question on the agenda of the revisionist traitor cliques in power is only that of choosing the most reliable forms to attain the aim of the restoration of capitalism, of strengthening and stabilizing it, without arousing the suspicions and vigilance of the working class and working people, so as to avert any blows and turmoil, and, finally, to be able to suppress the revolution when it does break out. This is a struggle to win the contest.

The other question on the agenda for them, within the framework of this disintegration to attain the aim of the restoration of capitalism, **is connected with the efforts of all the other cliques to escape from the tutelage of the most powerful one and yet to have its aid in general, particularly when they feel their positions are weak.** The degree of dependence of one on the other is linked with this, while the most powerful among them is trying to prevail over the currents and channel them in its own interests as a great state. Of course, now such a thing cannot be achieved with complete success with all of them or permanently.

Another problem that remains on the agenda of these cliques is their tendency and great concern to find various means of camouflage and a diversity of forms of action,

which are sometimes much more advanced and less camouflaged than those of their counterparts. These «pioneers» serve the capitalist forces which inspire the revisionist cliques to urge others to speed up their course to the maximum, to break the resistance of those revisionist cliques which, out of necessity, are more conservative, because the sword of Damocles — the proletarian revolution — is constantly hanging over the heads of them all.

The revisionists try to camouflage all their counter-revolutionary actions for the seizure of power and the efforts they are making to consolidate this power **by creating and inculcating in the minds of the working class the illusion that its «Marxist-Leninist» party is allegedly in power and is guiding all this development and transformation on the «true course of socialism and communism»**. This is the most dangerous disguise with the aid of which the revisionists try to escape the decisive blow of the working class. **Therefore, they try to tell the working class that any criticism, any revolt against or opposition to their revisionist course is an anti-Marxist deviation, is a crime against Leninism, against socialism, against the party of the working class.** The revisionists administer this opium through the press and their propaganda, which is false and a fabrication from start to finish, administer it while divesting the party, in theory and practice, of any revolutionary characteristics; they administer it by making an allegedly Marxist interpretation of each of their political, economic and administrative actions in the direction of the restoration of capitalism. This false interpretation of their foreign policy, of their relations, alliances and underhand dealings with the capitalists is also necessary to the revisionists in order to blunt the vigilance of the working masses of their respective countries.

In all these cunning actions the revisionists set in motion the new corrupted class of bureaucrats who impose

themselves upon the working class and the masses with the force of their regime, their length of service, with the rows of medals hiding their false hearts. Thus they create the impression among the working class that «it is not possible that all these fine fellows could betray the party, the class and socialism».

We must draw some lessons, some conclusions, from this revisionist counter-revolution.

Let us start with Hungary. In the euphoria of the advent to power of Khrushchevite revisionism, but at a moment when it had not yet consolidated its positions, world capitalism, its Titoite agency and the internal Magyar reactionary bourgeoisie, launched the armed counter-revolution against the dictatorship of the proletariat and the Hungarian Workers' Party, thinking it was the weakest link of the chain of the socialist countries. And so it was indeed. Rakosi's party melted away like snow in the rain. But in their actions world capitalism and Titoism had not chosen the correct moment: they were convinced of Khrushchev's line of betrayal, but they did not take account of the fact that his positions were not yet stabilized and, although he hesitated over sending in the tanks, in the end he was obliged to do so. Otherwise his course of betrayal could have been compromised. But in connection with the Hungarian counter-revolution the following facts must be pointed out:

1. — The Hungarian counter-revolution was begun by a few intellectuals and students. Lacking the influence of a genuine Marxist-Leninist party, those vacillating strata became reserves of the counter-revolution and its assault squads under the direction of the bourgeoisie. The Hungarian writers were in the vanguard of this counter-revolution.

2. — Despite the revolutionary traditions inherited from the proletarian revolution of 1919, the Hungarian

working class and that of Budapest in particular, did not know how to defend its power and gains. On the contrary, a considerable part of the working class, especially in Budapest, was activated in favour of the counter-revolutionaries, hence it became a reserve of reaction. This means, in other words, that the work of the Hungarian Workers' Party was superficial and without any real base. The working class did not fully recognize it as its own leader. This was the greatest and most dangerous evil.

3. — The counter-revolution entirely liquidated the Hungarian Workers' Party within a few days, while the counter-revolutionary Janos Kadar issued the decree for its official dissolution.

4. — During the few days of the counter-revolution in Hungary many bourgeois, capitalist and fascist parties popped up immediately, like mushrooms after rain.

Thus, the Hungarian counter-revolution was put down by means of Soviet tanks. Under the dictate of the Khrushchevite revisionists, the same traitor who liquidated the party issued the other decree for the refounding of the allegedly new «Marxist-Leninist» party, the Hungarian revisionist party, even more rotten than the previous one.

The Hungarian counter-revolution was put down by the counter-revolutionaries. Thus, the two wings of the putsch were bound to come together, as they did, to build «their own Hungary», as they did, to restore capitalism, as they are doing. Drawing lessons from the bloodshed and, after having paid an indemnity in blood for its hasty actions, Hungarian reaction is now carrying out its reforms of radical capitalist transformation at its leisure, regardless of and without any trouble from the Soviet forces and tanks which remain on Hungarian territory. The Hungarian bourgeoisie is, so to speak, going about its business, this time under the protection of Khrushchevite tanks. Under the disguise and «banner of the Party», the

Hungarian capitalist bourgeoisie, hostile to the working class, is lulling the working class to sleep while forging new chains for it. The capitalist bourgeoisie has the old intelligentsia and new revisionist intelligentsia, in complete identity of views and unity of action, as its vanguard.

Let us take Poland. As in Hungary, in Poland, too, bloody demonstrations started in Poznan in 1956 and were suppressed by tanks, this time Polish and not Soviet tanks. The Polish church and reaction had a hand in it, and Khrushchev was terrified that Poland might break away from the Soviet Union at that time, therefore, he threatened Gomulka with an invasion of tanks, but Gomulka resisted and Khrushchev, willy-nilly, smiled and embraced the fascist Gomulka, as he used to describe him behind his back, in conversation with others.

But now, in recent days, events in Poland are developing differently. They have assumed another aspect which is characteristic of all the revisionist countries. In Poland demonstrations, clashes, bloody encounters have begun between Gomulka's police and the writers, intelligentsia and students, who are demanding «freedom», «full democracy», «liberalization». This time, the Polish counter-revolutionaries, who have risen against the Gomulka revisionist counter-revolutionaries, are congratulating and displaying their solidarity with the Czechoslovak counter-revolutionaries. The reactionary Polish intelligentsia, directed by world capitalism, the clergy and Jewry, are not satisfied with the Gomulka revisionist clique and want to get rid of it, as the new Slovak clique of Dubček is doing with the Novotny revisionist clique, about which we shall speak below. In Poland, just as in Hungary, the reactionary intelligentsia and the students are in the forefront with their claims, the party is riddled with vermin, the organs of the dictatorship are, for the time being, in the service of the Gomulka clique, and the

working class is not reacting, is not coming out in the street to do the necessary cleaning. Will the Gomulka clique be able to hold back this mounting tide? We shall see. But the important thing is the ultimate tide which must be prepared in order to wipe all the overt and disguised traitors in Poland off the face of the earth. This salutary tide will be the proletarian revolution of the Polish working class, led by a true Marxist-Leninist communist party.

Let us take Czechoslovakia. The Soviet revisionists used to trumpet abroad that Czechoslovakia was their most powerful bastion, the most faithful country of the revisionists, and Antonin Novotny the man closest to them, «the most earnest and most authoritative man» of the revisionist clan, next to the Soviets. And as we had forecast, this situation, too, counted for nothing, not because Novotny and his revisionist clique were not an obedient agency of the Khrushchevites, but because they were quite unable to carry out the orders that the Moscow bosses gave them. In fact the Soviets' dead horse, Antonin Novotny, got bogged down in the revisionist mire which he himself created, while the other horse which replaced him, Dubček, has taken the bit in his teeth and is now bolting toward Western «pastures», where the French and West-German capitalists are waiting to corral him, and have opened the old chapters about their notorious agents Masaryk, Beneš Tiso, Haša, and others.

How is the new counter-revolution in Czechoslovakia developing? Openly, against Antonin Novotny and his clique, hence against the Soviet revisionist yoke.

They are openly going over to capitalism under the system of one party or many parties, under the capitalist state system and the undisguised liquidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat in the economy, education and culture.

Not only coexistence, but also solid ties with the Western capitalists are being advocated openly. Homage is being paid at the grave of the Masaryks, father and son, at the grave of Beneš, everyone is being noisily rehabilitated, even the fascists, and all are being described as «distinguished men», victims of the «Stalinist terror» and the result of the erroneous policy, not only of the Novotny clique, but also of Gottwald, hence of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and, of course, of «Stalin and the Comintern».

In short, Czechoslovakia is going at a rapid tempo and without much subterfuge and demagogy towards capitalism, to the complete political, ideological, economic and state restoration of the capitalist bourgeois republic.

By what means and forms is this process developing? The Czechoslovak process must not be taken in isolation from the whole process that is taking place within the revisionist fold. This is the result of the disintegration, of the major contradictions which exist within the revisionist clan, within the different tendencies which exist within the clan of each individual revisionist country, and of the international contradictions. Thus, the Czechoslovak disintegration and the course it has taken are by no means exceptional. Nothing should surprise us. This is quite normal.

So is the overt manner of these actions, and this for two reasons: on the one hand, a part of the Czechoslovak people, indeed even of the Czechoslovak working class, are prepared for and predisposed towards this «liberal» course, as the revisionists call it. To them communism has been merely a veneer, an incident, and during the whole period since Liberation the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia has not only failed to work on a sound basis, but, in fact, has made little impression on the nature, the political inclinations, the political and cultural taste

of a part of the people, who, even under the socialist regime, preserved and developed bourgeois capitalist sentiments in accentuated forms.

On the other hand, the new Czechoslovak course towards capitalism confirms the further decay of the power of Soviet revisionism which, wallowing in the morass it has itself created, is no longer a threat to its opponents either politically or economically. It has become a slave to the system it has created and the betrayal it has committed. The Soviet revisionists are obliged to grin against the misfortunes which are descending on them. The further course of the Czechoslovak revisionists now has the full support, not only of the American, French and West-German imperialists, but of course, of the Titoites, the «neutral» revisionists and, *in petto**, of the Hungarian revisionists as well. Thus, a more or less organized force is taking shape, always within the framework of disintegration and «independence» from the Soviet, Polish and other revisionists, who are very much afraid of this contagious disease which has the tendency to clear out the old revisionist hacks and replace them with new ones.

The new Czech counter-revolutionaries are using new, many-sided methods. They attach great importance to taking the internal situation completely into their own hands, without neglecting foreign policy. Naturally, for purposes of demagoguery they speak publicly about friendship with the Soviet Union, in order to completely undermine it. Their principal aim is the liquidation of Novotny and his clique, which is pro the Soviet revisionist leadership, and the reduction of relations with the Soviet Union to mere trade relations. The campaign for the liquidation of Novotny, to expose and compromise him, and finally to remove him, was carried out in a round-about way. In

* in disguise.

the forefront of this campaign were the Slovak nationalists with their anti-Czech feelings, the old bourgeois intellectuals and the new revisionist ones, as well as students and hooligans who came out repeatedly in demonstrations and are still doing so.

The Novotny group and their Kremlin bosses sent in the police against them, but to no avail. Aware that the noose was tightening around his neck, Novotny called the tanks to Prague, copying the method of Khrushchev who surrounded the Kremlin with tanks and thus saved his head. But Novotny could not attain this aim and lost his job. Perhaps he will lose his head, too.

To cover its game, the Dubček group is using allegedly legal forms to clear out the Novotny clique. First of all, this group made sure of the army through trusted cadres, arranged the defection of a certain army general, discredited Novotny and Lomsky, the defence minister, and set in motion the party, «convinced» that Novotny's immediate removal or resignation should be demanded through petitions, rallies and student demonstrations. This whole operation is being carried out very quickly, with little obvious strife, amidst the stormy applause of world capitalism to whose fold a scabby goat has thus returned.

What will the Soviets do? Nothing, except to take Novotny for their collection, if they are permitted, and install him, too, in a villa as they did with someone else previously.

After this purge, they will strive to stabilize the situation in Czechoslovakia. However, this will not be the end of the matter. There will be great friction and fierce political and economic struggle.

Thus, in these two countries, Poland and Czechoslovakia, where the revisionists are in power, the same process of capitalist degeneration is taking place, with the same aims, forms and methods, but with different outcomes,

different results. In both countries, the new revisionist cliques, which want to speed up the process of the transformation of their countries into completely capitalist countries, are striving to get rid of the old revisionist cliques of Novotny and Gomulka.

The anti-Czech sentiments of Slovak chauvinism, the radical transformation of the Czechoslovak economy into a capitalist economy, the radical transformation of the existing Czechoslovak structure and superstructure to adapt them to the return to capitalism, the more active and extensive economic, cultural and political ties with the capitalist states, the anti-Soviet feelings, the weakening of all ties with the Soviet revisionists — these are the things that inspire and guide the new Czechoslovak revisionist clique led by Bubček.

The old clique and the old revisionist Novotny are now completely isolated, routed. Everybody is abandoning the sinking ship and taking the «new road». Thus, the counter-revolution within the counter-revolution has triumphed in Czechoslovakia.

The Soviet revisionists have completely lost their political authority in Czechoslovakia and their influence is on the decline. Knowing what the Soviet revisionists are, we can be sure that they must have exerted great pressure to save themselves from disaster in Czechoslovakia.

On the other hand, capitalist Czechoslovakia reinforces the capitalist position of Tito and his friends, assists the complete transformation of Kadar's Hungary, with or without him at its head, and assists the process in Poland.

This whole situation which is being created in Central Europe will shake the Warsaw Treaty and Comecon to their foundations. It will lead to bilateral and multilateral alliances in a spirit entirely different from that of the existing ones, and Comecon and their economic relations will change, they will break up and assume new forms

in which amalgamation with the capitalist forms will take place.

All this capitalist transformation seriously endangers Democratic Germany, which the revisionists will drive in various forms and ways towards integration with the Germany of Bonn. This process is under way. The Soviet revisionists are completely paralyzed. Economic pressures are their only remaining weapons, but it is clear that these, too, are having no effect. It is greatly in the interests of capitalism to finance those who break away from the Soviet Union and turn towards the West. It has capital for investment at its disposal, it is seeking new markets, new colonies and new satellites.

Thus, having seen little benefit from the allegedly «internationalist aid» of the Soviet revisionists, the new revisionist capitalists are changing their bus.

This great defeat of the Soviet leaders is seen in the great confusion which has overwhelmed them. Although these secessions have been going on for a considerable time, the Soviet censorship has not permitted any knowledge of them to leak out to the Soviet public at home. This simply shows how afraid they are of their own people, the revolutionaries, and the new revisionists, and the latter, infected by the Czechoslovak disease, may burst out in the streets against the clique, to overthrow it and replace it with another revisionist clique. In this case Kosygin and Brezhnev will act like the revisionist clan of Gomulka is acting in Poland.

The same process as in Czechoslovakia started in Poland, too, but, for the time being, with different results. The Gomulka clan temporarily checked this process, not because Gomulka is any cleverer than Novotny, but because the circumstances are somewhat different in Poland, therefore Gomulka's tactics are different and may appear «cleverer».

In Czechoslovakia it started with the writers and students, but amongst them, in addition to everything else, anti-Czech Slovak nationalist sentiments and anti-Slovak Czech nationalist sentiments were predominant. The other sentiments were complementary, apart from the anti-Soviet and pro-Western sentiments which were common to all.

The process started in the same way in Poland, with the same tendencies, ideas and aims as in Czechoslovakia. The Gomulka clan used police violence, too, just as Novotny did, but with success. The Polish nation is not made up of two peoples, as is the case in Czechoslovakia, therefore that factor which played a role in Czechoslovakia did not serve as an incitement in Poland. Gomulka had to find a scapegoat as an object for violence and he found it in «Zionism». Thus, the «disturbances in Poland were created by «Zionism»! Gomulka does not mention the Church, because that carries the risk that the revolt might increase and assume larger proportions. Gomulka is trying to keep the Church out of it and, in fact, the Church did not enter the arena, although at other times it had made fiery appeals and organized demonstrations against Gomulka. It seems that they have come to terms until this tide subsides. On the other hand, Gomulka, rabidly anti-Soviet, is seeking shelter at these moments under the shadow of the Soviet revisionists, who, in the end, when they realize that they have lost everything in Poland, may even dare to intervene, allegedly to save Poland, allegedly to keep the communication lines open so that they can come to the «assistance» of East Germany, etc.

Willi Brandt, on his part, declared at his party's congress that «it is normal for us to recognize the Oder-Neisse borders». This was an offer to Poland to break away from the Soviets, it was an attempt to win «support» among the people for Gomulka's «persistent» policy on the German-Polish borders and, finally, it was an attempt to

complete the encirclement of East Germany and to form the «cordon sanitaire» around the capitalist Soviet Union.

The result of all these circumstances, the anti-Semitism, anti-Sovietism, etc., is that the process of returning to capitalism in Poland will continue according to Gomulka. But this is provisional, temporary. The problem is still on the agenda.

The Marxist-Leninists, the revolutionaries, the people and the working class in Poland have not yet had their say. Gomulka threw some sections of the working class into demonstrations. This shows what lack of clarity exists there, what an enormous amount of work has to be done in order to put the working class on its true course, in anti-capitalist, anti-revisionist class positions, against Gomulka, against the Catholic Church, against the Zionists.

There are also allegedly neutral countries and parties which are developing their revisionist course towards capitalism in comparatively calm internal situations, without noisy demonstrations, although certainly with accentuated contradictions in the leadership, among the people and in the party, but which for the moment have the appearance of unity. This sham unity results from fear of the external danger and, in the first place, from fear of the Soviet revisionists, who have their own men, who are still in the minority, within the leadership of these parties. But in these «neutral» countries and parties, cliques of bourgeois intellectuals predominate, and they rely solely on the anti-Soviet feelings. Therefore, a little differently from the Czechoslovaks, these revisionists lay the stress on foreign policy, on relations with the capitalist states, with Tito's Yugoslavia, with Dubček's Czechoslovakia, to counter-balance the Soviet revisionist danger. In these circumstances these cliques are purging their internal opponents, who might endanger them, and are making

efforts to consolidate their bourgeois regimes, which are being established in their countries by liquidating socialism.

Let us now take the Soviet Union. The Khrushchevite degeneration of the Soviet Union and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in the last years of Nikita Khrushchev's reign, and in an even more accentuated manner later, entailed great dangers for the Kremlin clique. Not only has it further deepened the contradictions of this clique with the Soviet people, but it has also created a stratum of new revisionists, opponents of the old revisionist clique, whose aim is to liquidate that clique and replace it with another of the same revisionist nature, but which would be more liberal and speed up the process of the restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union. These most despicable dregs were not satisfied, displayed their dissatisfaction and advanced further demands. Here, too, they were headed by the intellectuals and writers who had become completely bourgeois, the men of revisionist art and culture. Dissipation had penetrated deeply among the youth, the students and others. This was assuming forms disturbing to the clique. Khrushchev himself reacted several times after he sensed the danger, not because they were demanding to go over to capitalism, but because they were demanding to go there without him, with others, rather by efforts and action than by buffoonry and irregular methods.

The clique that succeeded Khrushchev tried to outdo their master. They linked themselves more closely and more securely with American imperialism, carried the wrecking of the party and the socialist economy further and stepped up degeneration at home and abroad. But all this activity also created colossal difficulties and contradictions for the clique. The Soviet economy declined, the prestige of the Soviet Union reached its lowest ebb, the «friends» of the Soviet Union deserted it one after

another, its alliances assumed purely capitalist, oppressive, formal and ridiculous forms and content. The resistance to the clique increased from all directions. Not to speak of the international arena, at home the Brezhnev-Kosygin group find themselves in the midst of many fires which are difficult to put out. The revisionist intellectuals, writers and students have increased their protest demonstrations and the Kremlin clique is obliged to arrest and imprison them. Thus, the prisons and concentration camps are filled to capacity, not only with revolutionaries, but also with new counter-revolutionaries.

Of course, within the Soviet Union the proletarian revolution is being organized and on the rise. The clique is very much afraid of this and is attacking it, trying to deceive the party of the class and the working class itself, trying to neutralize them as far as possible by making them believe that it is allegedly their «Leninist» party which is leading, that «everything is proceeding according to the Leninist line and with Leninist norms», and so on. Amongst these illusions we should also include those «ideas true to history» expressed about Stalin by certain degenerate careerist army generals and marshals who have started to write in order to throw dust in the eyes of the masses and the genuine revolutionaries. But the Bolshevik revolutionaries and the Soviet working class are not to be deceived for long. They are becoming more and more aware that, in reality, power is being wielded by a clique of renegades and their bureaucratic anti-worker administration, that the party has been transformed into a bourgeois party and the dictatorship is a bourgeois dictatorship of the new capitalist class, which oppresses the masses and the working class, exploits them economically for the benefit of the new revisionist bourgeoisie, does not allow them for one moment to demonstrate their power and exercise their rights. The efforts of the revisionists to make

the working class apolitical, to eliminate it from the political scene and orientate it towards economism, will fail.

Thus, as we see, all these processes have similar features, at present more obvious and sensational in Czechoslovakia and Poland, tomorrow in Hungary and other places. These processes will further whet the appetite of the reactionary Soviet revisionist intelligentsia, and we shall see clashes, not only between it and the ruling clique, but also between the moderate intelligentsia and its right-wing extremists, between the genuine Marxist-Leninist intellectuals and both the ruling clique and these two tendencies we mentioned. And, finally, the Russian Ivan will awaken from his heavy slumber. The Soviet working class, led by the Marxist-Leninist revolutionaries, must come out and will come out in the streets to have its say. It will bang its fist on the table and stage a second proletarian revolution. We are convinced that this will happen, because it is a dialectical process that is bound to take place, the circumstances, the events and their development will make the situation ripe for this. When? That is not for us to decide.

Learning from all these developments in the revisionist countries, from the tactics, the forms and methods of the struggle waged by the modern revisionists against Marxism-Leninism, against the dictatorship of the proletariat, against the working class, its party and the socialist regime, in addition to what we have analyzed at other times, our Party has defined clear-cut tasks to ensure that modern revisionism or any other anti-Marxist disease will never be allowed to infect the healthy body and mind of the Party and the dictatorship of the proletariat in our country.

With regard to the revisionist degeneration in a number of countries, mention must be made of some typical characteristics common to all the revisionist parties.

It is a fact that the working class, in the first place, and then all the working masses, were caught unawares. They did not react immediately and strongly against the betrayal committed against their great cause, which had triumphed and been consolidated at such a cost in bloodshed and sacrifice. The traitor elements who usurped power in the party and the state, not only at the beginning of their subversive activity, when they knew how to hide and organize themselves, but even later, when their attitude and their treacherous actions had become obvious, did not encounter fierce resistance on the part of the working class and its party, which on the contrary, accepted the yoke of the traitors without any great opposition or, even when they did react, did so half-heartedly. The party and the working class, in the first place, had lost their vigilance and that vigour of violence which should always characterize them in the class struggle, in the struggle against every enemy of their class and socialism.

Why does this happen and what causes this apathy, this dying down of their vigilance and use of violence, not only in communist parties with little revolutionary experience, but even in the oldest and biggest party with colossal revolutionary experience such as the Bolshevik Party was?

In general, there is nothing unknown or mysterious about the reasons for this occurrence, but in this article we shall emphasize certain reasons which appear to us to be the main ones, those most dangerous to a Marxist-Leninist party.

Let us consider how this has happened to the Bolshevik Party, the oldest and staunchest revolutionary party, from the successes and mistakes of which all of us have learned.

First, and above all, stands the question of the party. It is here that we must try to find the shortcomings and errors which contributed so tragically to the emergence of

revisionism and the seizure of power by the Khrushchevite traitors in the Soviet Union.

a) Surprising as this may seem, the political and ideological education of the Bolshevik Party was not always carried out at each stage with the intensity and thoroughness required by the circumstances. Such education, moreover, had weaknesses of form and method and, sometimes, even of content. Although it was talked about, the linking of the theory with practical revolutionary action was not carried out as much and in the way it should have been over its whole range, in order to put politics first in the work for the revolutionization of people, in keeping the proletarian revolutionary spirit of the whole party vigorous, in ensuring that everybody understood and applied the line of the Party in a revolutionary way in everything. It is true that if there were any schools, training courses, forms, means, methods, etc., for political and ideological education, they were in the Soviet Union. The same thing could be said, too, in regard to the training and education of cadres. The question is not that the study of the unerring Marxist-Leninist-Stalinist theory was neglected in the Soviet Union, but that something caused the political and ideological education to be defective. And this something was not only the forms, the methods and the rate of progress, which, as we said above, meant that the theory was not properly mastered and correctly put into practice. There was also a complex of other things that exerted a negative influence.

b) The implementation of the norms of the Bolshevik Party or, to put it better, the profound ideological and political understanding and carrying out of them in practice in a revolutionary way, were not up to the mark. All these norms were correct. Lenin created and established them with a titanic struggle. Stalin affirmed them, defended them and carried them out. But in actual life, during the

process of development, in the course of the work and the struggle, we see these norms, which at first were properly implemented, later falling into disuse, becoming rusty and finally distorted and turned into a harsh and very dangerous weapon in the hands of the enemies of the class and of the party. This was the case in all the revisionist parties. **In these parties they speak loudly of democratic centralism, but it is Leninist no longer; they speak of «Bolshevik» criticism and self-criticism, but they are Bolshevik no longer; they speak of party discipline, but it is no longer Leninist, but fascist discipline; they speak of proletarian morality, but the morality is bourgeois, anti-proletarian, anti-Marxist; they speak of free expression of opinions within the Party about everything and everybody, but the expression of opinions in the party spirit, in the proletarian spirit, in the revisionist countries now leads to jail and concentration camps. The same may be said with regard to all the genuine Leninist party norms.** Thus, the official norms, irrespective of how they are disguised, are anti-Leninist, are bourgeois, reactionary, fascist norms. **Such a change from the Leninist norms, which constitute the strength of the party as a steel-like vanguard organization of the proletariat, to revisionist norms is the greatest evil that can befall a Marxist-Leninist party, is the terrible weapon for the degeneration and disintegration of the party, making it deviate from its historic role of transforming society.** The fact is that this retrogressive change on this issue has taken place in the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and in the other revisionist parties, and, irrespective of the fact that not all the Soviet communists approve of and comply with these anti-Leninist norms, it is indisputable that the revisionist norms actually prevail in this party and in other revisionist parties and are destroying the parties and socialism in these countries.

Now we may ask the question: Had the Marxist-Leninist policy and ideology been understood and implemented correctly, as we said above, had the Leninist norms of the party, established in the Bolshevik Party by the great teachers Lenin and Stalin, been implemented in a correct revolutionary way and at all times, would this that has occurred have happened? No! It would not have happened! But it did happen, for the reasons given above and those we shall set out below.

c) The Communist Party, as the organized vanguard detachment of the working class, must be the leader, the keen edge of the sword; it must preserve, develop and temper the finest virtues of the working class; it must be the first to properly master and implement the ideology of the working class, Marxism-Leninism; above all, it must be vigilant to the extreme and unyielding towards the class enemy. And in order to be such, it must have, understand, and implement the Leninist norms that make it the party of the class, in order to lead the working class and its allies towards the aims of the class. **This is a great unity, not any sort of unity, but what we call Marxist-Leninist unity, Marxist-Leninist unity within the party, unity of thought and action on the basis of the Leninist norms, between the base of the party and its leadership, unity within the leadership itself, a steel Marxist-Leninist unity between the party and the working class, a steel, harmonious, party-working class-people unity. And in this whole unity, the fundamental idea, its basis and guarantee, is the party-working class unity, the decisive leadership of the working class headed by its party, inspired, tempered and enlightened by its Marxist-Leninist ideology.**

This unity is not created in one day or one year. It must be established and strengthened in the heat of many struggles and dangers with which they are con-

fronted by the class enemy, which uses every means, objective and subjective, political and ideological, repression and terror, coercive measures and economic unrest, open corruption and illegal subversive activity against the working class in general, against its party as an organization, against the party members, and the functionaries of the state and the organizations of the masses in particular.

We shall not dwell at length on these issues, but shall only point out that **the preservation and tempering of unity is not something achieved once and for all so that the communists need not trouble about it again; second, that unity in the social-democratic manner, unity of «comrades», outside the Marxist-Leninist principles and norms of the party, «unity to avoid upsetting someone or other by permitting the violation of norms and principles», is not our unity. Our unity is not unity for unity's sake, contravening principles. Therefore, our unity, over the entire range we mentioned, is created through struggle, is tempered through struggle and preserved through continuous consistent revolutionary struggle. Otherwise there can be no Marxist-Leninist unity.**

In the Bolshevik Party of Lenin and Stalin there was unity, and there was energetic struggle to temper this unity, but it cannot be said that perfection had been attained in everything, for that would be a denial of the class struggle, within and outside the country, within the party ranks, that would make us forget the class enemy who wages a fierce struggle in every form and whose only aim is to smash the unity, to infiltrate into the organisms of the party and the dictatorship, to riddle them with worms and destroy them, to infiltrate the consciousness and the world outlook of the communists, to demoralize them and cause them to degenerate.

Thus, in the Bolshevik Party of Lenin and Stalin they were proceeding on the correct Leninist road — and

the successes in the construction of socialism, in the construction of the first powerful socialist state in the world prove this. Stalin, at the head of the Bolshevik Party, fought correctly, vigorously, with deep understanding and without committing theoretical and political errors, on the road of the working class, on the road of the Leninist party, of its norms, to achieve the aims of the class and its party, which were the building of socialism and communism in the Soviet Union and in the world.

However, the question arises: If this was so, then why did the Bolshevik Party degenerate into a revisionist party after the death of Stalin? This is a reasonable question which must be asked, and in order to answer it one must discover the objective and subjective reasons. We have already pointed out in other articles that this question is as important as it is difficult to deal with thoroughly and without mistakes, if we do not base ourselves on the documents, especially the internal ones, of the Bolshevik Party, documents which we do not possess and could hardly possess, especially in the present situation. However, our ideology and the experience of our Party and other parties can help us to determine some of these reasons. We say some, because there are and must be many more. However, these opinions, too, may be incomplete.

Presenting the problem as we put it above, it turns out that gradually, without being aware of it and on the basis of the great successes of the realization of the socialist construction, among the cadres of the Soviet party and socialist state there was created a certain self-complacency and legitimate pride, but which, unwittingly assumed ever more pronounced, though latent, forms until they turned into incorrect inclinations which were basically incompatible with proletarian morality. Marxist ideology and education condemned them in principle and in practice, when they manifested themselves in a flagrant

and dangerous way, but these trends were developing in the general form and this was not considered a dangerous thing. They entwined themselves with the norms of the party and gradually gave them such a tinge. Later they would become more pronounced and combined with other non-proletarian habits, would be added to the dangerous complex.

The members of the Bolshevik Party, who were led in legendary battles by Lenin and Stalin, were cadres of revolutionary class origin and drive, tempered in revolution, in struggles, in the building of socialism, in the battles against Trotskyism, deviators and other traitors. They were tempered ideologically and politically and had unshakeable and justified faith in their glorious Bolshevik Party, in Lenin and Stalin, in the correct line and norms that these had laid down.

To them the party was everything, it was their heart, brain and eyes, therefore they defended it, were educated by it and their great leader. **But while the Soviet cadres tried to carry out the correct line and norms of the Party headed by Stalin, at first not among all of them and not in a clear-cut way, the feeling of stability, which is alien to the revolutionary sense of development, gradually began to spread and crystallize.** So long as they held lower level functions, the cadres worked zealously to serve the cause of the revolution in the best possible manner, rigorously implementing the norms and line of the Party, maintaining close connections with the masses and with the working class. But with the passage of time, when the indispensable ideological, political and general education and culture had been acquired, having grown older and having gained seniority in the party, in certain people bad tendencies began to emerge. **The successes in their work nurtured the feeling of self-complacency and, along with this, the Soviet**

cadres lost their proletarian modesty. They began to raise improper claims, which they described as «politically justified», because they had worked and fought. With their promotion to more and more responsible posts, the desire for personal ease and comfort developed in them and they became more and more infected by bureaucracy, intellectualism and technocratism. Thus, gradually, a separation and inequality was created between the cadres of the Bolshevik Party and Soviet state, on the one hand, and the masses of the Soviet people and working class, on the other. Many cadres did not listen to the voice of the masses as they had done in the past. The idea began to prevail among them that they knew everything themselves, that they were specialists in everything, that they stood above the masses, above the working class politically and ideologically and were more far-sighted than they. These cadres confused the authority and prestige which the Bolshevik Party and Stalin enjoyed among the masses of the Soviet people and in the working class with their personal authority and prestige. All these anti-proletarian features led to deformation of the revolutionary concepts among these cadres and from this the infection spread to the line of the party and its implementation and the revolutionary norms of the party remained formal. The process of sclerosis had set in in the life of the party itself and its organization, as well as in the whole Soviet state administration.

Therefore, the education, the equipping of the cadres of the party, the state and the administration with schooling and culture is one of the most important problems, **but an even greater prime duty is their political and ideological education and their permanent revolutionization.**

The danger of the development of bureaucracy in cadres and of equipping only them with schooling and

culture, is that it can and does create in them a feeling of superiority and conceit, causes the features of intellectualism and technocratism, which gradually place them above the masses of the party and the class, to take root in them and thus, little by little, a situation is created in which a stratum dominates the class and its proletarian party, makes the party sclerotic and its revolutionary norms lifeless, propagates them without zeal and strips them of their revolutionary influence and action. This leads to separation from the masses and from the direction of the working class.

If the party and the working class do not pay continuous special attention to the ideological and political uplift of the cadres, and not just through bookish methods, but through practical actions and in uninterrupted daily struggle, then their promotion to leading positions, the disproportion between their educational and cultural level and that of the great bulk of the party and the working class, their seniority in the party or in the state organs, the great disparity in salaries (a dangerous evil this) and the privileges to which they are allegedly entitled as cadres (another dangerous evil) ruin the cadre, willy-nilly impel him gradually to adopt features which are not of the proletarian class. Such a phenomenon may occur even with cadres of worker origin and status, but it is a still greater danger among those from the peasantry and the intelligentsia. **The party of the working class must educate the cadres in such a way that they not only advance and are promoted to posts of responsibility, but also understand properly when it is necessary for them to be taken down from posts of responsibility, and this not only in cases when they prove incapable and inactive in the function with which they are charged, or for mistakes in their work and in life, but even when they are capable and do their jobs properly. The cadres**

should be educated to realize that even when they are in order, their removal from functions of responsibility and their going to work in the ranks of the working class and the working masses is a necessity, is for the good of the cadres themselves and the party, for the present and the future.

The three features we mentioned above — bureaucracy, intellectualism and technocratism — brought about that within the Bolshevik Party and the Soviet state that revolutionary spirit of heroic times did not prevail as it should. This insidious disease did not openly attack the correct line of the party. The cadres remained faithful to it and to Stalin. They were ready to go through fire for him, because Stalin was a man of the class. With his Marxist-Leninist class clarity, he did not commit errors of principle, either in policy or in ideology, in the economy or in the military field. He loyally defended everything Leninist and developed Leninism further.

However, in this stagnation which was gradually building up, although the Stalinist energy of the party and the dictatorship of the proletariat was still carrying the work forward, sclerosis was setting in in the work of the party, the norms were implemented but not with revolutionary vigour, the line was carried out but not at that revolutionary tempo, Marxism-Leninism was being taught but in such a way that it was no longer able to purge these dangerous trends. Many top and middle cadres of the party and state equipped with diplomas were, so to speak, viewing the situation from above, and especially from the petty-bourgeois feeling of their own all-round superiority. They had come to believe that this was something natural, that they were superior to the bulk of the party. They were assuming the features of a class above the class and above the party, considered themselves infallible, because they were in the leadership,

because they had long experience, because they possessed knowledge, and it was they who brought the sunshine and the rain. All these anti-Marxist viewpoints were developing, wittingly or unwittingly, under cover of the party norms. There was talk about democratic centralism, criticism and self-criticism, party discipline, and elections from below, but all these things had lost their revolutionary spirit. **And what could all this bring about? The gradual separation of the leadership from the bulk of the party, and of the party from the working class. Thus, in essence, that Marxist-Leninist unity which we mentioned above was weakened. Stalin had forged the Leninist unity and he fought to defend it, notwithstanding the stagnation that existed. After his death the disruption of the unity in the leadership and in the Bolshevik Party took place and the revisionists seized power.**

Khrushchev and his traitorous associates had been working even when Stalin was alive, of course in very disguised forms. After Stalin's death, profiting by the situation that had been created, they seized power. They sought and are seeking to preserve the whole of the negative process and deepen it further, by completing the transformation to capitalism and the liquidation of the Bolshevik Party of Lenin and Stalin. The attack on Stalin was an attack on Leninism, on Marxism-Leninism. That is why they have removed or are getting rid of those whom they call Stalinists and, masquerading as Leninists, they are striving to make the process of the liquidation of the party, as a Marxist-Leninist party of the proletariat, more thorough-going day by day and to isolate the Soviet working class, to lull it to sleep, to make it amorphous and apolitical, so as to avoid the blows which it could deal them.

Of course, there are other reasons, too, but we think that these factors we have mentioned caused the working

class of the Soviet Union and hundreds of thousands and millions of Soviet party and state cadres to be caught off guard. They thought and still think (for they are not at a very high level politically and ideologically, and this should not surprise us) that what Khrushchev did was «on the Leninist road and in accord with the Leninist rules». They were deceived by the slanders, the demagogy and the promises of the traitors, but of course this will not go on for long. The eyes of the Soviet working class and revolutionaries are being and will be opened properly and they will recover the fighting spirit of the revolutionary struggles through which Lenin and Stalin led them. They must come out in the streets, arms in hand, and they will come out, if not today, tomorrow. The situation will ripen. Time is working for the proletarian revolution.

This process has occurred in the other revisionist parties, too, but even more deeply, for the reason that, apart from the Polish party, the parties of the revisionist countries are parties which have not waged the struggle themselves, have not gone through that furnace, irrespective of their self-advertisement as allegedly old parties which have been through the fight. Their experience on this issue — and this is the main issue — is very poor if they have any at all.

Moreover, these parties were revived, reorganized and took power thanks to the Soviet Army and the direct aid of the Bolshevik Party and Stalin. This assistance was vital to them, not only because they were re-established materially, but also because it helped them to create political and ideological cohesion in their ranks. Later, in such parties as the Polish, German, Czechoslovak, Hungarian and other parties, an organizational, political and ideological union was brought about between the communist, socialist and social-democratic parties. Thus,

instead of remaining outside, in the front the social-democratic maggot was introduced within the party. The wine was watered down, and now it has turned into vinegar. While Stalin was alive, the social-democratic parties of Cyrankiewicz,(1) Otto Grotewohl,(2) Fierlinger,(3) kept a low profile, but they were working from within, corroding, demoralizing, and seizing as many important positions as they could.

When Khrushchev came to power, of course these elements were overjoyed. Later the separation began, and it was a radical one, since degeneration had become deeply implanted in these parties and these countries. Whereas the Marxist-Leninist Gottwald brought the armed workers out in the streets and made reaction tremble and scurry back into its rat-holes, now the revisionist Dubček has a part of the Czechoslovak working class on his side. This is what happened in Hungary, too, but not entirely so in Poland, for the Polish working class has a more revolutionary tradition. But the struggle to win the working class and to arouse it in revolution should be the main objective of every Marxist-Leninist party. **There is no and there cannot be proletarian revolution without the working class and without the leadership of the Marxist-Leninist party.**

The students and intellectuals must be raised in revolution and led by the working class and the Marxist-Leninist party. However, the opposite can occur, as in the revisionist countries, if they are not put in their proper place in the revolution and if they are not educated correctly in the revolutionary way. The youth can never assume the role and carry out the tasks with which history

1 General secretary of the Polish Socialist Party.

2 One of the founders of the German United Socialist Party (1946).

3 Chief of the Czechoslovak Social-Democratic Party.

has charged the working class. The working class and the party of the class must be at the head, in absolute leadership, everywhere and in everything. The peasantry and the various social strata must advance on the road of the working class, in alliance with it, must be educated with its laws and its ideology, and whoever does not advance on this road and puts spokes in the wheels must be discarded, by persuasion or by violence, as may be necessary.

In the light of all that we have said, the correctness of the Marxist-Leninist road and line pursued by our Party in all the stages of its development, even at the most critical moments, and its boundless loyalty to the revolutionary ideas and work of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, stand out even more clearly. But our Party has never lost sight of the fact that no communist party, including our own, is immune to the danger of revisionism. It has always maintained keen vigilance against this danger and has never rested on its laurels. Our Party has accumulated rich experience, and is elaborating it every day, on how to bar the way to revisionism and the restoration of capitalism. The measures which the Party has taken for the further revolutionization of the whole life of the country, for the perfecting and development of the socialist relations of production and of the superstructure, in order to purge them of everything alien, are of decisive importance and vital to the cause of socialism.

It has waged and is waging the class struggle in the correct Marxist-Leninist way, inside and outside the Party, and this is the motive force during the whole period of the transition from capitalism to socialism. It has attached prime importance to the revolutionary class education of the working people, the younger generation in particular, in various ways, especially through revolu-

tionary action. It has waged and is waging a principled and consistent struggle against any form of bureaucratic distortion, for the constant deepening of the line of the masses in all fields, for the continuous perfecting of socialist democracy. Above all, special attention has been devoted to the continuous revolutionization of the Party and its cadres, so that they never become isolated from the people, lose their revolutionary features and spirit, or become bureaucratic and degenerate.

The Party has never lost sight of the dialectical operation of various factors, with all their positive and negative influences. It has carried out and continues to carry out in depth all-round measures of revolutionization, of education, of work and struggle on all fronts which give rise to a number of problems, great and small, but all important and closely interconnected, especially on the front of the ideological class education and the class struggle. Thus, it has continued and continues the struggle on all fronts, without interruption, at an ever higher level, always learning from the successes and shortcomings, so that the shortcomings will not be repeated and the successes will not intoxicate it and put it to sleep. Our Party and people are advancing on this correct Marxist-Leninist road with unwavering confidence in the construction of socialism and communism.

In today's conditions, when the revisionist cliques are completely liquidating all the victories of socialism in their respective countries, the working class of these countries must clearly understand that the revisionist party in power is no longer a party of the proletariat, but an instrument in the hands of treacherous leaders for the restoration of capitalism and the deception of the masses. Today there is no longer room for illusions, hesitation and temporization. The working class of the revisionist countries is now faced with the historic necessity

of taking again the battlefield, of hurling itself into a merciless and consistent fight to the finish to overthrow and smash the treacherous cliques, to carry out the proletarian revolution once again and to re-establish the dictatorship of the proletariat. This absolutely requires determination, courage, sacrifices and a revival of the revolutionary spirit and traditions of the times of Lenin and Stalin. In the first place and above all, this requires the organization of the genuine revolutionaries into new Marxist-Leninist parties which have to mobilize, organize and lead the general uprising of the proletariat and the other working masses to victory.

At these important moments for the destinies of the revolution, all the Marxist-Leninists and the world proletariat cannot remain silent spectators in the face of what is happening in the revisionist countries. Proletarian internationalism demands that all revolutionaries raise their voices and wage a principled struggle, through to the end, for the destruction of the revisionist cliques in power and give all their support to the working class and the people that are under the revisionist rule today to overthrow these treacherous cliques and raise the banner of revolution and socialism once more.

«Against *Modern Revisionism*»
1968-1970

WORKING CLASS CONTROL

Speech delivered at a meeting of the Secretariat of the Central Committee of the PLA in connection with the report submitted by the Central Council of the Trade Unions of Albania on the activity of the trade-union organizations concerning the working class control

April 9, 1968

In the article of March 24, 1968, published in «Zëri i popullit»* concerning the counter-revolutions which are taking place in the revisionist countries, stress has been laid on the question of the working class in the Soviet Union and in the other countries where the revisionists are in power. Among other things, that article is intended, first of all, to show whence comes the apathy, the inertia of the working class of these countries in the face of that tragedy, that betrayal of the working class and its party, and, second, to call the attention of our Party to the dangerous situations it may be involved in if it does not prove vigilant, if it is not in the forefront of the revolutionary struggle and if this struggle is not led by the working class and its Party.

I shall not go over these questions again today, but I call on the Party and working class to reflect deeply

* See p. 397 of this volume.

about them and not to think that, since these things happen in the revisionist parties, «they have no connection with our Party and our country, that no danger threatens our Party and our country», etc.

At the end, the same article briefly points out the measures that our Party has taken, the methods and style of work it uses in order to prevent the revisionist diseases from appearing, becoming established and jeopardizing the construction of socialism and communism in our country. This conclusion from a real situation must not create that unhealthy self-complacency, that since we have found the remedy we are completely immunized and everything will go smoothly, without brain-racking, without struggle, without efforts. Let us not be surprised, for there are people who think in this way, and there are also those who not only think in this way, but who act accordingly and, in one way or another, distort the directives of the Party. But the overwhelming majority earnestly think and are concerned about these vital problems which have to do with the defence of the revolutionary line of the Party and with barring the way to any manifestation of revisionism. Among this majority, there are persons of a high political and ideological level, persons who deeply understand that the question of the political and ideological uplift and the consciousness of the working class is one of the main and most decisive issues, and, having this correct understanding of it, give this problem their primary, particular attention. However, there are some who, faced with other problems, forget this and proceed from the principle that someone else is looking after this problem.

Such people divide this question, which is decisive for everybody, which is the key to solving every problem, and which everybody ought to concern himself with, reflect on deeply and participate in actively, into separate com-

partments, into commissions and sub-commissions and they consider the forms of work not as means, but as special self-contained sectors, like the card indexes of libraries. This is a dangerous practice because, unwittingly, they arrive at the viewpoint that the first and the last responsibility for better or worse, for whether things go well or badly in this or that sector, rests with that person, committee or commission that has been charged with responsibility for the particular job. Such a thing leads to divorce from the masses and to failure to perform duties properly...

Speaking about the worker control in general, the Trade Union comrades come to the concrete problem that «the worker control commissions that have been set up are not yielding results; and moreover, they have become bureaucratic elements, have eliminated the check-up from the base and have displaced the trade-union committees; people from the administration have got into them, even into the leadership of these commissions» and, consequently, the spirit of bureaucracy has got into these commissions which are allegedly commissions of workers. In such a situation there are marked manifestations of revenge taken against workers for their criticism, manifestations which are expressed in subtle ways in everyday practice. This is a serious problem which we must analyse.

According to what the Trade Union comrades tell us about these commissions and considering the way they operate in practice, as well as the request of these comrades that we should give our opinion as to whether they ought to be permanent or not, I think that they must not be permanent, and, moreover, that the direct check-up by workers must be fully exercised.

If we accept that there should be commissions made up only of workers and do not introduce into them administration officials, this form will be better than that

which is criticized, but still the working class must not be complacent that, since it has appointed 5 or 10 workers to the commission, everything will go smoothly. If it thinks in this way, this will lead to what I said above, to forms of compartmentalization.

The various commissions we set up can be changed, can be improved, but whether they function well depends not only on their form, but on their correct understanding of the purpose for which they were set up, on the political and ideological level and the class consciousness of the people who work in them. And, finally and above all, whether these commissions will work well or badly depends on the control of the masses over them and on the assistance given them by the working class itself and the Party.

In my opinion, however, there is much more to this problem than the question of workers' commissions. The leadership and control exercised by the working class and the Party over everything and everybody, over the cadres, the forums, the administrations, the commissions, must be complete, decisive, without any loopholes. This requires, in the first place, the greatest care and attention to ensure that the working class and its Party are raised to a high political and ideological level, and their class consciousness is tempered continually. It is not sufficient just to spout or to learn by heart a few well-known theoretical principles which confirm the great truth that «the working class and its Party are in power,» but this should be achieved effectively in everything. Such a thing becomes a reality only through revolutionary struggle, through profound revolutionary education and, these two, properly combined, should repel and defeat any danger. The Party and our working class that are in power are proceeding resolutely on this course. We have scored successes, but we also have many short-

comings, still have a great deal to do. We have to make still greater efforts to ensure that the organizations of the Party and the trade-unions thoroughly understand these problems and implant them into the heads of the masses and, first of all, of the working class.

If I am not mistaken, there is a narrow understanding of the worker control in the Party and the trade-unions. The principles I mentioned above, namely, that «the working class and its Party are in power», that «politics are primary», are stressed in theory, but in practice, in actual life, they are not sufficiently understood and comprehensive measures are not taken to enable the working class and its allies not only to understand them properly, but also to apply them in practice, so that they and their Party become the real guarantee of the implementation of these principles...

We are continually studying, correcting and supplementing the question of the education of the Party in the spirit of our ideology, and it is very good that we do so. For the education of youth we act in the same way, while in regard to the working class, although we are always proclaiming that «it is the class», «it is the basis», we do not concern ourselves sufficiently with the question of its ideological and political education. It must be said that even the trade-union comrades, for whom this is a special duty, don't display much interest in it, either, and do not raise their voices sufficiently in the Party and in state organs, not just asking for one or two cadres, but demanding a radical change in the existing state of affairs. Such a situation must certainly be altered.

I propose that the Party and the trade-union organs in the centre, the districts and at the base should study the content and forms of the political and ideological education of the working class and establish, as far as the size, experience and schooling of the working class

allow, those same criteria of discipline as we have established for the Party. The Party cannot advance without the masses, just as it cannot have a high ideological level while the working class is at a low level. Should this happen, then many evils lie in store for us.

We must never feel satisfied that in general our working class knows that it and its Party are in power, that the dictatorship of the proletariat is its dictatorship, that socialism is its order. No, we must make sure that it thoroughly understands the full significance of these issues, understands them and links them with life, with practice, and is always in the forefront of the struggle to defend them.

In the analysis which must be made of the present method of the ideological and political education of our working class, we shall see how many gaps, how much formalism, and even unclarity we have. We must not proceed from the principle that things are going well, hence, education and tempering, likewise, are going well without any great efforts. We cannot solve our problems in such a way.

Our working class badly needs to be educated with the ideology of the class, with the norms of the class, with the revolutionary drive and courage of the class. We must have no illusions about this, otherwise we may make mistakes. We must take our working class just as it is and not as it ought to be. We must make this working class we have what it ought to be. Hence, it is not enough to say that «the working class is in power» and to delude ourselves that it has all the qualities of a class tempered from every point of view. Our working class seized the power, it is in power, it has in its hands every means and every possibility to build a classless society, to build socialism and communism, but to succeed in this, it must temper itself, first of all, and temper the

masses with its own example. This is a major task of our Party and our working class.

But we must not forget our reality. Our working class is relatively young.⁽¹⁾ We must always keep this fact in mind in our work, for only in this way will we see the importance of the tasks which the Party must accomplish. In our country, the working class was formed as such and expanded after the liberation of the Homeland and with the gradual creation of our socialist industry.

A small part of our working class originates from the workers or small craftsmen who have experienced the oppression of the bourgeoisie and exploiters. The overwhelming bulk of it originates from the peasantry and the urban poor, and they, too, have experienced the capitalist and landlord oppression and exploitation. A considerable part of our working class, whether of worker origin, or from town or countryside, has participated in the liberation war, under the leadership of the Party. Herein lies one of the main features of our working class. A further great supplementary tempering is the whole period of the struggle for the construction of socialism. But, while the younger generation of our working class has this good origin, which is its great asset, this younger generation, born, brought up and introduced into the ranks of the working class under the socialist regime, has not experienced capitalist oppression and exploitation.

It is not my intention to make a profound analysis of the composition of our working class with these few remarks, but I want to point out that this composition of our working class or this formation of the class in development has automatically brought into its ranks

1 In Albania, in 1938, about 87 per cent of the population engaged in material production worked in agriculture, whereas only 13 per cent worked in industry and in the other branches of the national economy.

many petty-bourgeois hangovers and views which damage that class cohesion, consciousness and discipline which we want to create. These hangovers in the consciousness of the worker cannot be liquidated without the political and ideological struggle of the Party, without a profound and many-sided struggle, without a very persistent political and ideological education.

We must bear in mind also that our workers not only bring in hangovers and retain them, if we do not eliminate them, but also continually acquire others from society, if we do not systematically educate this society, too, with the true features of the man of socialist society, with the features of the class, with the ideology of the class, with the healthy features of our Party. Hence, I want to stress that ideological and political education is a vast, major problem, therefore, we must grasp the whole chain and not just one or two of its links. We have to be able to seize firmly on the main issue, but not overlook and fail to co-ordinate, to help or check up on the other things as well. Headed by the Party, which must keep an eye on everything and give concrete help to all the mass organizations, we must centre our attention, in the first place, on the ideological and political education of the masses, the people, and the cadres.

It is a major fact that we have a heroic working class, with great revolutionary spirit and courage, we have a working class closely linked with its Party and its people, we have a working class which is making marvellous progress in the field of technology. In this sense, it is not at a low political level. These are its positive aspects. But we should not forget the negative aspects which I mentioned above. The first danger is that the working class, knowing that it and its Party are in power, may feel secure or not put politics first, as it should and engage only in economism, in its own particular problems,

or attach the main importance to these alone. The second danger is that the masses of workers may confine their interest only to their own enterprise and those with which their enterprise has economic ties, and fail to give sufficient importance to their decisive role as a leading class, destined by history not just to work in factories, but, while working in factories, to guide every sector, and have everybody follow its course and that of its Party, in the factories, in the fields, in the administration, the schools and everywhere.

The working class must understand its tasks and role, not only inside the factory, but also outside it. Within the factory we have much to do, for there, too, we are slaves to certain forms of work and education which do not yield the required results and we still retain them... Such issues should be taken up not only inside the enterprise, but also outside it, covering all the manifestations of life, where the working class should unite its forces and be in the forefront everywhere, distinguishing itself for its courage and maturity, its modesty and severity when the line and norms of the Party are violated...

I insist on that major point that the Party must ensure and steel its unity with the class, and this must be based concretely and firmly on our Marxist-Leninist ideology and policy. The party cadres, who are its great asset, must thoroughly understand this great problem ideologically and politically, because, if they understand it in this way, there will never be any danger of isolation of the Party from the class or of the cadres from the masses.

It is not sufficient just to say that «the cadres educate the masses and they learn from the masses», but this must really take place in this way and not otherwise. There are many obstacles in this direction. Man, with his feelings and tastes, is a complicated creature, a

marvellous creature, but complex at the same time. Therefore, the Party, which carries the heavy but noble burden of forging the new man, must do very, very careful, thoughtful, principled work for this purpose.

Consequently, the organizations of the Party and the trade-unions which we are considering today must concern themselves, first of all and especially, with the education of people. This will solve every problem well, because it is closely connected with their work, achievements and creations. Man comprehends and creates, therefore, the higher his ideological and political level, the better everything will go for us.

I think the trade-unions, aided by the Party, must re-examine their work still more deeply and adapt it better and more correctly to the line of the Party and the new conditions of the development of our society. In our trade-unions there must be many erroneous and outdated hangovers from the old Soviet experience, which with the passage of time have been dressed up in our clothes, so to speak, and which continue to exist and to impede us.

If we take the question of the concern of the trade-unions about the economic problems of the workers down to the tiniest details, if I am not mistaken, these economic problems have diverted the trade-unions from their major concern for the ideological and political education of the working class. Let me explain, it is not that the trade-unions must not concern themselves with the economic problems of the state, the factory and the workers, for without concerning themselves about them, without knowing them, they cannot do well-founded ideological and political work. But it seems to me that the tendencies are in the direction of concern about these questions alone, while the political work is either turned into formulae or weakly linked with life and practice and

does not go beyond the spheres of production in the factory. If I am not mistaken, the cadres working in the trade-union organizations have adopted these tendencies. They are not without experience, but they must reflect about their work and, without forgetting the work and struggle in the economy, should turn their faces more towards politics and ideology, should further prepare themselves on a firm basis in this direction for their own education, so that they will be able to educate the working class and really become a transmission belt for the line of the Party.

What I said above about the working class, that it must understand that it is in power not just in principle, is even more valid for the trade-union cadres, who must purge themselves of the dangerous remnants of conceit, isolation from the masses, of unhealthy familiarity with the members of the party committee of the district, or the management of the enterprise. Those comrades, too, whether or not of worker origin, and with long experience as workers, be they chief engineers, master tradesmen or middle technicians, are not immune from these diseases and escape them only when they live and work with the masses.

It frequently happens that we talk about these things in principle, but when it is a question of speaking out against the leadership of the enterprise or the government department, about mistakes, about violations of laws or orders, the trade-union leaders raise these things among themselves, in their own circles, and never raise them properly before the workers, but simply say that they «have raised the question once or a dozen times with the director, the vice-director, the committee», as if this were all their duty required of them, but measures were not taken. And as a result, at the Poliçan plant, for example, we had two workers killed. Had they raised

the question before the workers and had the working class banged its fist on the table, the barracks would have been repaired in time, the bureaucrats would have been put in their place and the workers would not have been killed.

But why don't they do this? Because they do not have correct concepts about bureaucracy and about how it must be fought; do not have correct concepts about the working class and its strength, do not have correct concepts about the Party, etc., and they think that, if they tell the working class to bang its fist on the table against the bureaucrats, whoever they may be, «the working class is rising against the Party.» Hence, they confound the Party and its line with one or one hundred persons who are not good and who harm the Party and the work.

Only thorough-going political and ideological work by the Party, the trade-unions and all the other mass organizations tempers the man, tempers the Party and the class, strengthens socialism and scores continuous successes in every field.

The only problem raised in the report presented to us by the trade-union comrades is the question of the «workers' commissions» which, although called «workers' commissions», are a bureaucratic form. There is a lot of talk about the fight against bureaucracy, which the Party has raised forcefully, but this fight is badly understood. Precisely at a time when it is claimed that the fight against bureaucracy has been understood, bureaucracy is being fostered in principle and in practice by the state apparatuses, government departments, etc., and as if it were nothing the matter, this is approved even by the district party committees. Not just one, but many distorted commissions have been created in the economic enterprises. The management of the enterprise must be keen, operative

and take its competences and duties well in hand, doing the work with a limited administrative personnel. It creates the technical council attached to it, the title of which defines the aims of this council, which are correct. But in fact, this so-called technical council has been turned into a bureaucratic one. There are cases when this council takes into its hands decisions on the appointment and transfer of staff, on workers' pay, approval of the time of annual leave, staff numbers, and even administrative measures against workers. Hence, we had one management and now have two instead, instead of one bureaucracy we have two bureaucracies...

When a comrade is elected by the organization as secretary, he is vested with such great authority that he sometimes forgets what his duties are to the Party and those who have elected him. In many cases he becomes conceited and thinks that he is more capable than anybody else, inasmuch as the Party has elected him secretary. He forgets that the Party has in its ranks men even more capable whom it has assigned to various jobs, men no less trusted politically than he. Such a wrong view about the secretary impels him to think that, since they have elected him secretary, he is the main guarantor of the line of the Party, therefore, he must be everywhere, must check up on every one, forgetting that the main guarantor, and the only reliable one, of the correct implementation of the line of the Party is the Party itself, the working class, the communists, and the workers and cooperativists. The ranks of the Party include not only the secretary, but also the manager of the factory or enterprise, the chairman of the cooperative, the members of the executive committee, etc., and all of them have just as much responsibility, if not more than the secretary, to the Party and the state for the correct implementation of and check-up on the line of the Party. It

may be said that they may make mistakes. But the secretary may make mistakes, too, while the basic party organization, the collective, do not make mistakes, or perhaps make a very few mistakes for a time, but not for long.

Hence, it must be understood that things go well in the factory, not because the secretary is good, but because everybody, from the sweeper to the manager, is good, because the party organization and the working class are good, and a contribution has been made to this by the communists and non-party workers, by the secretary, the manager, the foreman, and everybody else.

Such ideas about the secretaries and among the secretaries underestimate the Party, the class and the mass, cause the secretaries or the bureaus to forget and neglect their real duties which are precisely: the aid they must give so that the Party and the class are strengthened and educated. But even in regard to this great function, these comrades elected to the party forums should never think that they do everything and that without them nothing could be done. They must always feel modest before the great experience and ability of the Party, the working class and the masses...

You see, comrades, how dangerous they become, these wrong views and these improper practices which are established off handedly. We must do a radical house cleaning to sweep these wrong views and organizational forms right away. At the present stage, we should neither confuse nor identify the control by the state with the control by the Party, the working class and the masses. It is still necessary that they act in parallel.

It is necessary also that the secretaries of the district party committees, the members of these committees should have contacts not only with the secretaries of basic organizations or the members of their bureaus, but I

think that they should also invite rank-and-file communists, workers and cooperative members to all meetings with them in order to solicit their opinions and have talks with them, and not necessarily with those the secretary chooses. And these contacts need not necessarily be organized as official meetings. It is very necessary to use this form of work to strengthen the practice of links between the leadership and the base of the Party, not only in the regular forms of work we have established but also in such forms which do not allow the secretaries of the basic organizations to be infected with the malady of settling matters in a narrow circle behind closed doors. Through this practice we should make them understand that the problems are solved, and must be solved, together with the masses of the Party and the class and, in order to do this, they must earnestly keep them informed, discuss with them solicit their opinions and then decide. We should learn that it is not we, the leadership, alone who decide, but it is the Party the class that decide. We discuss, draw conclusions and take decisions as members of the Party, but never arbitrarily and contrary to the wishes, the will and the line of the Party and the working class.

In this way we shall avoid the creation of bureaucrats, of megalomaniacs, of prepotent and arbitrary individuals...

Comrades, we must be very cautious regarding these problems, for they are problems of the line. In particular, the central administrations, such as the Ministry of Industry and Mining, etc., must display exceptional caution. At the same time, it is very bad that district party committees do not take immediate measures, I say take immediate measures, and not just report such things, so that they do not occur.

We are a country of the dictatorship of the proleta-

riat led by the Party of Labour of Albania. This means that the working class headed by the Party is leading the construction of socialism in alliance with the labouring peasantry. In glaring contrast with the modern revisionists, who say that the dictatorship of the proletariat no longer exists, that the state is withering away, that in these circumstances the party of the proletariat can no longer have either the class composition or the functions of a proletarian party, due to the withering away of the dictatorship or to the transformation of society, that, consequently, the party has become a party of the entire people and the state a state of the entire people, in our country the dictatorship of the proletariat exists and will go on existing; the Marxist-Leninist party of the working class in the lead exists and will go on existing, and the power of working class exists and will go on existing. The genuine socialist state cannot be identified or equated, as the modern revisionists and, especially, the Yugoslav revisionists are making out, with the capitalist bourgeois state which is opposed to the working class, or with the «new bureaucracy» allegedly created in socialism and which is also opposed to the working class. Prattling such anti-Marxist theories, they have arrived at the theory of worker self-administration, which means smashing centralized planning allegedly to fight this «new bureaucracy», allegedly to have the working class of a given enterprise directly administer the profit surplus, which means the accumulation. With this anti-Marxist theory they emerge on the true capitalist road of the creation and strengthening of the new capitalist class. This process of transformation of the former socialist countries into capitalist countries began in Yugoslavia and is developing widely and rapidly in the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia, Poland and elsewhere. Our Party is fighting courageously against this treacherous trend, while

defending and consistently implementing Marxism-Leninism.

The harmonious development of socialism in our country, led by our Marxist-Leninist Party, confirms the indispensable need for the existence of the strong and undeviating dictatorship of the proletariat, of the party of the working class in full leadership and for the existence of the socialist state. The course defined out and pursued by our Party with great consistency in the management of the socialist economy, in the progressive and centralized development of the economy, in the expansion of social production, always bearing in mind the needs of society in general, and of the working people in particular, has resulted in these great successes. With its correct line and revolutionary vigour, the Party ensures that the process of the socialist development of the country is not transformed into a bureaucratic process, that the working class and the labouring masses always have their say in it at every stage, for it is they who act, transform and create. To ensure the active participation of the working class and the working people in everything is one of the greatest concerns of our Party, and this is the aim of the whole revolutionary struggle of the Party for the political and ideological uplift of the class and the masses, for the greatest possible democratization of the state, which means broad, active participation of the working masses in everything and in every problem, in the struggle against the bureaucratic degeneration of the apparatuses of the state, the administration and the Party itself, and of the people who work in them.

This is a vast and complex work that everyone, I say everyone, must make great efforts to understand thoroughly and carry out correctly, because success in the struggle for the construction of socialism depends on this.

Moreover, the cadres of the Party and the state must have a profound ideological understanding of these problems, which are neither simple nor isolated from one another.

If you do not understand the leading role of the Party in its full dimension and all its nuances, in all aspects of the activity of the Party, then you may make rightist or leftist mistakes. The comrades who are not at a high ideological level and not connected with the masses can easily make such errors in their daily work and struggle. The organization of the work of the Party and of the state apparatuses for the correct implementation of the directives of the Congress and of the Central Committee of the Party is of great importance, even in the most minor matters, even in the creation of a form of work or a commission which, at first sight, may seem unimportant. How dangerous it would be, for example, if the major directive of the Party: «politics and ideology come first», were conceived in isolation from everything, from the economy, education, culture, the organization of the state, etc., if it were carried out as something in itself and the Party were to renounce the direction of the whole life of the country or various aspects of it. Likewise, the opposite becomes dangerous, when the Party concerns itself with the economy alone, when it is turned into a mere technical and economic apparatus and forgets its numerous and many-sided major tasks.

We can see how Tito and Khrushchev, the two great betrayers of Marxism-Leninism, started precisely from this, proceeding from the two extremes which converged on the same objective, the liquidation of the Party. With his reform of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, Tito allegedly assigned to the party only the «role of political and ideological educator»; while Khrushchev, with his famous organization of the party, aimed at

turning it into a mere economic organ and divesting it of any other function.

This is neither the first nor the last time that the Party has raised these problems, but I think that we do very well to raise them continually and the more thoroughly we study and understand them, the better we shall put them into practice and in this way we shall score greater successes.

*«Reports and Speeches
1967-1968»*

WHERE IS CZECHOSLOVAKIA HEADING?

«MEN, BE VIGILANT!»

Julius Fučík

Article published in the newspaper «Zěri i popullit»

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The process of the ultra-revisionist counter-revolution in Czechoslovakia is developing more and more rapidly every day. The clique of Dubček and other reactionary elements, which is based on various strata of the bourgeoisie, especially on Slovak nationalist and fascist elements, on all those who have «accounts» to settle with the dictatorship of the proletariat, on the liberal-revisionist intelligentsia and the students corrupted by bourgeois ideas and morality, as well as on the international bourgeoisie, has completely gained the upper hand. Meanwhile, the supporters of the bankrupt Novotny revisionist clique are striving to save their own positions through «sincere self-criticism» or are taking a «compulsory rest» from political life and cowering in some refuge, dreaming of «better days» to come.

The theoreticians of the new ultra-revisionist course, such as Smrkowsky and others, are bragging that now

Czechoslovakia «is blazing new paths in an unexplored terrain», that what is occurring now in Czechoslovakia is the «first experience of truly democratic socialism in the world». Bearing in mind what is going on there, and translating their phraseology into ordinary language, it becomes evident that capitalism is being completely restored in Czechoslovakia. The so-called «program of action» adopted at the plenum of the CC of the Czechoslovak Communist Party in early April, a program that the Czech news agency «Ceteka» released under the title «The Czechoslovak Road to Socialism», is further proof of this.

The Czechoslovak revisionists are quite right to call this return to capitalism «their specific road», because, while similar in essence to that of the Titoites, the Soviet and other revisionists who are or are not in power, it has its own characteristics, its own specific forms.

The Titoites have long been elaborating their system of «workers' self-administration» which cannot attain stability, either today or in the future, not only because it is anti-Marxist, but also because, while trying to be an «original», though disguised, elaboration of the restoration of capitalism in Yugoslavia, it has brought indescribable chaos to the entire Yugoslav capitalist political and economic structure, right up to the Yugoslav federal state structure. The Titoites, seeking to embroil the working class, too, in their capitalist system, have set up such an anarchic system in their capitalism that it is difficult for them, or it will take time, and even more draconian measures, to restore all the characteristic features of capitalist oppression and exploitation proper. Their system does not fully conform to the commitments that they have to their capitalist masters, nor to the requirements and commitments linking them with their revisionist partners. The Titoites' system of «workers' self-administration», workers' in name only, is creating strata of new

capitalists, is bringing about the concentration and polarization of trusts and concerns. At the same time, however, it is making the serious contradictions of the Titoite system between the working class and the employers, between the poor peasants and the kulaks, among the employers themselves, among the kulaks themselves, between the Republics and the various nationalities, and so on, even more acute.

From the way events are developing, it seems that the Dubček group is trying to avoid chaos like that in Yugoslavia occurring in Czechoslovakia. Therefore, it is aiming to achieve the restoration of capitalism in Czechoslovakia under the new conditions, by returning the country to the capitalist forms, methods and content of the bourgeois-capitalist Czechoslovakia of Masaryk and Beneš, while at the same time making use of the experience of the other capitalist countries and their political and economic theories. Thus, the revisionist Dubček is going straight ahead to attain more quickly what he desires and to avoid, as he thinks, the contradictions and difficulties. That is why, on this famous «Czechoslovak road to socialism» we are hearing demagogic talk about the regime being allegedly socialist and based «on the working class», but nothing is being said about Titoite «workers' self-administration».

Let us look more closely into this question.

The Dubček clique declared openly, right from the start, that the «whole existing political system of Czechoslovakia must be changed». It could not be put more clearly.

The new group that has seized power in Czechoslovakia is a group hostile to socialism, an anti-Marxist group, a sworn enemy of the political system of the dictatorship of the proletariat. When this group says that the whole existing political system in Czechoslovakia

must be changed, this means that it will liquidate even those allegedly socialist or proletarian forms retained by the pro-Soviet Novotny group. This is not a matter of corrections which may be made to the «socialist regime» of the revisionist Novotny group, to its «mistakes» and «hesitations». No, what we have to do with here is a radical transformation of the political regime in Czechoslovakia.

In what direction is this political transformation being made? In the direction of the complete restoration of capitalism. The bourgeois capitalist regime, with all its fundamental features, is being restored there. But in order to disguise this restoration, they are calling it the «Czechoslovak road to socialism».

In essence, this is Togliatti's notorious opportunist thesis about the «Italian road to socialism», but started from the opposite end. Both these anti-Marxist, reactionary roads have a common objective: to serve capitalism. The Italian and Czechoslovak revisionists share identical views and are in full agreement with each other. The Italian revisionists, who long ago degenerated into anti-Marxists, reformists and counter-revolutionaries, are seeking to come to power, to share in the bourgeois state power, through «structural reforms», the peaceful road and alliances with the parties of the bourgeoisie. This they call the «Italian road to socialism», along which, according to them, they will travel, not only with the Italian Communist Party, but also with the other parties of the bourgeoisie. This is a great deception of the working class, the aim of which is to extinguish the class struggle and strangle the revolution, and is a special assistance to the monopoly bourgeoisie appropriate to the present stages of the development and decay of imperialism. This, briefly, is the course which the Togliatti renegades are following.

For their part, the Czechoslovak revisionists headed by Dubček are following the same Togliatti road, but coming from the opposite direction. It is relatively easier for them, for they are not meeting resistance from the Czechoslovak revolutionary Marxist-Leninists, while the Togliatti group is encountering resistance from the bourgeoisie, which for the time being, in the present situation, does not accept them in the state power. Dubček and company are following the course of the destruction and liquidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat, of all its forms, organizations and laws, as far as they existed. The Czechoslovak working class has not been in power for a long time. This is a fact. While the revisionist Novotny group was in power, work was going on in depth in the direction of the capitalist restoration, towards liberalization, though, for the sake of appearances, some outward forms of the system of the dictatorship of the proletariat were still retained. Even these forms were liquidated by the Dubček group after it had liquidated the Novotny group completely, after it had eliminated its opponents, replacing all of them with proven anti-proletarian elements. Instead of going to socialism by strengthening the positions of the Czechoslovak Communist Party, Dubček and his clique are weakening these positions and sharing them with the parties of the bourgeoisie. The bourgeoisie aims to recover its lost positions, as is occurring in Czechoslovakia now, but once in power it will not share it with others, for example, with the disciples of Togliatti, Longo and Co.

It is self-evident that by sharing the power with the bourgeoisie the political system will be changed, too, and this is precisely what Dubček is doing. It is also self-evident in what direction this change of the system is being carried out: if it were to go towards the com-

plete construction of socialism or communism, it would certainly not be either Dubček, Novotny, or their bourgeois capitalist henchmen that would do this.

Within the framework of the radical transformation of the system, the Dubček group is, naturally, changing all the political, economic, state, organizational, military structures. All these changes that are being made in order to completely restore capitalism in Czechoslovakia are being enthusiastically approved and acclaimed by the Italian revisionists who, with this «living» example, want to tell their bourgeoisie: «We want to do the same thing here in Italy; we are and will be similarly faithful servants of yours, therefore toss us a bone if you don't want the working class on your backs».

Meanwhile the Soviet revisionists can never agree to this development which is currently taking place in Czechoslovakia, though they themselves are following the course of capitalist restoration in the Soviet Union.

They agreed with the Czechoslovak revisionists so long as their clique headed by Novotny was in power and Czechoslovakia was an obedient «satellite» of the Soviet revisionists, allegedly one of the «freest and most economically independent» socialist democracies. Novotny's Czechoslovakia had got rid of the dictatorship of the proletariat, just as the Soviet revisionists have done; the Czechoslovak Communist Party was allegedly in power, indeed the only party in power, hence «a party of the entire people», and its degeneration was being brought about through the same forms and at the same tempo as that of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Here, too, everything was proceeding in a co-ordinated manner. The Czechoslovak economy, allegedly independent and advanced, had become largely dependent on the raw materials supplied to it by the Soviet leadership;

the Czechoslovak Foreign Ministry was an office of the Soviet Foreign Ministry, etc. Hence, up to this point they were in full agreement.

But Novotny fell and the Dubček clique came to power. All that we have just outlined was changed. The split occurred and contradictions arose both over the question of the guise to be used for getting rid of the dictatorship of the proletariat and over the question of the party, the question of the economy, foreign policy, the state structures, and so on. These contradictions will certainly grow deeper, and the conflict will become fiercer. (1)

Czechoslovak reaction, the Czechoslovak bourgeoisie, which is an integral part of world reaction and the ultra-reactionary European bourgeoisie with which it is linked by many threads, knows very well what the dictatorship of the proletariat is. The Czechoslovak bourgeoisie fought with arms and entire legions against the Soviet power established by Lenin in the Soviet Union. Today, it does not publicize this struggle against the dictatorship of the proletariat, but carries it on consistently. As a general background it uses the grime and dirt that the Khrushchevites have flung at the dictatorship of the proletariat and its glorious work in the Soviet Union; it uses the just and unflinching struggle that the Bolshevik Party, with Stalin at the helm, and the Soviet power waged in an exemplary manner against the White Guards, the Trotskyites, the deviators, the traitors to the party, socialism and Marxism-Leninism, as a spectre to frighten people and in order to take its revenge.

The betrayal by the Khrushchevites has assisted and

1 «We shall witness other clashes,» wrote Comrade Enver Hoxha on August 10, 1968, «other still greater defeats for the Soviet revisionists, still greater quarrels and clashes among the revisionist cliques. Among them there can never be mutual trust. This is the logic of the development of their treacherous line.»

is assisting the Czechoslovak capitalist bourgeoisie to do its own counter-revolutionary work, hence there is no reason for the Brezhnevs and the Kosygin to groan when the Dubčeks attack the Gottwald period, re-examine the trials of traitors, rehabilitate the bourgeoisie, the fascists, robbers, criminals, and the clergy, when, apart from staunch proletarian elements who, of course, are the first to be attacked and persecuted, they also purge the people of the Novotny group and of the Soviet revisionists. A climate of white terror, a climate of bourgeois revenge against the dictatorship of the proletariat has been created in Czechoslovakia. The most rabid reactionaries, camouflaged as communists, have emerged at the head of the Czechoslovak Communist Party. In the streets, the spectre of demonstrations by hooligan students, which have been given the false label of «people's demonstration», prevails. The Czechoslovak Ministry of the Interior is now directed by a person straight out of prison, to which he had been sentenced for hostile activity against the socialist regime. The Ministry of Defence, too, is directed by a person released from the political prison. According to reports, every day workers of the Czechoslovak security force are committing suicide in their offices, others are being arrested, and many others from all sectors will certainly be arrested and condemned by the bourgeois dictatorship that is being established.

All this capitalist transformation, all this white terror of purges and revenge, is taking place under the cloak of alleged legality; allegedly Czechoslovakia is emerging from «a dark and troubled era of murders, arbitrary trials» and so on, into a period of «peace on earth, true social justice, class peace and human freedom», and so on and so forth, well-known slogans of the propaganda of capitalism, which acts with drawn daggers.

Naturally, the Czechoslovak bourgeoisie which is seiz-

ing power and for which the bed has been prepared by the revisionist traitors, is advancing, capturing key positions one after another, without making crazy gestures like those of the Hungarian capitalist bourgeoisie at the time of the counter-revolution of 1956, but «getting what it wants quietly and gently», so long as any opposition has been quelled and no resistance on the part of the working class and the working masses appears on the horizon.

The Czechoslovak bourgeoisie which is taking power has no hesitation about using the term «socialism», which has become fashionable for everyone from Indira Gandhi to the fascist Franco, in order to deceive the masses. In this respect, it has received its diploma from the Khrushchevites and the Titoites. But at this point it parts from the Soviets, who have declared that they «are going to communism» and, at a time when in reality they are resolutely returning to capitalism, are trying to preserve the forms and appearances of a socialist order, while the Czechoslovak revisionists do not indulge in such nonsense — they are openly heading for capitalism. Thus, in carrying out their «change in the political system», which means the complete destruction of the dictatorship of the proletariat and its laws in Czechoslovakia, the Czech bourgeoisie which has come to power is coating this bitter pill with talk of «good behaviour» towards its opponent class, the proletariat, and of «not returning to the old subjective methods». For the modern revisionists, the laws of the dictatorship of the proletariat are subjective methods, while the bourgeois capitalist laws «are sacred, objective and humane».

The Czechoslovak bourgeoisie that is coming to power says explicitly in the points of the program of «its communist party» that «better laws must be sought and enacted to ensure that all individual rights and private property are better and more resolutely defended». No

kid gloves about this. Individual property, private property! This is not talking about one's toothbrush, wrist watch or bed at home, but about something big, anti-proletarian, anti-socialist, capitalist, about the capitalist private property which is being restored. For this property, which the dictatorship of the proletariat had destroyed, new laws have to be drafted and established, and these new laws must firmly defend these rights given back to the wealthy, the bourgeoisie of town and countryside.

How will they proceed in re-creating this capitalist property? The program of the Czechoslovak revisionists explicitly states that «the existing methods of administration and the orientation of the national economy have become obsolete and urgently require amendments». This is not simply a question of new forms of administration of the economy, but of changing the class system of the economy through these forms. Of course, the Czechoslovak revisionists have great experience in the administration and organization of a capitalist economy, both large and small-scale, and now that they have taken the state power completely into their own hands and severed all those old threads which were holding them back, they will carry out the radical transformation of industry, agriculture, trade and the entire economy, modelled on an advanced bourgeois capitalist state. On this course, they will be helped by West-German and American capital in the first place, as well as by the return of the capital of the Czechoslovak capitalists from these and other Western countries. These credits cannot be ordinary credits accorded to one state by another at a given rate of interest, but will have a definite economic and political character. By means of these credits, the capitalist structure which the Czechoslovak bourgeoisie is rebuilding will be consolidated. The state capitalism

being restored in Czechoslovakia will have its main support in the internal industry as well as in the new support that the foreign capitalists will provide.

At present, the political positions of the various bourgeois capitalist cliques in power are being consolidated in Czechoslovakia. This process will continue until the coming elections, in which the rehabilitated bourgeois cliques that were overthrown by the revolution hope to regain their lost citizenship and to take power completely into their own hands again. And, of course, they are going to take power, sharing it with one another, not with kindness towards one another, but like ravening wolves. The law of the jungle will reign there, too, irrespective of the demagogic words of the program of the «Czechoslovak Communist Party» which states without a blush, «It is characteristic of the present stage that antagonistic classes no longer exist».

Thus, in Czechoslovakia not only do classes and the antagonism between them exist, and these will become more and more acute, but now the various capitalist groupings are being rehabilitated and are organizing and sorting themselves out politically and organizationally in order to perfect the organization and management of the new capitalist economy. The new law gives the bourgeois parties that are coming to power the right and duty, as «independent parties within the Front, to have responsibility in the administration of the country and the society». The new law of the Czechoslovak revisionists states openly that the «interests of social groups must be protected and their economic interests must be taken into account in the economic policy».

Thus, not only will the state economy be run by various groups of capitalists incorporated in various parties, including the «Czechoslovak Communist Party», but other socio-economic groups will spring up like mushrooms

after the rain, outside the sphere of the state economy. This means that small-scale and large-scale privately-owned industries will be set up, collectivization will be smashed and big capitalist farmers emerge, and new capitalist banks, both local and foreign, that will finance this big capitalist enterprise which is taking shape in the centre of Europe, will be established.

The Czechoslovak capitalists in power quite openly are going to build a bureaucratic, technocratic state, a regime of big economic trusts and concerns at the level of the «modern» technology of the capitalist world market. To achieve this as soon as possible, they must get rid of the existing situation, must break with the existing «socialist» traditions of the economy, must destroy the present links and forms of work and cooperation with the Soviet and others modern revisionists, and integrate Czechoslovakia completely into the mechanism of the capitalist world economy.

The planning of their economy and the decentralization of its management cannot fail to assume entirely new forms which must be adapted to the requirements of the new political and economic circumstances created. These cannot be the same as those that have been and are being applied in other revisionist countries, and it is not possible that they could be. The modernization, on a capitalist basis, of Czechoslovak industry, which is already considered one of the most modern in the revisionist camp, will undoubtedly bring changes in the forms of management, both in structures and methods. Of course, there are many specific conditions to be taken into account in this: not only the foreign market, not only the interests of foreign capitalist investors, but also the specific interests of the Czechs and the Slovaks and the interests of the internal capitalist groups that have been formed or are in the process of formation.

In short, the anti-Marxist team of Dubček placed at the helm in Czechoslovakia is leading it towards capitalism more rapidly. It is carrying out radical purges of its opponents, who are sometimes called «Novotnyites», sometimes «revisionists» and sometimes «Stalinists», and is not going to tolerate any person of the Gottwald or the Novotny periods in any key leading post. It is surrounding itself with and bringing to power the most notorious and most rabidly anti-Marxist elements, branded revisionists and clergymen, individuals just released from prison under the new law they have proclaimed «on the complete rehabilitation of communists and non-communists who have suffered victimization in past years».

While openly consolidating the positions of capitalism in Czechoslovakia, through these actions the Dubček clique is saying to the Soviet revisionists so that the whole world can hear: We shall not stop at your Khrushchevite norms; we have decided to go further openly, even against your will, even to accuse and expose you in the eyes of the other revisionists as conservative and outmoded revisionists who are not making any advance towards the «democratization and liberalization» you preach. While as to the capitalist world, the Dubček team is giving it great guarantees and hopes and its full confidence.

Of course, this team of traitors is going to carry out radical political, constitutional and economic reforms. Without doubt, all these things will come about in due course, for, as the saying has it, each fruit ripens in its own time. At the moment we see the leading role of the Czechoslovak Communist Party being reduced, see it becoming weaker ideologically and politically, completely deproletarianized and bourgeoisified, we see the role of the National Front being elevated to an unprecedented position, and see the formation, rights and functions of the other bour-

geois parties with which it is sharing power and cooperating to consolidate capitalism, sanctioned by law. On the other hand, this team is preparing for federalism, that is, allegedly to make both the Czechs and the Slovaks «equal» in all rights. Bearing in mind the course which the revisionist Dubček clique has taken, in fact, this means that it is inciting and keeping the weapon of nationalism and chauvinism poised to attack socialism and any revolutionary movement, in order to speed up the restoration of capitalism, to favour Slovak chauvinism in these circumstances and to have it ready at any time as a counter-weapon.

Of course, the Dubček team, using the pretext that Novotny's Czechs had neglected the «poor sister», Slovakia, will finance it more in its capitalist development until it reaches the «advanced» level of the «favoured sister», without neglecting the modernization of Czech industry.

Without doubt, over this fundamental question there will be continual contradictions and lack of stability and we shall witness continual clashes between Czech and Slovak capitalists, between the latter and the foreign capitalist masters who have greater influence, because they have more capital invested in one or the other part of this federation or confederation that bears the false name of the «Czechoslovak Socialist Republic».

The Czechoslovak revisionist team that will give leadership in the future has to balance the Czech and Slovak forces not only on the nationalist platform, but is obliged to balance them also in the leadership of the bourgeois capitalist political parties that are being rehabilitated and the others that will be created as new parties. All these parties are being organized; they are establishing their own press organs, their trade-union and youth organizations. Each of them is working to spread its own

views among the masses. All the clamorous demands of these organizations, of students, bourgeois writers and unrestrained journalists for independence from the revisionist Communist Party, going so far as claims to have their own deputies and special representatives in the state organs, are nothing but an aspect of the revival of various bourgeois groups, of their organizing and efforts to claim participation in the state power and running the country.

For the time being, everything is being done under the pseudo-socialist and allegedly traditional label of the «genuinely democratic hegemony of the Czechoslovak Communist Party», which, at present, is the largest party numerically. However, such a situation is temporary. The strengthening of capitalism in Czechoslovakia will bring about the differentiation of parties. It might bring the revisionist Czechoslovak Communist Party down from its «pedestal» and reduce it to a party with completely social-democratic or western socialist features. Other parties may win supremacy and power. A party without the slightest socialist trace, but which represents the strongest Czech or Slovak capitalist group, closely linked with the most powerful capitalist group abroad, may become the most powerful party.

The revisionist team currently at the head of the Czechoslovak Communist Party and the Czechoslovak state is preparing this process of capitalist development under the guise of «socialism», in order to avoid the hegemonic blows of the Soviet revisionists(2), in order to

2 Dubček and company could not eschew such blows. The Soviet revisionists who themselves plotted to overthrow Novotny and to bring Dubček to power saw clearly that the latter was galloping towards the West, thus putting the Soviet interests in Czechoslovakia at stake. All the means to impede the Dubček clique like the threats in the Letter from Warsaw, which was adopted in the ridiculous meeting in the Polish capital by the

keep the working class and the other working strata asleep, and in order to avoid and crush the eventual internal disturbances and attacks. Meanwhile the capitalist world is quite clear about where the Dubček clique is heading.

The Dubček revisionists claim that now there are no more restrictions, no censorship, no entry or exit visas in Czechoslovak passports or those of the western countries, that no Czechoslovak citizen can be considered a political fugitive or emigre if he goes away and stays abroad. In a word, the Dubček clique has transformed Czechoslovakia into an inn, in which people, goods and ideas can flow freely back and forth between Czechoslovakia and the West.

The Czechoslovaks are boasting about the stress they have put on the rights of the national minorities, as though they did not exist formerly. Apparently the ground is being prepared for the return of over one million Sudeten Germans to Czechoslovakia. In other words, they are trying to strengthen contacts with the capitalists of Bonn to ensure the inflow of capital investments from West Germany. This will undoubtedly bring about a radical change in Czechoslovak foreign policy and in its political attitude towards the German Democratic Republic, towards the Warsaw Treaty, and towards the present policy of the states of Central Europe in general.

The idea is now being vigorously canvassed in Cze-

Soviet leadership together with the revisionist leaders of Poland, the German Democratic Republic, Hungary and Bulgaria, and in the talks in Černa na Tisú and Bratislava, were consumed. Their last resort was open aggression, with which, as Comrade Enver Hoxha stressed in the article «The Aggression against Czechoslovakia — an Ugly Crime», published in the newspaper «Zëri i popullit», August 24, 1968, «the Khrushchevite clique put another big stain on the Soviet Union and the Soviet army and dealt another heavy blow at the honour and prestige of the Soviet people.»

choslovakia that, due to the country's geographical position, it is destined to serve as a «bridge between East and West» and every day there is talk about pursuing an «active European policy», about a more active policy towards the «unification of Europe», and so on. The present ruling clique in Czechoslovakia is doing nothing to conceal its ardent desire for all-round normalization of its relations with Bonn. Its «assurances» that allegedly it will support and defend the interests of the German Democratic Republic are false, just as its declarations that the key-stone of its foreign policy will remain its friendship with the Soviet Union are false.

The present line pursued by Czechoslovakia in the direction of its foreign policy is only temporary. In the near future it will assume a clearer, more concrete pro-Western form. Its emissaries have already been sent to the United States, Britain and elsewhere. Neither the content nor the forms of the existing policy towards the Soviet revisionists and the other revisionists can be durable. They will undergo changes, perhaps «dramatic» changes.

All these changes which are taking place and will continue in Czechoslovakia, the decentralization and transformation of the economy, the political and constitutional system, the internal and external alliances, the Czech and Slovak national rivalry, the modernization and linking of industry with foreign capitalist trusts, the switching of agriculture on to the capitalist road, the re-establishment of private property, the grouping of capitalists in trusts and concerns, the finding of new sources of raw materials and export markets, all these and other such transformations cannot take place without clashes, both internal and external; they cannot fail to have an effect within the Soviet Union and the other revisionist countries of Europe, or fail to encounter their resistance.

The various imperialists will place special importance on the Czechoslovak capitalist bourgeoisie and give it great assistance for the complete restoration of capitalism, proceeding from their own economic, political, ideological and strategic reasons, interests, aims and benefits. Czechoslovakia is becoming for them a pivot in Central and Southeast Europe, where the interests of the Soviet revisionist imperialists and the Western imperialists clash, where there are dangers of a turning-point in the revolutionary struggle, in the class struggle between the proletariat and the working masses, on the one hand, and the revisionist cliques which have usurped power in the party and state, on the other.

With the restoration of capitalism in Czechoslovakia, imperialism is seeking to avoid the bad example of the Titoite chaos, to achieve the liquidation of the economic and political dependence of Czechoslovakia on the Soviet Union as quickly as possible and, at the same time, to bring about the bourgeois transformation of education and culture so that Czechoslovakia becomes a support for and the prototype of a revisionist country attractive to Hungary, Bulgaria, Poland, etc.

It is not their ideological bonds, which keep the revisionist states united with the Soviet revisionists, so much as economic issues and the Warsaw Treaty of mutual defence. If these bonds were to be severed, they would all be released from the dictate of the Soviet leadership. If American imperialism and the other imperialist states can manage to sever these bonds, then the revisionist Soviet Union will be isolated, and left in the lurch by its revisionist allies (3).

3 In the July 24, 1968 article «The Soviet Revisionists and Czechoslovakia», Comrade Enver Hoxha pointed out, «The Czechoslovak crisis is neither an accidental, unexpected phenomenon nor an isolated crisis. It is part of the large-scale crisis

Thus, there is some other revisionist country, besides Titoite Yugoslavia, whose political and defence ties with the Soviet Union are purely formal. The ties between them are limited to reciprocal commercial exchanges only and everything else is tense. Now it all depends on what course matters will take in Czechoslovakia and they cannot do other than take the course we mentioned above. Therefore, what is happening in Czechoslovakia constitutes a great defeat for the Soviet leading clique, because it jeopardizes its whole policy towards its revisionist satellites. Once this road is opened, Hungary or Poland may also follow the example of Czechoslovakia, and then the Warsaw Treaty, the political links and the so-called ideological links would all collapse. Comecon likewise. In that case the revisionist Soviet Union would experience a major political and economic upheaval. Such a process will surely come to pass. It is in the making. All these sensational political and ideological changes taking place in Czechoslovakia have and will have great repercussions in the Soviet Union, irrespective of how the Soviet revisionists, in order to help their cause, try to disguise, conceal, minimize and distort what is happening in Czechoslovakia, to reduce its effect and avoid its consequences. Sooner or later the truth will come out, the sun cannot be concealed with a sieve. This is a chain reaction. Then in the Soviet Union, in the circumstances in which the all-round crisis of the Khrushchevite revisionist regime has long been simmering, the shaky position of the ruling clique will become even more difficult, the contradictions between the present Soviet leadership, which is furiously angry with the Czechoslovak extremist clique (and is trying to devise ways and means to

of modern revisionism, with its centre in the Soviet Union. This crisis is also felt outside the Soviet Union, among its satellites which try to throw off the yoke of Soviet revisionism.»

destroy it, by undermining it from within or by means of all sorts of pressure and blackmail), and the pro-Czechoslovak Soviet elements, who are likewise demanding freedom of action, «democratization» and changes, will become more acute. On the other hand and above all, the Soviet revisionist leadership is very much afraid of the rising tide of the revolution, because all these defeats are confirming the betrayal by the revisionist chiefs in the eyes of the masses and the working class of the Soviet Union. In this serious situation for them, the Soviet revisionist leaders, certainly divided among themselves, are trying to preserve the appearance of unity in the leadership, trying to make light of their external defeats, trying to preserve the «status quo» and the ideological and political stagnation internally, trying to fob off the party and the working class with allegedly revolutionary leftist slogans, to create the impression that «liberalization does not enter Soviet society». However, all these efforts cannot achieve much and what they have repaired today will fall apart tomorrow. This is the dialectics of the things.

Not only is the storm rising within the Soviet Union, but the waves are crashing against Soviet revisionism from all sides, externally, too, in the first place from the genuine Marxist-Leninist parties and all the revolutionaries of the world who are watching, judging and fighting. As well as the struggle waged by the Marxist-Leninists against the Soviet revisionists, we are seeing and will see even more clearly later how the revisionist «partners» of the Soviet revisionists in the capitalist countries will abandon them. At present these partners have two lovers: one of the heart and the other for his money. For the Italian, French and other revisionists of the capitalist countries, Czechoslovak revisionism will become the former, the true lover, because it has brought

nearer and is realizing their dream, because they will boast of this to their own capitalists and, on the strength of its example, they will beg a crust from the capitalist table. Meanwhile Soviet revisionism is the old lover who has to give them subsidies. The Italian revisionists, deputies and senators, at meetings and over television, are saying openly, «We are not for the establishment in Italy of a socialist regime like that in the Soviet Union, but for a socialist regime such as has now been established in Czechoslovakia».

The Dubček group, on the road to the restoration of capitalism, has now given freedom of action to all, with the exception of proletarians, revolutionaries and Marxist-Leninists. «Freedom of the press» for all reactionaries has been proclaimed, and in fact, in Czechoslovakia today there is no censorship even for the blackest reaction, while for the working class and the revolutionary communists even freedom of speech and discussion within the party has been denied, not to mention their right to go out in the streets to oppose reaction or to write in the press. Such a situation does not exist even in the capitalist countries where reaction is in power, but where, despite this, the Marxist-Leninists have the right to organize, to hold demonstrations and strikes, to hold meetings and have their own press. Hence the Dubček team is quite openly and unashamedly going further: all reactionaries, all the fascists, can speak how and wherever they like, while prison awaits the revolutionaries.

With this sort of «freedom» the Czechoslovak revisionist team is consistent in its course. It wants and is working to accelerate and activate the process of degeneration in everything from the past. On this course it enjoys the assistance of the bourgeois press in the capitalist countries, to which the doors of Czechoslovakia have been flung open so wide that its representa-

tives are present even at the meetings of basic organizations of the Czechoslovak Communist Party.

The counter-revolution within the counter-revolution in Czechoslovakia is striving to consolidate its newly-won positions and is celebrating its victory. However, the working class and the revolutionaries of Czechoslovakia have still not had their say. Will the genuine Marxist-Leninist communists and the workers of Czechoslovakia permit for much longer the betrayal which is being perpetrated against the Czechoslovak people and socialism?

It is already clear to everyone that the bourgeoisie, reactionaries, the fascists and the hooligans with long hair, financed by the international bourgeoisie, are making the law in Czechoslovakia today. Will the Czechoslovak working class and the revolutionaries allow such a thing?

The revolutionary communists and the working class of Czechoslovakia must reject the false «freedoms» of the Dubček clique. How can it be tolerated that the fascists, traitors and formerly imprisoned class enemies are free to speak and attack Marxism-Leninism, to sully the memory of Klement Gottwald and other Marxist-Leninists like foul-mouthed hooligans, and the revolutionaries of Czechoslovakia fail to erupt in anger against them and do not have the right to defend the cause of communism? The revolutionary communists must smash all the pseudo-norms that have been established in the Czechoslovak Communist Party by Novotny and Dubček, with which they have bound the communists hand and foot, and establish the Leninist norms of Klement Gottwald, who said, «The Party must be the leader of the masses, the organizer of their struggle... The more acute the situation, the tenser the class contradiction, the more important and decisive becomes the role of the Party». Klement Gottwald likewise said, «Any opportunism, any waver- ing, any conciliation with the opportunists, any lack

of principle, inevitably leads to liquidationism». Only by rising against them can the revolutionary communists and the working class smash the treacherous plans which the Novotny and Dubček cliques have hatched up against socialism in Czechoslovakia, the former with the assistance of the Soviet revisionists and the latter with the aid of international reaction.

The ultra-revisionist Dubček clique is afraid of the people and the genuine communists, it is afraid of the old guard which keeps alive the spirit of the revolutionary class struggle, of the partisan war, and the events of February 1948⁽⁴⁾; it is afraid of the working class and the communists inspired by Gottwald according to the teachings of Marxism-Leninism. Because of this fear, Novotny and Dubček, both of them renegades and enemies of the proletariat, settled their accounts in behind-the-scenes deals in the gloom of Prague Castle, ignoring the working class and behind its back, avoiding and fearing its judgement. The Dubček clique fears the workers' militia which has weapons in its hands, that is why this clique is trying to disarm the working class. Will the working class permit such a thing? The victories of the working class in Czechoslovakia, whatever they be, are being seriously threatened by the bourgeoisie, the fascists and the usurpers. Therefore, it is now or never that the strength of the working class must be demonstrated.

The tragic situation through which Czechoslovakia is passing demand courage and daring. These are qualities, not of traitors and cowards, but of revolutionaries. What are the brave men of Czechoslovakia, the genuine Marx-

4 In February 1948, under the leadership of the Czechoslovak Communist Party, the Czechoslovak working people defeated the counter-revolutionary attempts. The February events led to the founding of the new government, with Gottwald at the head, on February 25, 1948.

ist-Leninists and the working class doing? Why are they silent(5) allowing the cowards and the fascists to strut in the streets, to impose the white terror and fabricate grave situations that drive people to commit suicide? Whom do the revolutionaries fear? Is it that they want to respect the «legality» of their party and the laws of the dictatorship of the «proletariat»? But today in Czechoslovakia that legality does not exist, and neither the party nor the state power belongs to the revolutionaries and the workers any longer. They have been turned into a party and a dictatorship of the bourgeoisie.

The communists and working class throughout the world believe that the revolutionaries and the working class of Czechoslovakia will come out in the streets and fight to defend the interests of the people, socialism and the dictatorship of the proletariat. In the decisive days of February 1948 the proletarian revolutionary Klement Gottwald issued the call to all the Czechoslovak workers and working people: «I call on you all to be vigilant and in combat readiness... Nip in the bud any act of provocation by reactionary agents. Be united and determined, and your right will triumph!» New Gottwalds and Fučíks will come out on the battlefield, talented revolutionaries and outstanding leaders, who will lead the Czechoslovak working class and working people in battles to destroy the rotten fortress of the Novotny and Dubček cliques. This is the only way which will bring no grist to the

5 In the article of July 24. 1968, Comrade Enver Hoxha also stresses, «A people who lose their revolutionary vigilance for a period, be it even for a short one, who weaken and lose the militant spirit to defend their independence and rights, are faced with many evils the internal and external enemies get up for them. The times in which we are living and fighting require that the peoples should not fall asleep, should not allow to be lulled into sleep like babies in the cradle by the demagogy of a handful of traitors who are forging heavy chains for them.»

mill of the Soviet revisionists, Dubček, or the imperialists, but responds only to the interests of the Czechoslovak people, the interests of socialism and world proletarian revolution.

*«Against Modern Revisionism
1968-1970»*

ON THE PRESENT INTERNATIONAL SITUATION

*From the Report to the 5th Plenum of the CC
of the PLA*

September 5, 1968

Dear comrades,

At its meeting of September 3, 1968, after examining and analyzing the international situation in general and the tragic events which occurred recently in the Socialist Republic of Czechoslovakia in particular, and after studying the political, military and juridical situation in the Warsaw Treaty in the light of the fascist aggression committed by the Soviet, Polish, East-German, Hungarian and Bulgarian governments against Czechoslovakia, the Political Bureau decided to call this session of the Plenum of the Central Committee of the Party and to present for discussion and approval the conclusions reached on this now aggressive treaty. Before informing you about those decisions and proposals of the Political Bureau, I want to point out some aspects of the present international events, and the tasks which emerge for our Party, people and state in these situations. The denunciation of the Warsaw Treaty by the People's Republic of Albania precisely at these very favourable political moments, with all the political, ideological, juridical and other rights and reasons on our side,

will certainly raise the prestige of the Party, the people, the Government and the People's Republic of Albania still higher in the eyes of all progressive peoples of the world. On the other hand, in denouncing this aggressive treaty from which it has long been excluded *de facto* by the revisionist members of this treaty, the People's Republic of Albania strengthens its positions and averts a possible danger of aggression of which we have long been aware in our struggle against the Soviet revisionists, a danger which was fully confirmed in the case of Czechoslovakia.

I want to stress that when the Warsaw Treaty was signed (in 1955), the situation was different, but it has now changed completely because, since the betrayal of the Soviet and other revisionists, the character of this treaty has been totally transformed both politically and ideologically, and militarily.

At the time the Warsaw Treaty was signed, that is, after the death of Stalin and before the Bucharest Meeting, about February 1956, when the revisionists' views of the Nikita Khrushchev group had still not come to light to their full extent, there were evident signs of some sort of incitement towards political and ideological liberalism in the Soviet Union and especially in the direction of a rapprochement with the Yugoslav revisionists. However, at that time, the Soviet revisionists had not yet come out openly with their theses and the political moments seemed to be such that they called for the signing of the Warsaw Treaty, which was created to safeguard the independence of all the socialist states individually and the socialist camp as a whole against imperialist aggression and the aggressive bloc of NATO and to prevent interference in their internal affairs. Hence, it was correct and progressive for us to sign the Warsaw Treaty, the situation required this, therefore our Party and Government endorsed and signed it.

It must be said, however, that even at that time for us the Warsaw Treaty existed only on paper, because the military relations concerning the defence of our country, the supply of armaments in the context of this Treaty, and the respective agreements were concluded between two states only, the Soviet Union and Albania, while in regard to other questions, as a member country of the Warsaw Treaty, we were treated only as stage extras in the full sense of the term. The other member countries of the Warsaw Treaty were in the same position. Perhaps the Soviets may have held separate meetings with the other member countries of this Treaty without the participation of Albania, but we noticed that the joint meetings were purely formal, as was the case of the meetings held from time to time to elect the general secretary of the Consultative Political Committee and the commander-in-chief. Hence, in a few words, the Warsaw Treaty did not function as a collective organ of the member countries.

When we exposed the great betrayal of the Soviet revisionists and all other modern revisionists, then their hostile attitude towards the Party, the Government and the People's Republic of Albania in all fields, political, ideological, economic and military, was displayed openly. Thus, far from being a means of defence for our Party and people, the Warsaw Treaty constituted a threat to the freedom and independence of the country. In fact, even then the revisionists had *de facto* excluded us from the Treaty. The Political Bureau and the Central Committee of our Party have long been clear about this political and military situation in the Warsaw Treaty, therefore with the breach in relations with the revisionist countries, our whole defence has been built as an all-sided defence, ready for any kind of danger or attack both from the imperialist countries and from the revisionist countries.

In fact, even though we were excluded from the

Warsaw Treaty we have always opposed its unjust actions, but its member countries never accepted our demands. They may have taken some secret internal decision and expelled us from the Warsaw Treaty, but even if they have not taken this secret decision, effectively we are expelled.

The recent events in Czechoslovakia confirm what we long ago foresaw, that the Warsaw Treaty no longer has the character it had when it was created. All the member countries of the Warsaw Treaty in which the revisionist cliques are in power, with the exception of Rumania, attacked Czechoslovakia in a perfidious fascist manner, i.e. they used the Warsaw Treaty as a means to oppress and enslave a member country of this Treaty, hence what the Political Bureau of our Party had foreseen came to pass, and the political situation created is such that we should denounce this Treaty. The denunciation of the Warsaw Treaty in this international situation will find the complete support and endorsement of the entire Albanian people and our Party, as well as of progressive democratic elements of the world and genuine Marxist-Leninists, who will approve this political action of the People's Republic of Albania. In this way, our defence will be strengthened, sympathy for and the authority of the Party, the Government and the People's Republic of Albania in the international arena will be increased, because in these moments, when the Soviet revisionists are threatening to put even the countries of the Warsaw Treaty themselves to the torch, we slap them in the face with their own fascist acts and publicly and courageously expose them.

But is the denunciation of the Warsaw Treaty in our favour in these international circumstances? In this situation created by the Soviet revisionists, in the conditions of the sharpening of the crisis which has gripped the capitalist countries, when the Soviet-US alliance to sup-

press the liberation struggles of the peoples of the world is being strengthened more and more, we say that this denunciation is in our favour. We consider that the existence of the Warsaw Treaty played no positive role at all in the defence of our country. On the contrary, it was a danger which will remain even after we revoke this Treaty. So, in this case we lose nothing. The other enemies, the imperialists, likewise, do not relinquish anything, they want to attack and enslave us, just as before, therefore, in this direction nothing is changed. As regards the threats to and the defence of our country, the denunciation of the Warsaw Treaty alters nothing.

Up till yesterday, in theory, the US imperialists and their friends might have said that they must not attack Albania, because the forces of the Warsaw Treaty might be set in motion. For us this theoretical supposition is valueless, because whether or not Albania is in the Warsaw Treaty can have no affect in regard to the strategy of NATO in the Balkans, therefore the imperialists could attack us in both eventualities.

However, in these circumstances the denunciation of the Warsaw Treaty by the People's Republic of Albania assumes special importance. When we denounce the Warsaw Treaty, the member countries of NATO cannot put forward the excuse. «We are attacking Albania because it is a member country of the Warsaw Treaty», but they will be attacking a country which is not a member of the Warsaw Treaty, so we deprive them of this argument. Thus, in both instances the denunciation of the Warsaw Treaty in no way harms the cause of the defence of our country. This act is one hundred per cent in our favour. The propaganda of the modern revisionists will scream, «Now Albania has linked itself with NATO», etc. but no one will swallow this; let them bark as they have done until now. because life itself and the de-

terminated revolutionary stands of our Party and people will certainly expose them mercilessly. Therefore, comrades, it is good that we should discuss this question of great importance and take a decision on it.

The Central Committee of the Party has full knowledge of the development of events in the international arena and especially of the events in the Socialist Republic of Czechoslovakia and other revisionist countries. «Zëri i popullit» and all the press of our country have given detailed information about these events, have taken the proper revolutionary stand towards them, and made penetrating analyses to explain the origin of the treacherous and aggressive revisionist acts, both those by the Soviet revisionists and their aggressor satellites and those by the Czechoslovak revisionist traitors and capitulationists. Therefore, we think that it is not necessary for us to go over the events chronologically.

I want to re-emphasize what our Party and its Central Committee foresaw correctly, namely that the great crisis in the camp of the modern revisionists is being confirmed and growing deeper with each passing year. All these events and those which are bound to occur in the future, which will be even more catastrophic to the revisionists, are the result and consequence of their betrayal of Marxism-Leninism, of the capitalist course they have taken in ideology, policy, economy, in the organization of the party, the state and the economy.

The liquidation of the victories of socialism in their countries by the Soviet and other revisionists, the transformation of the Marxist-Leninist parties into bourgeois social-democratic parties, the transformation of their economies into capitalist economies brought about as an inevitable result the alteration of their internal and external policy into a chauvinist, oppressive, fascist policy, a policy of ruling their peoples through force and terror, the

alteration of the objectives of the various alliances concluded among them into enslaving political, economic and military alliances in favour of the most powerful revisionist state, which is the Soviet Union, and to the detriment of its satellites, and finally a policy of the creation of the Soviet-American alliance for the division of spheres of influence, for the domination of the world by the two great powers, for the armed and unarmed struggle against the international communist movement, socialism, and peoples' national liberation wars.

This whole course of betrayal traversed by the Khrushchevite revisionists and their lackeys since the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union is an uninterrupted sequence of resounding defeats for them. The pyramids they have set up along this road are pyramids with shaky, rotten foundations, erected with great desperate efforts, which have exposed them totally and definitively in the eyes not only of revolutionary communists and the international communist movement, but also of all honest people of the world.

All this feverish treacherous activity of the Soviet revisionists and their servants has taken place while the general crisis of world capitalism, headed by US imperialism, was in the process of growing deeper. Precisely in order to rescue world capitalism from its grave crisis and the revolution, the Khrushchevite revisionists and their servants took upon themselves the role of scabs and traitors to the revolution and peoples' national liberation wars, under the despicable slogans of «a world without wars, a world without arms», «peaceful coexistence», etc. Naturally, at the favourable revolutionary moments, within the great general crisis of world capitalism, the crisis in the ranks of the modern revisionists, these new capitalists, was bound to become increasingly deeper and more acute.

In the first place, the Soviet revisionists would lose their hegemony and absolute political, ideological and economic control over their satellites and all the revisionist chiefs of various parties. This defeat for them would be brought about not only by the influence of their anti-Marxist ideology and the new forms which were adopted, but also because US imperialism, in the first place, and world capitalism, each separately and all of them together, would undertake, as they did, to «build bridges» in order to precipitate the undermining of the Soviet domination, to activate polycentrism and centrifugal tendencies from Moscow, to encourage liberalization in the life of the countries where the revisionists rule.

The Soviet revisionists suffered colossal loss of prestige and authority, as well as economic damage from this development, and the more they lost, the more closely the traitor clique of the Kremlin linked itself with US imperialism, which, thanks to its alliances with the Soviet revisionists, was able to overcome the Indonesian crisis, the Dominican and Indo-Pakistan crises, the crisis in its relations with France and many others.

The Soviet revisionists are greatly worried because they want to have control over all the revisionists of the world, whom they need so desperately to sing in harmony with them and set up a smoke-screen. Above all, the Soviet revisionists are trying to preserve their political, ideological, economic and military hegemony over their satellites in Europe.

The big game which is being played in Europe is over the unification of Germany. This is the aim of Bonn and US imperialism. On their part, they are making efforts to ensure the liquidation of the German Democratic Republic without a war. The elimination of the German Democratic Republic from the map of Europe and the creation of a new Reich is the key to liquidating

Soviet influence over its European satellites and developing friendly relations of the latter with Bonn. The offers of Bonn are making some headway with the revisionist cliques. The Soviets, Zhivkov, Gomulka, Tito, even Ulbricht, and others are very keen on the huge credits they receive from Bonn and are welcoming the German tourists gleefully. This induced the Soviet Union, Yugoslavia and Rumania to establish diplomatic relations with Bonn. The Czechs and Bulgarians, not to mention the Hungarians, were ready to follow suit.

The Soviet revisionists are afraid and will not commit themselves to signing the peace treaty with the German Democratic Republic, which they are sacrificing for the sake of the Soviet-American alliance. Then what do they put as a counter to the solution of this basic problem? Hot air — the meeting and the unfeasible proposals of Karlovy Vary and the ideological disintegration in their camp, or the coming abortive Moscow Conference!

In these international circumstances the Czechoslovak crisis, which had been simmering for about a year, came to a head. It was an internal crisis of Czechoslovak revisionism, in which the Soviet revisionists were involved up to their elbows as we have already analysed and, generally speaking, the facts have proved our analysis correct.

The Dubček clique overthrew the Novotny clique and set off at a headlong gallop towards the West. The strategic-military balance of the defence of the Soviet Union was upset. In the opinion of the Soviets, the German Democratic Republic and the People's Republic of Hungary were endangered, not only politically but also militarily. Thus, events were precipitating. The Soviet, German and Polish revisionists were in great trouble. Following the example of Czechoslovakia, demonstrations against Gomulka began in Poland. Nothing could hold back the Germans of Ulbricht. They were only awaiting the signal.

In Dresden the Dubček clique resisted its opponents who met later in Warsaw and gave it the ultimatum we know and which our Party's press has analysed correctly, taking a resolute and principled stand.

You know about the subsequent meetings organized by the Soviet revisionists and their lackeys at Černa na Tissu and Bratislava(1), and the communiqués they issued. You also know about the military manoeuvres of the five member countries of the Warsaw Treaty in Czechoslovakia and later along its borders; you know of the «triumphal» visits of Tito and Ceausescu to Prague. You are informed about all these things from our press, which commented on them extensively, in the true Marxist-Leninist way.

The articles and commentaries of our press and Radio Tirana have been followed with great interest and have enhanced the authority of our Party because of its heroic, resolute, just, Marxist-Leninist stand. Within Czechoslovakia in particular, they have made great impression, because of their clarity and objectivity.

The fascist attack on and occupation of Czechoslovakia by the Soviet revisionists completely tore the mask from the clique in the Kremlin. Moreover, even the methods they used, ranging from pressure, blackmail and the Judas' kisses in Bratislava, down to their sudden attack, in the darkness of the night, without any fact to serve even as a formal excuse for their brutal armed intervention, show this intervention in its real fascist imperialist light. They sullied the prestige of the Soviet Union as the first socialist country!

1 At Černa na Tissu in eastern Slovakia, talks were held between the Political Bureau of the CC of the revisionist party of the Soviet Union and the presidium of the revisionist party of Czechoslovakia. At Bratislava a meeting was held between delegations of the revisionist parties of the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia, Poland, the German Democratic Republic, Hungary and Bulgaria.

Through their hostile activity the Soviet revisionists have been working systematically, according to a fiendish plan, to wipe out that colossal credit that the Soviet Union had gained in the eyes of the world as the first socialist country. This is the greatest loss communism has suffered and it will take time, blood and sweat for the true Soviet communists and all the Marxist-Leninists of the world to regain that credit. As for the Soviet revisionists themselves, they have lost even what little credit they may have had among the revisionists of other countries and among vacillating opportunist elements, because in appearances, at least, all this filth, this scum of international communism is not in agreement with the brutal and aggressive acts of the Soviet revisionists, does not reconcile itself to Soviet imperialism and hegemony. This scum is part and parcel of that national capitalism which aims to strengthen its hegemony over the others. This scum was hoping that, at least, the Soviet revisionists would not transform their policy of «peaceful coexistence» into a policy of brutal force which would jeopardize the hegemony of the other capitalist countries of which the revisionists are lackeys.

Therefore, with the brutal occupation of Czechoslovakia, we see that nearly all the revisionist parties of the world, wherever they are, with the French Communist Party and the Italian Communist Party at the head, are openly declaring themselves opposed to the armed occupation of Czechoslovakia by the Soviet revisionists. Just as we foresaw, the split in the ranks of modern revisionism is growing deeper, though they will not break off relations with one another and will get them going again formally. Nevertheless, the basis of these parties is rotten, shaky, almost non-existent and is collapsing completely. Their national bourgeoisie will wreak havoc among the ranks of these parties in order to weaken and liquidate

even that relatively small influence they still have left.

For some months at least the revisionist Communist Party of the Soviet Union will be alone, isolated, will have on its side only those four parties which followed it in the attack on Czechoslovakia, and a few lickspittles of the *apatride** emigrants, who have no «followers» apart from themselves and whose only ideal is the Soviet ruble.

Thus, as we predicted, the revisionist conference in Moscow has been compromised, and even if the Soviets manage to hold it, they will do so only by means of threats and the force of the ruble, and it will be an utter farce.

Above all, the armed attack on Czechoslovakia has been a catastrophe, suicide, for the Soviet revisionists. The fact is that this act is a blow to their policy of «peaceful coexistence» and a self-inflicted defeat for their liberal revisionist policy. The revisionist Left in the Soviet Union, or the «revisionist conservatives», as they insist on being called, forced the liberals into silence and here considerations of strategic defence and prestige played the main role. The enemy was at the door, and the knife was at their throats.

There are rumours that there will be a «changing of the guard» in the present Soviet revisionist leadership. Naturally, the existing crisis in the Soviet revisionist leadership will grow deeper, however, there must be no illusions about those who may be brought in eventually. They will be just like those who may go out — all of them are putschists and revisionists.

However, a «changing of the guard» will, to some extent, shake the slumbering Ivan out of his deep sleep. Under the pressure of events, he may begin to think a little about why such things are happening and what

* without homeland (French in the original).

he should do about them. This is the positive aspect of the possible change. These changes will weaken the revisionist leadership and encourage resistance to it. In the ranks of the satellites, too, a «changing of the guard» in the Kremlin could and must touch off a chain-reaction, bringing changes, if not immediately, at least gradually, among some of them, if not everywhere.

In any case, some months prior to the attack on Czechoslovakia, the «conservative Left» took peripheral military measures to ensure the «rear» and «front lines» of the Soviet Union. On this occasion it strengthened its occupation of Poland and the German Democratic Republic and, after the military occupation of Czechoslovakia, from which the Soviet troops will never be withdrawn, reinforced its garrisons in Hungary and Bulgaria, where the Soviet troops are dressed in the uniform of the Bulgarian army. All this has been dictated by the Soviet revisionists' fear of a total disintegration and the complete break-away of their satellites from the Soviet Union, as well as of an analogous or revolutionary outbreak in the Soviet Union itself. Hence, we are entitled to put forward the hypothesis that this may have been the objective of this whole operation.

Thus, whether or not there is a «changing of the guard» in the Kremlin, the Soviet revisionists are panic-stricken over events both inside and outside their country, and they have put the question of maintaining this situation first, even by armed force, even by armed occupation of Czechoslovakia, although they know and are convinced that neither the Poles, nor the East-Germans, nor the Hungarians agree with them. At the present juncture, these satellites are obliged to express their sham solidarity with these acts of the Soviets, at least for the time being.

Hence, from now on, solutions to problems and contradictions, which will become more profound and abrasive

between the Soviet revisionists and their satellites, the other members of the Warsaw Treaty, will be imposed by force by the Soviet Union or eventually, result in armed clashes. There is no other way they can go.

Of all the satellites of the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia is the most typical example. It was occupied and the others have been occupied. Now the Soviet occupation forces will make the law in the Czechoslovak Republic. They will appoint the leadership of the Czechoslovak party and government. If it is held, the congress of the «Czechoslovak Communist Party» will be conducted according to directives from Moscow. Thus, Czechoslovakia has been transformed into a Soviet colony. Poland, the German Democratic Republic and Hungary, not to mention Bulgaria which has long been transformed into a Soviet colony, will undergo similar transformations. This is their course which only armed conflicts among different cliques can alter; it is a course which endangers only the Soviet colonial yoke, **while the proletarian revolution is the best means to put a definitive end to this tragedy and intrigue hatched up by the Soviet imperialists and world imperialism.**

Therefore, these moments are very favourable to the true Marxist-Leninists, the revolutionaries everywhere in the world. They must organize and mobilize their peoples in resistance and armed struggle against both modern revisionism and imperialism.

With the fascist-type aggression they committed against the Czechoslovak people and the Czechoslovak Republic, the Soviet revisionist aggressors suffered a great and ignominious defeat. All world opinion has risen against them. Their action is immoral, cynical and fascist. There is no political, ideological or juridical basis in their action. All their arguments to justify their aggression are unfounded and false. The betrayers of Marxism-Leninism

and the leaders of the treacherous course of revisionism are in no position to accuse the Czechoslovak revisionists of having betrayed Marxism-Leninism or of taking the revisionist course.

The Soviet revisionist traitors, who are the political and ideological partners, friends and allies of US imperialism, are in no position to accuse the Czechoslovak revisionists of moving towards a close alliance with world capitalism.

The Soviet revisionist traitors, who have reduced the Bolshevik Party to a degenerate party, a party without the Leninist spirit and norms, a social-democratic party which they keep in existence only for the sake of its name, are in no position to accuse the Czechoslovak revisionists of destroying the Czechoslovak Communist Party and transforming it into a social-democratic party.

The Soviet revisionists, who themselves are building capitalism in the Soviet Union, while destroying socialism with its laws, norms and organizational forms, are in no position to accuse the Czechoslovak revisionists of building capitalism and destroying socialism in their own country.

The Soviet revisionists, who are taking huge credits from world capitalism, are in no position to accuse the Czechoslovak revisionists of taking and wanting to take credits from the capitalists.

The Soviet revisionists, who have diplomatic and other links with Bonn, are in no position to demand that the Czechoslovak revisionists should not establish similar relations with Bonn.

We could extend the list of similar stands of the Soviet revisionists. The question arises and answers itself: What political, moral, ideological or juridical right have the Soviet revisionists over the Czechoslovak revisionists? What right have they to call the Czechoslovak revisionists to account and, worse still, to attack the Czechoslovak

people with arms and occupy the Czechoslovak Republic? No right whatsoever!

Hence, all this confirms what we have said, that the revisionists are traitors, imperialists, fascists. With what they did in Czechoslovakia they have discarded any disguise, have proved that for them, just as for the fascists, friendship, principles, alliances, treaties, democracy, freedom, independence or sovereignty of the peoples, simply do not exist. They trample over all these things, crush them under their jackboots, suppress them with fire and steel.

The official Soviet revisionists' justification for their aggression against Czechoslovakia is, in itself, a great self-exposure. Among other things, they claim that they were invited to intervene in Czechoslovakia by «Czechoslovak personalities» whose names they dare not mention, probably because it is a fraud, but even if such people exist they are nothing but despicable traitors, Soviet agents, collaborationists and hateful quislings. Intervention in a country is justified only when there is an official call for help from that country's legal government. Neither the Czechoslovak Government, nor the President of the Republic, neither the Central Committee or Parliament invited them. When Hitler attacked Czechoslovakia, he at least forced President Haša to put his signature to an official document.

When the Soviet revisionist occupiers undertook this act, they knew that the Czechoslovak leadership would go down on its knees the next day. In fact, this revisionist leadership which did capitulate, which left the borders open and did not give the order for the country to be defended, capitulated in Moscow for the second time and entered the service of the invaders. But the Soviets will have to make great efforts to find people they can rely on one hundred per cent, with whom they may at least

form the shadow of a quisling government of some stability. This will be their next great defeat. Of course they will find stooges and traitors, but the resistance will not be put down. The Soviets will find some Czech Kadar, but things will take a different course from that of Hungary.

Their barbarous act will prevent the Soviet revisionists from carrying out the reorganization of the Czechoslovak Communist Party as they intended, and without this they cannot legalize their fascist deed. With great difficulty they may manage to hoodwink some of the people, just enough to overcome the initial difficulties and create the impression that «the intervention was necessary and saved the situation, everything has been brought back to normal and our friendship continues», and then there will be exchanges of delegations with embraces and Judas' kisses. But this will solve nothing. With every passing day the situation in Czechoslovakia will become more difficult for the occupiers and more favourable for the revolutionaries.

The true Czechoslovak Marxist-Leninists will have to organize an underground Czechoslovak Marxist-Leninist Communist Party as quickly as possible; they will have to organize the front of resistance on principled, but not sectarian, foundations, will have to lead the Czechoslovak working class and people from the present passive defence into active defence, with strikes and demonstrations, armed attacks and, eventually, the organization of partisan warfare. The moments their nation is going through now are very favourable and they must be utilized to the maximum, not waiting for anything from anybody. The talks, negotiations and concessions to the occupiers must be attacked mercilessly. The hopes of help from the imperialists will have to be exposed and intervention by them or their agents who, at every stage, will try to seize con-

trol of the leadership of the resistance, must be attacked

The passive resistance of the Czechoslovaks is a positive beginning, but it does not solve everything. It allows the occupiers time to organize themselves, too. They want a period of calm to complete their plunder and aggression. They need this also to placate public opinion in their own countries, which they deceive brazenly.

Therefore, the Czechoslovak Marxist-Leninist revolutionaries must understand the great importance of the organization of armed resistance for the awakening of public opinion in the Soviet Union and the other revisionist countries. They must understand that they must make the rear of the revisionist occupiers unstable and insecure, and bring pressure to bear on the treacherous leaderships of their countries.

The total boycott of the revisionists' occupation armies is a good tactic and the more complete it is, the better its results will be. The hatred for them among the people must be fanned up. Let the Soviet soldiers draw conclusions if they wish. At the same time, it will be necessary to carry out propaganda, instilling defeatism among the troops of the occupation army in order to enlighten them and expose modern revisionism. Khrushchevite revisionism, the betrayal by the Soviet leadership, their destruction of socialism. The Soviet soldiers must be told that when Stalin was alive, they entered Czechoslovakia as liberators, whereas now that the anti-Stalinist traitors have emerged as their leaders, they have come to Czechoslovakia as invaders. It is good, indeed essential, to do such work but we think that it will still be insufficient if the occupation forces are not attacked with arms and driven beyond the borders of Czechoslovakia, because otherwise they are not going to leave there.

As you have seen. Czechoslovakia is being defended from various positions. Our position, like that of any

other genuine Marxist-Leninist party, is the most correct, revolutionary, Marxist-Leninist position, which defends freedom, independence, sovereignty and genuine socialism in Czechoslovakia. From this position our Party fights and thoroughly exposes the revisionist invaders, headed by the Soviet revisionists, along with US imperialists and the world capitalist bourgeoisie, as well as the Czechoslovak capitulationist revisionists, old and new, together with the reactionary Czechoslovak bourgeoisie.

It was clearly apparent that US imperialism and the world capitalist bourgeoisie gave the Soviets a free hand to act in the Czechoslovak crisis. Their only intervention was a superficial, journalistic propaganda. In the secret Soviet-US agreements reached at Camp David and Glasboro, (2) the two aggressive superpowers have divided the spheres of influence between them, and have certainly defined their common strategy and tactics for the domination of the world. This is being applied on a wide scale under cover of «peaceful coexistence». This is confirmed not only by the events in Czechoslovakia and the signing of a series of treaties and agreements between the USA and the Soviet Union, but also by all the treacherous anti-revolutionary stands of the Soviet leadership in connection with Latin America, the Israeli aggression against the Arab countries, it is confirmed to the best by the very cordial «coexistence» and the division of spheres of influence between the Americans and the Soviets in the Arab countries and in the whole Middle East, it is demonstrated by the very cordial friendship between the US 6th Fleet and the Soviet Fleet which cohabit in the waters and ports of the Mediterranean like two close

2 Reference is to the agreements reached in the Eisenhower-Khrushchev talks, in September 1959 and the Johnson-Kosygin talks in June 1967

and true allies that have the same aim — to keep the peoples of the Mediterranean under their yoke, to exploit them brutally in every way and to suppress any revolutionary movement there by force of arms.

In the aggressive fascist war which the two imperialist great powers, the USA and the Soviet Union, are preparing, naturally they are trying to impose their will and policy on all the members of NATO and the Warsaw Treaty respectively, and if other means fail, they will do so by force of arms and other pressure. These two aggressive imperialist states want all the «rear areas» throughout the world to be tranquil and under their complete domination. Will they achieve this? Time will show. But this will not be possible for a long time to come, because contradictions in their ranks will make themselves felt and grow deeper.

The revisionist clique of Belgrade has been active in defence of the Czechoslovak revisionists and has opposed the occupation of Czechoslovakia. Now Tito is faced with difficult alternatives. The situation in his country is confused, and in this state of confusion and political, ideological and nationalist degeneration, he has to re-organize the defence of his country, because from now on he can no longer count on the help of the Kadars, Dubčeks and company. Yugoslavia today is encircled by the Soviet revisionists who are dictating everything by force of arms to their satellites of the Warsaw Treaty.

Thus, for the Yugoslav leaders, as they themselves have officially declared, the defence of their northern and eastern borders has emerged as an urgent task. The organization of Yugoslav defence against any attempt at an invasion of Yugoslavia by the Soviets is in our favour. We must follow these developments with the greatest attention.

It is a fact that the Soviet revisionists' threat to the

Yugoslav state borders is becoming ever more evident. If a Soviet invasion of Rumania takes place, then the threat to Yugoslavia becomes even greater. In any case, whether Rumania is invaded or submits «peacefully» to the Moscow dictate, nothing changes the threat to Yugoslavia. Only the armed resistance of the Yugoslav peoples can thwart this threat.

Apart from this, even though Yugoslavia is not a member of NATO, in its political and strategic plans NATO considers this country as a part of its defence zone. This border is now in jeopardy and it is likely that the military, strategic, offensive and defensive dispositions of NATO regarding the Yugoslav, Greek, Mediterranean and Adriatic sector will be defined more precisely.

Here the permanent question of the defence of our Homeland emerges. We have always been encircled geographically by savage, perfidious, aggressive, fascist enemies, and the defence of our Homeland has been foreseen and built in such a manner as to face up to any aggressor or group of aggressors at any time. Such a defence must be strengthened to the utmost because of the growing threat I mentioned above. We must always take into account the contradictions among our neighbours in regard to Albania, contradictions which do not operate in the same way in different circumstances and when the balance of forces changes in a given sector or in many sectors of the world.

Therefore, we must be completely ready, always extremely vigilant, must watch the development of events with the greatest attention and draw the most correct deductions possible for the all-round defence of our borders from all quarters, from land, sea and air. Our defence must, as always, be based on realistic assessments, relying mainly on our own armed forces, the armed forces of

the entire people, on a decisive and victorious fight to the end against all our enemies.

In these complicated international situations, especially in Central Europe, but particularly so in the Balkans, the vigilance of the people, the Party, our people's state power and our government must be at its maximum. **We must be very well prepared to cope with any eventuality, even an unexpected one. Nothing must take us by surprise, least of all in the defence of the Homeland, to which we should pay even more attention than at any other time.**

We must strengthen and temper unshakeable confidence in our forces among the Party, the people and the army, must raise the patriotism, courage and heroism of the broad masses of the people to the highest level. All this must be closely linked with very thorough political and ideological work and very revolutionary practical activity. Everybody must be made aware of the internal and international situations, live with both feet firmly on the ground and not indulge in day-dreaming and vain speculation. Every word, every action by anyone must be weighed up and serve only the interests of the Party, the people and socialism.

Thorough-going political and ideological work, implementation of the line and norms of the Party with the greatest precision and iron discipline everywhere will ensure that the patriotism of the masses is profound and has a great meaning, that the heroism of the masses is not something individual or temporary, but massive and permanent. Only in this way is the unhealthy habit of boasting, which leaves you in the lurch at difficult moments, eliminated among the people, only in this way is fear or panic discarded. The source of these evils lies in superficial political work.

When we say that we must be fully prepared, we

must understand the question both from the political, ideological and military aspect, and from the economic aspect. Not only must work in our country continue normally on the correct line which the Congress and the Party have set, but we must organize it still better in every sector, being aware of every situation which arises with advantageous aspects as well as the fresh difficulties it brings. We must leave nothing undone, or put off today's work till tomorrow, because tomorrow there will be something else to attend to. We must work intelligently, with revolutionary vigour and tempo. We must set the masses in motion, have confidence in them, have confidence in the young cadres, must not be sectarian towards them, must help them, correct them when they make mistakes, and entrust them with work of responsibility. It is a sacred party duty for us, the older generation, to do this in an absolutely correct way. When shall we do it, if not now that we are alive and can give our help and experience on this question so vital to the Party?

Young and old must feel themselves totally mobilized in political and practical activities for the great cause of our socialist Homeland. The tough vitality of the Party and people must be more outstanding than ever: the revolutionary vigilance of the Party and the masses against any enemy or evil-doer, open or disguised, internal or external, must be raised higher than ever; we must work harder than ever to temper unity in the ranks of the Party and unity of the Party with the people to the highest degree, through the implementation of the life-giving norms of the Party and uninterrupted waging of class struggle.

The situation in our Party, in our country and among our people is extremely strong. Let us make it even stronger every day. This is our whole aim in life, this

is our main task. That is why the enemies have always broken and always will break their heads. We shall crush them to death if they attempt anything against our Party, our people, and the People's Republic of Albania.

*«Against Modern Revisionism
1968-1970»*

**THE FIST OF THE MARXIST-LENINIST
COMMUNISTS MUST ALSO SMASH LEFT
ADVENTURISM, THE OFFSPRING
OF MODERN REVISIONISM**

*From a conversation with two leaders of the Communist
Party (Marxist-Leninist) of Ecuador*

October 21, 1968

We are very glad to meet you comrades from Ecuador. Of course, we would like to have more frequent and longer talks with you, because the struggle of the Communist Party (Marxist-Leninist) of Ecuador, as well as of all the Marxist-Leninist parties of Latin America, has great importance for the revolution. We consider your struggle as a great assistance to the world revolution and to our Party which always feels the need to learn and profit from the experience of fraternal parties.

Marxism-Leninism, our universal doctrine, applied in the conditions of each country, is enriched with the new experience of all the revolutionary parties. The experience of each Marxist-Leninist party gained in the course of its work and struggle against the common enemies, imperialism and revisionism, helps the other parties at the same time. Without this experience we would be limping along.

You comrades, with your revolutionary activity and struggle on the continent of Latin America, with a large

population and with wonderful ardent people, are in permanent insurrection, in revolution, in the full meaning of the term. At the head of the peoples of this continent today there are fraternal Marxist-Leninist parties. Their realistic Marxist-Leninist understanding of the situation of your continent fills the true Marxist-Leninist parties of Europe, Asia and Africa with boundless enthusiasm and inspiration and helps all of us to carry the revolutionary actions of every country through to the end on a national, continental or international scale against our common enemies: the imperialists, with the US imperialists at the head, the modern revisionists, with the Soviet revisionists at the head, and reactionaries of every hue.

The Party of Labour of Albania, the Albanian communists feel very greatly the need for contacts in order to exchange experience with all the fraternal parties, because close co-operation strengthens us reciprocally. Although we are very far apart geographically, in our minds and our hearts we are very close to each other, and the «distance» factor does not constitute an insurmountable difficulty today.

As you may have seen for yourselves during your visits, many changes have been made in our country since the triumph of the revolution. This is due to the correct Marxist-Leninist line of the Party and the revolutionary spirit of our people. In order to form a more precise idea of Albania's state in the past, as the Marxist-Leninists you are, you must compare it with one of the most poverty-stricken, most backward and oppressed regions of present-day Ecuador. Just like your country today, before Liberation Albania suffered greatly under savage feudal oppression. We had no schools. The people were in want of food, clothing, and every vital necessity. Most of the plains you have seen were swamps and marshes before Liberation. Malaria, tuberculosis and many other

diseases took a heavy toll of the population, especially of children. But as a result of the people's revolution which our Party led, transformations have been carried out on such a vast scale and so rapidly that without boasting we can describe them as colossal by our Albanian standards.

However, as Marxists, taking a realistic view of the situation, we are fully aware that, along with the very great successes that have been achieved, we also have weaknesses and a great deal more remains to be done in the future, in the first place, to raise the level of the working masses still higher, especially their political and ideological level, as well as their economic level; we must work hard to make our country even stronger militarily, to raise the educational and cultural level of our people still higher, and all this only on the revolutionary Marxist-Leninist road.

Our Party is working in these directions. We can say that now we have created a sounder, more powerful base, but the main thing is that everything we have done, everything we have created, we have achieved in unrelenting struggle against the difficulties of growth, encircled by rabid enemies, in such conditions that the independence, freedom and sovereignty of our Homeland and socialism were in danger at every moment. We have created these things through struggle to defend and strengthen the Marxist-Leninist unity of the Party and the people, which is a special target for enemy attacks. We have worked ceaselessly to temper this unity. Our strength lies in the ever greater steeling of the party-people unity. This is of vital importance, because the dangers of intervention by means of armed force and every other possible means against our country have been and remain great and unrelenting, both from the imperialists and from the Titoite renegades and the Soviet revisionist mi-

litarists who, as the occupation of Czechoslovakia showed, excuse any action of theirs with the interest they allegedly have in the consolidation of «fraternal» states.

In the present revolutionary situations, the Marxist-Leninist parties throughout the world must fight continuously to strengthen their ranks and their Marxist-Leninist unity, to link themselves closely with the masses of the people and with one another, because the communist and workers' movement throughout the world is one of the fundamental factors frustrating the plans concocted against the peoples by both the Soviet revisionists and the US imperialists, who from day to day are strengthening their fascist dictatorships in order to dominate the world. These Marxist-Leninist parties must increase their vigilance, too.

At all times, but especially in the situations we are living through, our country consistently has enhanced and will enhance its unity and vigilance. To this end, as always, we have taken ideological, political, economic and military measures. AH our people are armed in the full meaning of the word. Every Albanian, city-dweller or villager, has his weapon at home. Our army itself, the army of a soldier people, is ready at any moment to strike at any enemy or coalition of enemies. The youth, too, have risen to their feet. Combat readiness does not in any way interfere with our work of socialist construction. On the contrary, it has given a greater boost to the development of the economy and culture in our country.

At these moments the Soviet and Yugoslav revisionists, the Greek and Italian fascists know full well that if they dare to embark on any adventure against Albania, they will never succeed, but will be dealt mortal blows instead. This we have made clear to everybody at all times. Thus, in general, the situation in our country is sound, secure and with brilliant prospects. However, we

must not rest on our laurels on this account, but must work more and more every day.

It is clear to all that a militarist fascist dictatorship exists in the Soviet Union today. But, as is known, where there is oppression there is also movement, therefore, both in the Soviet Union and in the satellite countries, there is revolutionary movement that is steadily mounting. Great pressure is being exerted on the Soviet Union today by imperialism, too. On the one hand, imperialism aims to defeat it as a rival imperialist power, and on the other hand, to prevent the emergence of revolutionary movements at all costs, or to put them down immediately if they do emerge, not only in the Soviet Union but also in its satellite countries.

For its part, the Soviet Union is trying to attain two objectives: first, to crush any revolutionary movement which might arise, and second, unable as it is to defeat the United States as a rival imperialist power, it is striving to retain its positions and to ensure that together with US imperialism each of them will rule in the areas which fall within its sphere of influence.

We are very glad to learn that the Communist Party (Marxist-Leninist) of Ecuador is making progress. The comrades whom you have met immediately informed me about the talks you held and the experience you exchanged. We hold special meetings to keep the Political Bureau of the CC continually informed about the very useful and fruitful exchanges between our Party and other fraternal parties. We are very happy that your Party is ceaselessly tempering itself and advancing on the Marxist-Leninist road. Likewise, we are in complete agreement with the views of your Party and are convinced that the road you are following is the right one. There is no doubt that you know better than anybody else the problems that concern you and the most correct way to solve them,

always basing yourselves on our ideology, Marxism-Leninism.

Only your Party is in a position to work out your tactics properly, based, of course, on the Marxist-Leninist strategy, because, as the heart of the proletariat and people of Ecuador, it knows better than anyone else the situation in the country and the legitimate aspirations of your people. For this reason, as long as your Party has a correct strategy based on the Marxist-Leninist theory and the real practice of the country, the tactics it works out will be correct and revolutionary, too. During our National Liberation War we, too, employed varied tactics, just as you are doing.

Our parties should try to learn and profit from one another. But every party must bear in mind that some things from the experience of other parties are suitable only in the conditions of their respective countries, and many of them may not be suitable in the conditions of other countries. They must elaborate and adopt the experience of other parties when they find they need it and it suits their concrete conditions, otherwise they fall into stereotypism. As for our experience, we cannot tell you whether or not many of our tactics are appropriate for you. It is up to you to study it and choose what you want from it, but we think that you should bear in mind that Marxism-Leninism, the general laws of the proletarian revolution provide the compass which prevents us from erring on this question. Only these laws guard a genuine Marxist-Leninist party against mistakes.

We are clear about these laws and try to acquaint ourselves with them more and more each day, and that is why we have never slid into revisionism, or into Trotskyism, left adventurism, or other anti-Marxist trends.

With these theories, with the dangers and damage they cause, you are better acquainted than we. For ins-

tance, Che Guevara was killed. Such a thing is liable to happen, because a revolutionary may get killed. Che Guevara, however, was a victim of his own non-Marxist-Leninist views.

Who was Che Guevara? When we speak of Che Guevara we also mean somebody else who poses as a Marxist, in comparison to whom, in our opinion, Che Guevara was a man of fewer words. He was a rebel, a revolutionary, but not a Marxist-Leninist as they try to present him. I may be mistaken — you Latin-Americans are better acquainted with Che Guevara, but I think that he was a leftist fighter. His is a bourgeois and petty-bourgeois leftism, combined with some ideas that were progressive, but also anarchist which, in the final analysis, lead to adventurism.

The views of Che Guevara and anyone else who poses as a Marxist and claims «paternity» of these ideas have never been or had anything to do with Marxism-Leninism. Che Guevara also had some «*éclaircies*»* in his adoption of certain Marxist-Leninist principles, but still they had not become his philosophical world-outlook which could impell him to genuinely revolutionary actions.

We cannot say that Che Guevara and his comrades were cowards. No, by no means! On the contrary, they were brave people. There are also bourgeois who are brave men. But the only truly great heroes and really brave proletarian revolutionaries are those who proceed from the Marxist-Leninist philosophical principles and put all their physical and mental energies at the service of the world proletariat and the liberation of the peoples from the yoke of the imperialists, feudal lords and others.

We have defended the Cuban revolution because it was against US imperialism. As Marxist-Leninists let us

* glimmerings of clarity (French in the original).

study it a bit and the ideas which guided it in this struggle. The Cuban revolution did not begin on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and was not carried out on the basis of the laws of the proletarian revolution of a Marxist-Leninist party. After the liberation of the country, Castro did not set out on the Marxist-Leninist course, either, but on the contrary, continued on the course of his liberal ideas. It is a fact, which nobody can deny, that the participants in this revolution took up arms and went to the mountains, but it is an undeniable fact also that they did not fight as Marxist-Leninists. They were liberation fighters against the Battista clique and triumphed over it precisely because that clique was a weak link of capitalism. Battista was an obedient flunkey of imperialism, who rode roughshod over the Cuban people. The Cuban people, however, fought and triumphed over this clique and over American imperialism at the same time...

In our opinion, the theory that the revolution is carried out by a few «heroes» constitutes a danger to Marxism-Leninism, especially in the Latin-American countries. Your South-American continent has great revolutionary traditions, but, as we said above, it also has some other traditions which may seem revolutionary but which, in fact, are not genuinely on the road of the revolution. Any putsch carried out there is called a revolution! But a putsch can never be a revolution, because one overthrown clique is replaced by another, in a word, things remain as they were. In addition to all the nuclei of anti-Marxist trends which still exist in the ranks of the old parties that have placed themselves in the service of the counter-revolution, there is now another trend which we call left adventurism.

This trend, and that other offspring of the bourgeoisie, modern revisionism, constitute great dangers to the peoples, including those of the Latin-American countries.

Carefully disguised, modern revisionism is a great deceiver of the peoples and revolutionaries. In different countries it puts on different disguises. In Latin America, Castroism, disguised as Marxism-Leninism, is leading people, even revolutionaries, into left adventurism. This trend appears to be in contradiction with modern revisionism. Those who are ideologically immature think thus, but it is not so. The Castroites are not opposed to the modern revisionists. On the contrary, they are in their service. The separate courses each of them follows lead them to the same point.

The question is that wherever the Soviet revisionists fail to prevent the masses of the working class and the people from carrying out the revolution, this trend steps in and, by means of a putsch, destroys what the revisionists are unable to destroy by means of evolution. The Soviet revisionists and all the traitor cliques which lead the revisionist parties preach evolution, coexistence and all those other anti-Marxist theories we know. From the terms it employs, left adventurism seems more revolutionary, because it advocates armed struggle! But what does it mean by armed struggle? Clearly — putsches. Marxism-Leninism teaches us that only by proceeding with prudent and sure steps, only by basing ourselves firmly on the principles of the Marxist-Leninist doctrine, only by making the masses conscious can victory be ensured in the preparation and launching of the armed uprising, and only in this way will we never fall into adventurism.

The authors of the theory that the «starter motor» sets the «big motor» in motion pose as if they are for the armed struggle, but in fact they are opposed to it and work to discredit it. The example and tragic end of Che Guevara, the following and propagation of this theory also by other self-styled Marxists, who are opposed to the great struggles by the masses of the people, are publicly

known facts which refute their claims: ;We must guard against the people lest they betray us, lest they hand us over to the police; we must set up «wild», isolated detachments, so that the enemy does not get wind of them and does not retaliate with terror against the population! They publicize these and many other confusing theories, which you know only too well. What sort of Marxism-Leninism is this which advocates attacking the enemy, fighting it with these «wild» detachments, etc. without having a Marxist-Leninist party to lead the fight? There is nothing Marxist-Leninist about it. Such anti-Marxist and anti-Leninist theories can bring nothing but defeat for Marxism-Leninism and the revolution, as Che Guevara's undertaking in Bolivia did.

This trend brings the theses of the armed uprising into disrepute. What great damage it causes the revolution! With the killing of Guevara, the masses of common people, contaminated by the influences of these anarchist views, will think: «Now there is no one else to lead us, to liberate us!» Or perhaps a group of people with another Guevara will be set up again and take to the mountains to make the «revolution», and the masses, who expect a great deal from these individuals and are burning to fight the bourgeoisie, may be deceived into following them. And what will happen? Something that is clear to us. Since these people are not the vanguard of the working class, since they are not guided by the enlightening principles of Marxism-Leninism, they will encounter misunderstanding among the broad masses and sooner or later they will fail, but at the same time the genuine struggle will be discredited, because the masses will regard the armed struggle with distrust. We must prepare the masses politically and ideologically, and convince them through their own practical experience. That is why we say that this inhibiting, reactionary theory about the rev-

olution that is being spread in Latin America is the offspring of modern revisionism and must be unmasked by the Marxist-Leninists.

Certain leaders of some Latin-American state put in the odd word in a veiled «opposition» to the Soviet Union, but we cannot infer from this that they are really opposed to it. These words are only pressure and blackmail for the purpose of gaining some advantage, on the one hand, and of deceiving the naive, on the other. If the advocates of these theories were to stop serving the Soviets in their imperialist-revisionist expansion, the latter would cut off all aid to them. We know the Soviets only too well. However, this will not occur, because they serve the Soviets admirably. That is why the Soviet revisionists continue to give them aid and keep them alive.

It is the duty of all the Marxist-Leninists to expose this anti-Marxist trend, the advocates of which style themselves Marxist-Leninists and use Marxist terminology only as a disguise without which they would be lost. We must tear this disguise from them and this can be done only through organized struggle on the Marxist-Leninist course, as you comrades from Ecuador and others are doing.

We were very pleased over the way you have gone about strengthening the Party and the correct views you hold on the armed struggle. If we Marxists do not thoroughly understand that the party must be strong as steel and that this can be brought about only on the Marxist-Leninist road, we can achieve no victory. Our people fought in the past, too, just like your people, but did not win. Very good and able individuals have emerged from the bosom of our people, persons with clear illuminist views and great revolutionary determination, who fought with rifle and pen against the Turks, and later, against other invaders. But they shed their blood and toiled in vain. The bourgeoisie and the feudal lords ex-

exploited the victories of the people and these outstanding individuals to foster their own interests, while the people remained as oppressed as before. This came about because there was not even a progressive party, let alone a Marxist-Leninist party, to lead our people forward. Only after the founding of the Communist Party were the Albanian people able to realize their age-old aspirations; it was only under its leadership that their sweat and blood were not shed in vain. Hence, it is the leadership by the Marxist-Leninist party which ensures the victory of the peoples, and not the actions of a guerrilla «centre», as some people preach.

We rejoice that you comrades of the Communist Party of Ecuador have purged your Party of elements alien to a genuine Marxist-Leninist party. We are very pleased to see that you are clear about how the party should be strengthened and expanded, with what class elements its ranks should be filled, how it should be extended to the countryside, and in the first place, how it should implant itself more deeply in the ranks of the working class. People are not born communists, but they are born pure, and during their life and in the course of the daily struggle they learn, are educated and become communists who will sacrifice even their lives for their ideals. It is very good that you have opened courses and schools for Marxist-Leninist education. This is what we did, too, during the National Liberation War. The learning and assimilation of Marxism-Leninism are essential for and the salvation of every communist and every Marxist-Leninist party.

Even today, this is the course we follow. We have put lessons, work in production, and physical and military training for the defence of the Homeland in the centre of our activity for the education of the youth...

We assure you, dear comrades, that our Party, closely united with the people, has striven and will strive with might and main and with the greatest loyalty to defend the purity of Marxism-Leninism, and will work tirelessly to strengthen proletarian internationalism. The Party will do everything to ensure that its efforts and the efforts of the people are understood and to create conditions, not only for the consolidation of our socialist Homeland, but also for the strengthening of the bonds of friendship with all the fraternal Marxist-Leninist parties, so that our Party, too, makes its modest contribution, devoting all its energies, to our common cause, the triumph of the proletarian revolution.

We are very moved by the high appraisal you make of the modest work of our Party. As Marxist-Leninists, we understand very well everything you, dear comrades, said about our Party and its experience. We thank you for all these things and tell you that they are a great encouragement to us, because we know they come from the clear and realistic judgement of Marxist-Leninist comrades. Of course, as Marxist-Leninists, we assure you that this does not make us conceited. On the contrary, it increases our sense of responsibility to make ourselves worthy of at least one per cent of what you say. Therefore, we must fight even harder, must perform our duty even more honourably, to ensure that every action of ours not only does not harm the great cause of socialism in the world, the cause of world revolution, or even that of an individual Marxist-Leninist party or group, but, on the contrary, serves as an encouragement and example for everybody, so that Marxist-Leninist parties grow in numbers and strength, because, as a saying of the Albanian people goes, just one or two flowers do not mean summer. For the socialist revolution to triumph everywhere

more flowers are and will be needed. This is how we understand our internationalist duty.

For us, too, this meeting with you will remain unforgettable, because you have helped us greatly with what you told us about the situation in Latin America. We feel ourselves a hundred times stronger when we see that yours is a true Marxist-Leninist Party, with a clear line and perspective. There is no doubt that such a party will certainly triumph. You say that your Party is small, We tell you that when our Party was founded it had about 200 members. But this did not prevent us in the slightest from winning the masses, leading them, fighting and, together with them, defeating the internal and external enemies, triumphing and setting up the dictatorship of the proletariat.

What great strength we gain to step up our struggle, when we see that your Party in Ecuador is a party with a brilliant future, since it upholds the banner of Marxism-Leninism!

You say you have made mistakes, that you have not seen some things as you ought to. What party has not made mistakes? Our Party, too, has made mistakes in the course of its revolutionary activity, but not in its general line. The important thing is that we have corrected our mistakes immediately, as soon as we have detected them.

What you say about strengthening the work of the party with the organization of the youth and the women is extremely important to the revolution. I have noticed, and you have said this yourselves in your talks with our comrades, that you are very interested in the question of students. This is very good, but you must keep in mind that the students are part of the youth, not the whole of it. Likewise, you attach importance to the problems of the countryside and the problems of the working class. If you attach importance to the countryside

and the working class, you cannot fail to be interested in the problems of youth and women in the countryside, as well. The question now is that you must concretize these issues better. We shall be very happy if our modest experience is of any help to you.

I want to add this, too: Our Party was small, our working class at the time when the Party was founded was exceptionally small. Nevertheless, thanks to the great work carried out by the Party, the youth, in the first place, embraced its ideology, Marxism-Leninism. The Party was quick to organize them, and they threw themselves into the war and played an extremely great role in it; they fought as they did, enlightened by the ideology of the working class.

As for the women, right from the start the slogan of the Party was that the armed struggle could not be waged and carried through to victory without them. The Party stressed that, in the first place, the women themselves must understand that, while fighting for the liberation of the Homeland, they would be fighting for the emancipation of women, too. At that time the Party said: If the women do not understand the great idea of the Party about their participation in the war, there will be no genuine liberation war. We attached major importance to this question, for without its solution the women would have become a hindrance to the war, because they had only to say to their husbands or sons, «where are you going?», «where are you leaving us?», «they will kill us!», «don't go to war!», «let's mind our own business!», «what good is the war to us?» etc., and things would have taken another direction.

The Party did its work so thoroughly that the women became ardent propagandists of the line of the Party within their families. «Take the rifle,» they would urge their husbands and sons, «and throw yourselves into the

fight for the liberation of the Homeland!» You understand, comrades, what courage this stand on the part of the woman gave the husband or son who seized the rifle and joined the partisans.

Whenever we entered the homes of our people, in city or village, the women gave us every possible help, they linked themselves closely with our war, with the line of the Party. Many of their husbands or sons were fighting in the mountains, and, when we went to their homes for shelter and food, they treated us as their sons, as their closest relatives. See the importance of women and their activity! It was in these conditions that the women's organization was set up in our country. Of course, the same process will develop in your country, too. In the beginning we came up against many difficulties, everything was not achieved at once, as you see it today. We know what difficulties there are in the capitalist countries, but they can all be overcome when the line is correct and the party determined.

You, dear comrades, have helped us greatly in another direction too, in further enhancing our confidence in the future victories of our common struggle. We assure you that we will honourably accomplish our tasks as soldiers of the revolution, as loyal soldiers of Marxism-Leninism. We would like you, dear comrades of the Communist Party (M-L) of Ecuador, to consider our Party as yours in everything. We are ready to give you whatever assistance you consider useful, because as internationalists we are duty bound to do so. If we do not do this, we cannot call ourselves internationalists, cannot be Marxists. We have spared and will spare nothing to give you every possible assistance, as our comrades and brothers, because your internationalist assistance to us is also great.

You also help us with your experience, and if you notice that we may be going wrong in some direction,

please criticize us, shake us up with your open criticism, and rest assured that we consider and treat your comrades' criticism as the most sacred thing. Our people say that he that criticizes you loves you, he that does not love you pats you on the back so that you will continue on the wrong road.

Our Marxist-Leninist dialectics teaches us that not everything goes straight, that people's heads are not all cut to one pattern, that the energies of each individual are not equal, some go straight, others do not. In these conditions, the implementation of the norms of the Party, bolshevik criticism and self-criticism sets people right, keeps the party pure and carries the revolution forward.

These are the relations we want, this is the sincere proletarian love we want to have for one another, and the more we do for one another, for the revolution, the more modest we must be. Therefore, the modesty of communists must be exemplary, like that of proletarians; the efforts and thoughts of communists must be like those of proletarians, the feelings of their souls and hearts must be like those of proletarians. Only thus can our revolution march forward.

We are sorry, dear comrades, that you will be leaving, but rest assured that our hearts are united with yours.

We know that you are very busy. Even greater and more difficult tasks await you in the future, nevertheless, we would be very happy if you could come more frequently and stay longer in our country, regardless of the fact that this cannot be done in every instance according to our wishes.

May your great wish be fulfilled, may the day come when we can visit you in your country.

AN ACT WHICH LEGALIZES THE TRANSFORMATION OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA INTO A COLONY OF THE SOVIET REVISIONISTS

Article published in the newspaper «Zëri i popullit»

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These days, as has been announced, the so-called Soviet-Czechoslovak Treaty, which legalizes the enslavement of Czechoslovakia by the foreign occupation troops and its complete colonization by the Soviet revisionists, came into effect. In order to camouflage their aggressive and neo-colonialist aims the Moscow revisionists and their spokesmen are loudly proclaiming the Soviet-Czechoslovak «treaty» as an «expression of the free will of equal parties», as a «means of defending socialism from West-German revanchism», and so on and so forth. But all this is rubbish. This «treaty» has further exposed its authors, stripped them naked and revealed their true nature of imperialist aggressors and counter-revolutionary renegades from the peace-loving peoples of the world.

This «treaty» is a scandalous example of the cynicism and villainy of the Soviet revisionists, further evidence of their aggressive and imperialist policy. Right from the start, in its first clause, this document reveals the essence of the «tank diplomacy» because it speaks of an «agreement» between the aggressor and his victim, an «agreement» concluded subsequent to the accom-

plished fact, after the complete military occupation, under the menace of artillery and tanks. The Soviet occupation troops present in Czechoslovakia will remain there forever. This fact is admitted in Clause 1 which states that «the numbers of Soviet troops and the places where they will be stationed» is to be defined later, and that these troops «will be under the Soviet military command». This means legalization of the occupation regime in Czechoslovakia and its complete dependence on the Soviet military occupation command.

Further proof of the cynicism of the Soviet revisionist invaders can be found in Clause 2 of this infamous «treaty» which claims that «the stationing of Soviet troops in Czechoslovakia does not violate its sovereignty», that «the Soviet troops do not interfere in the internal affairs of the SR. of Czechoslovakia», that they «will respect the Czechoslovak laws». There ought to be a limit even to demagoguery and cynicism, but for the Soviet revisionists there is no limit. The whole world saw that after the 21st of August the sovereignty of Czechoslovakia was crushed under the Soviet tanks, that the Soviet marshals Yakubovski and Pavlovski, together with the gauleiter Kuznetsov, made themselves masters in another's house, that the violence of invaders replaced the Czechoslovak law.

The «treaty» sanctions colonial-type privileges for the Soviet revisionist occupiers. Under Clause 3 of the «treaty», the puppet government of Prague is bound to put at the disposal of the Soviet occupation troops «barracks and dwelling-houses in the garrison towns, service buildings, depots, etc., airfields and stationary installations and other equipment, means of the state network of communications and transport, electric power and other services». Likewise, the shooting-ranges and training grounds of the Czechoslovak army will be used by the Soviet occupa-

tion troops. With these provisions, the Czechoslovak army which has been reduced by the collaborationist trio Dubček-Černík-Svoboda to the miserable role of a stage extra, will now consider itself a stranger in its own home.

In fact, this infamous «treaty» does not in any way recognize the existence of Czechoslovakia as a sovereign state with its own independent socio-economic and juridical order. After trying to solve the Czechoslovak problem *manu militari*, by military violence, the Soviet revisionist imperialists have put themselves in the position of master in the house and settled themselves comfortably at the Czechoslovak table. They have created such privileges for themselves as to enable them to dictate their neo-colonialist will over the whole life of this country — in politics, in the economy, in the socio-cultural field. The Soviet occupation troops and their families can enter or leave Czechoslovakia whenever they wish, without entry or exit visas or customs control. Clause 4 says explicitly, «The Soviet army units, the persons who are part of the effective of the Soviet troops and the members of the families of these persons can go to the place where the Soviet troops are stationed in the SR of Czechoslovakia and return from the SR of Czechoslovakia both by direct trains and carriages which belong to the Soviet Union, or by changing from the carriages of the one country to those of the other, or by air or motor transport. Those persons who are part of the effective of the Soviet troops and the members of their families will not be subject to passport or visa control during their entry to stay in or departure from the SR of Czechoslovakia.» With this provision, the Czechoslovak state border, which symbolizes the sovereignty and integrity of that country, has been turned into a foot-rag, into a broken-down and worthless fence.

The occupation regime and the complete capitulation

and submission of the Dubček-Svoboda revisionist clique is also sanctioned by Clause 5. Under this clause «the Czechoslovak side agrees to allow crossing of the state border of the SR of Czechoslovakia tax-free and without customs or border control, by:

- the Soviet troops and persons who are part of their effective, including units, sub-units and army commands;
- all kinds of military cargo, including those destined for trade and communal purposes of the Soviet troops;
- persons who are part of the effective of the Soviet troops, who enter or leave the SR of Czechoslovakia alone or accompanied by the members of their families, with their personal effects, on presentation to the customs organs of their documents entitling them to cross the state border of the SR of Czechoslovakia.» Further proof of the complete dependence upon the will of the occupier is the fact that all trade and communal services for the effective of the Soviet troops on Czechoslovak territory «will be provided through the Soviet trade and communal enterprises»!

The implementation of this «treaty» will inevitably entail a great confusion in the whole economic, commercial and financial life of the country and will make the life of the Czechoslovak working people more difficult. The privileges granted to the invaders to use the local currency in trading, that is, to put into circulation uncontrolled amounts of Czechoslovak banknotes, will inevitably lead to disorder in the whole currency system of the country, to inflation and the further flourishing of the black market and economic speculation. Above all, the Czechoslovak puppet government is obliged to supply the occupation troops with food and industrial products, thus tightening the belt on the people, on the working masses. This is an unforeseen extra burden, a heavy impost which will be a further blow to the Czechoslovak economy, already staggering under the «revisionist reforms».

The true face of the Soviet revisionists as aggressors and imperialist invaders is clearly revealed also in those provisions of this infamous «treaty» which bear on the application of the local law to the occupation troops, their responsibility for the penal offences and contraventions committed by these troops on Czechoslovak soil. In fact, point B of Clause 9 of the «treaty» openly and brazenly sanctions the complete exemption from responsibility of the effective of the Soviet troops «who commit crimes or otherwise violate the law in the performance of their duties in the region where the army units are stationed.» In reality this means that the Czechoslovak law will never be applied to Soviet troops, because they can wash their hands of any arbitrary action or crime they commit, as they are supposedly performing their duties and the whole of Czechoslovakia may be considered «a region for the stationing of Soviet military troops». Finally, in the same clause the «treaty» recognizes the jurisdiction of the Soviet courts in Czechoslovak territory, the competences of the attorney's office and other Soviet organs which will act on the basis of Soviet laws in Czechoslovak territory. This is a revival of the savage colonial law of capitulation which is still in force in a few out-of-the-way colonies of Britain and Portugal! This is tantamount to the recognition of extra-territorial rights, of the unlimited freedom of the invaders to act as and when they wish, in the name of the occupation law and contrary to the laws of the country, thus scornfully deriding the national dignity of the Czechoslovak people.

Understandably, the effective and permanent presence of the Soviet occupation troops in Czechoslovakia, which this «treaty» now legalizes, will exert its influence in all directions on the foreign policy of that country. Already the Czechoslovak collaborationist chieftains have begun to jump to attention, to the commands of the Soviet oc-

cupiers, to obey them in complete servility and do what they dictate. The foreign policy of the puppet government of Prague has now been officially set on the rails of the hegemonic interests of the Soviet revisionist occupiers, and, thus, under these conditions, it can never represent the aspirations and sovereign interests of the Czechoslovak people and can never defend their vital rights. The spirit and provisions of this colonialist «treaty» which has been imposed on Czechoslovakia are by no means concessions «to lighten the occupation», as Černík says, but in fact they legalize this occupation and make the burden of it heavier. This is a dictated treaty and in no way based on «mutual understanding», as the revisionist Kosygin shamelessly lies. This «treaty» is based on the bayonets and tanks of the Soviet revisionist occupiers. Brezhnev's rag, «Pravda», writes about «unity» and «equality». But what unity can there be between the occupier and the occupied; what equality can there be between the rider and the horse?

The fifteen clauses of this enslaving neo-colonialist «treaty» are fifteen new strong knots in the noose placed around the neck of the Czechoslovak people. It is an outcome of the fascist-type aggression against Czechoslovakia. With this «treaty», the freedom, sovereignty and national dignity of the Czechoslovak people have been legally and finally buried. The whole spirit of the «treaty», its purposes and the way of applying it are very similar to those by which Hitler imposed his «new order» on the European quislings or to the agreements between the present-day Hitlerites, the American imperialists, and their smaller partners. In this shameful document there is not the slightest reference to the «normalization» of the situation in Czechoslovakia and the final withdrawal of the occupation troops.

The dictate, prepared in Moscow and signed in Pra-

gue, does not end but further deepens the crisis of the Soviet revisionist clique and the whole revisionist front in Czechoslovakia and everywhere else. It further aggravates the difficult political, economic and social situation in the Soviet Union itself, and the relations between the different revisionist cliques and countries. In particular, it inevitably makes the irreconcilable contradictions between the Soviet revisionist invaders and the freedom-loving Czechoslovak people deeper and more bitter. Seeking to legalize its criminal actions of an imperialist and colonialist by means of a so-called bilateral agreement, the revisionist leadership of Moscow has tried in vain to deceive world public opinion with this «treaty». But with this new act the Soviet revisionists have once again exposed themselves as aggressors, invaders, exploiters and imperialists. As for the Dubček-Černík clique, by signing this «title to occupation», it branded itself once again as a group of renegades, collaborationists and quislings.

But the Czechoslovak people will contemptuously reject this act which legalizes the colonialist occupation of their Homeland. They have accepted neither the aggression, the occupation, nor the «treaty» of the Soviet revisionist aggressors, but on the contrary, they have denounced and opposed all of them, together with the betrayal and capitulation by the Dubček-Černík-Svoboda trio. The fraternal Czechoslovak people, who have great revolutionary traditions, led by their working class and the revolutionary Marxist-Leninists, will certainly extend their resistance and will fight with determination and with every means, even with arms, against the foreign occupiers and the local traitors, for the sacred cause of national liberation and the restoration of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

*«Against Modern Revisionism
1968-1970»*

HOW TO UNDERSTAND AND SOLVE CERTAIN PROBLEMS OF OUR SOCIALIST ECONOMY CORRECTLY

*Speech delivered at the meeting with workers,
cooperativists and cadres of the district of Berat*

February 26, 1969

The whole existence, the material and spiritual development and progress of our socialist society are founded on the work, the minds and the hearts of the working people. The working people are their own masters. Led by the Party, they work, create and run things consciously relying on knowledge and use of the laws of socialism. The aim of all their activity is the construction of socialism and communism.

In acting upon nature, the working people get to know more and more about it, discover the laws of its ceaseless development and transformation and use this knowledge to harvest its boundless riches and produce the material blessings with which they fulfil both their needs for personal consumption and those of extended reproduction. This is a natural, uninterrupted and never-ending process of production and consumption.

When there are adequate quantities of good quality products, the working people feel great satisfaction, because their needs are fulfilled properly and their standard

of living rises continuously. That is what our plans for the development of the economy and culture aim to achieve. This is the loftiest aim which guides the entire activity of our Party and state.

But there are cases when there is a shortage of some products, or they are of a poor quality. Then the working masses feel a certain discontent and, quite rightly, they make criticisms, and so they should. This is absolutely reasonable and indispensable, otherwise the shortcomings and mistakes in the fulfilment of our economic plans in quantity and quality would not be combated and put right.

If we analyse this question more minutely we shall reach the following general conclusion: when the working masses criticize and complain about the shortage of some product or about its quality, they must understand that they themselves are responsible for this, that the culprits are among them, because in our socialist regime it is the masses themselves who produce and run things. Nobody can escape or dodge this fact. As consumers, when we buy something for ourselves or our children, all of us want to find everything and of good quality and as cheap as possible. Without doubt these are fair demands. But why are we so exigent as consumers, whereas when we are producers, when we work in a factory or in the field, we are not all so demanding on ourselves, do not strive persistently to ensure that every commodity that we turn out is produced quickly, with good quality and at the lowest possible cost? Naturally, there are many workers who work well and fulfil the plans, but frequently they, too, have their weaknesses, especially in regard to quality. And besides them there are others who don't measure up either in quantity or in quality.

All branches of the economy: industry, agriculture, transport, trade etc., share, to a greater or lesser extent,

in these shortcomings and weaknesses. The administration, the managements, whether at the centre or in the base, should not think they bear no part of the blame, indeed they bear the major part, because they, too, have great responsibility to ensure that planning, management, distributions, supplies etc. all run smoothly.

When there is a shortage of some agricultural product the city-dweller complains and has the criticism «the peasant doesn't work well» on the tip of his tongue. And when the worker does not produce as much as he should and with the proper quality the city-dweller complains again, because some of his needs are unfulfilled in quantity and quality. In this case, too, he blames himself less than the trade organization and the administration for not planning the production and distribution of the goods properly. The trade organization and administration undoubtedly have their faults, but the people have a saying: «The blame was made a fur coat and nobody would wear it.» However, this is not exactly so in our country, because the working masses are educated to own up to their mistakes and shortcomings and, in general, they make self-criticism.

It is in order and fair to criticize the peasant when he has the possibilities but does not produce what he should and as much as he should. But this ought to make the city-dweller, in turn, think better and produce as much as possible and of a good quality. Each city-dweller must ask himself: «Am I and the collective in which I work in order?» The peasant should do as much. Likewise, every employee of the state, the administration, or party worker must examine his own conscience.

This is how all of us must judge things and act, otherwise we shall not understand the anomalies, the partial and temporary weaknesses and shortcomings of our economy, properly, and will not be able to draw the necessary conclusions to further improve our work.

Let us take an example from everyday life. Whenever the supplies of shoes are inadequate or of poor quality the buyers are critical. This criticism is absolutely right. But, when the factory does not produce good shoes, this is not always the fault of the factory alone, for often the peasant does not display the proper care for the quality of the hide or he does not fulfil the plan for the improvement in quality and the increase in numbers of cattle, pigs, sheep and goats, etc. That is why the trade department has to buy hides abroad, but naturally in small quantities, because that is all its quota allows, and some times it buys hides of inferior quality to increase the quantity a little, or because the foreign dealers outwit our people who have limited experience. However, the working people of our tanneries also have their share of the blame, because frequently they do not tan the leather at the right time, or with the required quality, and so on.

Let us take another case. It happens, for example, that sometimes the girls of Myzeqeja criticize our cotton textiles because they are not of good quality. This, too, is a fair criticism. But let us look into this problem a little more closely. Why does this happen?

First, let us take up what the working people of agriculture must do. It is well known that cotton is a very delicate plant. If the agrotechnical code is not implemented to the letter and the proper generation of seed is not used, then there is no way you can get the quality required. After the fifth generation in the «108F» seed, for example, the length of the fibre falls from 32 mm to 30 mm. But every millimetre reduction in length of staple means a 3 per cent reduction in the productivity at the textile combines, and this leads to the decline in the quality of textiles. The quality of the cotton deteriorates, also, when the working people of agriculture work according to the practice «everything white should be picked»,

without grading the product during picking according to its quality and degree of maturity. Last year preventive measures were not taken in time to fight the boll worm (*Chloridea Obsoleta*), which seriously damaged production, and as a result of this and other factors, a deficit of about 5,500 tons of ginned cotton was created. This forces the state to import cotton, instead of using these funds to import better dyes or other goods which the people and the economy need. Then the process continues in the ginning plants. There, too, when the technological process is not rigorously respected, further damage is done to the quality of the cotton. Then it goes to the textile workers. If they, too, are lax in their work, permit defects, etc. the material will come out with broken threads, with insufficient density and durability, unevenly dyed etc., etc.

All these factors have a harmful influence on the quality of our textiles.

Likewise, poor work by the working people of transport and trade may also have a harmful influence. And so the cycle is completed. More or less the same thing occurs with the production of other commodities in industry and agriculture.

Hence the tendency to criticize others more than oneself, to link the problems of each individual with the general problems not to the proper extent, forget that all these problems are closely connected with one another, and, finally, when personal interest is involved, to place it above the general interest, is not correct. This is incompatible with the social character of socialist production, but above all, with the new relations among the working people and with the economic laws of socialism, according to which each individual in our society must regard his work not as isolated from but as a component part of the whole.

Those directors and collectives of working people who

do not pay adequate attention to fulfilling the plan for certain so-called «minor» decentralized articles of a small value, but which are very necessary for the people and the economy, ought to judge their actions from this standard, too. Those instances when people strive to realize the plan in total figures (only in value) and do not work persistently and with a strict discipline to produce the whole range of planned articles, all the commodities envisaged to be provided for the people and the economy, are also wrong and harmful.

Likewise it must be made clear to all that when someone wants something from society, from the state, he must first contribute, because there is no source of income to secure the things wanted over and above those envisaged, if the plan and the pledges are not fulfilled in the proper quantity and quality. The same thing must be said when the wages fund is exceeded or when increases in it are demanded, while productivity does not increase. Such bureaucratic stands are open manifestations of putting the narrow interests of the enterprise, the district or the institution above the general interests of the people and socialism, of the lack of responsibility to society and violation of the discipline of the plan.

In this context, many problems emerge for us in the methodology and forms of planning, which must be studied and re-examined with great care, so that they are put on the right road, in conformity with the phases of the dynamic development of our economy, and forms incompatible with the new situations which this development creates should be abandoned.

Therefore, all of us must be deeply aware of and strengthen the collective responsibility for everything. We must also feel and increase the personal responsibility of each individual worker in the same way, or even somewhat more, because in this way we build up the collec-

tive responsibility at the same time. Hence, we must, without fail, learn to check up on the work of others, but in the first place we must establish a personal check-up on our own work, which means self-criticism, correction, tempering of the socialist conscience. This must be turned into a great revolutionary movement.

Mouldy ideas sometimes arise in the head of someone who has no understanding of the development of the economy and the socialist laws which guide this development. If he does not find what he wants, in the quantity he wants and when he wants it in the shops, he says: «In the past you could find whatever you wanted in the shops, all kinds of materials, shoes and so on.» But he forgets, and the young people do not know that at that time there were very few shops, only in certain towns, and those who had money to buy were very few. The shopkeepers twiddled their thumbs all day, but if you went into the shop they would bring everything down off the shelves in the hope of selling something. And this occurred not because there was plenty, or because the working people had fulfilled all their needs, on the contrary it was a false «plenty», a crisis because of the poverty of the masses. The poor looked on these shops and their goods as very remote from them; they did not always have the money to buy their bread, salt, kerosene or a pair of green-hide sandals.

This is what goes on today in the countries where capital is in power, where, regardless of the temporary circumstances which are created and which arouse illusions about an alleged rise in the standard of living of certain strata of the working people, crises and unemployment affect the broad masses of the proletariat of town and countryside in varying degrees, and this is the universal law. Hence the gulf which divides the rich from the poor is growing deeper every day and the broad

masses of working people are always hard-pressed to ensure even their daily bread.

The case is totally different with our country where everybody works, where an average standard of living has been ensured for the entire population and each person, according to the income he receives on the basis of his work, is able to buy, to consume and to fulfil his daily needs satisfactorily at all times. Our socialist trade network has been extended to every village, even to the remotest corners of the country, and all the goods which are traded in the cities can be found there. Therefore, to measure our reality with the yardstick of the past means to live outside all reality.

There are other examples of utterly confused and ill-founded opinions such as: «In the past one could find articles of good quality, because competition existed and did not allow the capitalist to produce poor quality goods, because they would not sell.» He who thinks so is wrong in giving the capitalist system, the capitalists and competition credit for the production of material blessings in quantity and of a good quality.

In the first place, the capitalists have never worked themselves and have produced nothing, because only the workers and the peasants work and produce. From this viewpoint, the capitalists are parasites who live on the backs of others, and exploit and appropriate the labour and talents of the worker and the working peasant.

Secondly, as I shall point out later, the competition about which people of this category speak, was and is nothing but an oppressive method and pressure characteristic of capitalist society. The idea of those who laud competition proceeds from a nihilist position of denigrating our goods and overrating those which are produced in the capitalist countries.

It is true that some foreign commodities are of a bet-

ter quality than some of ours, but among them there are many worthless substitutes. On the other hand, things must be viewed realistically, in their dialectical development. Look at the improvements made in many of our goods in comparison with those made only a few years ago. With some of them we are succeeding in opening up foreign markets, despite the savage imperialist-revisionist competition. In this direction, however, there is something else that must be kept in mind: true, we are fighting for quality, but at the same time we must fight just as hard for quantity, because our products have to fulfil the needs, not just of one group of people as was required in the feudal-bourgeois order, but of all the masses of the people, in both town and countryside, both in the lowlands and in the mountains. Therefore, our working people must always remember the slogan: «We must turn our faces to quality without turning our back on quantity.» As for the capitalist, if he can achieve his main aim, the securing of maximum profit by producing less but of higher quality and at a higher price, what does he care that the masses of the people suffer from a lack of the most vital necessities.

In considering this problem we must not fail to take account of tradition. The industrial development of many capitalist countries is measured by centuries, whereas we started from nothing only 25 years ago, after the liberation of the Homeland. Nevertheless, our talented working people are not resting content with the successes they have achieved, because they are conscious that we still have a great deal to do in connection with quality. The technical-scientific revolution which is developing continuously in our country serves this aim.

In consistently basing the development of our socialist economy and culture on the Marxist-Leninist principle of self-reliance, our Party evaluates this as a great rev-

olutionizing principle which serves to mobilize all the internal material, financial and human resources, inspires and encourages the creative thought of the masses, increases their self-confidence, and prepares them to solve any problem and overcome any difficulty that emerges in the course of our socialist construction. However, this principle does not rule out the efforts which must be made in the future, too, to gain the maximum benefit from the achievements of other peoples in the field of science and technique.

The wrong ideas which I mentioned above, that exist in the minds of some people, are remnants of the old world outlook of the capitalist development of the economy, of its exploiting methods and capitalist relations of production. Attaching themselves to these remnants, the vestiges of personal interest and private property make these people forget or fail to see the marvelous and harmonious development of our socialist economy, its laws, the new relations of production, and consequently, the rights and duties of each person in the all-round development of our socialist society, in their true light.

Therefore, if we understand the problems correctly, as the Party instructs us, then we shall achieve even greater results in the course of our ceaseless development. Of course, this is the spirit in which we are proceeding, but we must further improve our work, not only because we have a great deal to do, but also because there is no end to improvement.

The National Liberation War, the people's revolution, led by our Party, eliminated the capitalists and exploiting capitalism together with their ideology and methods in our country once and for all, but the remnants of their ideology have not yet been eliminated from the minds of people, and precisely in this direction our Party is waging an all-round struggle. Our people seized power

and now it is they who make the law, who direct, administer, produce and consume. Hence, in our country now there is extended production for a very greatly extended consumption. This whole process takes place without exploiters and exploited. But there must be a proper understanding that although this development is very rapid and advancing every day, it has not reached the stage needed for adequate consumption, either in quantity or in quality. No, we still have a very great deal to do in this direction, that is Why all the physical and mental energies of an entire people, as talented and industrious as ours, have been exerted to the full.

Our socialist system is the most advanced social system, a system which opens the broadest road to the greatest material, mental, spiritual, cultural and modern technical progress, while the bourgeois capitalist system is in decay, doomed to become extinct, to disappear. From the strategic standpoint capitalism has been defeated by socialism. Starting from the triumph of the Great October Socialist Revolution, led by Lenin, and during the period of the construction of socialism in the Soviet Union, led by Stalin, it was proved in life, in practice, that the time has come for capitalism to make way for socialism.

Our people, under the far-sighted leadership of the Party, with selfless work and lofty revolutionary spirit are building a new socialist world, with their militant slogan, «The pick in one hand and the rifle in the other».

More concretely. In the field of the economy we are struggling, and struggling successfully, to set up an entirely new socialist agriculture with a great future. And if we make a comparison with the past, the proofs are vivid and convincing. But have we achieved what the Party wants? No, we still have a great deal to do before our agriculture produces as much as it should and what it should.

Someone may say that in the capitalist countries, agriculture is more advanced and gives higher yields. This is not true for all capitalist countries. And even where it is true, this is due not to the merits of the capitalist system, but to the savage exploitation of the people by this system.

Science, agricultural knowledge, the advanced experience of people in this field and the advanced means of work are created and mastered. In our country this is only a matter of time. The socialist system and the colossal possibilities which it has created, the people liberated once and for all from capitalist oppression and exploitation, will skip the stages, will more than make up for lost time, will outshine the development of capitalist agriculture and, at the same time, will also destroy the capitalist system itself.

The same phenomenon is occurring and will continue in the field of industry. What mighty changes have taken place in our country in this field! Everything started from scratch. Where were we and where are we today! The future prospects for our country are brilliant. A capitalist regime would need hundreds of years to do what our socialist system has done within such a short period. Let us take for comparison one of our neighbours, capitalist Greece. From whatever standpoint you look at it, there can be no comparison with the magnificent transformations which our country has made during these 25 years since Liberation, in our people's state power, under the leadership of our glorious Party of Labour. To see the picture more clearly, the situation in Greece should not be measured with the neon lights in Athens, but with the miserable socio-economic situation of the proletariat and most of the Greek peasantry, a good proportion of whom emigrate every year to the Western countries to find jobs, not to mention the desperate psychological and spiritual

state of the people, both before and today under the regime of the military junta.

In the conditions of the existence of the dictatorship of the proletariat industry made great advance in the Soviet Union, but unfortunately, the new revisionist capitalists rule there today, and they are trying to attribute the foundations of advanced Soviet science, technique and industry to themselves, exploiting all these things for their own treacherous purposes.

Someone may say that industry is much more advanced in the capitalist countries. This, too, is not true for all the capitalist countries. The capitalist world does not consist only of the United States of America, Britain and other industrial countries, but also of Africa, Latin America, Indonesia, Spain, Portugal and many other countries which constitute the major part of the world, and while they are under the capitalist regime they have been left in a state of great backwardness. This is precisely the main reason that hundreds of millions of the broad masses in these countries live in poverty, unemployment and permanent great want, under the heel of reactionary fascist regimes. The capitalists of the United States of America, Britain and other more developed capitalist countries, in order to achieve this development, have not only exploited the workers and peasants of their own countries, but over hundreds of years, they have barbarously squeezed the sweat and blood from hundreds of millions of people of other countries and plundered their great natural assets. Today, the United States of America is the greatest international exploiter, the main bastion of colonialism and world reaction, the most ferocious enemy of the peoples of the whole world. Impelled by the unbridled lust for profit, it does not hesitate to use any means including aggression and war. Nevertheless, within the United States of America itself, too,

the polarization of the population is so marked, that whereas the Morgans, the Rockefellers and such like are becoming ever richer and own billions of dollars and other fabulous wealth, millions of American workers and the black population suffer every day from hunger, want, unemployment, ignorance and disease. Even those workers who have jobs live in constant dread of being left unemployed, under the threat that the capitalists may throw them out on the street. Therefore, even in those countries where there is some development, this is not due to the merits of the capitalist system, but to the barbarous physical and spiritual exploitation of the people by this inhuman system.

Thus, the progress in the field of agricultural or industrial production in certain capitalist countries is not a merit of capitalism, but a result of the thought, the toil and the creative work of the exploited, while the capitalists, by using their barbarous rule, simply appropriate the fruits of this progress.

II

In the capitalist system the fear of unemployment and hunger compels the workers, who are savagely exploited, to produce commodities of a good quality and so enable the capitalist to draw the maximum profit and withstand the competition. In socialism, the worker and peasant work and produce for themselves, for their own happiness and that of their children. For this reason, with them it is first of all their conscience which urges them to fulfil their tasks and to produce commodities of good quality. In socialist society, socialist emulation can and must play an ever greater role in this direction.

To further improve the work in accomplishing the tasks which the Party sets us for the fulfilment of economic plans, I want to stress briefly how our working people ought to understand and apply in practice Lenin's great teachings on socialist emulation and socialist competitions.

The socialist system gives birth to great emulation among the working people. But what does emulation mean in socialism? Socialist emulation is a method of self-action, bold initiative and creative work of the broad masses of the working people for the construction of socialism and communism, for the tempering of their revolutionary consciousness. Stalin teaches us that

*«socialist emulation is an expression of the constructive revolutionary **self-criticism** of the masses, which is based on the creative **initiative** of millions of working people.»**

The establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the social ownership of the means of production, the ceaseless rise in the revolutionary consciousness, the work for society, for oneself, are the decisive source of the emergence of this emulation in all fields of social activity.

Contrary to what happens in socialist society, in capitalism savage, blind competition operates. What does competition mean in capitalism? Competition is a life-and-death struggle among capitalists to secure the greatest possible profits at the expense of the working people. The principle of competition means the destruction and death of some and the triumph and domination of others. This whole battle is fought out with daggers drawn, according to the law of the jungle: «the big fish gobbles up the small.» At the present stage of imperialism, competition has flared up, has become fierce and has extended

* J. V. Stalin, Works, vol. 12, p. 108 (Alb. ed.).

beyond all bounds between various branches of the economy, between national and international monopolies, against one another, between the monopolies and the non-monopoly enterprises, between combinations of monopolies and between the imperialist states themselves to divide the markets and spheres of influence, to plunder the peoples and the assets of the colonies and dependent countries. Competition is an objective law and an inevitable accompaniment of the capitalist mode of production, which derives from private property and anarchy in production.

In the competitive struggle, the capitalists do not hesitate to employ any means. They increase the oppression and exploitation of the working people, throw millions of workers out on the streets, raise prices, adulterate the goods, organize unrestrained advertising to confuse and deceive people, make extensive use of the export of goods and capital for purposes of exploitation, destroying the economies of other countries and placing them under their domination, militarize the economy, practise monetary and financial speculations, the American «invention» of gangsterism, marriages for commercial reasons, and blowing up the opponent's property with dynamite, up to open aggression against peoples. In this struggle they have recourse to and exploit the entire political, propaganda, economic and militarist machinery of the state which is in their hands.

All this savage and merciless competitive struggle increases the maximum profits of the monopoly bourgeoisie to unprecedented proportions while, on the other hand, increases the poverty, want and misery of the broad masses of the working people, from whom the capitalists squeeze more and more blood and sweat every day. To conceal their profits and anti-popular actions from the working masses, the monopolies use various means of deception, from the

inclusion of false, very high rates of depreciation of the means of production in the cost of production, the implementation of the so-called «profit-sharing system of wages» so vigorously advocated by the lackeys of the bourgeoisie, to the falsification of accounts, etc.

Socialist emulation is the complete opposite of capitalist competition.

Socialist emulation encourages bold initiative, whereas competition does the opposite to the creators of the material blessing, who know that in capitalism their initiative brings profits only to the employers.

Socialist emulation encourages and develops the creative thinking of the masses, whereas capitalist competition encourages financial speculation.

Socialist emulation makes man courageous and free to think and act, whereas capitalist competition fosters despotism, makes man cowardly and servile before his employers.

Socialist emulation mobilizes the broad masses of the workers and sets them in motion, allows the free and fruitful exchange of experience of each individual in the general interest, a thing which helps to raise the technical-professional level of all and discloses new talents. Capitalist competition does the opposite. It uses talent for individual speculation and monopolization. Capitalist competition incites the sense of individualism and stereotyped automation at work for the masses of workers.

Socialist emulation creates and tempers in man the lofty feeling that he is working for the whole society, hence for himself too, while capitalist competition demonstrates to him nothing but the fact that he works for the capitalists.

Here it is not a question of presenting in detail all the stages which socialist emulation has gone through in our country and to analyse the content and forms which

have characterized it from one period of socialist construction to the other. But one thing must be stressed in particular, that it has steadily increased and the broad masses of the working people in our country have involved themselves in it today. Our entire people have risen to their feet with an unprecedented revolutionary enthusiasm and drive, they have mobilized their energies and talents to fulfil and overfulfil the targets of the 4th Five-year Plan.

As always, at the head of this drive stands our heroic working class which has become a source of inspiration for all the other working people and plays the vanguard role in the leadership of the socialist construction. Many movements and wonderful initiatives have burst out in its ranks to advance production, the technical-scientific revolution, to set up new factories and workshops relying on their own forces, to extend the range and improve the quality of products. Great enthusiasm for the revolutionization of agricultural production and a lofty patriotic spirit characterize the cooperative peasantry, too. All these things are lofty expressions of that emulation which is developing under the slogan: «Let us think, work and live as revolutionaries» which, more and more each day, is becoming the leitmotif of our life. And all this emulation is inspired not by personal interest, but by the general interest, the interest of the construction of socialism and the strengthening of the Homeland.

With the all-round revolutionization of the life of our country, however, it is essential that the work for the organization of competitions and other forms of socialist emulation should be raised to a higher level.

In this direction special importance must be given to profound understanding of the content of socialist competitions. They must not be considered competitions «for advertisement», or empty praise, which are unhealthy,

worthless symptoms devoid of political or educational content, but must be aimed at mobilizing creators and giving them proper encouragement to fulfil the plans in quantity and quality. The question of quality must, without fail, be one of the main indices to evaluate the effect of socialist competitions and emulation. Quality should be considered the most sensitive indicator of socialist consciousness at work, of the understanding and implementation of the policy of the Party by the individual, first of all, and by the collective in carrying out their tasks.

Another object of socialist emulation, which has always been of first-rate importance, is the ceaseless raising of the productivity of labour. This problem assumes new and more profound significance especially in the present conditions when the tendency towards the intensive development of our economy is becoming ever more pronounced, when technical-scientific progress is deepened, and culture and science developed.

The evaluation of the results of competitions within enterprises and districts, between them and on a national scale, must be done in a complex manner, including, without fail, the moral-political situation and the work done among people for the continuous enhancement of their revolutionary spirit and consciousness.

An inseparable and vital part of the organization of socialist emulation is the publicizing in the best way, in simple, clear and understandable forms, of the best examples in production, organization, discipline and all the other issues of socialist emulation, in order to disseminate them. Creative thinking is forging ahead and is finding new ways and forms in this field, too, organizing exhibitions, consultations, exchanges of delegations; the press, the radio and all the other means of propaganda are popularizing the new developments in production, the posi-

tive example and the lofty revolutionary motives which inspire our working people to emulation.

Still in connection with this question, an end must be put to manifestations of formalism and sticking to stereotyped forms, to work in fits and starts and intermittent campaigns in the towns and even more so in the countryside. It must not be permitted that only certain commissions which are charged with this task take any interest in the socialist competitions and the dissemination of the positive example. The enterprise, the agricultural cooperative, the workshop, the brigade and the squad must become nuclei seething with emulation. The socialist competitions, the pledges taken on the basis of the directives of the Party, must emerge from among the masses, in consultation with them and must really be their own creative initiatives. The forms of moral stimulation must be used more extensively and further perfected in the course of organizing and conducting competitions.

In all this complex of problems of socialist emulation, the trade-union organizations and the other organizations of the masses, under the guidance of the Party, must seek and find the most appropriate and effective forms for their work. This year, especially, in the context of the 25th anniversary of Liberation and the triumph of the people's revolution, an unprecedented emulation ought to burst out in their honour, in many and varied forms, in every work centre and cooperative.

Naturally, when we speak of socialist emulation we mean quality at the same time, and not just quantity, we mean ever more perfect organization, exemplary discipline and not disorder, anarchy and other such laxity. Such evils must be smashed without hesitation wherever they appear and in every instance.

Understanding socialist emulation correctly, an unremitting struggle must be waged against parasites, spe-

culators who waste working time, those who breach the rules of discipline at work and the proper and successful use of equipment, and, at the same time, petty-bourgeois and idealist views on the understanding of personal interest and personal gain, and sentimental individualistic illusions must be combated.

Our young workers who have not known capitalist oppression must be made consistently conscious of it through ideological education. They must understand that only now, in socialism can people raise their heads and straighten their backs, that in socialism man is able to work for society, hence for himself too, that he has the possibility to have complete ownership of the means of labour and can base himself freely, with creative courage, on the advanced equipment, the new inventions and on modern science and culture.

Our working class educated during all these years through the persistent work of the Party, by crushing and humbling the former exploiters, has gained great experience in organizational problems. The same thing has occurred with the cooperativist peasantry, which is now capable of organizing the work in large-scale production, organizing the cooperatives and the work within them. Not only have the workers and peasants gained this experience in organization but, with initiative, they are continuously extending and perfecting it. Initiative is of great importance and when knowledge and experience are added to it, it is transformed into a colossal active force which knows no limits to its results; it moves mountains.

In this colossal change in the understanding of problems we shall find the major reason why our workers and peasants are so eager to learn, to gain knowledge, why they are learning and advancing so rapidly.

The war made them aware that they are able to

lead, to build and produce. The people of the so-called «learned classes», «destined for management», were nothing but stupid, ignorant oppressors and parasites, «nothing with knobs on», as the people say. Besides whipping and fleecing the workers and peasants, the beys, aghas and the «learned people» in their service did not fail to give them advice, too. But what was their advice worth? What results did it give in practice? None! The economic, educational and cultural development of the country under the rule of the bourgeoisie and the landed gentry proves this squarely. Whatever was done at that time was the fruit of the sweat, the toil and the practical work of the peasant, the worker and the craftsman. If we put that time side by side with our time of socialist construction, there is just no comparison. From this confrontation two things emerge: that the beys, aghas, blood-suckers and all the parasites had to be totally eradicated as they were, and that the workers and peasants were everything, they were a great decisive creative force, and a force that, when they seized power, under the leadership of the Party, they worked and are working wonders.

We must draw another conclusion from the rapid development of our country towards socialism. When our workers and peasants set to work to construct socialism, were they learned, did they have schooling, had they mastered modern science and technology and did they have modern means in their hands? No! Then how did they manage? Practice taught them, it opened to them horizons to study and extend their knowledge, helped them to test this knowledge in practice. Once again our reality confirms the Marxist-Leninist thesis that practice is the basis of all knowledge and theory. Practice taught our workers and peasants to seek and find the best forms and methods of organization of the work and struggle. In this way they gained experience; new horizons were

opened to them and ardent desires were aroused in them to extend their knowledge and to enrich it with their own experience and that of others. Thus, they began to learn and assimilate knowledge, to link it with life and put it into practice. But giving practice the important place it truly deserves should not lead anyone to the erroneous standpoint, alien to Marxism-Leninism, of underestimation of the great role of theory. The arming of our people with the Marxist-Leninist world outlook and profound scientific knowledge and the enhancement of their professional abilities can be realized only through a dialectical unity between practice and theory. This process is continuous and endless. Neither the worker nor the peasant brought up in socialism, and especially the intellectual, should ever forget this unity and the decisive role of practice in particular. Knowledge, all the beautified academic advice is of no value, is just a worthless ornament without practice, without its complete and organized implementation in practice. «The portentous advice and methods» of the conceited intellectual who is divorced from life, from practice, are sterile; they produce nothing, neither bread nor boots, nor butter, neither meat nor houses. Such an intellectual displays nothing but his unhealthy intellectualism, the great deficiency above all in his ideological formation with our Marxist-Leninist world outlook, as a result of which he does not know why he works and whom he should serve. Therefore, if the working class and the cooperativists want to help such an intellectual, in order to correct him and educate him, they should put him to work together with them so that he gets up to his elbows in oil, mud and manure. The intellectuals, the youth, should not be afraid of getting their hands and clothes dirty at work, because they can be washed or changed each day or several times a day. What is important is the fact that this «dirt» cleans the

stains of the past from the consciousness, prevents the noxious weeds of the bourgeois and revisionist ideology from sprouting and running wild. If there is some intellectual who does not like this and does not correct himself, then, rightly, the working class and the cooperativists should refuse to give him bread, shoes or a room in which he can lay his head to dream and philosophize in the bad sense of this term.

Why should our working class and peasantry be soft-hearted towards such people, even though they may have emerged from among their own ranks? Why should they be unduly gentle and allow themselves to suffer serious damage and hinder our advance through sickly sentiment? Is this in order to allow a stratum of saboteurs and plotters against socialism to be created among us? It is unthinkable that we should ever close our eyes to such a thing and allow it to happen. In these cases «pity» is an expression of petty-bourgeois sentimentality and very harmful. The working class and the cooperativist peasantry want work, honesty, check-up and rendering of account by everyone.

In the light of this great complex of problems, of these profound, correct, principled, Marxist-Leninist solutions which the Party is giving them resolutely, of the correctness of the standpoint of the people about them and this all-round revolutionary enthusiasm and mobilization of the working masses, the problems of socialist emulation assume a great and clear significance. Socialist emulation and socialist competitions, profoundly understood in this great and brilliant context of our socialist reality, understood in an all-round manner politically and ideologically and put into practice in a duly organized way, are transformed into a colossal force which further perfects and develops the productive forces and the social relations of production, they combat and eliminate

the shortcomings, fight evil-doers and parasites and increase the knowledge, perfect the practice and raise the well-being of the working masses.

Bearing in mind the importance of socialist emulation, which is at the same time, a political, ideological and organizational problem, I want to stress that in this direction nothing should be allowed to give it a slipshod development of a routine, stereotyped work, allegedly proceeding from the position of acting in the same way everywhere. This kind of stereotyped unity, as Lenin points out, has nothing in common with democratic centralism. Stereotypism in this field, as in every other field, is the aborted offspring of addle-brains, who do not bother their heads, who do not work and weary themselves and are not linked with the masses that work, toil, create and produce.

Our working people, educated by the Party, are completely capable of understanding profoundly that unity, indeed steel unity, is necessary, but on the fundamental things, on issues of principle. They understand correctly that without Marxist-Leninist democratic centralism they cannot advance, however, they also thoroughly understand the issue that to develop emulation properly, formalism and stereotypism are no use at all, but that variety is required in everything, in the peculiarities of the nature of the job, the place, the methods, because in reality, the problems of emulation are similarly variable.

As a conclusion to all I have said, we, the people who live and fight in socialism, while working and building must learn and thoroughly understand the political economy of socialism, which will not only clear up the temporary negative phenomena of growth which appear here and there during our work of construction, but will also free us from the remnants of the notions and categories of the capitalist economy, will open broad horizons to us

and arm us to carry out the great tasks that await us in the future. We must set about the ceaseless study and mastery of science and advanced modern technique and its application in all fields of life.

Our propaganda faces important tasks to make the people conscious of all this. Our Marxist-Leninist propaganda has a lofty aim. Knowing that the socialist man does not emerge spontaneously with the change in the economic conditions, the Party has the task of forming and educating this man with new, revolutionary views, with the new materialist world outlook, of making him capable of understanding the laws of the development of society and mastering the laws of our society, including the economic laws of socialism. Equipping our people with Marxist-Leninist thought, with revolutionary virtues, will make them act vigorously to successfully combat the idealist-bourgeois ideology, the petty-bourgeois remnants within themselves and in others, to expose and struggle against the metaphysical views on philosophy, economics and the materialist theory of the truth.

Profound knowledge of the objective economic laws of socialism will make our working people penetrate into the essence of different economic phenomena in order to draw correct conclusions on the scientific management of our people's economy and to apply the correct revolutionary line of the Party with precision.

In this direction, the time has come when a determined struggle must be waged in propaganda over economic problems, too, against stereotyped schemes, the superficial stands, so that problems are dealt with profoundly, clearly, simply and with a content of high level, not only in the economic plane but also in the political, ideological, theoretical and social planes. The propaganda about different economic problems must be linked as closely as possible with practice, with our socialist construction,

with the revolutionization of the entire life of the country and must help the working people to understand and implement the line of the Party in this field in the best possible way, so that they find the best solutions more quickly for the different problems which arise from the dynamic development of our economy.

Nothing should be too difficult and unrealizable for our free, courageous and politically enlightened people, who live and fight in our socialist society and who are guided with such care by our revolutionary Marxist-Leninist Party.

*«Reports and Speeches
1969-1970»*

**INTEGRATION WITH THE BOURGEOISIE
— THE NEW COURSE OF THE ITALIAN
REVISIONISTS' 12th CONGRESS**

Article published in the newspaper «Zëri i popullit»

March 2, 1969

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 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 the Soviet revisionists.

The only aim 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 the «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 is its frenzied haste to adapt its policy and stand to the transitory circumstances 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 they have fallen on deaf ears. 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 landmark of all our struggle,» he declared, «remains the republican Constitution.»(1)

We cannot say that the big newspaper of the Italian owning 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 ICP 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 VI 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

1 Comrade Enver Hoxha dwells more extensively on the views of the Italian revisionists about the constitution of the bourgeois state in his book «Eurocommunism Is Anti-communism», pp. 192-210, Tirana 1980 (Eng. ed.).

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 upset 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 were not heard once, even by chance. They regard this as a proof of their devotion to the bourgeois democracy, as a demonstration of their complete integration into this democracy. In daily practice this stand is expressed in a tragicomic battle between exponents of the bourgeoisie and exponents of the revisionists. The former are continually exerting pressure on the latter on the ground 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 cur-

rents spoke at the congress and presented their political programs in a systematic manner and without any hesitation, telling 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 during those days when the congress was taking place had launched a strike for their rights which the bourgeoisie and those representatives of it who were applauded so frenziedly by the revisionists are denying them, was not heard at all at this congress.

Likewise, the revisionists did not forget to endorse 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 «forget» to adopt any resolution of solidarity, even a formal one, to express their concern and support for those millions of working people.

Had the question of solidarity with the strike been the only issue that was «forgotten» at this congress, that would have been the lesser evil, but the congress, especially the report of the Central Committee, almost completely failed to deal with the problems of the class struggle, which has assumed broad proportions in Italy during the last two years. The revisionists tried to cover up this vexed question by attempting to create a false political euphoria 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.

Despite the efforts of the leadership to conceal the

truth, however, the revisionist 12th Congress revealed that in Italy, as in many other Western countries, the process of the separation of the masses from the revisionist party has already 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, are losing confidence in their preachings about social peace and, contrary to the wishes of the revisionists, 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 «Unità», 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 society.» The great concern of the rank-and-file is shown by the fact that not long before the congress was summoned the majority of the 109 districts of the Italian revisionist party had demanded that their leadership re-examine its stand towards the student revolts.

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

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 peasantry, 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 of 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 the democracy of socialism will require various forces which act in the one direction with the support of the whole people.»

Whether the bourgeois «vanguards» 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, this is quite certain. Their predecessors in the 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 also 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, des-

pite the great spiritual affinity which the Italian revisionist chiefs 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 against Czechoslovakia. They are opposed 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's polycentrism to the hegemonic and chauvinist pretensions 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 Dubček clique and the Czechoslovak line, while advising the Soviets «not to do anything, either in Czechoslovakia or outside it, which would damage the authority of the Czechoslovak leaders».

Ponomaryov, the «specialist» in inter-revisionist 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», that 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 against Czechoslovakia and described it as an «internationalist duty».

The silence with which those present listened to his speech was more from contempt than from attention.

Even the interventions of the satellites of the Soviet revisionists, the representatives of Gomulka, Zhivkov and company, were unable to rescue the Soviet revisionists from the isolation and the uncomfortable position in which they found themselves at the Bologna Congress. On the other hand, the Titoites, 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 Titoites, 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 on the revisionist front have now suffered total defeat. The aggression against 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 chiefs 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 within 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 silent 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 in Moscow of «the current problems of 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 taking 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, would not only open the way to pres-

sure 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 national 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 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 oppositions of the Italians, the French, the British, etc., over their aggression against Czechoslovakia, to reply to questions in connection with Brezhnev's theory of the «limited sovereignty of socialist countries» or «the conditional independence» of parties, (2) 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 some time, it will do nothing but add even more to the quarrels and

2 Theories of the Soviet revisionists to justify their aggressive activity against the satellite countries of Eastern Europe and to establish the hegemony of the Soviet revisionist party on the revisionist parties of other countries.

splits in the revisionist front and will further discredit its organizers, first of all, the chiefs of Soviet revisionism who have based such great hopes on it.

Whatever efforts the revisionists may make, there can be no unity among 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, the revisionist party is now split into the most varied factions which have definite ideological and political platforms, which have their own followers and supporters inside and outside the ranks of their own party, and which quarrel and clash with one another for superiority and special positions. In this situation, in building its line and stand, 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 ratio of forces, 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, counter-revolutionary 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 effected nearly all sectors of production, the protest 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 and are inflicting 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, trying to encourage the spirit of Christian passivity, expectancy and 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 an ever greater 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 masses, 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 bourgeois oppression and order. But this struggle lacks direction, organization and leadership, and thus the bourgeoisie and the opportunists have no difficulty in defending themselves from its attack and counter-attacking it 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, 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, in the rapidity with which they are heading 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. The decline of revisionism has already begun 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.

*«Against Modern Revisionism
1968-1970»*

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

From the talk with a comrade from Ceylon

May 17, 1969

The difficult situations did not take us by surprise, (1) we had foreseen them 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, of 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 slackened our vigilance even for a moment or toned down our struggle against enemies in the least, they would strike immediately like the snake that bites you and injects its poison before you are aware of it.

1 Reference is to the danger that could have threatened Albania at the time of the Soviet aggression against Czechoslovakia

The betrayal by the Soviet revisionists is an event with grave consequences for the Marxist-Leninist revolutionary movement world-wide. 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 them. This is being proved every 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, they 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 fascist measures which the revisionists have taken to protect their regime, clearly indicate the grave internal situation and their weakness.

The Khrushchevite traitors suffered a major set-back 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. Had there 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 group more suitable than that headed by the revisionist Dubček. 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 do not have full confidence in them and are afraid lest after a few years the new revisionists in Prague may turn coat.

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 in the Kremlin and their fascist-imperialist tendencies; it proved to the hilt that their «Marxist» facade is nothing but a fraud. Second, it confirmed 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 ambitions towards countries and peoples whom they consider their main and most determined opponents. But we think their most immediate ambitions are directed towards Rumania and, to some degree, also towards 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 Dubček, who had undertaken the re-establishment of capitalism in Czechoslovakia, resisted, the Rumanians 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, 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 Rumanians 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 despite the fact that they have peoples of such mettle, we saw that during the events which took place, the Yugoslav leaders were terrified of a possible Soviet invasion. The reason for this, in our opinion, 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 Serb bourgeoisie and the Croat-Slovenes and others 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 Serb chauvinists such as Ranković 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 subsequent 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, personalities and his close collaborators, accusing them of having weakened the Yugoslav defence and aroused chauvinist and nationalist tendencies throughout Yugoslavia. It seems that Tito took these measures for his 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 so?

First, because the Khrushchevites will have to think twice before they attack Yugoslavia, for it is not Czechoslovakia. If they were going to undertake an armed aggression against Yugoslavia, the Soviet revisionists would have to make their calculations well, because they are afraid of defeat, since the Yugoslav peoples would 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 fight which the Yugoslav peoples themselves would put up against a possible Soviet aggression, all the machinery 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. However, 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(2), against the concentration of Soviet military forces in Bulgaria and the threat that they presented to Yugoslavia and Rumania. In the terms of our declaration, if Yugoslavia or Rumania were attacked, we would defend those countries, would take their side, but dotting the i's as always, without hiding the irreconcilability of our views with those of the Ti-

2 On April 11, 1969, in the newspaper «Zëri i popullit» in the article «Military Pressure — the Basis of the Dictate and Political Blackmail of the Soviet Revisionist Leaders.»

toites; 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 were attacked it can be assumed that Albania would be attacked, too.

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

Our declaration in support of the peoples of Yugoslavia, Rumania, Bulgaria, etc., in case of aggression by the Soviet social-imperialists was received with enthusiasm by those peoples. The heroic stand of the Albanian people and the declaration had an exceptionally great influence on the stand of the peoples of the Balkans.

Tito is a rabid enemy of the Albanian people and the international communist movement, but he is cunning. Immediately after our declaration he declared that at the moments when the Soviets are threatening Yugoslavia, the People's Republic of Albania is playing a decisive role in the Balkans. However, we are well acquainted with his devious policy. When the events between the Soviet Union and China occurred on the Ussuri, Tito tried to maintain a kind of neutral policy, taking neither the side of China nor that of the Soviet revisionists.

As a result of the circumstances and the tense situation created by the Soviet aggression against Czechoslovakia and the Soviet-American alliance, the situation in the world is far from peaceful, especially now. The Soviet revisionists are bent on aggression, but they are afraid, because they take account of the resistance and struggle of the peoples, not only of Albania, but also of Yugoslavia and even of Rumania, of course to the extent that the

Rumanian people could resist. While not giving up the idea of military aggression, the Soviet revisionists are now trying to break the Rumanian resistance internally, with many Soviet agents continuing their work of subversion.

The Soviet revisionists are working in Yugoslavia, too, naturally with less success than in Rumania, while Tito, on his part, continues to preach unity of the peoples, to attack the Serb bourgeoisie, and to rely more on the Croat-Slovene bourgeoisie, etc.

The difficult situation compels Tito to make some concessions even 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 Common Market, the fall of De Gaulle, etc., indicate the decayed state of all the European [capitalist and revisionist] 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 imperialism in Europe. The Soviet revisionists have prepared two or three plans on «Euro-

pean security». This means that the Soviet revisionists want peace in Europe, under American-Soviet domination, so that they can easily keep all their satellites such as Poland, Czechoslovakia, East Germany, Hungary, Bulgaria and possibly also Rumania, under their control; while the United States of America can put 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 countries with the respective apparatuses 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 advance, but which, at the same time, are rather complicated. 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 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. Besides this, there is always another great danger for the new Marxist-Leninist parties, namely, that the bourgeoisie and the revisionists will insinuate their own people into their ranks for purposes of sabotage and subversion...

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 else in a modest way, and, at the same time, to consolidate its own militant political and ideological positions within the country day by day. The struggle against hostile propaganda has great importance for us, because the amount of the capitalist-revisionist propaganda beamed in the direction of our country is great. Now there are dozens of enemy radio stations speaking against Albania every day.

It is of great importance 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 fulfilment of the economic plans, and first of all, the military training of the whole people on a large scale. 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 each problem developing without hindering 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 more deeply we go into these problems, the better things go with us...

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 there. 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 do. It seems to them that they could not do anything if they went 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, a press 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 in 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 men were well-trained to work in illegality 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 lay hands, because in the course of the struggle our comrades were learning how to 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 what 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 the enemy always loses, but the enemy must not be overestimated, either. The important thing is not to be afraid of 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, since some of them have been in Albania, like the ambassador Josip Djerdja, or the youth delegate, like Dizdarević, etc., and have made every effort to defeat our Party.

The work with women and the youth has colossal importance, too. Right from the start, our Party gave this problem great importance. This is obvious also 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 burning with revolutionary ardour...

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 front of the work and struggle to which the Party assigns 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, but, our Party took no heed of their «advice» and 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 ensuring 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 and the competences and tasks of each of them should not be confused. They have common tasks, but they also have specific tasks. All these, of course, were defined in the course of the struggle and throughout their whole existence these organizations and powerful levers of

the Party have gained a 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 of surrounding all our people with its own teachings and setting them in motion, because, besides the working class, as the leading class, the youth and the women, each have specific problems...

I wish you a good journey and successes.

«*Against Modern Revisionism*
1968-1970»

**DIFFICULTIES ARE OVERCOME AND VICTORY IS
ACHIEVED ONLY WITH A CORRECT POLITICAL
LINE AND SOUND UNITY**

*From the talk with a 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 coming 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 difficulties and sufferings are not over and continue to be greater than the sufferings of all the other Arab peoples.

The Arab peoples are honest, generous 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 fighting traditions.

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 since that time have 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 the program of your movement and, therefore, you may rest assured 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, all the masses did not hurl themselves 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 was 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 of our 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 the program of your struggle. 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 and 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, was 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 the communists at first, united with this organization later, after patient work to explain things to them, and 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 Kupa, who, when it came to acting concretely, would not fight against the occupiers. Then we took a clear-cut 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 with 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 strug-

gle 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 all the revolutionary forces and through the armed struggle can you emerge from the grave situation of 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 would 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. This is another reason for the Palestinian communists to 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 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 their friends are and who their enemies that must be fought, are. 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 the masses, too, must know the reason for the fight so they can judge whether or not the struggle which is being carried out should be supported. If the people judge the aims of the war and evaluate them, then the fighters will become invincible. Whatever the 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 essential for achieving victory, in our opinion. If you have this and if you keep the correct political and military line 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 conquering 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 Hashemite dynasty (although everyone knows how much «benefit» the peoples have had from kings), 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.⁽¹⁾ 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 gold 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 be created only in struggle.

The international alliance with the workers and the peoples of the whole world has also great importance for the struggle of your people and the achievement of victory over the occupiers. On this question it is essential that your people utilize every possibility to know

1 King Feisal II and prime minister Nuri Said were executed in 1958, when the monarchy was overthrown by a group of Iraqi officers, headed by General Kasem.

well who their friends are and who their enemies abroad are. 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, they can cope successfully with every difficulty and trap which the enemies might prepare. However, before you can know who your true friend is, you must act according to the wise saying of the people: «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 we are small and need friends, therefore bow in allegiance and join up with him. No, we can never agree to such a friendship of 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, British, French 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 people. 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 they are gravely 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 weapons, 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 weapons, 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 weapons.

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 so, because a different situation exists there for them: their stand towards the war in Vietnam is a life-and-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 peoples 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 aggressors.

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 occupiers. The aim of the Soviet revisionists, who pose as friends of the Arabs, is to get control of the ports of the Arab 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 realistic, in the Middle East, where they have got a foothold 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 peoples 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 that they can concentrate their fleet in this zone. It is clear to us that the Soviet revisionists have their fleet in the Mediterranean Basin 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 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 does not praise you, this means you are on the right road. The Soviets are very much 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 which 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 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 Karame (2) 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, there-

2 Former prime minister of Lebanon.

fore, 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 that zone, and therefore the enemies are striving to suppress any revolutionary centre or element there. Now the Soviet revisionists have come into the Mediterranean; 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 those 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 through their propaganda they spread lies 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» is bound to 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 Algeria was 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 sick man of the Bosphorus», (3) all the neighbouring states, supported by the great powers of that time, Britain, Germany, France, Russia, etc., fell on our country

3 Reference here is to the Ottoman Empire which by the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century was on its decline.

to partition it. At the Ambassadors' Conference held in London in 1913, when the borders of Albania were laid down, the Serbs seized 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 the omelette for Prince Nicholas.

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 (4) 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 Middle East 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

4 Former foreign minister of Russia, one of the authors of the partitioning of Albania in 1913.

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 road and 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 to induce you to stop the war, to 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 it would make the solution of your great question more difficult. It 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 question signed and legalized through the UNO. The American and Soviet imperialists are pledged to this and are making efforts to achieve it, while the Palestinian people are still living in tents and receiving from the 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.

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 motor-car 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 they waged, therefore, the Algerian people did very well that they shut him out. We, too, have gone through these phases with the Khrushchevite revisionists, but we put them in their place, therefore, the people supported 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 living 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 the 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 cautious 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 everything seemed to have 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 of the UNO, but, in unity with the army and the people of Jordan, will raise high the banner of the Arab peoples' 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 follow events vigilantly, therefore we consider it unnecessary and do not allow ourselves 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 that might be undertaken against us by the enemy, whether by the social-imperialist Soviet Union, revisionist Yugoslavia, monarcho-fascist Greece, fascist Italy, the United States of America, or all of them together. Indeed, we have been in struggle against them all, 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 some easier place 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 broth-

ers 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 in the eyes of 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, for our part, 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 very valuable and profound lessons, which are the result of a 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 correctly and support the struggle which we are waging. We are convinced that your support for the struggle of the Palestinian people is great and when we return home 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 Palestinian people whole-heartedly. You are right when you say that the struggle your people are waging is difficult, but the important thing is that the line of your struggle is correct, that it is based on the aspirations of your people for the liberation of their Homeland, and therefore it will certainly be crowned with success. The struggle you are waging is a revolutionary one and we believe that through this struggle you are laying the solid foundations for the triumph and future of the Palestinian people.

Like you, following in the footsteps of your grandparents and parents in their wars to achieve the permanent liberation of the Palestinian people, we, too, waged a war which was the continuation of the struggle of the Albanian people through the centuries, of their ceaseless uprisings, of the efforts of Albanian patriots and progressive individuals who were not communists, but who loved their people whole-heartedly, and therefore, were linked closely with them and nurtured a profound hatred for the occupier. The past generations left us all their great fighting experience and the glorious traditions of their strivings as a heritage, so that we would carry on the fight until victory. Now our task is to consolidate the victories achieved, because the dangers have not disap-

peared for us, either, and regardless of the fact that we have won our freedom, the dangers are still great. Through its struggle Albania, where the people are in power, has now won great respect in the world, whereas in the past it was totally ignored. Nevertheless, it is still threatened by the imperialists, the Soviet social-imperialists 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 all the 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 fully convinced that the final victory will be achieved, but we also know that while we are fighting, along with victories, there will also be temporary defeats, which cannot genuine revolutionaries yield.

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, to be our struggle and, likewise, we consider each of their victories and defeats to be 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 that they never fall asleep, into the beguiling lethargy of 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 it.⁽⁵⁾ I think 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 alle-

⁵ Comrade Enver Hoxha speaks to the functionaries of the Foreign Ministry who were present at this meeting.

gedly fighting for the liberation of Palestine, but which in reality will try to undermine your struggle.

THE PALESTINIAN COMRADE: We know that he has received weapons from Bulgaria and the Soviet Union. He openly defends the monarchic system ruling in Jordan and the decisions of his 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 on account of the peace plan concocted by the enemies.

COMRADE ENVER HOXHA: You see how they operate? Under the call of Lenin, let us fight together with the Husseins. Our Party teaches 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 carry the course of the struggle you have begun through to the end, because this is the only way to salvation, the way 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!

«Against *Modem Revisionism*
1968-1970»

**ON THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE DECISIONS
OF THE 6TH PLENUM OF THE CC OF THE PLA
FOR THE STRUGGLE AGAINST MANIFESTATIONS
OF INTELLECTUALISM AND TECHNOCRACY**

*From the speech delivered at the meeting of
the Secretariat of the CC of the PLA*

September 28, 1970

We have spoken about this problem before and in the future, too, we shall continue to speak again about it and work more profoundly in three directions: ideologically, politically and organizationally. It is by no means sufficient to discuss intellectualism and technocracy only from the political angle or simply to explain the danger of them during our activity to build socialism. At the same time, we should take organizational measures to restrain the tendencies and block the paths to the development of intellectualist and technocratic views which manifest themselves among our people and will continue to do so. Naturally, this is not easy, and we must not think that the diseases of intellectualism and technocracy can be easily erased from people's minds, but we have the possibilities to achieve greater results than hitherto if we take this problem seriously and link people's thinking concretely with the development of production and the

perfection of management, with their initiative and the fulfilment of plans.

We may say that through the directives, advice and continuous political and ideological work of the Party and the state, the struggle against manifestations of intellectualism and technocracy has been set on a correct course, although there are still many obstacles. This is confirmed by all our practice at work up till now, as well as by the reports of the party committees of the Tirana and Korça districts, which have clearly pointed out both the progress made and the obstacles which are still encountered in this direction, and in general, from whom they are encountered.

It is not possible for us to classify who are free of these harmful manifestations and who are still tainted with them. The truth is that efforts are being made everywhere, but in one way or another and to different degrees, the tendencies to intellectualism, technocracy and bureaucracy are manifested, more or less, in everyone. However, it seems to me, and this is confirmed by the reports which come in and by our entire practice, that these shortcomings are more evident here, at the centre, especially in the central departments, but less so among the leading cadres of enterprises. Therefore, without reducing our vigilance in the slightest greater efforts to fight these tendencies should be made everywhere, first of all, by the working people of the central institutions, who must thoroughly understand the danger of these manifestations. However, they must not restrict themselves simply to a political understanding of the danger of them, because the struggle that must be waged subsequently in practice against these manifestations assumes special importance. It seems to me that this is where the defect in this work lies.

As has been pointed out here, it is not that our com-

rades and our people in general, do not want to combat these manifestations (although there are some who do not understand the danger of them or certain others who do not wage this struggle because of their conceit, arrogance, underestimation of the role of the masses and the lower cadres, and overestimation of their own intellectual capacities, etc.), but because we use many forms and methods of management of the work which are outdated and do not respond to the changing conditions and the existing revolutionary reality. Although many comrades who hold positions of responsibility in the central departments or those who have leading positions at the base understand the danger of intellectualism and technocracy ideologically and politically, still they do not fight against them in practice, because they have fallen into a routine of the work of management and because there are formulas, rules, a discipline of the plan, financial links and interdependence, etc., etc., which, in practice, hinder them from advancing with the drive of the masses, and so unwittingly they hinder their revolutionary drive. Herein lies a major contradiction which we and the whole Party must make great efforts to resolve.

Now, you might say, the problems are clear to everyone. Regardless of the extravagant ideas, etc., etc., which may exist in some people, in our work we always take into account the rational ideas of the masses, the working people, the engineers, the directors, the ministers, who not only open up broad horizons of work but also achieve great things, overcome and smash the limitations of plans, methods, rules, connections, dependences and interdependences, etc. The Party, the people and the state are very pleased about all these efforts which are being made and say that this is the course on which we must proceed. That is why we have achieved results on the course we are pursuing, why the ardent desire of every-

one is to fight and eliminate those negative phenomena which we mentioned, to overcome those obstacles, to start the work again with new methods, to try to find a more suitable method of organization in order to respond to this drive and maturity of the masses, to their many suggestions and great readiness, and we are proceeding to do this. Nevertheless, in the course of this great drive, the squeal of the brakes of bureaucracy and technocracy still can be heard.

The bureaucrat understands the discipline of the plan, which is a thing of great importance, as something very rigid, indeed exceptionally rigid. However, the masses, for their part, break through this rigidity and the Party, the state (through the budget and the plan) have, in fact, supported this initiative, while the bureaucrat and technocrat raise obstacles to it, clinging fanatically to what they call the discipline of the plan and to their stereotyped methods of work. The bureaucrat says, «There is none, this is all I have, I won't give you any more.» «This can't be done,» continues the technocrat, «the norms do not envisage this...» These people claim to be very learned, and perhaps they are, but as far as I am concerned their learning is worthless. They may have great experience as well, but as far as I am concerned, their experience, too, is worthless, because it hinders our advance. The bureaucrat and technocrat are people without any perspective, without initiative and courage, whereas the masses who think, act and smash the limitations of the plan are full of confidence and courage in their activity and are convinced that they are serving their own cause, the cause of the Homeland. The bureaucrat and technocrat think that Albania will be ruined if some amendment is made to the plan, they cannot summon up the courage to go to the director of the enterprise, to the technical council, to the minister or the government and

boldly discuss the essential need for the amendment which should be made to the plan. Hence, instead of setting their knowledge in motion, they keep it rigidly in a fixed state. Hence, the bureaucrat and the technocrat are not valuable. On the contrary, they hinder the revolutionary drive in our development.

This question must be understood correctly and not interpreted as if we want to bite off more than we can chew. No, we have never done this, but we have achieved more than we have planned. These achievements have been secured by the great revolutionary creative force of the masses. With this I have in mind not only the rank-and-file people, but also the cadres, the communists, the technicians, hence all those who work for the implementation of the line of the Party, with the exception of those who are shallow-minded and affected by these reprehensible manifestations which we are discussing, those who, as Comrade Manush(1)said,are dominated by the conceit, fear and personal ambition of the intellectual. Therefore, in these directions we must wage a continuous struggle.

In his report Comrade Manush dealt extensively with the problem of intellectualism and gave us a picture of the measures which the Party Committee of Tirana has taken to fight this unhealthy manifestation. It seems to me that the Party Committee of the Tirana District has been correct in its ideas of how it should act on this problem and how it should work to link the scientific aspect with the practical aspect of production, in the factories, schools and institutes, with the work of engineers, workers, cooperativists, the people of production, etc. I think that the following course should be pursued: the

1 Manush Myftiu — Member of the Political Bureau of the CC of the PLA, at that time also first secretary of the Party Committee of the Tirana District.

experience gained should be deepened and pursued further and we should try to extract the maximum benefits from it.

In the central apparatuses and departments intellectualism is more pronounced and is not combated properly in theory and less so in practice. It is manifested in many directions, both in the old method of planning, in the unrealistic trust, not in the people of the base, but in the balances of materials, in the securing of different materials and goods from imports on the basis of requests which the central departments make from above. We see the manifestation of intellectualism in the hesitation of the people working in the central apparatuses to give the base competences, in the tendency to gather many things in the central apparatuses, a thing which has its source in their conceit and excessive faith in the power of orders. Another aspect of this manifestation is the tendency of some to see only the negative aspects and not the positive aspects of the organs and cadres of the base, their intellectual mania rather to boost themselves than to put proper stress on the creative force of the masses.

The struggle against intellectualism and technocracy has brought to light many problems in connection with the great initiatives of the working masses. Many great things are being done and this is likely to continue, but the problem is that the technocracy of the central departments where, as I said, these manifestations are more pronounced, is still a hindrance. It is noticed that in many cases the ministries lack initiative, they have often understood the discipline of the plan incorrectly, a thing which makes them very inflexible, makes them reject suggestions and innovations, and refuse to make additions which development requires. This is unfruitful work on their part, which inhibits development. The facts of the many initiatives and great achievements of the masses have proved the truth of these observations.

The mass actions with concentrated blows (2) are a heavy knock to the technocrats, to those who make allegedly precise calculations of the norms, materials, time, productivity, etc. In these actions, the working people with their revolutionary drive broke the norms and plans made in offices by the bureaucrats and technocrats. These actions and many others have helped to create and implant new revolutionary ideas and concepts among our people, making them think correctly from the political point of view, size things up correctly and create on a broad scale for the people. They have dealt a blow to the sceptical technocrats and have helped to awaken workers' thinking. Having a correct concept of the need to put politics first, our working people have always waged a continuous struggle against bureaucracy, technocracy, economism and abstract politicking.

It is correct that great care and more efforts should be made against intellectualist concepts in the schools, among the teaching staff, in order to combat and eliminate the various manifestations of the unhealthy intellectualist spirit in the working people of education, using a wide range of the most effective forms and methods.

The report also raises the question of the circulation of cadres. It seems to me that in some cases this problem is not always understood properly and correctly, but in an automatic way. Many comrades in responsible posts do not have a profound understanding of the need

2 On the basis of the experience gained in the course of the work for the elimination of the consequences of the November 1967 earthquake in the districts of Dibra and Librazhd, where within 25 days more than 6,300 houses and other buildings that had been destroyed or heavily damaged were set up, the mass actions with concentrated blows came into being as a new revolutionary form of action with concentrated human forces and material resources by which relatively great work is done within a very short time.

for the circulation of the cadres. In my opinion, many cadres of the ministries ought to go to the base and those of the base come to the ministries. We are no longer in the position we were in during the first years when we lacked cadres, because in all sectors there are thousands of people who have worked at least 5-6 years in production, hence they have adequate experience of practical work and a good knowledge of the theoretical side of the work and that of managing production. The people of the base have a fairly good knowledge of all these things, because they have been hardened in the struggle of life. Many of them have come time after time to the ministries where they have often made proposals some of which have been accepted and some turned down, while some of them have been left aside, saying that the material means for them do not exist, etc., etc. The example was brought up here of a functionary who did not supply a quantity of cement for the construction of houses with voluntary labour, (3) allegedly because it had not been envisaged in the plan. According to him, they would have to wait until the end of the year to see how much cement would be produced above the plan, then studies could be made to see how much cement from this amount produced above the plan could be allocated for this purpose. There you have a bureaucratic hindrance. If you replace this functionary immediately with a cadre from the base and send the functionary to work there under the formative influence of the working masses, you will see how quickly he becomes a capable and qualified engineer, because there he will be imbued with

3 This is a revolutionary initiative taken by the working masses themselves to quicken the solution of the housing problem in our country. According to it everyone can make his contribution by working voluntarily for the building of houses, with the state providing the designs, specialists and the material base.

the spirit and the drive of the base, will have first-hand knowledge of the demands and needs of the base, he will be imbued with the revolutionary spirit of the base, so that when he has the occasion to go to the ministry for something he needs, he will not be hindered in the way he hinders the others, in this concrete instance with the cement, because there he will find a comrade who has worked at the base, who is well-acquainted with the needs of the base and who will understand the request very readily and immediately take measures to fulfil it. And when he is at the base, this person will present the requests he has to make as reasonable, because he will see the work at the base from a different angle, while his comrade who has come from the base to the ministry, being tempered in the spirit of the base, will solve the problems much faster than this person does at present. In a word, there will be complete harmony and a unity of dynamic revolutionary action between the ministry and the base. This will also help to enhance the authority of the central organs.

The circulation of cadres is indispensable in order to strengthen the confidence of the departments in the base, since the cadre, whom the department considers good, will go precisely where he is needed and where the work has to turn out well. Thus, together with the intellectualist concept of the «soft seat», we shall also combat the intellectualist feeling in work, in management and in administration.

But where do we stand at present with the problem of circulation, in what direction are we heading? It is clear to all of us that we must go to the base, because all the problems are at the base. The factories, plants, agriculture, construction, the health service, the schools, art and culture, are all at the base. That being the case, we must send there our people with great experience in

management, for whom it is indispensable that they get mud on their boots, that they live with the people, that they are imbued with the spirit of the base and become resolute fighters to eliminate every shred of intellectualist, bureaucratic and technocratic remnants from themselves. In place of them we should bring outstanding working people from the base into the central apparatuses. In this manner we will have invigorated both the base and the ministries.

However, as soon as we decide to move one of the working people of the central apparatuses, the opposition begins, plenty of «excuses» are found. When we propose, for example, to move some old worker of the Planning Commission to send him to the base, we are immediately told that «we cannot let him go,» «the Planning Commission cannot do without him,» etc. I am of the opinion that it is not essential that we have specialists of 20-25 years of experience in the planning sector, although someone may insist that he knows the entire history of the plan for the profile which is his speciality since 1945. Such an excuse carries no weight, because if the need arises for figures, we have the working people of the statistics department who can find them for us whenever we need them. Let us take oil, for example. In planning we need a person who knows this sector, who follows properly the work in this sector and is in a position to suggest to the government the problems which must be solved. At present in the State Planning Commission we have gathered many people who are good, capable and of a long experience, but who have an office outlook, the outlook of red tape and studies, divorced from actual life, from the masses and work at the base, remote from practice, and who base their entire activity on these red tape and studies.

Why should we not bring working people from the

base, hardened in battle against the difficulties of life and capable of working in the respective branches of the central organs, into the planning sector and likewise into the other central departments? Today, we have plenty of senior engineers, technicians, economists, etc., who have a lifetime experience at the base. Why, then, cannot the respective ministry collaborate with these people? Why, for instance, should the Ministry of Health not collaborate with a doctor who has been working for 10-15 or 20 years at the base? Why does the minister keep the same people in head office for a long time, thus creating possibilities to prepare an unhealthy situation there, from the bureaucratic aspect, I mean? Such a state of affairs keeps the leadership of the department isolated from the base, makes it place more confidence in the people who work there than in those who work below, at the base, and thus it issues ill-considered orders, as happened with the Ministry of Trade which, without considering the issues properly, on some occasions issues incorrect orders, even by telegram. This is what happened with the mussels that were ordered when no measures had been taken for them to be consumed by the people, or with the garments that had to be produced as they in the ministry wanted them, otherwise they could not take delivery of them. etc. Such a person in a responsible position in the Ministry of Trade, who is not connected with the base and knows nothing of the needs of the people, who proposes a distribution of goods outside the needs and requirements of the masses, could very well be sent to a trading enterprise in a district as director there, so that he becomes acquainted with the reality, and then, you will see how he will come to Tirana to oppose those ill-considered directives which his senior sends from the head office of the ministry. He will notify the centre that at the base the situation is entirely different, that

goods which the base has not asked for and which the people of the district do not need are sent from above. Whereas now this person who works in the ministry thinks quite differently.

Apart from this, some of these cadres have created the erroneous idea that they are irreplaceable. But why are they allegedly irreplaceable? It is true that many of them have been working for a long time and are advanced in age and for this we should respect them. Apart from this, they are also capable. Previously it was somewhat difficult to move them, especially from the economic aspect, but the others who work and live at the base have the same difficulties. «How can I leave Tirana?» ask some. There will be cadres who will leave Tirana, comrades, they will go to the base, but we must not leave them without houses. He who comes here from the base must immediately hand his house over to the person who leaves here. When the person from Tirana goes to work at the base, it is essential to find him a house there where he is to work, so that he can take his family with him. But when an apartment is found for him and he leaves his wife and children here, thinking that he will return to Tirana, he will certainly be unsettled in his work. Such thinking and such a stand is not correct at all. Why should someone who is transferred from Tirana to a district think that he will come back here? The conscientious communist and patriot should not seek to be moved from the base where he has been appointed and should not work there in an unsettled frame of mind. If the Party needs to recall someone to the centre, that is another matter, but he himself must not ask to leave the base, but on the contrary, should fight to link himself like flesh to bone with the masses and with the job he has been assigned to. because there are some who, before they have ever settled down in the place to which

they have been transferred, demand to be brought back to Tirana. But why, for what reason?

The problem of the circulation of cadres must be followed carefully and work must be carried out continuously so that it is understood correctly by all, ideologically and politically. The Party must apply a correct policy on this question. Especially in those key positions, where the possibilities exist for the birth and development of the dangerous tendencies of bureaucracy, intellectualism and technocracy, we must bring to the centre precisely those cadres who have proved themselves in practice and have shown themselves to be resolute fighters against these manifestations. These cadres must be followed and known in the struggle for the implementation of the line of the Party on this question. Therefore, when the need arises for the circulation of a cadre from the central apparatuses, we must keep well in mind that he is not replaced at random, bringing in his place some other who may be infected by the same shortcomings as those I mentioned, who, when they were sent to the base did not take their families, waiting to be called back to the centre, or who although they have been sent, do not perform their duties well there. We must bring in a person who is really learned, with broad horizons, in the first place an unflinching fighter for the line of the Party, a capable person who is not in the least afraid to express his opinions openly, who has initiative and does not run to consult his superior all the time on every matter. Such a cadre, in the sector of industry, for example, without any intervention from above can put the screw on some bureaucratic element of the trade sector when the latter is not in order, and compel him in the interests of the economy and people to act correctly.

We must apply an appropriate policy of circulation on the basis of the revolutionary line of the Party. Now

we have thousands of people at the base whom we can bring into the central apparatuses, while the others who have been working for a long time in the higher organs and who are also revolutionary, capable and with experience, we should send to the base to run things there and strengthen it, to manage the economic forces there which are now quite big, so they use their capabilities and their wide experience there, and at the same time, absorb the spirit of the base for which they have great need. Our revolutionary cadres must always be ready to go to the base without hesitation, wherever the need arises, in much greater numbers than hitherto, and they should never feel themselves only temporarily there.

This is a struggle which we have begun and must continue. The principles are clear to us and in this direction good, sound work has been done and is continuing, but there are obstacles still and the struggle to overcome them will continue. The fact that we see no danger in this problem is of importance. Of course unhealthy manifestations exist here and there and will continue to exist for some time to come, and that is precisely why we must wage a continuous struggle to eliminate them.

*«Reports and Speeches
1970-1971»*

STUDY MARXIST-LENINIST THEORY, LINKING IT CLOSELY WITH REVOLUTIONARY PRACTICE

*Speech delivered at the meeting commemorating the
25th anniversary of the founding of the «V.I. Lenin»
Party School*

November 8, 1970

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We communists and all workers need to be armed with two kinds of weapons: with fire arms and with the ideas of Marxism-Leninism. Both these kinds of weapons are necessary for the revolutionary to make the revolution and carry it through to the end. As early as those difficult but heroic days of the National Liberation War, when the fate of our Homeland and our people was decided, the Party instructed the communists to learn persistently to master not only the rifle but also the ideological weapons, the ideas of Marxism-Leninism. After the liberation of the country, too, while always keeping the rifle ready, our communists and working people, on whose shoulders fell the heavy burden of destroying the old world and building an entirely new society — socialism, set to work with even more persistence to master the bases of our unerring theory — Marxism-Leninism, as the compass to guide them in action in the concrete conditions of our Homeland. This has been and remains a permanent task of first importance for everybody.

We, Albanian Marxist-Leninists, came to the philosophy of Marx through our revolutionary practice, we fought with all our might against the feudal lords and the bourgeoisie and their reactionary regime which oppressed the people, against the regime of the most appalling ignorance and barbarous exploitation of man by a handful of people. We hated religion with all the power of our reason, because the revolutionary practice of our people had clearly brought to light the profoundly reactionary and anti-popular role of religious doctrines, which supported the feudal-bourgeoisie of the country and the foreigners who oppressed us. The centuries of never-ceasing liberation struggles had made our people a revolutionary people. They could not conceive either their existence as a people or the positive changes in their social life otherwise than by way of war and revolution. Their uprisings have always had a pronounced anti-imperialist, anti-feudal, anti-bourgeois and anti-religious character, of course, we cannot yet speak of inspiration or guidance from the philosophy of Marx, which became properly crystallized among us only after the founding of the Party. But, amongst the people and amongst the small working class, still at its initial stage, our Party found a fertile field for radical transformations, for a great social revolution, which would overturn the old social system of the feudal lords and the bourgeoisie and establish socialism.

Through their revolutionary activity, in the process of transforming their social conditions, the people also transform themselves. Thus, we observe a great transformation in our working class and in our peasantry, which has embraced collectivization. Our intelligentsia, also, is no longer that of old as regards either its numbers, its origin, or its cultural level. Not only has the ideological and political level of the working class been raised on

the revolutionary road, but with its class consciousness it educates and leads the peasantry and the other strata of the population in our country. The educational and cultural level of our new man has been raised and is being steadily enhanced in order to respond to the needs and conditions created. All these revolutionary transformations of our people are the fruit of the transformation of social conditions which the people's revolution brought about. Thus, our development proceeded along such lines because our Party faithfully applied the teachings of Marx, whose philosophy has always illuminated the road for our policy.

Engels teaches us that all history to the present day develops as a natural process and, in general, is subject to the same objective laws of motion to which nature is subject, but with its own specific features, for here we have to do with the activity of conscious beings — men. People are always in movement and activity, they act to realize definite aims and desires, and history is nothing but all this activity of theirs. However, all the people do not always have their aims, or the means and ways of attaining these aims properly crystallized. Besides this the aims and desires of men are not identical; this depends on the place they occupy in society in conformity with the social relations existing in the given historical period. Therefore, as Engels pointed out, history is made in such a way that the final result always emerges from the conflicts, from a great number of individual conflicts, each of them motivated by a host of conditions of existence. Hence, in the historical process, there are innumerable forces which oppose one another, and from this there emerges a resultant which is the historical event.

Naturally, this is typical of the exploiting society, in which private ownership divides men and classes,

counterposes their interests and aims, and in which the law of blind spontaneity prevails. But even in socialism, although in this stage private ownership has been eliminated and society is developed in a conscious way, here, too, because people live and act under different conditions and circumstances, because essential differentiations exist between friendly classes, between town and countryside, between mental and physical labour, etc., we encounter different interests, aspirations and opinions, a series of contradictions.

There are communists who may have learned these ideas of Engels and of Marxism-Leninism in books and at school, but when it comes to their analyzing and confronting them with the many things that occur in life and applying them in practice, then they get stuck, do not see the problems correctly, and fail to understand that people have various ideas and desires which very often clash with and oppose one another. These comrades think and demand that the «resultant», of which Engels speaks, should be attained without the struggle of opposites, without the clash of opinions for and against, that it should be attained in a dogmatic manner, with one stroke of the conductor's baton.

At various meetings it is noticed that some leading comrades are afraid of discussions «which are out of tune», which go beyond the stereotyped formulas. They think that everything ought to proceed smoothly. The result of such a method is that the opposing opinions are expressed outside the meeting. In this case, the alarm is sounded about something which is said to have been understood «theoretically», but which, in fact, has been neither understood nor applied correctly. But we recognize that it is difficult to stifle opposition. For instance, he who got his flat ceased to complain and this contradiction was solved, whereas he who has been over-crow-

ded for years will keep complaining. This contradiction impels us to think out ways of overcoming it as quickly as possible, not by saying «Hold your tongue, or shut up!» to the person whose needs have not yet been fulfilled, but by finding new forms of work and of the mobilization of the masses in actions with concentrated blows to build adequate numbers of apartments and as quickly as possible. This applies to all the problems of life, big or small, which are set before us to be solved, and which comprise the great historical «resultants», the advance along the road to the complete construction of socialist society and, eventually, of communist society. Listen how neatly and correctly an engineering worker has expressed this dialectical law of the clash of opinions, as a great motive force of our society: «We mechanics like these frictions,» he said, «because when two metals are rubbed together they produce heat which is transformed into mechanical energy. Similarly, with ideas: the more ideas are thrashed out, the more heat and energy they will generate, and, as a consequence, production and the well-being of the workers will go ahead.»

If we assimilate our theory well and know how to link it with life, then many things become clear. Just from the one example I mentioned we ought to think about why we should be afraid of discussion, of the clash of ideas, why we should be afraid of criticism and why we should confine self-criticism to a few personal things, and should not develop it on a still wider scale. Discussion and criticism does not, in any way, lower the authority of the institution or department, but stirs them up to resolve the contradictions that emerge in life, correctly and promptly. This is an entire education which the Party carries out and must carry out among its own members and the people.

It is up to us, the communists, in the first place, to

understand our theory thoroughly and then to teach it to the broad masses of the people. Matters of theory are not one-sided and it is not enough that they should be known, understood and applied by only a few; everybody ought to understand and apply them correctly, because everyone has duties and no one, old or young, can escape either his personal or his collective responsibility.

When we study the revolutionary history of the Albanian people from ancient times to the present day, we understand the magnificence of the materialist dialectics of Marx and the futility of the attempted criticisms which have been and are directed against his immortal philosophy.

Dialectics is the theory of development. In the elaboration of it, Marx based himself on Hegel's dialectics, but he transformed it radically, turning it into its opposite, from a dialectics based from top to bottom on the development of the idea to a dialectics based firmly on materialist concepts. In Marx's dialectics, the decisive and «active aspect» of development is not «the dynamism of spiritual activity», in other words, the idea, but human practice, that is the material practical activity of man for the transformation of nature and society. This great historical formulation of Marxist-Leninist philosophy, which characterizes the materialist dialectics of Marx, as distinct from the idealist dialectics of Hegel, is known to all. We Marxist-Leninists learn it thoroughly, for it is the basis of our philosophy. In order to affirm these major principles our great revolutionary thinkers had to wage a great struggle for decades on end, in theory and practice, against the idealist, anti-Marxist philosophers, the reactionary bourgeoisie and their various political and ideological schools. The materialist development of world history, the revolutions in various historical periods, up to the proletarian revolution of our cen-

ture, which brought the working class to power and established the dictatorship of the proletariat in many countries, confirmed the fundamental theses of Marxism-Leninism. Naturally, the struggle continues and will continue between revolutionaries and counter-revolutionaries, between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, between Marxist-Leninists and anti-Marxist-Leninists.

In our times, the modern revisionists, with the Soviet revisionists at the head, while fighting Marxism-Leninism fiercely, try to preserve the external appearances of the theoretical formulations of the Marxist-Leninist doctrine, obviously for the purpose of using them as a mask, but, on the other hand, they strive to deform them all, to deprive them of their revolutionary essence, in order to fight communism and the revolution. By interpreting the materialist development of history in a falsified way, these enemies of Marxism try to turn the materialist dialectics of Marx upside down and set it on a new, transformed pedestal, that of the neo-Hegelians.

The great task devolves on us, the Marxist-Leninists, to fight in defence of our Marxist-Leninist theory against the new falsifiers, and in order to wage this struggle properly, we must not consider the theoretical formulations of our doctrine, which we learn at school or in books, merely correct historical observations which represent the revolutionary struggle of our great leaders at given periods. On the contrary, every thought of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin should become for us the object of deep reflection, so that we understand the essence of it and adapt it correctly, in a creative, non-dogmatic way, to the actual period in which we are living and fighting, to the concrete historical conditions of our country, to our social development and to the problem which requires solution.

It is precisely in this complex struggle for our educa-

tion with the Marxist-Leninist theory and its creative application in our country that we must never withdraw into our own shell and consider our duty accomplished, if we do not follow with vigilance the falsifications of our doctrine made by the modern revisionists and the other ideologists of capital and fail to wage a stern and relentless ideological and political struggle against them, while at the same time countering these falsifications with our successes in the construction of socialism, attained by following the life-giving teachings of Marxism-Leninism.

Study of Marxist-Leninist science is the only way to enable us to explain the phenomena and facts of life correctly, to clarify the present and illuminate the future. Study of it arms people so that they are not content to analyze facts and phenomena merely from their external appearances, from what appears on the surface, but by delving deeper into them, discovering their content, their essence, the objective laws that guide their social development. It is by no means rare for the external form of social processes and phenomena to give the essence hidden below a distorted appearance, so that it seems something new, normal, progressive, whereas in essence it is completely the opposite.

Let us take, for instance, one of the basic questions of social relations in capitalism. From their superficial appearance they create the impression that relations of equality exist between the worker and the capitalist, «I give you as much as you give me,» says the capitalist, as though he pays the worker for all the work he does, as though the capitalist is the producer of capital, but this is not so in reality. It is known that the capitalist pays the worker for only a part of his work, while for the rest of the work he does not pay him, but appropriates it. It is precisely this unpaid part of the labour of the worker

which produces and increases capital. Herein lies the source of capitalist exploitation, herein also lies the brilliant discovery of that «mysterious problem» in the main relations between the worker and the capitalist which Karl Marx named surplus value.

Thus, it is the Marxist science which has demonstrated that the laws which regulate and guide production in capitalism are represented on the surface in such forms that they not only hide their real nature, but also create the opposite impression among the people, that is, as though they are the fairest, most natural and everlasting forms. This whole illusion is created by the capitalists to conceal their exploitation of the workers and the unavoidable contradictions which erode the capitalist order from within and lead it to the grave.

Even at the present time, the apologists for capitalism and the modern revisionists, misrepresenting the significance of certain new external manifestations, such as the spread of state monopoly capitalism, the creation of so-called «workers' councils» which allegedly take part in the management of the capitalist enterprises, or the «workers' self-administration» in Yugoslavia, etc., etc., try to create the illusion that capitalist exploitation has been done away with and that the distinction between the workers and the capitalists is being wiped out. Scientific Marxist-Leninist analysis of these phenomena completely exposes this new fraud and shows that, far from being wiped out, capitalist exploitation has been further intensified.

No matter what external change the capitalist order may undergo, no matter what sort of guise it may assume, or what «theory» it may create — and it always creates such theories, adapting them to the circumstances which arise from the sharpening of the class struggle — it remains an order of oppression and exploitation. This order has to be destroyed and it will be destroyed

through the proletarian revolution; capitalist relations will be replaced, without fail, by the new socialist relations, the means of production will be removed from the hands of the capitalists and taken over by the working class itself.

The opponents of Marxism try in vain to attack the theory of Marx on the pretext that it deals with abstract reasoning, with «the abstract quintessence» of processes and phenomena, allegedly departing from the facts and concrete data, from the historical reality. This is a gross falsification. Whereas we, Marxist-Leninists, from the method used by Marx for the analysis of capitalism in his immortal work, «Capital», draw the great lesson that, in order to probe into the objective reality, it is not sufficient to gather and present facts, but it is necessary to make generalizations, to draw scientific conclusions and abstractions, to discover the laws guiding the phenomena of social development. Otherwise, one remains on the surface of things, falls into practicisism, or into various other mistakes.

In socialism, likewise, because here, too, the old fights for survival, often by clothing itself in the garb of the new, it may happen that the external appearances do not reflect the true essence of phenomena. Therefore, we must know how to avoid remaining on the surface, and must base ourselves on the scientific theory of Marxism-Leninism and penetrate from the external manifestations into their essence, to discover the deep causes which lie at the root of things and the social laws which guide their development. Only in this way shall we be able to distinguish the new from the old, the progressive from the conservative and reactionary.

We must educate our people to judge the phenomena of social development on scientific materialist bases, with the aim of ridding them of idealist views or hang-

overs, or superficial simplistic ideas. According to the teachings of Marx, the working class is not and must not be Utopian. It should not idealize decrees and think that everything is done or accomplished by means of decrees and ordinances. It must understand what the decrees are, their origin and what they serve for. In the first place — and this is the important thing, our working class must be clear on the key to the problem, must be clear that its emancipation, its liberation from the shackles of capital, the development of the society which it has created and which is developing continuously towards perfection, was not by any means done by decree, but has gone through and will always go through prolonged struggles, continuous historical strivings and processes, which result in the transformation of the society and people.

Hence, the impression should not be created that the victories achieved and the radical transformations which have been carried out in our country, in our society and among our people are the result of decrees and ordinances; on the contrary, the decrees and ordinances are the consequence of certain problems which have emerged from the objective historical processes, from the struggle and efforts exerted for the all-round transformation of the society and people. Thus, the decree in itself cannot bring about social development, it is a reflection of this development, a norm, the purpose of which is to adjust and assist this development. It is the objective development of society that dictates the transformations, creates the contradictions that must be resolved. It comes into opposition, for instance, with the written and unwritten laws and customs of the old overthrown society, of a way of life incompatible with the new development of the forces of production and the new socialist relations of production. This is the starting-point for the issue of a decree or ordinance, which is dictated by the

necessity to overcome the contradictions created. Hence, it is not the offspring of arbitrariness or subjective whim.

Hence, our laws, decrees and ordinances should always emerge from a profound scientific, materialist knowledge and analysis of the conditions of real life. Hence, also, whenever the objective conditions change, whenever development creates new contradictions and problems, this must be accompanied by the re-examination and amendment of our decrees and ordinances. Any idealizing or making a fetish of what was decided yesterday under given conditions, becomes an obstacle to development and leads to bureaucracy when these conditions have changed.

The objective development of nature, and likewise of human society, is materialist and dialectical at the same time. Therefore, truly reflecting the phenomena of the real world, our Marxist-Leninist science, too, is materialist and dialectical at the same time.

There are people who, though posing as materialists, give priority to ideas and consciousness, and there are others, too, who call themselves materialists, but say that only economic development is important, that it allegedly brings about the automatic transformation of society as a whole, therefore, the subjective factor is entirely powerless and does not play any active role in historical development. Naturally, both these categories of people are mistaken and do not have as clear an understanding as they should of the fundamental principles of our philosophy — materialist dialectics.

In essence, social life is a material process, because it is based upon work. Man should link himself closely with work, should like it and understand theoretically what work is. According to Karl Marx, work is a process carried out between man and nature. Man himself acts upon the material of nature as a natural force. Therefore,

man cannot be conceived as divorced from nature. It is inconceivable that the elements of nature react upon him and he remains inactive in the face of them, does not act as a creature who has and should play the role of a natural force. In order to live, man needs to be fed, to create, to set in motion all his physical and mental forces, his hands, feet and muscles, his body and brain. In short, he must work to discover, process and transform the various things of nature, so that they may serve him in his life.

What occurs in this natural process? By acting upon external nature man transforms it, but in this process at the same time he transforms himself, develops his tastes and abilities. Hence, the starting-point for man, according to Marx, is work in a form characteristic of man alone, because there are also animals that perform acts similar to work but which differ from the work of man. The results achieved by man exist beforehand as ideas in the imagination of the worker, a thing which does not occur with the bee when it constructs its honeycomb, Marx says. That is to say, man not only changes the form of natural things, but, at the same time, also realizes a set purpose of which he is conscious, a purpose which determines as a law the mode of his actions and to which he must subject his own will.

As a material process of the action of man on nature for the transformation of nature, himself and society as a whole, work is, in the first place and mainly, the activity of the broad working masses, of the workers and peasants. They are the decisive force which carries the whole of social life upon its shoulders and carries social development forward. Therefore, the intellectualist and bureaucratic concepts which overrate the role of those engaged in mental work and try to place them above the working class and the working masses, are idealist, anti-scientific, and utterly alien to our Marxist-Leninist ideology

Engels explains that, in the last resort, the most important factor, the decisive factor in history, is the «production and reproduction» of immediate life. It must be understood properly, he teaches us, that the economy is the basis, but not the only determining factor, for there are also other elements, such as the political forms of the class struggle and their results, the constitutions established by the victorious classes, the juridical forms, the religious concepts, the various political theories, and so on. All of them exert influence through their actions and, naturally, leave their mark. Engels says that there is action and reaction from all these factors, but among all these factors it is the economic factor which emerges, stands out and exerts its influence. In the final analysis this is the most important one among all these other factors, the one which finally opens the way.

If the objective process of the development of our society is studied, it will be clearly seen on what basis the transformation of the consciousness of our people was brought about and how the new ideas which were created by the new social conditions poured out. To understand this process properly and not to permit vulgar conclusions, all the transformations brought about by the development of our society must be studied according to the dialectical method, as they arise, as they develop and advance, as they cease and finally, as they are transformed and replaced by new ones.

But as the classics of Marxism-Leninism teach us, the role of ideas in social development cannot be denied. Engels attacks «economic materialism» which pretends that only the development of economic forces is important. «This is vulgar materialism,» Engels says.

Nevertheless, it must always be borne in mind that ideas do not play the decisive role, and this is brilliantly explained by Marx. Ideas themselves are the product and

the reflection of the material development of society. By transforming the material conditions of society, men create a new consciousness; in the process of social development, they also create new ideas and principles compatible with the material situations created. Thus, the changes in the material development of society are the basis from which the new ideas arise and a new consciousness is created. Just as materialism in general explains consciousness from being, and not man from the idea, so social consciousness must also be explained from social being.

While combating the danger of idealist subjectivism which ignores the decisive role of the economic factor, our Party at the same time appreciates in a Marxist-Leninist way the great and active role of ideas and the superstructure generally, rejecting any manifestation of fatalism and of bowing to spontaneity. The great process of the revolutionization of the entire life of our country, to carry forward the socialist revolution uninterruptedly and to block the way to the danger of revisionism and the return to capitalism, has to do, in the first place and above all, with the revolutionization of the socialist superstructure of the Party and the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat, of the school and culture, and especially, with the revolutionization of the consciousness of the working people. This is a practical application, a further concretization and development of the teachings of Marxism-Leninism on the great and active role of the subjective factor in history.

The continuous development of our socialist society which takes place through the birth and overcoming of various contradictions, has led to the revolutionization of production, and together with this, of the consciousness of our people, also. These material changes in the productive forces and in the relations of production create such

conditions that the people who take part vigorously in this uninterrupted revolution create new ideas appropriate to the situation which has been created. And these ideas, too, are tested in the development of the revolution. Those which are not in conformity with the situation and become restrictive are combated, eliminated and replaced. However, it is not the struggle of ideas that causes the advance of the objective social development, but it is the latter that is the basis which leads to the birth of new contradictions, and consequently, to the birth of new progressive ideas, in struggle with the old or reactionary ideas which die.

Therefore, the main thing is to know whether people, classes, are acting in concert with the objective current of history or against it. The decisive question is that, by making objective analyses, we must manage to educate the working class, the most revolutionary class, and the other classes and strata which are its natural allies, and make them march in step with the objective progressive advance of history. Here emerges the great role of the revolutionary theory, which, as Marx says, «becomes a material force when it grips the masses.»

In conformity with the objective social conditions under which they live, people, classes, have their own interests, aspirations and aims. Their objective interests turn into consciousness and into revolutionary or reactionary action.

When we analyse the social development of our country, we see that the people and the classes (workers and peasants) desired a change in their deplorable social situation, a change in the old relations of production. The desire was the result of real sufferings, of the material social situation which they felt on their own backs, the result of their recognition of this situation that brought about a change in their consciousness and ideas, that opened

up to them the prospect of the organization of forces to make material changes in our society which was developing slowly. Thus it was the objective development which created the conditions for the spread of new ideas, which were gradually concretized and launched the broad working masses into action. Thus, the action of the masses, which made the history of our country, was subject to the laws of historical development, as the materialist philosophy created by Karl Marx teaches us.

Profound understanding of our Marxist-Leninist doctrine shows how correctly our Party has viewed the cardinal problems of the development of our society, and in the first place, the motive force of social development, the class struggle, as well as the «production and reproduction» of real life as the determining factor, naturally without forgetting the other factors. If the important materials published by the Party at different periods of the historical development of our country after Liberation are read with care, it will be seen how the economic problem opens the way by creating the material conditions for the solution of many problems of the superstructure. The conflicts, the clashes, «the action and reaction of all these factors», of which Engels speaks, are clearly apparent there.

He who does not understand the materialist dialectics of social development, who does not understand that this development is a relatively long process which proceeds through the struggle of opposites, he who sees everything arising from ideas alone, is unable to understand the stages of development and the tasks and problems pertaining to each of them. Such a person might very easily be faced with a dilemma and ask: Why didn't our Party, which is atheistic, maintain the stand which it maintains today towards religion, towards the church and the mosque, right from the start? He is unable to understand that our

Party has always consistently upheld its atheist, anti-idealist, materialist world outlook. But only at the present stage of development, when the essential material conditions for this had been created, did the broad masses of our people become conscious fighters against the religious world outlook and rid themselves of the churches, the mosques and their dogmas.

Such a person has equally hazy ideas about the question of small-scale private property and its elimination, especially in the countryside. He cannot understand why, when the first steps of our revolution were being taken, when the agrarian reform was taking the land by force from the beys and landowners, the usurers and rich peasants, and distributing it among the landless and landpoor peasants, the Party said that the private property of the working peasant was not to be touched. But on this question vital to the future of socialism the Party could not have proceeded imprudently and skipped the stages. It acted according to the teachings of Marx and Engels, that the proletariat should not talk immediately of «doing away with private property.» The question should be approached in such a way as to bring the peasant to collectivization by the economic road. And this is the way he came to it in our country. As a result, the small-scale private property of the land was transformed into collective property when the necessary economic and ideo-political conditions had been created for this.

Or let us take the question of the nationalization of the land, which is the primary means of production in agriculture. As is known, we did not explicitly carry out this act. **(1)** and on account of the objective conditions of Albania and

1 In Albania the land was not nationalized directly, but the Agrarian Reform was carried out and this eliminated large-scale land ownership and greatly restricted the basis for the development of capitalism in the countryside. Each family was

these reasons, at that time, the Party acted correctly. However, all legal measures have been taken in our country to ensure that the land is no longer used as the private property of the past. Only the cooperativists' private plot is used as personal property today, but it cannot be sold, leased or bequeathed. This piece of land has been left for the personal use of the cooperativist family only.

Our people's revolution made such laws which, in practice, nationalized the land. It carried out the Agrarian Reform and took over that property which was used to exploit the work of others. Gradually, through conviction and following the «economic road», as Marx and Engels advocate, our peasant approached the collectivization of the land and other means of production, etc. He retains only the small plot which he works himself. On this same «economic road» the peasant's personal plot is being steadily reduced in size until eventually it will disappear completely as property for personal use and be united with the collective property, which, after a still longer process, will turn from the common property of the group into the property of the whole people. This will not be brought about by means of decrees, but will be the historical «resultant» of a continuing process of the economic, social, ideo-political development of the whole country, and especially of the countryside and the cooperativist masses.

As you know, it was announced in recent days that the electrification of all the villages of our country has been successfully completed one year ahead of schedule. This is another great victory of our Party and people in their struggle to complete the construction of our socialist

allocated 5 hectares of land. The buying, selling or renting of land was prohibited by the state. Part of the land expropriated was turned into state property, thus creating the state farms, which marked the birth of the state socialist sector in agriculture.

society. The supplying of the countryside with electric power is the first important step towards its thorough electrification, towards the great transformation of the means and the technology of agricultural production at which the Party aims, and which will put our agriculture completely on the road of modern intensive development. At the same time, however, the electrification of the countryside will give a new powerful impulse to the revolutionization of the consciousness of our cooperativist peasant, to the dissemination and further implanting of socialist ideas and culture and the new way of life. This new brilliant victory was attained as a result of the revolutionary enthusiasm of the masses, which did not burst out spontaneously, but as a direct result of the objective and subjective transformations in the life of the masses. The successful accomplishment, ahead of schedule, of this great action, which is not only economic, but also political, ideological and cultural, shows that the decision taken by the Party was correct and timely, because its implementation had been prepared by the whole development of the country. Thus, in this case, too, the Party acted in accord with the Marxist world outlook which teaches us that every step in life must be taken after all the material and spiritual premises for it have been created.

Comrades,

We learn Marxism-Leninism at school, not just to satisfy our curiosity, or merely to enrich or develop the intellect, but in order to be as useful as possible in life, so we can accomplish the tasks set by the Party with the greatest possible success, and be conscious revolutionaries, capable of promoting the cause of socialism and communism in our country. This is attained when the Marxist-Leninist theory is learned not in an abstract, academic,

bookish way, but in close contact with life, with the revolutionary practice of the masses.

To master Marxism-Leninism means to master its fundamental principles and laws, its world outlook and methodology, the Marxist-Leninist way of interpreting things and solving problems. Learning the Marxist-Leninist definitions on this or that topic, or this or that law of Marxist philosophy or political economy, has its own importance. But what is of greater importance is to learn how to be guided by these laws in life, how to solve the concrete problems facing us on the basis of them. It is important to know the history of the Party, its glorious road, but it is of greater importance to get a thorough understanding of the starting-point and the methods used by our Party in solving problems under differing circumstances, and from this to learn how to solve them today in new historical conditions. The task of the Party School is not just to impart some Marxist knowledge to the cadres of the Party, but to arm them in such a way that they can orientate themselves in life, to form in them the Marxist manner of thinking and acting. This is the sense in which we say that Marxism-Leninism should serve us as a guiding compass.

Life is always in motion and development, continually gives rise to new problems, and the social conditions change incessantly. Let us take life in our country as an example. We have entered a new stage of the development of the revolution and socialist construction. This stage has brought forth a series of new problems, such as the complete construction of the material-technical base of socialism, the perfecting of the whole system of relations of production, the strengthening of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the struggle against the danger of bureaucracy, the development of the technical and scientific revolution, the worker control, and many others.

Ready-made answers to such problems cannot be found and it cannot be expected that others will solve them for us. Therefore, our mastering of Marxism-Leninism must not be dogmatic, but creative.

This means that in the work of the school an important place should be occupied by profound and all-sided study of this reality of our time, of the great problems raised by life and put forward by the Party, analysing and interpreting them in the light of the Marxist-Leninist theory.

From this point of view, the practice of students and teachers going to the base to study various themes, as well as their participation in productive labour, in military training or in mass movements and actions, is a good thing which must be further developed and perfected. Naturally, this should not be done to the detriment of mastering theory, which occupies and should occupy the main place in the work of the school. On the contrary, these things should lead to a more profound, active and tangible grasp of the theory.

Our Party, shoulder to shoulder with all the Marxist-Leninist forces in the world, has been and still is waging a resolute struggle of principle against the revisionist betrayal. Marxism-Leninism has assumed and is assuming a new development in this struggle. In the course of this struggle we have gained a deeper grasp of the teachings of Marxism-Leninism, have learned to recognize our friends and enemies, good and evil, the revolutionary and the counter-revolutionary, more readily. Thus, the law of the struggle of opposites, as the source of every movement and development, finds full application, also, in the development of Marxism-Leninism itself, as well as in the process of knowing and mastering it. Hence, an important task for the Party School is to acquaint the cadres and communists with the history of this struggle and to

teach them Marxism-Leninism, not in a simple way, «passively», presenting the Marxist theses, principles and conclusions, but in struggle with the views and arguments of its ideological opponents and of the modern revisionists, first of all. Only thus is it possible to master the ideas of Marxism-Leninism thoroughly and actively and to form lasting Marxist ideological convictions.

The revolutionary concept about study which the school must implant in every cadre is that everyone should read not merely for the sake of reading, but should consider what he reads, reflect on it, find where its good aspects lie, what its positive experience is, what its weak points are, and what tasks emerge from it.

The mission of our school is not merely to impart knowledge to people, but also to educate them as revolutionaries, not only to give them a correct theoretical world outlook, but also to cultivate lofty moral and political qualities in them.

The comrades who complete the schools and courses of the Party should always bear in mind that everything is not solved with graduation from school. Every communist must learn continually, with will-power and persistence. He cannot advance without learning, and without learning seriously. One cannot guide by practiciness. Therefore, the Party instructs us: Never tire of learning, never cease your study! To continue studying after graduation means to deepen and extend what you have learned at school...

*«Reports and Speeches
1970-1971»*

THE CONGRESS OF THE RESTORATION OF CAPITALISM AND SOCIAL-IMPERIALISM

Article published in the newspaper «Zëri i popullit»

April 17, 1971

On April the 9th, the proceedings of the 24th Congress of the revisionist party of the Soviet Union which began on March the 30th, ended in Moscow. As expected, it reaffirmed the Khrushchevite line of the present Soviet leadership. The report delivered by Brezhnev and the carefully vetted contributions to the discussion amounted to a boring repetition of well-known revisionist theses, stale self-praise and demagogic promises.

The general characteristic of this congress was insistence on continuing the course of betrayal of Marxism-Leninism, the revolution and socialism to the end. Brezhnev declared officially that the chiefs of the Kremlin have no intention of renouncing the 20th Congress and the program of the Party approved at the 22nd Congress when Nikita Khrushchev was in office, and in which Khrushchevite modern revisionism was codified.

If we may speak of anything new which the present congress brought, it was precisely the further deepening of Khrushchevism in all fields — political, economic, ideological, internal and external.

The main concern and preoccupation of the organizers of this big revisionist meeting was to strengthen and per-

fect the means and methods for the restoration of capitalism, for the consolidation of the bourgeois-revisionist dictatorship. By means of this congress, the Soviet revisionist leadership wanted to get a formal approval, allegedly in the name of the party and the people, to continue, as hitherto, its social-imperialist policy against the revolution and the peoples' liberation movement, for the protection of the Soviet revisionist empire, for its further political and economic expansion and the extension of its collaboration with American imperialism.

ANTI-MARXISM AND ANTI-COMMUNISM — THE IDEOLOGICAL
BASIS OF KHRUSHCHEVITE REVISIONISM

The speeches delivered at the Congress for ten days on end fill entire volumes and contain countless figures. But anyone who followed the proceedings of the congress carefully could not fail to notice the extreme theoretical paucity, the poverty of ideas and the bureaucratic mediocrity. In the reports of Brezhnev and Kosygin there was room to mention all the trivial problems of the economy, from smoothing-irons to the numbers of each pamphlet printed, from the work of pensioners to aid the communal services to sewing-machines. But the Soviet chiefs avoided the acute problems which are worrying the Soviet people and Soviet society by maintaining complete silence about them. In the Soviet Union today, the existence of a conflict between the bureaucratic apparatus of the party and the state on the one hand, and the broad masses of the people on the other hand, is acknowledged; deep contradictions exist between the prevailing bureaucratic centralism and the demands of the masses for freedom and democracy. But not one word was said about these things.

It would be difficult to find another country in the world today where the bureaucracy has concentrated such great and untrammelled powers in its hands as in the Soviet Union. Not only the political power, but also the economic power and the ideological monopoly are in its hands. The working class and the working masses have now been stripped of the rights which they won through the October Revolution to exert their control over the apparatuses and to take part directly in running the country. Although many such organisms as the Soviets, the trade-unions, the komsomol, the production councils, etc., still exist, they have lost their real meaning, retaining only their former names and forms, and have been turned into organs to propagate and instruments to apply the decisions and directives of the bureaucratic apparatus.

The democracy about which Brezhnev boasted at the congress is not democracy for the masses, but for the bureaucratic caste. It is a fact that neither the masses, nor even the so-called elected organs take part in the formulation of the policy and stands, in both internal or foreign affairs. These are determined by the narrow circle of the ruling clique and the masses are always faced with a *fait accompli*. Were the Soviet masses consulted when Stalin was denigrated and the struggle and revolutionary work of entire generations of bolsheviks and the Soviet people negated, when Khrushchev was toppled and Brezhnev and Kosygin took his place, when Czechoslovakia was invaded, etc., etc.? That usual comment of the Soviet people about everything that happens in their country today *načalstvo znajet* (the leadership knows), is no joke. It expresses a bitter reality, the absolute rule of the bureaucracy, the deep gulf fixed between it and the people.

Another acute contradiction, which has not found and will not find a solution as long as the revisionists

remain in power, emerged in the Soviet Union several years ago. This is the contradiction between the immense work of the Soviet people in the field of the production of material and cultural and artistic blessings and the low level of its efficiency. The clumsy bureaucratic machine has become an insurmountable obstacle to the development of the productive forces, to the rational utilization of the country's assets, the labour force, the material and financial means, and to the introduction of advanced technique and technology, etc. It strangles the initiative and creative activity of the masses.

Brezhnev himself was forced to admit in his report that the Soviet economy today suffers the consequences of such phenomena as delays in completing the construction of capital projects, under-utilization of productive capacities, slowness in introducing new technique in production, failure to raise productivity to the level of possibilities, the production of many articles of poor quality, lack of organization in production, etc., etc.

To emerge from these contradictions and difficulties, the Khrushchevite revisionists, in conformity with their political and ideological concepts, undertook the introduction of capitalist methods of the organization and management of production and distribution. These were sanctioned in the most complete and all-round way in the so-called economic reform. The aim of this reform was to adapt the Soviet economy to the bourgeois-revisionist superstructure.

But the capitalist mode of production which the revisionists chose could not save the Soviet economy. The ills and afflictions typical of the bourgeois society, such as competition, the great fluctuation of labour force, the disproportions between different branches of production, the extension of market relations to the field of the main means of production, too, etc., began to appear with ever

greater force. On the basis of capitalist reforms, now a major social contradiction has arisen between the working class and the working masses who create all the material blessings, on the one hand, and the new bourgeois class which appropriates the toil and labour of the working people, on the other hand. The material incentive and profit, on which the reform is based, are making these contradictions more and more profound and acute.

The revisionist propaganda, and indeed the bourgeois propaganda, too, call the 24th Congress the congress of «consumption». This is connected with the many promises that Brezhnev and Kosygin made to increase production of mass consumer goods and raise the wages of certain categories of working people during this five-year period. Naturally, the revisionists try to advertise these measures as resulting from their «concern» to raise the people's standard of living, alleging that they stem from the essential aim of production in the Soviet Union. In fact, the aim of production in the Soviet Union today is to make profits for the bureaucratic caste in power. In reality, the promised measures are a concession which, at certain moments of the sharpening of the class struggle, the ruling bourgeois class is obliged to make in order to protect its domination. The bourgeoisie of the capitalist countries has made and makes such concessions time after time, in order to placate and deceive the working people and to divert them from the revolutionary struggle.

It is not by chance that this «concern» to raise the standard of living of the masses was expressed just at this moment. It came immediately after the recent events in Poland, (1) when the powerful revolt of the Polish working class against the revisionist regime erupted. The events in Poland showed that the Polish working people could

1 In December 1970.

not reconcile themselves any longer to the deplorable situation to which they had been reduced, could no longer tolerate the political oppression and economic exploitation. The low wages, the rise in prices, the shortages of consumer goods and their poor quality, the lack of houses, etc., served to spark off the outburst of the revolt. But the struggle assumed a pronounced political character and was directed against the entire revisionist system.

In order to forestall and eliminate outbursts similar to those in Poland, the leaders in Moscow hastened to loosen their purse strings a little. But they are gravely mistaken if they think that they can deceive the working people for long and overcome the deep contradictions between the masses and themselves with a few crumbs. The deep discontent of the Soviet working people and the working people of all the other revisionist countries, does not have its source in economic causes alone. It emerged and extended for political and ideological reasons, first of all. As long as the revisionist betrayal, which is the source of all evils, exists, the revolutionary outbursts of the working class are inevitable, irrespective of what motive serves as their detonator.

The same thing is occurring with the Soviet revisionists as with the bourgeoisie of the old capitalist countries, which, along with a few concessions that it makes in the field of socio-economic demands of the working people, is tightening the screws to keep its hold on the reins of its domination. In his report Brezhnev demanded discipline and the «unconditional implementation» of the orders and directives of the state apparatuses and the party. He threatened all those who are not reconciled to the actions and views of the Soviet leadership and issued a stern warning to those who would «sully the banner» of the ruling clique.

Brezhnev is trying to present this screw-tightening as

a struggle he is waging to defend the «general line of the party» from the attacks which come from the left and the right. Regardless of the principled pose which the general secretary of the Soviet revisionist party tries to adopt, by so doing he is obliged to admit the existence of opposition to the revisionist line among the Soviet people. It is precisely the fear of the spread of discontent with and opposition to the official policy among the different strata of the population which compels the Kremlin leadership to manoeuvre between demagogy and the threat to use force.

The renegade Soviet clique has never overlooked the importance of the ideological brainwashing of the masses, of keeping them under the continuous pressure of the revisionist propaganda, in order to maintain its domination. This was clearly apparent at the recent congress, too, at which Brezhnev, Kosygin and others tried to peddle revisionism as Marxism, indeed as creative Marxism, and to present their revisionist methods and stands as Leninist. They want to strangle any critical or creative thought, to impose on the masses the concepts of submission and unconditional obedience to the policy and activity of the leadership. There is nothing Marxist or Leninist in this. They misuse the authority and name of Lenin and Leninism to cover up the hollowness of their revisionist ideology and to conceal their complete betrayal of Marxism-Leninism.

In his report Brezhnev boasted about the «contribution» the Soviet leaders have allegedly made to the development and enrichment of the Marxist-Leninist theory in the field of the economy, the role and structure of the party, the history and theory of the state, the development of present-day capitalism and socialism, and the revolutionary and national liberation movement. If we can speak of any real «contribution» of the Soviet revi-

sionists, it is their contribution to the total revising of Marxism-Leninism, to the flagrant distortion of the theory and practice of socialism. In this they are the banner bearers and all their merits can be acknowledged.

How can the «elaboration of the new methods of planning and management of the economy», which destroyed the socialist economy in the Soviet Union and opened the way to the restoration of capitalism, be called a further development of the theory of the construction of socialism? What sort of contribution to the «doctrine about the leading role of the communist party» can they speak of when the Khrushchevites, under the mask of the «party of the entire people», liquidated the Bolshevik Party of Lenin and Stalin and transformed it into an instrument for their domination over the Soviet working class and people? How can the slanders and vicious attacks against the dictatorship of the proletariat, which were perpetrated under the mask of the fight against the cult of the individual, and its complete liquidation under the pretext of its transformation into the «state of the entire people», be called an «enrichment of the history and theory of the state»?

The revisionist leaders of the Soviet Union also praise to the skies the «elaboration of new principles of the relations between socialist countries». Can it be that Brezhnev's «theory of limited sovereignty», the occupation of Czechoslovakia, the brutal interference in other countries, the economic exploitation of the countries of Eastern Europe, the provocations and attacks against China and Albania, are Marxism-Leninism? Or have their opportunist preachings on the peaceful, parliamentary road to socialism, on the integration of capitalism into socialism by means of reforms, about the transition of various countries to socialism without the socialist revolution, without the leadership of the proletarian party and with-

out the dictatorship of the proletariat, assisted the development of the theory of the revolution as they claim?

Brezhnev's report and all the proceedings of the congress showed that the ideological basis of the entire activity of the Khrushchevite revisionists is not Marxism-Leninism, but anti-Marxism, bourgeois ideology, of which the whole of modern revisionism is a variant. In essence, the line which the 24th Congress sanctioned is the old Khrushchevite line. The congress did nothing but express once again the determination of the present-day Soviet leadership to persist in its course of betrayal and counter-revolution.

GREAT-STATE CHAUVINIST AND NEO-COLONIALIST COURSE

The relations between the Soviet Union and the other revisionist countries occupied an important place in the documents and proceedings of the 24th Congress. As was expected, Brezhnev and company presented a very idyllic picture both of the bilateral relations and of the situation in these countries. Without the slightest blush, Brezhnev spoke about «the strengthening of the friendship and unity between the Soviet Union and the socialist countries,» as if the Czechoslovak question had never occurred; he spoke of the «successes and progress of the fraternal countries», as if the events in Poland had never happened; he spoke of their «relations of equality and independence», as if the permanent military occupation of Democratic Germany, Hungary, Poland, Bulgaria and Mongolia did not exist at all. Neither did he spare his bombastic statements about the «fraternal aid» which the Soviet Union allegedly gives these countries, as if the world does not know anything about how the Soviet

Union exploits these countries economically, how they have been turned into appendages of the Soviet economy.

But the tragic situation which prevails in the revisionist camp cannot be covered by a false lustre of demagogy. Czechoslovakia has been and remains an irrefutable indictment against the clique which is ruling at present in the Kremlin. In his report Brezhnev tried to glide lightly over the Czechoslovak problem, thinking that in this manner he would fool public opinion. The best he could do to justify the occupation of Czechoslovakia was to produce a statement made by Husak which described the aggression as an «internationalist act». Truly a key testimony! The use of statements made by a person so discredited as Husak, statements which were written in the offices of the Soviet embassy in Prague, as «arguments», shows how low the Soviet leaders have sunk.

The aggression against Czechoslovakia remains aggression, and no theory, no document or argument can justify it. It revealed and proved the real character of the present-day imperialist policy of the Soviet Union, its transition to social-imperialism. The events of August 1968 exposed the utter falsity of the demagogic preachings of the Soviet chiefs. They showed that the Soviet Union is the absolute ruler in these countries, the power that makes the law and determines the internal and foreign policy of these countries. The occupation of Czechoslovakia and the elevation of the doctrine of «limited sovereignty» to an official norm testify to the fact that the other revisionist countries have now lost their freedom, independence and national sovereignty.

For the revisionists of Moscow Czechoslovakia remains an open wound that can never be healed either by the words of Brezhnev or by the statements of Czechoslovak quislings. The continued stationing of Soviet troops in Czechoslovakia can only further deepen the Czechoslovak

crisis, which is the crisis of the whole of Khrushchevite revisionism. The occupation of Czechoslovakia extends and deepens the struggle of the Czechoslovak people for freedom and independence from foreign occupiers and increases the revulsion of world public opinion against the imperialist policy of the Soviet leaders.

Another problem which Brezhnev wanted to avoid in his report was the Polish problem. He tried to treat this problem as if it had to do with Poland alone, as if it had nothing to do with the other revisionist countries, and restricted himself to wishing Gierk «great successes in overcoming the difficulties».(2) Brezhnev could not open the dossier on the recent events in Poland to the congress. Such a thing would have laid bare that the situation and the causes which aroused the Polish workers to revolt are the same in all the revisionist countries, including the Soviet Union itself. They would have shown the real political character and significance of the Polish December, as well as the great new fact that the working class in the revisionist countries has begun to awaken and rise against the ruling revisionist power.

The Soviet leaders want to surround the Polish events with a wall of silence, to put a lid on the question and consider it over and done with, just as in the case of Czechoslovakia. But the cauldron is seething from within, and sooner or later it will boil over again. The revolutionary struggle of the working class and the working masses cannot be quelled because Brezhnev and his associates ignore it. It has its own laws of development and is inevitable, since the interests of the working class and those of the revisionist cliques in power are irreconcilably opposed.

2 Gierk couldn't overcome the difficulties, either. He was dismissed from the post of first secretary of the PUWP in 1980

The prospects which the 24th Congress opened to the revisionist countries is very gloomy. In fact, it showed that the aim of the Soviet leaders is to rob them of what little remains of their national independence and sovereignty and to transform them into military provinces of the Czarist type. Brezhnev quite openly demanded the co-ordination of the foreign policies of these countries with that of the Soviet Union, their economic integration and the strengthening of the political and military instruments of the Warsaw Treaty. In fact, the «co-ordination of foreign policy» means that the other countries will be deprived of their own foreign policy, or that it will be only a propaganda echo of Gromyko's department. And practice shows that in the field of international relations these countries have already lost their independence and individuality and are forced to give their unconditional approval to every manoeuvre of Soviet diplomacy even when this is contrary to their national interests, as is the case with the Moscow-Bonn treaty, etc.

As far as their economic integration is concerned, it is not difficult to understand what its aims are and what consequences it will have. The economy of the revisionist countries has already been transformed into an appendage of the Soviet economy. Its directions, rates and proportions are determined not in Berlin, Prague or Warsaw, but in the State Planning Commission in Moscow. It is dependent on the Soviet Union in everything, raw materials or technology. Their foreign trade is entirely in the hands of Moscow. The so-called Council of Mutual Economic Assistance is, in fact, a council of economic enslavement, an instrument of the neo-colonialist policy of the Soviet Union.

The Warsaw Treaty plays a similar role, but in the military and political fields. Through its mechanisms, which Brezhnev wants to strengthen, the Soviet leadership

exerts political and military pressure on its allies, keeps them under continuous control and compels them to obey its orders. The Warsaw Treaty is no longer a force to defend the freedom and independence of the member countries from foreign imperialist threats, but a means to maintain the revisionist foreign occupation. Moreover, now the Warsaw Treaty emerges as a military bloc in the service of the expansionist Soviet policy, which constitutes a serious threat to the other countries, too.

The policy of subjugation to the Soviet leadership, which emerged quite clearly at the 24th Congress, is aimed not only at the satellite countries, but also at all the revisionist parties which maintain connections with Moscow. In the report, in the closing speech, and in the speech delivered at the dinner organized for the foreign delegations that attended the congress, Brezhnev demanded from all parties unlimited obedience to and solidarity with the present policy of the Soviet Union. He very arrogantly described any comment or criticism against the «unerring activity» of the Soviet leadership as «anti-communist» and «anti-Soviet». He demanded that they put everything else aside and consider unconditional support for the policy of the Soviet state in every situation as the main and only aim of their activity.

Brezhnev highly eulogized the revisionist international meetings and demanded that they «be introduced widely in the practice of the world communist movement». It is well-known what these meetings are and whom they serve. The Soviet leadership has used them and will continue to use them to impose its concepts and dictate on the others, to keep the other parties hitched to the chariot of its policy.

But wishes are one thing and reality another. The fact is that the different revisionist parties are becoming less and less enthusiastic and happy about displaying their

«solidarity» with Moscow. There is not and cannot be unity in the revisionist camp today. Each party is ringing its own nationalist bell ever more loudly. On the other hand the pressure of the Soviet dictate is increasing the centrifugal tendencies, the disagreements and confusion. Even Brezhnev was obliged to partly admit this situation so undesirable for Moscow, when he spoke about the «difficulties of unity», the «tendencies to national self-isolation», the «revival of right opportunism», etc.

Disturbed by this situation, the Soviet clique did its utmost to gather as many foreign delegations as possible in the congress. It had two aims: propaganda and political. On the one hand, it aimed to show the presence of the foreign delegations in Moscow to internal and foreign public opinion as an expression of solidarity with the line of the Kremlin, and on the other hand, to make the guests accomplices of this policy. But the world does not judge the Soviet leaders and their policy by who comes and goes in Moscow, or by the cordial words these visitors address to them. They cannot save the Soviet chiefs from exposure or do themselves any honour through such gestures.

EXTINGUISHERS OF THE FLAMES OF THE REVOLUTION AND THE PEOPLES' LIBERATION MOVEMENT

As was expected, at their 24th Congress, the Soviet revisionists did not spare their statements and criticisms against imperialism. If one were to believe their words, it would seem that the Soviet leadership opposes the policy of aggression and war of imperialism, headed by American imperialism, in every way. The «anti-imperialism» of the Soviet revisionists has always been and remains merely an empty demagogic slogan, intended to deceive

the peoples and to undermine their struggle. For a long time now the Soviet Union has ceased to be a revolutionary, anti-imperialist power. Not only does it not wage any real struggle against imperialism itself, but it sabotages every revolutionary and national liberation movement.

Brezhnev can boast as much as he likes, can take solemn oaths about solidarity and the aid which the Soviet Union allegedly gives the peoples who fight for freedom and independence against colonialism, oppression and exploitation. But practice has shown that Soviet revisionism has tried and done everything in its power to extinguish the flames of every revolution and every anti-imperialist struggle, wherever they have gone up.

The pro-imperialist and counter-revolutionary stands and actions of the Soviet leadership are determined by the line and nature of revisionism itself. Any genuine revolutionary and liberation struggle, in whatever country it may erupt, will certainly be in open opposition to the Soviet revisionists. Every revolution compels the Soviet Union, willy-nilly, to take a stand. If it supports revolution then it will come into opposition with the other reactionary and imperialist powers, a thing which it does not want to do in any way. If it stands aloof, then how can it justify its claims to be the «great centre of world communism», the «genuine communist party», the «supporter of the revolutions», etc. before public opinion at home and abroad? Therefore, the only road objectively open to it is to sabotage the revolution before it breaks out, or to extinguish it when it does burst out. Their betrayal of Marxism-Leninism and the revolution has the revisionist leaders in a stranglehold and does not allow them to manoeuvre. It compels them relentlessly to become extinguishers of the flames of the revolution.

For years the Soviet leaders have been sabotaging the

heroic struggle of the Vietnamese people and they are trying with all their means to save the American imperialists from inevitable defeat. They are exerting all kinds of pressure on Vietnam to force it to its knees and accept the American dictate. They talk a great deal about «solidarity» and «aid» for the peoples of Indochina. But, while the United States of America continues its aggression in Cambodia, to this day they still maintain diplomatic relations with the reactionary Lon Nol clique. When the American imperialists invaded Laos, the Soviet revisionists contented themselves with a statement of «sympathy». The extension of the imperialist aggression in Indochina and other countries has not hindered the Soviet revisionists in the least from maintaining and strengthening their friendship and collaboration with the executioners of the peoples, the American imperialists. Where is their anti-imperialism, their support for the just struggle of the peoples of Indochina, about which Brezhnev spoke at such length and so boastfully at the 24th Congress?

In the odd case, such as that of the anti-imperialist movement of the Arabs, for example, it seems as if the Soviet Union is aiding it and is not sparing some material and political support. But the real aim of the Soviet Union is to increase its own expansionist influence. In other cases it maintains complete neutrality towards liberation movements or sabotages them with all its means.

Let us look at the stand of the Soviet Union towards the movement of the Palestinian partisans, which is the vanguard of the struggle of the Arab peoples. While posing as the champions of the Arab peoples, as supporters of their right to freedom and independence, as supporters of their anti-imperialist struggle, the Moscow revisionists are trying and struggling to quell the movement of the Palestinian partisans. The absolutely indifferent stand which they take towards the anti-Palestinian attacks of

Jordanian reaction is more than clear proof of this. The Soviet leaders oppose the movement of the Palestinian partisans, because this movement runs counter to their hegemonic policy in the Middle East, strikes blows at their joint plots with American imperialism for the domination of the two superpowers in this region, and exposes the demagogy and falsity of their allegedly anti-imperialist policy.

The Soviet revisionists are trying to exploit the temporary difficulties of the Arab peoples in order to penetrate into the Middle East and capture economic, political and military positions under the guise of «anti-imperialism». Like American imperialism, they want to establish themselves in this zone in order to create bases which will serve as spring-boards for their expansionist and imperialist aims in the African and Asian continents. The revisionist chiefs of the Soviet Union, together with American imperialism, are trying to split the Arab peoples and to dictate to them a peace to the detriment of their interests and in favour of the two superpowers. All the stands and actions of the Soviet revisionists in the Middle East are further proof of the falsity of their «anti-imperialism», clear evidence of their collaboration with American imperialism for the division of spheres of influence and the domination of the world.

It was not accidental that in his report Brezhnev made no mention of the heroic struggle of the peoples of Latin America against American imperialism and the fascist dictatorships. This is not because he does not know the situation, but because the Soviet leaders consider Latin America a zone of influence of the USA, in which they do not want to interfere, because they do not want to fall out with the reactionary regimes in these countries, with which they want to extend and strengthen their relations and collaboration. The revolutionary struggle

of the Latin-American peoples, who in many countries have taken up arms, is contrary to the preachings of the Soviet revisionists, who are against revolutionary violence, for the peaceful road, etc.

For the same reasons, the Soviet revisionists absolutely ignore the liberation struggles of the peoples of Africa and Asia as if they simply did not exist. Can the illusions, which Brezhnev once again stressed at the congress, that many of these countries through the so-called «non-capitalist road of development» have allegedly set out on the road of socialism and the construction of the socialist society, be called aid for the development of the revolutionary movement?

All the preachings and actions of the Soviet revisionists in connection with the revolution and the liberation struggle are opportunist, counter-revolutionary preachings and actions, aimed at extinguishing the flames of the struggle against imperialism for national and social liberation. This has been the case hitherto and it will remain so in the future. Any illusion about the «anti-imperialism» of the Soviet leaders, any naive belief in their demagogic statements, brings great harm to the world revolutionary movement, to the real struggle against imperialism.

A POLICY OF A SUPERPOWER FOR EXPANSION AND WORLD HEGEMONY

In the reports of Brezhnev and Kosygin, and in the contributions to the discussion by Gromyko and others, the treatment of Soviet-American relations, the problems of war and peace and the foreign policy of the Soviet Union, in general, occupied a major place. The essence of the entire Soviet line of international relations is the

policy of a superpower which is striving for expansion and hegemony in the world.

There was a good deal of criticism of the policy of the United States of America at the 24th Congress. But all this criticism was made for the sake of appearances and imposed by the circumstances. The real essence of the stand of the Soviet revisionists, their official line in relations with the USA, is not exposure of and struggle against the USA, but the desire to further extend and strengthen their collaboration with American imperialism in all fields. «The improvement of Soviet-American relations,» declared Brezhnev, «would respond to the interests of the Soviet and American peoples, the interests of the strengthening of peace.»

The peoples of the world cannot but wonder how it is possible that collaboration with a country which, as Brezhnev himself says, «is trying to retain the role of guarantor and champion of the international system of exploitation and oppression», which «is trying to dominate everywhere, to interfere in the affairs of the other peoples, to violate their legal rights and sovereignty without ceremony», etc., should be considered «in the interests of the peoples and peace».

Between the words and the deeds of the Soviet revisionists there has always been a profound incompatibility. With «the interests of the peoples», they have in mind the interests of the imperialist bourgeoisie, which is ruling in the USA and the Soviet Union, while according to them, the «strengthening of peace» means peace between the two superpowers and war against others.

Despite the increased aggressiveness of the imperialism of the USA, in recent years the Soviet-American relations and collaboration have steadily increased and become ever more profound. The counter-revolutionary

Soviet-American alliance constitutes one of the most important facts on the international scene today.

This alliance has found its expression in the attempts of the two superpowers to retain their domination in their respective spheres of influence. They have given each other a free hand to act as they wish in those countries which come under their influence. For example, at the time of the Soviet aggression against Czechoslovakia, the American imperialists maintained a very loyal stand towards the invaders, just as the Soviet revisionists did towards the American aggression in Cambodia and Laos.

In the framework of this alliance, today they are striking secret bargains to divide up new spheres of influence which formerly belonged to the other imperialist powers. Typical of this is the stand of these two big powers towards the Middle East and North Africa.

The two superpowers are now making great efforts to co-ordinate their policies and to emerge with a common stand on all the important international issues and to impose these stands on other countries. This can be clearly seen especially at the UNO, which is manipulated by the United States of America and the Soviet Union, and has been transformed into an instrument of their hegemonic policy. Their aim is to become the arbiters of the internal and foreign affairs of other countries and to impose their will on all.

In order to preserve and strengthen their alliance, both the Soviet revisionists and the American imperialists now pay great attention to avoiding friction between themselves, to the liquidation of disagreements and to preserving the balance of power. Their permanent preoccupation is to preserve their nuclear monopoly and technical-scientific superiority, with the aim of keeping ahead of the other countries in order to exert continuous pressure and threats against them. It has now become clear that

the SALT talks, the Geneva talks on disarmament, the agreements on outer space, etc., serve precisely these aims.

Brezhnev's peace plan, which he loudly proclaimed at the 24th Congress, is a demagogic plan intended to present the aggressive imperialist Soviet policy in a rosy light in order to deceive the peoples. The purpose of this plan is to achieve a series of predetermined objectives of Soviet foreign policy, while violating the vital interests of the peoples. In fact, Brezhnev disinterred Khrushchev's old proposals which the peoples have rejected. His peace plan is not a plan of opposition to imperialism, which is the source of wars and breaches of the peace. This is a program the essential aim of which is to serve the imperialist interests of the two superpowers and to secure them privileges and superiority in international problems.

Demagogy and falsity are evident in all the points of the «Brezhnev plan». He demands that «all acts of aggression and international arbitrariness should be stopped and all hotbeds of war liquidated», etc. One cannot understand to what Brezhnev is appealing: to the wisdom of Nixon or to the «reason» of the Pentagon? American imperialism has not withdrawn and will not withdraw of its own free will or because of moral motives from Indochina, the Middle East, or other countries to which it has dug its clutches. It does not renounce the policy of violence and aggression, which is a product of the capitalist-imperialist system itself. With such sermons the Soviet leaders are trying to create illusions and divert the peoples from resistance and the liberation struggle which are the only effective ways to oppose aggression and to defend freedom and independence.

On the other hand, of what opposition to violence and arbitrariness can Brezhnev speak, when Soviet social-imperialism is an aggressor itself, and has raised threats

and arbitrariness against the other countries to a law? While they oppose revolutionary violence, the Soviet leaders make widespread use of counter-revolutionary violence. The danger of aggression and war today comes not only from American imperialism, but also from Soviet social-imperialism, which use aggression, the threat and the exercise of violence as the main means to realize their policy of hegemony and world domination.

Brezhnev also presented the well-known proposal of «collective security in Europe» as one of the measures for the preservation of peace in the world. This so-called European security has nothing in common with the real security of Europe and the preservation of peace. The peoples of Europe are endangered, in the first place, by the two big powers and it is against them that they must seek security. However, the Soviet plan for European security wants the main enemies of that security, American imperialism and Soviet revisionist imperialism, to become its «guarantors». This is tantamount to setting wolves to guard the sheep. In reality, the Brezhnev plan for Europe is intended to secure and perpetuate the Soviet-American spheres of influence and domination in Europe, to preserve the reactionary status quo on this continent and to direct the spearhead of aggression and war against Asia. In regard to the liquidation of NATO and the Warsaw Treaty that Brezhnev mentions, this cannot be realized as long as the aggressive, hegemonic and expansionist policy of the two superpowers exists, because they use these military blocs as their main tools for the implementation of this policy.

In Brezhnev's «peace plan» there are also many words about disarmament, the banning of atomic weapons, stopping the armaments race, the liquidation of foreign bases, the reduction of armed forces, the pruning of military budgets, etc.

The peoples have been hearing such «sweet» sermons

for a long time now and they are fed up with them. With his plan, Brezhnev is capitalizing on the just demands of the peoples for complete and general disarmament and is trying to keep the world vainly hoping that something will be done, and to hide the real meaning of the clamour the two superpowers are making about disarmament. The entire policy and all the actions of the United States of America and the Soviet revisionists show that they are not working for disarmament, but on the contrary, are arming themselves more and more, that their aim is to retain their own arms and prevent others from arming and defending themselves.

Can the infamous treaty on the prohibition of nuclear weapons tests on land surface or in the atmosphere, the treaty banning the proliferation of these weapons or the treaty prohibiting the location of destructive weapons on the sea-bed or in outer space, be called «positive and promising steps»? These treaties and others of the same kind which are being drafted are agreements reached between the two big powers which co-ordinate and balance their plans for armament. By this means they want to safeguard the nuclear and technological monopoly for themselves so that later they can implement their nuclear blackmail and threat against others without hindrance. Are the peoples more at peace now that the two superpowers no longer carry out nuclear tests on the surface but only underground, that they don't place atomic weapons on spacecraft but only in aircraft which fly around the world, and that they place them not at the bottom of the sea, but only in the middle and on the surface of it?

Nobody but the two superpowers have encouraged the armaments race, just as nobody but they have military bases in foreign countries. Today they have the biggest armies and their war budgets have reached astronomical figures.

The Soviet revisionists need their public utterances against imperialism and in favour of peace and disarmament to avoid being unmasked before the peoples. These statements do not hurt or worry the American imperialists in the least, because at the foundation of the Soviet policy is the collaboration and secret diplomacy with the USA, with which they are concluding all kinds of agreements behind the backs of the peoples and to their detriment.

The peoples can expect nothing good from Soviet social-imperialism. The Soviet foreign policy is an expression of the hegemonic and expansionist aspirations of the new bourgeoisie of the Soviet Union. The chiefs of the Kremlin strive to present their course as if it is opposed to the aggressive policy of American imperialism. In fact, this is all an ill-disguised bluff, because the policies of the two superpowers have the same features and are of the same class nature. Therefore, the defence of peace and international security, liberation from national and social oppression, can be achieved only through resolute and consistent struggle on two fronts, against American imperialism and against Soviet social-imperialism. The revolutionary anti-imperialist united front of the peoples of the whole world must be counterposed to the counter-revolutionary Soviet-American alliance.

RABID HOSTILITY TO THE MARXIST-LENINIST FORCES

The 24th Congress began and ended as a revisionist, anti-communist congress. It once again reaffirmed the counter-revolutionary course of the present-day Khrushchevite leadership, aimed against the genuine communist movement, against all the Marxist-Leninist forces.

The fact is that now the Marxist-Leninist forces, which are continuously increasing in numbers, and their struggle

are causing Brezhnev and company great concern... The Marxist-Leninist parties have emerged from the ranks of the working class as an historic necessity to lead its revolutionary struggle at a time when the old communist parties in many countries have betrayed and gone over to revisionism. They are a logical and inevitable product of the struggle between Marxism-Leninism and revisionism on a national and international scale. As such, the new Marxist-Leninist parties are growing steadily bigger and stronger and the future belongs to them alone.

In his report Brezhnev did not fail to mention Albania. He offered our country «the re-establishment of normal relations». Naturally, we cannot stop him from speaking about relations with our country. However, if the Soviet revisionists think that with such tactics they will put us in the position of awaiting «new positive developments» on their part, and that they will make us stop our polemic and struggle against revisionism, we inform them that they have got the wrong address. Our revolutionary vigilance against their cunning manoeuvres has always been and always will be at the proper level.

We have declared and declare again that we want to have good and correct relations even with states which have regimes the opposite of ours, but on the condition that they respect the freedom and independence of our Homeland, its sovereignty and territorial integrity and all the victories of our people's revolution. On the other hand, all those imperialist and revisionist states which have maintained and maintain hostile stands towards socialist Albania, have received and will always receive the answer they deserve from us. They have great economic and political debts to Albania, which cannot be paid off with empty words and demagogy. The inevitable revolution in these countries will punish the crimes which have been committed and are still being committed by them not only

against the People's Republic of Albania, but also against all the peoples of the world.

Not just once, but many times, the Party of Labour of Albania has appealed to the peoples and communists of the Soviet Union, calling their attention to the real causes of the breach in Soviet-Albanian relations. But the Soviet revisionist chiefs have stuck to their course of betrayal and to their stands of hostility towards our Party, our country and Marxism-Leninism.

The normalization of relations between the Soviet Union and socialist Albania is not a question that can be settled with a false declaration from a revisionist Soviet leadership, which maintains a hostile stand and threatens our country. There can be no talk of such an undertaking if the fraternal Soviet peoples and the genuine bolsheviks do not intervene energetically to establish the great Marxist-Leninist justice on these questions, because profound differences of political and ideological principle divide us from the present Soviet leadership.

The 24th Congress was a congress organized by the Soviet revisionist clique for its revisionist aims. Its purpose was to mobilize the Soviet people for the implementation of its line, for the consolidation of the positions of the new ruling revisionist bourgeoisie. In order to mislead the Soviet people and world opinion, Brezhnev and company tried to present themselves as pure Marxists, as if they maintain a balanced stand and fight both the leftists and the rightists, both bureaucratic and technocratic centralism and liberal anarchism, both the «cult of the individual» and «subjectivism and arbitrariness», both reactionary nationalists and the anti-patriots, etc.

These are well-known tactical manoeuvres intended to placate the working masses, to divert their attention from the great, unsolved problems which are worrying the

Soviet peoples. The revisionist chiefs now need a period of peace in order to carry out their policy of the restoration of capitalism internally and of social-imperialism abroad without any problems.

The Soviet peoples who have glorious revolutionary traditions must not be deceived by the revisionist demagoguery and the misleading tactics of their rulers. The 24th Congress adds new chains to the revisionist bondage, it further increases the doses of poison with which the revisionists destroy the consciousness of the people and stupefy their minds.

The Soviet people cannot emerge from the great misfortune into which they have fallen either by waiting or through political apathy, indifference or passivity. The only road to salvation for the Soviet working class and entire people is to come out on the battlefield and, through their revolutionary action, overthrow revisionism, re-establish the dictatorship of the proletariat and put the Soviet Union back again on the glorious road of the Great October.

*«Against Modern Revisionism
1971-1975»*

**IT IS NOT RIGHT TO RECEIVE NIXON IN BEIJING.
WE DO NOT SUPPORT IT**

Letter to the CC of the CP of China

August 6, 1971

THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE
OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF CHINA
COMRADE MAO ZEDONG

B E I J I N G

Dear comrades,

The leadership of our Party thanks you for the information which comrade Zhou Enlai sent us through our ambassador in Beijing in connection with the coming visit of Nixon to China.

Comrade Xhorxhi Robo, who made a special trip to Tirana, gave us an extensive report on the talk which he had with comrade Zhou Enlai about the assessments of the Chinese leadership in connection with the coming visit of Nixon to China, about the international situation and the internal situation in the United States of America, and about the questions raised in the meeting of comrade Zhou Enlai with Kissinger and the stand of the Chinese side towards them.

Our ambassador informed us that, according to your information, Nixon has been asking for more than two years to go to China and that contacts at various levels have been made for the organization of this visit. The talks with Nixon are described by you as an escalation of the earlier Sino-American talks in Warsaw. The ambassador transmitted to us your assessment that the situation in the USA has altered greatly in recent years, that America is on the eve of a revolutionary outburst and that the Americans are in a difficult situation, that they cannot continue the war, want to ease the tense situation, to withdraw their troops and their military bases from foreign countries, in order to avoid being involved in fighting and creating new hotbeds of war, and to aid their puppets only with money and weapons so that Asians fight Asians. Our ambassador transmitted to us your opinion that Nixon's visit to China assists and is in line with the people's diplomacy, that the meetings with the top strata of the USA assist links with the people and encourage changes among the American people, that the talks with Nixon, whether or not successful, will be in favour of China and will not result in any damage for it.

The leadership of our Party studied the important problem you placed before us with the greatest seriousness... We agree that we have to do with an important issue, because, as you define it, Nixon's visit to Beijing is part of your great strategic plan.

We trust that you will understand the reason for the delay in our reply. This was because your decision came as a surprise to us and was taken without any preliminary consultation between us on this question, so that we would be able to express and thrash out our opinions. This, we think, could have been useful, because preliminary consultations between close friends, determined co-fighters

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against imperialism and revisionism, are useful and necessary, and especially so, when steps which, in our opinion, have a major international effect and repercussion are taken.

We base our opinions and judgements on this problem of great importance for the present and the future of the struggle against American imperialism on the great Marxist-Leninist theory and strategy... This strategy, which makes the Marxist-Leninist parties invincible, consists of the resolute, principled and uncompromising struggle on two fronts, both against imperialism, headed by American imperialism, and against modern revisionism, headed by Soviet revisionism, of the struggle against all reactionaries and in support of the revolution and the peoples' national liberation struggle, for the triumph of socialism and communism. This strategy of ours envisages close alliance with the peoples who are struggling, with the revolutionaries of the whole world, in a common front against imperialism and social-imperialism, and never alliance with Soviet social-imperialism allegedly against American imperialism, never alliance with American imperialism allegedly against Soviet social-imperialism. The touchstone which distinguishes us Marxist-Leninists from the various anti-Marxists is the stern, uncompromising class struggle, a blow-for-blow fight to the finish on two fronts simultaneously, against American imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism.

In the course of our great struggle our two parties have employed and will employ various tactics, but these have served and must always serve this strategy... It is clear that this great strategy frightens and terrifies both American imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism, which are making attempts to defeat our strategy, therefore our parties will apply and defend it courageously in any circumstances or situations.

In this favourable revolutionary situation... People's China, socialist Albania, the peoples and progressive states of the world must have their say and impose their will in order to thwart the diabolical, war-mongering and enslaving plans of the American, Soviet and other imperialist great powers.

It is understandable and has always been clear to us that for the good of the peoples and the revolution the great China of Mao Zedong should talk and establish diplomatic relations with various states of the world, including the United States of America.

Considering the Communist Party of China as a sister party and our closest co-fighter, we have never hidden our views from it. That is why on this major problem which you put before us, we inform you that we consider your decision to receive Nixon in Beijing as incorrect and undesirable, and we do not approve or support it. It is also our opinion that Nixon's announced visit(1) to China will not be understood or approved of by the peoples, the revolutionaries and the communists of different countries.

American imperialism is the number one enemy of the peoples. The United States of America, with President Nixon at the head, is involved in a great conflict today with all the peoples, especially with the Vietnamese people, against whom it has been carrying on a savage and barbarous aggression without precedent in history for 12 years. Today the peoples of the world are waging a life-and-death struggle, with arms and with every other means, to destroy the oppressive and enslaving plans of the greatest enemy of mankind, American imperialism. This supreme interest of the peoples and their struggle ought to be the basis of the policy of our two parties and governments. They must always have this interest in view in

1 Made an accomplished fact.

all their activities, especially in regard to relations with the United States of America and with the Soviet revisionists.

It is not hard to understand the desire of Nixon, who, it seems, has long been asking to go to China, because this is in conformity with the two-pronged tactics of American imperialism of brandishing weapons and waving the olive branch, in conformity with its aims to disguise its imperialist features, to deceive the peoples and to soften China.

In the history of the communist movement there are many examples of talks at various levels between opponents. Historical parallels cannot be made, because they took place in different conditions and times and on different problems. However, our great teachers have shown that talks should be held when they are truly indispensable when they serve the cause of the revolution and socialism, that the aggressive aims of the opponent must be kept clearly in mind, and that the situation and the opponent must be assessed correctly.

The talks which you are going to hold with Nixon would have been acceptable to progressive world opinion in certain given conditions, if they were sure to bring benefit to the anti-imperialist struggle, to the revolution in general, and to China in particular.

A condition sine qua non for talks with the Americans at such a high level is that they should be conducted in conditions of equality at least, which means that the USA should first recognize the government of the People's Republic of China as the only lawful government which represents the Chinese people and lift the obstacles to the admission of China to the UNO, remove the American occupation troops from Taiwan, withdraw the 7th Fleet from Chinese coastal waters, stop its aggression on the borders of China. This would be a great defeat for the

American policy. After this, we believe, it would be possible to advance gradually towards the solution of major international problems.

In these conditions steps could be undertaken for talks, with no need, in our opinion, to jump immediately from a very low-level to a top-level meeting of personalities of the two states, China and the United States of America, simply because Nixon has apparently frequently expressed his desire for such a meeting. In our opinion, this meeting cannot be considered a simple escalation of talks, but a complicated escalation which will have consequences, because it is difficult to understand how the talks can be upgraded in this way and the desire of the American president met at a time when the United States has dropped all that huge quantity of bombs on Vietnam and extended the aggression to Cambodia and Laos, when the war is still going on and the American attacks are continuing furiously, one after the other, on the peoples of Indochina, when the People's Republic of China, Albania, the heroic people of North and South Vietnam and all the revolutionary peoples are standing as solid as granite, fighting and unmasking the aggressive policy of the government of Nixon, this enemy of all the peoples of the world. In our opinion, this meeting in these conditions is wrong both in principle and as a tactic.

It seems to us that it cannot be claimed that the talks with Nixon, whether they succeed or fail, will be equally in favour of China and will not cause any harm. On the contrary, regardless of the results of the talks, the very fact that Nixon, who is known as a rabid anti-communist, as an aggressor and murderer of peoples, as the representative of the blackest of American reaction, is to be received in China has many minuses and will bring many negative consequences to the revolutionary movement and our cause.

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There is no way in which Nixon's visit to China and the talks with him can fail to create harmful illusions about American imperialism and its strategy and policy among the ordinary people, among the nations, among the revolutionaries. It will exert a negative influence on the resistance and struggle of the American people themselves against the policy and aggressive activity of the government of Nixon, who will seize the opportunity to run for president again. Nixon's visit to China will weaken the upsurge of revolt against American imperialism everywhere in the world. Thus, we think American imperialism will be given the possibility to ensure a period of relative calm which it will try to exploit to consolidate its positions, to gather strength and prepare for new military adventures.

It is not hard to guess what the Italian workers who clashed with the police and demonstrated their repugnance to Nixon's recent visit to Italy, the Japanese workers who did not allow Eisenhower even to set foot on their territory, and the peoples of Latin America who protested and rose against the Rockefellers and all the other envoys of the Washington government, will think. Only the Yugoslav Titoites and the Rumanian revisionists welcomed President Nixon to their capitals with flowers.

The talks with Nixon place a weapon in the hands of the revisionists to devalue all the struggle and the great polemic in which the Communist Party of China has engaged for exposure of the Soviet renegades as allies and collaborators of American imperialism, enabling them to put the stand of China towards American imperialism on a par with the line of betrayal and collaboration which the Soviet revisionists follow towards it. This gives the Khrushchevite revisionists the opportunity to wave their banner of false anti-imperialism more vigorously and to intensify their demagoguery and lies in order to draw the

anti-imperialist forces behind them. Already the Soviet revisionists have begun to exploit Nixon's visit to China to fan up nationalist and chauvinist sentiments under the pretext that a Sino-American alliance aimed against the Soviet Union is under way. By all these means they aim to strengthen the positions of the revisionist cliques in power and weaken the revolutionary positions of China.

Nixon's visit to China will also encourage the centrist trend and provide its partisans with arguments to prove the «correctness» of their opportunist line. The Italian followers of Togliatti and the Rumanians are declaring openly that now new perspectives are also opened in connection with the re-establishment of unity in the communist movement and that the differences between China and the Soviet Union can be resolved in this way. These are the desires of inveterate revisionists and opportunists who have seized the opportunity to present the differences between the Communist Party of China and the revisionist leadership of the Soviet Union not as profound ideological differences over cardinal issues of principle, as they are in reality, but as disagreements on a simple state level which can be solved by means of direct meetings and talks between top state personalities.

The visit of the American president to China cannot fail to arouse questions, indeed misunderstandings, among ordinary people, among whom doubts may be created that China is changing its stand towards American imperialism and is joining in the game of superpowers.

It is not fortuitous that the capitalist and revisionist world has welcomed Nixon's initiative to go to China with such enthusiasm. All the propaganda of the imperialists, revisionists, Titoites, Rumanians and others in a joint chorus is praising China and America for this new advance in the relations between them. The Soviet, Titoite, Rumanian and other modern revisionists... say that China

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has taken a new course on the rails of the policy of unprincipled compromises. They think they will extract important political, ideological and economic benefits from this.

In our opinion, all this cannot fail to cause confusion and disorientation in the ranks of the revolutionary and anti-imperialist forces, indeed in the ranks of the Marxist-Leninists, and cannot fail to encourage the spread of the pacifist trend and illusions about the peaceful road.

In our opinion, these are major minuses. To underestimate the situation which Nixon's visit to Beijing will create would be a great mistake, and we think that these minuses cannot be compensated with certain hypothetical results which may be achieved in the meeting with Nixon who, like the imperialist spawn he is, is cunning.

Allow us also to express some ideas of ours in connection with certain specific problems of the international situation, rather with the aim of making our views more precise on some questions which we think are debatable, while at the same time recognizing that your information about the development of international events, and especially about events in the United States of America, may be more complete.

It is true that American imperialism is now in great difficulties at home and abroad. The American people are showing marked signs of being weary of the policy of aggression and international tension pursued by Nixon and his predecessors in the White House. The protests and demonstrations against the war in Vietnam, the revolts of the blacks and students have increased in recent years. The machinery of the American economy is creaking under the heavy burden of the expenditure for the war in Indochina, the armaments race and inflated military budgets. Inflation is not stopping and the army of the unemployed is growing. While the contradictions with the capitalist

countries of Europe are increasing, American influence and prestige are steadily declining. The peoples' struggle against American imperialism is mounting and extending everywhere in the world.

Nevertheless, without overestimating or underestimating the enemy, the picture of the situation in the United States of America today does not impel us to the conclusion which you have reached, that America is caught up in a great revolutionary storm.

The big popular protests and demonstrations in the United States of America against the war which is being waged in Vietnam, and the other movements of the masses are a fact, but they have to do only with opposition to a given activity, to a concrete act of the American government, and only indirectly affect the whole of its aggressive line. They do not transcend this limit. As regards their economic situation, the ideology which inspires them, their way of life, customs, traditions, links, etc., the American people are far from being on the eve of the revolution. A great deal of water will flow under the bridges over the American rivers before that time comes. We are convinced that it will come, but it will take a great deal of work and a great struggle.

In Western Europe the movement of the masses, which has long-standing traditions, is much more extensive and powerful than in the USA. Its overall political trend and class character are evident. Nevertheless, here, too, it cannot be said that the revolutionary storm is blowing up and that the revolution is imminent. To judge otherwise would mean to create harmful illusions and the revolutionary forces could easily fall into extremist errors, especially into ultra-leftist errors.

Likewise, we think that your estimation that, as a result of the defeats they have suffered, the Americans want to ease the tense situation, to withdraw their troops

and military bases from foreign territories, to avoid being involved in fighting and creating other hotbeds of war, is not accurate. This way of judgement creates the impression as if there is a general retreat of American imperialism on all fronts today, a thing which creates only harmful illusions and a demobilization of the anti-imperialist forces.

American imperialism still has great economic, political and military strength to resist and undertake new aggressions. The war budget and the armaments race and the race to perfect armaments, which are the main indicator of its war-mongering and aggressive policy and aims, have not diminished, but on the contrary, are increasing from year to year at very rapid rates. American imperialism will never give up its strategic aims of war and aggression. Otherwise it would not be imperialism.

If the USA thinks that the puppet governments alone will fight the peoples and America will assist them only with money and weapons, this means that American imperialism would sign the death warrant for its puppets and itself. There must be no illusions in this direction. Even though it suffers defeat and is obliged to withdraw from some country, this does not mean that American imperialism will not attempt to interfere in and organize aggressions against other countries.

War, aggression, oppression and enslavement of the peoples are in the nature of imperialism. They stem from the very essence of its exploiting system. It is known that in order to exist the United States of America needs continuous economic, political and military expansion for the purpose of keeping the peoples in bondage and sucking their blood. Otherwise imperialism dies and the way is opened to revolts, insurrections and revolutions. For this reason, we believe, that the United States of America will never dismantle its military bases in foreign territo-

ries and will not withdraw its troops deployed abroad of its own accord. This will be achieved only when it is forced to do it by the struggle of the peoples.

In our opinion, the task of the Marxist-Leninists and revolutionaries is to arouse the peoples in struggle against imperialism and revisionism, to build up their confidence in their own inexhaustible strength, to make them conscious that today they are capable of successfully resisting the attacks of the imperialists, old and new, and defeating their aggressive plans...

We have supported and will support with all our might the indisputable right of the People's Republic of China to liberate Taiwan. Taiwan is an inseparable and inalienable part of the People's Republic of China. Our government will always resolutely oppose the theory of «two Chinas», of «one China and one Taiwan», of the «independence» of Taiwan, or of the «indefinability» of Taiwan's position. As hitherto, the People's Republic of Albania will struggle to ensure that People's China occupies the place which belongs to it in the United Nations and that the Chiang Kaishek usurpers are expelled from it.

Our people, like all the peoples of the world, have admired the aid which the People's Republic of China has given and is still giving directly to the Vietnamese people and their heroic war against the American aggressors, as well as its aid for their cause in the international arena...

In regard to the war in Vietnam, the stand of our Party is already known to you. We have been and are opposed to the Paris talks. This we have told the Vietnamese comrades openly. Regardless of this, we have supported and support the just struggle of the people of Vietnam unreservedly and we consider their victory decisive for the whole peoples' anti-imperialist struggle.

The continuation of the American aggression in Viet-

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nam and the whole of Indochina is a major issue which is concerning all the peoples. The Vietnamese problem can be solved only when the United States of America puts an end to the war in Vietnam, demolishes all its military bases and withdraws its last soldier from that country. We are convinced that the Vietnamese people will triumph and that victory belongs to the Vietnamese themselves who are fighting arms in hand and shedding their blood. The last word on any settlement of the Vietnamese problem belongs to the Vietnamese themselves, theirs is the indisputable right to decide their own fate.

The American imperialists and their satellites as well as the Soviet revisionists with their armed forces, which they have deployed on the border with China, have tried to organize a ring of fire around China and to threaten its freedom and independence. In this direction the friendship which is developing between the Soviet revisionists and the reactionary Sato government is significant. We have always been and are beside you in the sacred struggle to oppose and destroy these hostile plans of American imperialism, the Soviet revisionists and the various reactionaries.

We fully approve your stand that the views of China about the Soviet Union were not expressed to Kissinger. However, it seems to us that between us there ought to be common opinions about the political actions which the Soviet revisionists might undertake, at least against China and Albania, in the existing circumstances.

The views of the American imperialists about the Soviet Union expressed to you by Kissinger should not have been kept secret from us. Knowing that American imperialism is allied with Soviet social-imperialism and that they are co-ordinating their actions, it seems to us that these views cannot affect only the Far East, but must also affect Europe. If you had informed us of what

Kissinger said about the Soviet Union, we would have been more fully armed to discover more thoroughly the American and Soviet moves on the chess-board of Europe.

We support the struggle which the People's Republic of China is waging against Japanese militarism and its expansionist policy in Asia, especially in the direction of Korea, Taiwan, etc. Together with the active support which China gives the struggle of the Japanese people against the reactionary Sato government and the Japan-American alliance, this correct stand is an important contribution to building up the revolutionary struggle in Japan, which is especially important to restraining the aggressive plans of American imperialism and Japanese militarism.

American imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism have stepped up their efforts to incite Japanese militarism, Indian reaction, and that of several other countries against China and the free countries of Asia. In this context, we appreciate the efforts which People's China is making to strengthen the united front of the peoples of China, Korea, Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos, as well as its efforts to strengthen and extend its contacts and links with the Japanese, Indian, Pakistani and other peoples.

We think that the strikes and demonstrations in America are important, but more important are the awakening of the peoples of India. Japan and all Asia, first, and their hurling themselves into revolution... Likewise, the great importance which Lenin gave to the triumph of the revolution in such big countries as China, India and other countries of the East for the outcome of the world revolution is well known.

British imperialism created splits and antagonisms between the peoples of India and Pakistan and we Marxist-Leninists must oppose the exploiting and aggressive aims of the American imperialists and the Soviet social-

imperialists who continue to incite the peoples of these two countries against each other. India and Pakistan are ruled by the reactionary bourgeoisie which is nowhere as powerful as American imperialism. They constitute a weak link.

Our two parties never for a moment forget that the struggle against American imperialism must be waged sternly, not only in Asia, Africa and Latin America, but also in Europe. We have pointed out that People's China, together with its true Marxist-Leninist friends, ought to play a bigger role in Europe. You know our policy in regard to Europe, a policy which is for revolution, against NATO and the Warsaw Treaty, against the new Soviet-West-German treaty and against the revisionist schemes over European security. We think that the policy of American imperialism in Europe is very complicated. Despite the contradictions the United States has with its partners, its traditional links with Britain and France must always be taken into account.

We agree with you that in order to establish contacts with the peoples the people's diplomacy must be applied. This is the open and sincere diplomacy which serves socialism, the peoples' liberation struggle and the extension and growth of the revolutionary upsurge of the masses in the capitalist countries.

However, just as diplomatic relations are not the only way to establish links with the people, contacts with the people are not necessarily established through meetings with the chiefs, either. The influence of socialist countries is exerted, first of all, through the policy which they pursue, the anti-imperialist and anti-revisionist struggle they wage, the consistent, principled stands they maintain towards the vital problems which preoccupy the world, and the solidarity and unreserved support which they give the peoples' revolutionary and liberation struggle.

Until recently the People's Republic of China has not had diplomatic relations and direct contacts with many capitalist countries, but this has not hindered it from exerting a great influence on the revolutionary and liberation movement in the world, just as it has not prevented the peoples of different continents from admiring, supporting and defending China...

Vietnam not only does not have diplomatic relations with the United States of America, but for a very long time has been at war with it. Nevertheless, thanks to its just fight, precisely today the sympathy of the peoples of the world and of the American people for the Vietnamese people is greater than ever. The valiant and courageous stand of Vietnam is the factor which, more than any other, is helping to radicalize the masses of the American people who come out in the streets with the national flag of Vietnam and portraits of Ho Chi Minh.

The most that can be achieved at meetings and talks with the chiefs of capitalist countries is the settlement of certain given problems. However, they can never be turned into a factor the influence of which increases the revolutionary upsurge of the masses, especially when the masses are discontented and have been set in motion against the policy and actions of their rulers. On the contrary, in such cases meetings and talks might create illusions among the people about the imperialist or revisionist chiefs, might create an atmosphere of waiting among the masses and reduce the level of the struggle of the masses.

Moreover, the establishment of diplomatic relations is not always useful to this struggle. For example, we do not accept to re-establish diplomatic relations with the Soviet revisionists because, as is known, they have committed great crimes and launched furious attacks against Marxism-Leninism, the People's Republic of Albania in

particular, and on their own initiative broke off diplomatic relations with us. Our Party has demanded that they make a public self-criticism over everything they have done against Marxism-Leninism and our country. If they do not do this, it would seem as if we assume at least a part of the blame for the breach of relations and we would give the Soviet revisionist chiefs arguments to justify their hostile stands and actions they have taken hitherto against Marxism-Leninism and Albania in the eyes of the Soviet peoples. This would not be in favour of the Soviet peoples and their anti-revisionist struggle, but would assist the Brezhnev clique to consolidate its position.

Or, let us consider the case of our relations with Yugoslavia. Diplomatic and trading relations and some cultural exchanges exist between our two countries. And these relations exist, not only without making contact with the Titoite chiefs, but indeed in principled ideological struggle against them. The polemics with and the ideological struggle against Titoism, which is reflected fully and all-sidedly in the materials and documents which our Party continues to publish, goes on without interruption. However, the fact that now Yugoslavia is threatened by Soviet social-imperialism has not prevented us from declaring that in case of aggression we shall stand beside the peoples of Yugoslavia. In this way we have strengthened our contacts with the peoples of Yugoslavia...

We must utilize the favourable circumstances, created not from the desire of our enemies, but from our correct line and resolute struggle, in our favour and in favour of the revolution, whenever the opportunity presents itself, while always safeguarding the principles and dignity of our socialist states...

For our part we want to assure you that the line

and stands of the Party of Labour of Albania will always remain unalterably principled and consistent. We will fight American imperialism and Soviet revisionism uncompromisingly and consistently. Possibly these enemies, individually or together, or by inciting their allies and lackeys, will undertake aggressive adventures against us. We shall fight them unhesitatingly to the finish, to victory...

For the Central Committee of the PLA
First Secretary
Enver Hoxha

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ON THE ACTIVITY OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE PARTY OF LABOUR OF ALBANIA

Report to the 6th Congress of the PLA

November 1, 1971

I

THE INTERNATIONAL SITUATION AND THE FOREIGN POLICY OF THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF ALBANIA

Our 6th Congress is meeting at a time when major contradictions and confrontations exist on a world scale, when, as never before, large class, political, economic and military forces have been assembled and are confronting one another all over the globe.

The forces of imperialism, revisionism and reaction stand on one side of the barricade, while the forces of socialism, the peoples' front headed by the international working class, stand on the other. The line of demarcation between them is becoming more and more distinct in all fields.

Proper understanding of these contradictions, realistic and objective examination of the ratio of forces which are at work in the international arena, and recognition of the basic tendencies of present-day world development have decisive importance in the struggle against imperialism and revisionism, in the struggle for the triumph of the revolution.

THE TREND OF PRESENT-DAY WORLD DEVELOPMENT IS TO
THE REVOLUTION AND THE TRIUMPH OF SOCIALISM

The events which have taken place in the world during these last five years have confirmed the correct assessment which our Party made of the situation and the trends of development of international relations at its 5th Congress. In analyzing the situation in the world now, we must stress not only that it is favourable to the revolution, but also that the revolution is becoming the general aspiration of the peoples.

This assessment of the situation is not merely an optimistic statement, but an expression of the objective reality, of the historical process of world development today, in which the sharpening of social antagonisms and the uninterrupted rise and strengthening of the revolutionary struggles of the peoples, which are shaking the imperialist and revisionist world to its very foundations and which are further deepening its all-round crisis, can be clearly seen.

Today we are witnesses of major class encounters between the workers and capital with its state power. The class struggle of the proletariat and other exploited social strata has assumed such proportions, both as regards the number of participants as well as its intensity, that the present period can be compared with the most critical periods that the bourgeoisie of the capitalist countries has passed through. The brilliant battles of the French, Italian, Spanish, British, Belgian and other workers, the positive and negative experience gained, will leave indelible traces in their minds. Fierce battles are being waged between the workers and capital even in those countries which bourgeois propaganda has presented as zones of permanent «class peace». There, too, the social-

democratic myths about «social evolution», about the creation of general well-being under the capitalist system, have been smashed.

The social contradictions have become very acute in the United States itself. As a result of the failures in its internal and external policy, the political, economic and social crisis of Yankee imperialism has been further deepened and the revolutionary struggle of the American people has been further extended. The bastion of imperialism is being shaken by the wide-scale revolt of the black Americans for equality and civil rights and of the whole people against the war in Vietnam.

It is important that in these new class battles which are being waged in the capitalist countries, political demands are coming to the fore, the revolutionary consciousness of the working people is increasing, and the break from the influence of social-democratic and revisionist opportunism is becoming ever more marked.

Another feature of the class struggle against the exploiting capitalist system and the imperialist policy is the outburst everywhere of the youth and student movement, which is turning into a powerful revolutionary force of our time. The youth of the capitalist world are not content either with their social situation or with the system which has closed all the roads to the future. They are now in search of the truth, and the truth is leading them, as it is bound to do, towards unity with the working class, towards the revolution.

World imperialism is receiving ever heavier blows from the liberation struggle of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America, which is being waged vigorously everywhere. The determined anti-imperialist struggle of the people of Vietnam and other peoples of Indochina, who have destroyed, once and for all, the myth of the invincibility of the US superpower, of its military machine

and modern weapons, is a brilliant example and a powerful inspiration for that struggle.

The anti-imperialist armed struggle of the peoples of Thailand, Burma, Malaysia and Indonesia in Asia has assumed new and greater proportions. The revolutionary struggle of the peoples of Brazil and Colombia, Chile and Peru, Bolivia and Argentina and the other countries of Latin America against US imperialism and their local oligarchies for the defence of their national sovereignty and independence, for democratic and independent development and for social progress has developed on a broad scale. A new revolutionary situation is being created in Africa, too. The peoples everywhere have been swept into the wave of struggle against old and new colonialism, against the oppressing and reactionary forces for the defence of their freedom and independence. Neither the policy of dictate and deceit, nor the armed violence of imperialism can subdue the will of the peoples to fight and take their destiny in their own hands.

Imperialism and revisionism are drawing down on their own heads the hatred of the peoples, who see the American policy and that of the Soviet revisionists as a danger to their freedom and independence. The peoples love freedom, they are against the brutal interference of imperialists and revisionists, they condemn their policy of hegemony and blackmail. Anti-American sentiments are growing and becoming more powerful everywhere, just as the opposition to Soviet social-imperialism is increasing and becoming more powerful.

The growth of the revolutionary forces and the revolutionary impulse in the world indicates that, despite their great and feverish efforts to turn the wheel of history back, imperialism and revisionism have not been and will never be able to alter the general ratio of forces, which is tipping more and more towards revolution. The histor-

ical initiative has finally passed into the hands of the working class and of the peoples. The road of the development of present-day human society is opened and determined by revolution.

The successful development and extension of the world revolutionary movement and the peoples' struggle is the clearest proof of the deepening of the grave crisis which has gripped the most detested enemies of peoples — imperialism and revisionism.

The betrayal by the Khrushchevite modern revisionists, which caused the revolutionary movement great damage, was a temporary advantage for the capitalist system in general. However, it did not rescue capitalism from its general crisis, nor did it change the course of history, its trend of development towards the revolution and the victory of socialism.

In the framework of its exploiting system, imperialism aimed at eliminating economic crises and averting the profound contradictions amongst capitalist countries. In this case, too, it has suffered defeat. The big capitalist countries, not to mention the smaller ones, are now in a phase when the phenomena of the crisis have become chronic and have created new difficulties for their entire economy. The crisis of the monetary-financial system has become an incurable disease in recent years. Inflation and the cost of living are increasing rapidly, while the unemployed are counted in millions. The severe shaking of the dominant positions of the US dollar and Nixon's restrictive measures have caused great confusion and chaos throughout the capitalist world. The dollar crisis is not just a crisis of the US currency or of the currencies of the other capitalist countries. It is a manifest expression of the general economic, political, military and ideological crisis of the entire capitalist system, of its structures and superstructures, of capitalist and imperialist regimes and alliances.

All these phenomena have added to and further sharpened the contradictions between the various bourgeois countries and especially those with the United States of America.

The economic and political struggle between the capitalist countries is assuming ever greater proportions. Economic integration and the creation of military blocs have added still more to the ruthless competition between them. Now the European Common Market wants to challenge US supremacy in the world market, while the new economic power of Japan, through its intrusion, is seriously cramping the expansion of US monopolies in Asia. Big squabbles have broken out in the ranks of NATO and the other alliances of imperialism. These rivalries and contradictions among the imperialist countries tend to become ever deeper.

In order to consolidate its positions, to avert its economic difficulties, political contradictions and social conflicts, imperialism has endeavoured and is still endeavouring to adapt itself to the new conditions of the class struggle, both within its home country and outside it. But neither the development of state monopoly capitalism, the concentration of production and capital on a national and international scale, nor the militarization of the economy and the technical-scientific revolution have saved it, and such measures will never be able to save it from its inevitable defeats and collapse. The partial and temporary solutions which they might provide are fraught with new and still more severe contradictions and conflicts, with an even deeper and more devastating crisis of the whole world capitalist system.

An equally grave situation now prevails in the revisionist camp, too. Our Party, enlightened by its Marxist-Leninist theory, accurately predicted where their road of betrayal would lead the revisionists, predicted their all-round decline and degeneration. The crisis which revision-

ism is experiencing is ideological, political and economic. Not only were the Moscow chiefs thwarted in their attempts to establish their domination over the communist movement and their control of the national liberation movement, but now they are unable to keep even their closest allies, the revisionist cliques in the satellite countries, under rein.

Among the various detachments of revisionism there is neither ideological unity, nor unity of action. Conflicts and squabbles amongst the revisionist cliques in power are commonplace phenomena and have reached such a pitch of tension that they might explode at any moment. Factions and trends of the most varied kinds have been created in the ranks of the revisionist parties. The betrayal of Marxism-Leninism introduced confusion and disintegration into the ranks of these parties.

The revisionist countries and their boss, the Soviet Union itself, are beginning to suffer the chronic ills of bourgeois society. The discontent of the masses provoked by the revisionist line is being transformed into open revolt. The events of last year in Poland demonstrated that the working class has lined up face to face against the revisionist state power.

In the present stage, despite their external appearance of strength, imperialism and revisionism are weak. Their decay and degeneration are advancing from day to day. At present they are unable to solve a single fundamental internal problem, or to achieve any of their major external aims.

The ground is quaking under the feet of imperialism, revisionism, and all other reactionaries. In our epoch, there is no force on earth that can stop the victorious march of the revolution and socialism.

We Albanian communists, like all Marxist-Leninists everywhere, regard the future of the world with optimism.

convinced that it belongs to the freedom and independence of the peoples, to socialism. At the same time, however, our revolutionary optimism does not prevent us from seeing the threats and dangers to our country and all the peoples, stemming from American imperialism and its aggressive policy and from the new Soviet revisionist imperialism, which are jointly claiming world hegemony and domination.

Regardless of the changes that have taken place and are taking place in the world, US imperialism remains the chief enemy of all peoples, the greatest oppressor and exploiter of other countries, the bastion of international reaction. As long as it remains on its feet, its reactionary nature will remain unchanged, together with its aggressive and warmongering policy and strategy, which stem from the very essence of its exploiting system. American imperialism cannot live without economic expansion, without political intervention and military aggression, without oppressing and exploiting other peoples. Otherwise it dies, and the road is opened to revolts and revolutions.

The events of the recent years are the best proof that the imperialism of the USA has not given up its attempts, but on the contrary is doing its utmost, to undermine the freedom and independence of other states and to establish its world domination. It is brandishing arms and threatening war everywhere.

The American imperialists are continuing their barbarous war in Vietnam. They have extended their aggression to Cambodia and Laos, too, thus inflicting death, destruction, and grave damage on all the heroic peoples of Indochina. On the incitement and with the active and direct assistance of the United States, Israel unleashed its aggression against the Arab countries and is maintaining its occupation of their territories. The plots, subversive activities, armed intervention and violence in

Libya, in the PR of the Congo or Somalia, in Guinea or in many countries of Asia and Latin America, have been and are the doing of US imperialists. The United States is the ally and sponsor of all reactionary and fascist regimes, the chief defender of the international system of capitalist exploitation.

Open aggression is increasingly coming to the fore as a principal means to ensure the USA positions of economic, political and military domination in other countries. The American imperialists are trying to realize this strategy through their policy of neo-colonialism and their efforts to preserve their technical and scientific monopoly as a means of interference, oppression and exploitation.

It could be said that in practice today there is not a single free and independent country which is not being threatened by American imperialism in some or another way, which does not feel its pressure and blackmail, and which is not affected by its brutal interference.

Confronting the peoples stands a great, insatiable and barbarous enemy. For this reason the struggle against American imperialism has become the supreme duty of all the revolutionary forces of our time, of all the peoples. The deep contradiction which exists between American imperialism with its aggressive policy, on the one hand, and the peoples with their anti-imperialist struggle, on the other, will become ever more severe and acute. In the clash between them there can be neither periods of truce, concessions, nor retreats, as the revisionists preach. Any wavering in the struggle against imperialism is fraught with very dangerous consequences.

But American imperialism is not the only enemy of the peoples; nor should we consider as its allies only the reactionary puppets directly connected politically, militarily and financially with Washington. Despite their contradictions with the United States of America, Britain,

West Germany, Japan and other imperialist countries remain its chief partners, who likewise follow the policy of economic expansion and neo-colonization towards other countries, seek to create spheres of influence, and always come out in support of world reaction. The United Europe, which is being knocked together by West-European capital, aims at becoming a new imperialist superpower with pretensions to hegemony and domination similar to those of the United States of America and the Soviet Union. The struggle against American imperialism will not be effective, unless it is waged against both its friends and allies, against all imperialist powers.

The attitude to imperialism, and, in the first place, to American imperialism is the «touchstone» for all the political forces of the world. This is not just a tactical question, or a temporary solution in the existing circumstances. The attitude towards imperialism is a question of the content of the political line. It serves as a gauge to assess practical actions and, in the end, is a demarcation line which divides two warring camps, dividing those who defend the vital interests of peoples and the future of mankind from those who trample them underfoot, dividing the revolutionaries from reactionaries and traitors.

The anti-imperialist struggle does not and cannot have the same extension and the same intensity everywhere. But it is important that the peoples should be aroused in the liberation struggle against imperialism, not only to make life impossible for it but also to cut short its life. Only resolute resistance, the open, blow-for-blow struggle, without backing down in the face of difficulties and sacrifices, can repel and defeat imperialism. The duty of revolutionaries is to make the masses of the people politically and ideologically clear, to raise their vigilance, to

show them where the enemy is, how it acts, how they must organize themselves and fight it.

An enemy just as dangerous, just as cunning and aggressive as American imperialism for the peoples and their revolution is the new Soviet revisionist imperialism.

Right from the time modern revisionism seized power in the Soviet Union and in the other socialist countries, our Party assessed the situation correctly and emphasized that a «second front» was being opened in the world against socialism and communism.

Today all of us are witnesses to the fact that the revisionist Soviet Union has been transformed into a chauvinist and neo-colonialist state. The foreign policy of the Soviet revisionists is the great-Russian policy of the old czars, with the same expansionist aims, the same objectives of the subjection and enslavement of peoples. The appetite of the new Soviet revisionist imperialism is insatiable. Like the United States, the chiefs of the Kremlin have filled the skies with aircraft and the oceans with submarines; wherever they can, they are setting up military bases and economic markets to suck in the wealth of the peoples and to recruit agents in the four corners of the earth. Rubles and tanks, corruption and blackmail go hand in hand. There is no area in the world to which the revisionists are not trying to extend their imperialist influence; there is no international question in which they do not interfere in order to extract benefits for themselves. Following in the footsteps of the American imperialists, they have become the biggest dealers in arms, insatiable usurers, inspirers of counter-revolutionary plots and instigators of conflicts among nations

The chronology of the actions of the Soviet revisionists during the last few years shows that this aggressive course is becoming ever more pronounced. The more the contradictions inside the Soviet Union increase, the

more the squabbles and opposition within the revisionist camp mount, and, on the other hand, the sharper the competition with its rival and ally, American imperialism, the more military adventures come to the fore in the actions of the Soviet revisionists.

The barbarous aggression against Czechoslovakia was not accidental, it was not an exceptional situation that cannot be repeated, but the climax of an aggressive and chauvinist policy raised to an official line, the beginning of a major onslaught against the freedom and independence of many countries and peoples. The fact is that simultaneously with the open occupation of Czechoslovakia, the undeclared military occupation of Poland, the German Democratic Republic, Hungary, Bulgaria and Mongolia was further strengthened. In practice these countries have been turned into military provinces of the Moscow empire, in which the Soviet generals not only maintain «law and order», but also make both the policy and the law.

The irony of all this chauvinist policy, of all the efforts to dominate the peoples, is that the Soviet revisionists even try to justify their policy «theoretically», to call it «proletarian», and even «Leninist». Brezhnev came out with the infamous theory of «limited sovereignty», and his zealous propagandists are striving to convince the world that it was not tanks that the Soviet Union sent to Prague, but its «internationalist aid», that it is not oppressing the satellite countries, but is «strengthening the socialist community», that it is not exploiting them, but is speeding up their «socialist integration», and so on.

The theory of «limited sovereignty» is the theory of great-power chauvinism and expansionism, the theory by means of which the new Soviet imperialists want to eliminate any sovereignty of the other peoples, and to create for themselves the «sovereign right» to intervene

wherever and whenever they choose. By denying the sovereignty of others they are trying to deny the nations and states that which is dearest to them — their freedom and independence, to negate their national individuality, their indisputable right to self-determination and independent development, their right to equality in international life and their active participation in world relations. With their «limited sovereignty» they are trying to legalize the right of the stronger to oppress the weaker, of the bigger to gobble up the smaller. It is a theory for the justification of imperialist aggression.

The «proletarian internationalism» of the Soviet revisionists also has a similar reactionary essence. For speculative purposes, the rulers in the Kremlin are trying to impose on the revolutionary and anti-imperialist forces the distorted idea that the basic criterion of proletarian internationalism, its «touchstone», is the attitude towards the Soviet Union, that all revolutionary struggles and activities should be subordinated to the interests of the Soviet Union and its policy.

Their misrepresentation of the past and use of theses which were correct at one time convince nobody today, when the Soviet revisionists have betrayed Marxism-Leninism and transformed the Soviet Union into an imperialist country. The attitude towards the Soviet Union today remains a criterion of proletarian internationalism, but in the opposite sense from that of the time of Lenin and Stalin, when the Soviet Union was the centre of the world revolution and its base. Today, a revolutionary and internationalist is he who fights the Soviet revisionists, who exposes their treachery, who opposes their anti-Marxist and imperialist policy and line with all his strength.

The transition of Soviet revisionism to social-imperialism, the intensification of its expansionist policy and activity have faced the revolutionary and anti-imperialist

forces with new tasks. The ideological struggle against revisionism remains a prime current duty which must be carried through to the end until the complete defeat of revisionism. But today this would be insufficient and would not have a successful conclusion if the present Soviet Union were not considered and treated as an imperialist state power.

The greatest counter-revolutionary force opposed to the struggle of the peoples for freedom and socialism is the Soviet-US alliance. In all fields — economic, political and military, the imperialist courses of the USA and the Soviet Union are drawing steadily closer together until they merge. In order to realize their aims of hegemony and domination, the two superpowers need each other, therefore they synchronize their watches, and continually co-ordinate their plans and concrete activity.

The weight of this reactionary alliance makes its presence felt in all international conflicts and problems. More than twenty six years have elapsed since the Second World War ended, but the United States and the Soviet Union still keep their armies stationed in other countries. The two superpowers have recognized their respective spheres of influence, accepting them as an accomplished fact, and try not to hinder each other in the domination and exploitation of them.

By means of secret diplomacy and in complete conformity with imperialist practice, the American imperialists and the Soviet revisionists are now striking bargains behind the scenes over sharing between them the former zones of influence from which the old imperialist powers have been driven, in order to «fill the vacuum», as they say. These «fruits» of the Soviet-US alliance are quite clearly obvious in the Middle East, along the north coast of Africa, in the Mediterranean, the Indian Ocean, and elsewhere.

Over the big international issues the two superpowers try to come out with a co-ordinated policy and with a common stand towards third parties, as in the case of the talks on disarmament in Geneva, the talks over the Middle East in New York, etc. This co-ordination and common stand are even more obvious in the proceedings of the UNO which has been transformed into an instrument of their hegemonic policy. In practice, no decision is taken, no suggestion is adopted in the UNO, unless it is acceptable to the two superpowers. What the United States and the Soviet Union are seeking and striving for is to compel the other countries to entrust their fate to the two superpowers, so that they become arbiters, not only on the foreign affairs, but also on the internal affairs of them. The two superpowers want acceptance of their will and submission to their dictate to be raised to a law and norm of international life.

Strenuous efforts are being made by the American imperialists and the Soviet revisionists to preserve the balance of power between them and to keep the other nations at a certain distance. All the agreements they have reached over atomic weapons, outer space, the seabed, etc., have the aim of keeping intact these new strategic proportions, which also define the common policy of the superpowers. In particular, they want to safeguard their monopoly of new weapons and their technical-scientific superiority in the main branches of arms development, with the aim of keeping the other countries dependent and exerting continuous political, economic and military pressure on them. Nobody doubts that the top secret SALT talks, from which even their closest allies are excluded, have been turned into an institution, not only for the co-ordination of military affairs discussed, but also for defining their concrete political stands and their long-term joint strategy.

Of course, it would be incomprehensible and unrealistic if in the Soviet-US alliance we were to see only the rapprochement and collaboration of the two superpowers, their common interests and actions. As imperialist powers, the United States and the revisionist Soviet Union also have quarrels, rivalry and deep contradictions which prevent them from always acting in complete harmony and unity everywhere. The existence and the sharpening of contradictions lies at the very foundations of this alliance, in the capitalist social system of both these countries, in their imperialist aims. In preparing for war, each side is planning to seize the other by the throat.

Misrepresenting the contradictions which they have with the United States and with the aim of concealing their betrayal, the Soviet revisionists try to pose as anti-imperialists, as if they, too, oppose the policy of aggression and war of US imperialism. But the «anti-imperialism» of the revisionists is a hoax, a device to deceive the peoples, to split their anti-imperialist unity, to sabotage the revolution. Any illusion about the «anti-imperialism» of the Soviet revisionists would be very dangerous, with grave consequences for the revolutionary struggle of the peoples.

As long as American imperialism and the Soviet revisionist imperialism are two imperialist superpowers and come out with a common counter-revolutionary strategy, it is impossible for the struggle of the peoples against them not to merge into a single current. You cannot rely on the one imperialism to oppose the other. (1)

The American imperialists and the Soviet revisionists are trying to preserve the tranquillity, the status quo and their alliances. They want the peoples to sit quiet and ap-

1 This was in opposition to the wrong view of the Chinese that one should rely on American imperialism to fight Soviet social-imperialism. (See p. 665 of this volume.)

prove their policy and actions. But the peoples, the revolutionaries and all progressive mankind whole-heartedly hate oppression and exploitation, which are equally unendurable, whether exercised by the American imperialists or by the Soviet revisionists.

They do not want the imperialist «peace» and «tranquillity», nor do they want the present reactionary status quo which the imperialists and revisionists advocate. The revolution, the struggle for national and social liberation is not the «destruction of mankind», as the imperialists and revisionists preach, but the destruction of oppression and exploitation and the salvation of mankind.

Of course, the revolution will not break out at the same time in all countries, nor will it triumph on the same day. It will have its zigzags, its ups and downs. But wherever there is oppression and exploitation there will also be class struggle, there will be revolution. Now Marxism-Leninism is inspiring the world proletariat more and more each day, illuminating the road to victory for all the oppressed masses.

TRUE PEACE AND SECURITY FOR THE PEOPLES ARE ACHIEVED
THROUGH STRUGGLE AGAINST AMERICAN IMPERIALISM AND
SOVIET SOCIAL—IMPERIALISM

Our Party and Government have devoted particular attention to some important and acute specific problems of international life which have a direct and widespread influence on the fate and the future of the peoples.

For twelve years now the heroic Vietnamese people have been waging a life-and-death struggle against the imperialist aggression of the United States and its Saigon puppets. Although the American imperialists have lost the war in the field of battle, although they have no hope that the situation will change in their favour, they

are continuing their aggression and their efforts to subdue the Vietnamese people and to force them to their knees, with desperate obstinacy. Moreover, in recent times the American imperialists have extended their aggression to Cambodia and Laos, too. However, the expansion of aggression also showed that, today just as yesterday, armed violence, terror and atrocities cannot offer the American imperialists any way out of their impasse. Thanks to the combined struggle of the Indochinese peoples, to their unity and determination, the strategic and tactical plans of the Nixon government have utterly failed.

Indochina has now become the main battlefield of the peoples' liberation struggle against American imperialism, therefore, the victories of the peoples of Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia have been a great revolutionary inspiration for all who oppose imperialism, who fight for freedom and national independence, for democracy and social justice. In particular, these victories have raised the morale, the fighting spirit of the small nations higher and have increased their confidence in their own strength and in their future.

The historic lesson from Vietnam is that the aggression of the big imperialist power can be countered by the people's war with great success, that in the present conditions even a small country can defeat a superpower, provided it is determined to make any sacrifice and to march courageously on the road of freedom and revolution.

Nixon's new doctrine of the so-called «Vietnamization of the war» and his manoeuvres for «peace talks», etc., cannot have any success. «Vietnamization» means extension and continuation of the imperialist aggression, so that Vietnamese are set against Vietnamese, Asians against Asians, while the American imperialists dominate, suppress,

exploit them, and use them as cannon fodder in their own aggressive, hegemonic policy. But the Nixon plan for the «Vietnamization» of the war in Vietnam failed in the face of the heroic resistance of the peoples of Indochina, and it cannot lead its authors anywhere but to new and greater defeats. Neither can their friends, the Soviet revisionists, who for years on end have sabotaged the efforts of the Vietnamese people and exerted pressure on them to quell their anti-US struggle, save the US imperialists from disaster in Vietnam.

There can be no genuine peace in Vietnam and throughout Indochina until all the American forces are finally withdrawn from that region and until all the American military bases and installations there are dismantled. The Vietnamese people will certainly triumph and this victory will be achieved on the battlefield by the Vietnamese people who are fighting and shedding their blood. To them, and them alone, belongs the right to decide for themselves independently, about their own future.

The Albanian people have always been and always will be heart and soul with the fraternal Vietnamese people and the other peoples of Indochina; they are in complete solidarity with their just and heroic struggle against American imperialism and its allies. We give our full support to the just stands of the government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the provisional revolutionary government of the Republic of South Vietnam on the withdrawal of the American troops and the settlement of the Vietnamese conflict.

The Middle East, too, has been turned into a hotbed of tension. The imperialist-Israeli aggression, the aim of which is to subjugate and enslave all the Arab peoples, has been going on for a long time. The situation has been aggravated also by the interference in that area of the Soviet revisionists who, by posing as friends of the Arab

states, are seeking to occupy strategic positions and to extend their hegemony there.

The Zionists, the imperialists, and the Soviet revisionists are now trying to split the Arabs and to set them at loggerheads with one another, with a view to weakening their common anti-imperialist liberation front and imposing on them a peace against their vital interests. The aim of the two superpowers, which seek to take the fate of the Middle East in their own hands and to play the role of arbiter, is to divide it into spheres of influence and, on the lives and bones of the Arab peoples, build new war bases from which to launch imperialist invasions on the continents of Asia and Africa.

But the Arab peoples have not fought for centuries for freedom and independence, in defence of honour and riches, to sacrifice them now for the imperialist interests of the great powers. The price for the «peace» which the US imperialists and Soviet revisionists are offering them is very high. Furthermore, it is deeply offensive to the glorious traditions, the dignity and pride of all the Arab peoples. They have made it clear that they will not give up even an inch of Arab land and will do no deals over the Palestinian question. They have risen against the violence of the Jordanian reactionaries in their attempt to suppress the partisan forces of Palestine, who stand in the front line of the liberation struggle of the Arab peoples and have rejected the imperialist plot, which is aimed at completely and definitely liquidating the Palestinian revolution.

Our people consider the Arab peoples as traditional friends and brothers and are in complete solidarity with their just cause. Our people have been and always will be on their side. We are convinced that the Arab peoples will raise high the banner of the liberation struggle against the imperialists and Zionists, against the acts of

interference of the Soviet revisionists and the deceptive manoeuvres of all those who pose as friends, but are trying to stab them in the back. The Arab lands belong to the Arabs; the cause for which the Palestinian people are fighting is invincible.

The People's Republic of Albania is interested in real peace and security in Europe, in a real and just solution of the problems which have remained unsolved since the end of the Second World War, and first of all, the German problem.

But the situation in Europe is not as the Soviet revisionists try to present it, as if the tension has eased and the situation become tranquil, because the Moscow-Bonn treaty has been signed, because the Soviet Union and Federal Germany have allegedly guaranteed the inviolability of the borders of the European states.

On the contrary, the conclusion of the Soviet-German treaty created a new tension in Europe, which springs from the real threats represented by Soviet revisionism and German revanchism to the interests, sovereignty and rights of the European countries, on account of Soviet and American ambitions for hegemony and domination in our continent. Already the Federal German Republic has become the most powerful capitalist state in Western Europe, is challenging the American influence and trying to overshadow the power of France and Britain, not to mention the other NATO partners. Instead of contributing to any solution, the Soviet-German treaty creates new imperialist contradictions, rivalries and complications, with dangerous consequences for all the countries of Europe.

By means of this agreement they want to avoid signing the peace treaty with Germany and to violate and deny the legitimate rights of the peoples who fought and triumphed over Hitlerite Germany. But those who shed their blood in the war against nazism can never

agree to allow German militarism and revanchism a free hand and to create the preconditions for them to hurl Europe and the world again into a new slaughter. The conclusion of the peace treaty with Germany is a right which belongs to all countries of the anti-fascist coalition, and nobody can rob them of or deny them this right. By avoiding this question, the Soviet-German agreement violated the supreme interests of the German Democratic Republic, which are being bargained away in the deals being hatched up behind the back of the Democratic Republic by the diplomacy of the four great powers and Bonn. This was also clearly confirmed by the Berlin agreement, in which the concessions and compromises of the Kremlin chiefs put the German Democratic Republic in a position where it was grossly disregarded and humiliated.

It is true that the peoples of Europe aspire to and need security for their freedom, independence and normal development. But the security about which the Soviet revisionists have been clamouring recently is a false security. The peoples of Europe cannot agree to become accomplices of the two big imperialist powers against their own supreme interests, cannot agree to play the game of the two superpowers, which are concerned only about security for their spheres of influence and the subjection and domination of the European countries. The peoples do not expect true security from the two big imperialist powers, which are the authors of aggressions in Vietnam, the Middle East, Czechoslovakia, and elsewhere, which maintain their bases and occupation armies in many countries of Europe and trample underfoot the freedom and independence of sovereign peoples and countries.

In Europe there is the NATO bloc, which is an aggressive alliance dominated by the American imperialists and in which the revanchists of West Germany play a major

role. All along its aim has been to pursue the struggle against communism, suppress the revolution in Europe and guarantee American imperialist interests. There is also the Warsaw Treaty, which has been transformed into a machine for maintaining the domination of the Soviet revisionists over the member countries and into an aggressive force threatening the independence of other countries. Of what European security can we speak when these two blocs keep the peoples of this or that part of Europe under their heel, when they are the main pillars of the domination and dictate of the two superpowers. It is clear that so long as these two blocs exist in Europe, so long as the bases of the American and Soviet armies exist in the countries of Europe, there can never be true European security.

Our country got out of the Warsaw Treaty (2) and publicly denounced its aggressive policy and activity. With this just act we not only defended the freedom and independence of our Homeland, but also showed that the way to defend freedom and independence, the road of peace and international security goes through firm opposition to the hegemonic and enslaving policy of imperialism and revisionism.

We believe that the peoples of Europe can and will achieve their security only by strengthening their national independence and sovereignty, in resolute struggle against the hegemonic policy of the United States of America and the Soviet Union, against their efforts to preserve their military bases and spheres of influence in Europe, against the efforts to preserve this status quo and to direct the spearhead of the war towards Asia.

2 The decision of the Plenum of the CC of the PLA of September 5, 1968 to come out of the Warsaw Treaty and to denounce it, was sanctioned by a special law of the People's Assembly in its session of September 13, 1968.

The People's Republic of Albania, as a Mediterranean country, is interested in and fights for the Mediterranean basin to be a zone of peace and fruitful collaboration. It resolutely condemns the aggressive policy of the imperialist powers, and in the first place, of the United States of America and the Soviet Union, which, with their war fleets, are seriously threatening the freedom and independence of the Mediterranean countries. It is the duty of the freedom-loving countries and of all the progressive forces of the Mediterranean to demand the withdrawal of these fleets and to fight for this, to oppose any hegemonic policy in this part of the world. The Mediterranean belongs to the Mediterranean peoples and countries alone.

For a long time a big fuss has been made in the world about the problem of disarmament. This has been raised deliberately by the American imperialists and Soviet social-imperialists to lull the peoples to sleep, while they intensify their aggressive plans. The facts show that while the two superpowers have a great deal to say about disarmament, while they have held hundreds and thousands of meetings and have set up countless committees and commissions, they are continuing the armaments race at full speed. The United States of America and the Soviet Union have increased their military budgets as never before, have extended their military bases and the deployment of their striking forces to all the continents and seas, have concentrated their greatest and best technical and scientific forces on perfecting weapons of mass extermination, and so on.

Continuous arming is a condition of the existence of imperialism, which stems from the very character of the economic order and its aggressive policy. Therefore, so long as imperialist and social-imperialist states exist, there will never be disarmament in the world. The imperialists

and revisionists are arming and increasing their striking forces in order to occupy and redivide the world between them, to suppress the revolutions, to destroy the socialist countries, and to enslave the peoples. The purpose of their «efforts for disarmament» is to disarm the peoples, so that they can impose their domination over them more easily. On the other hand, this propaganda is a sop to the pacifist theoreticians and all the naive who live on hopes and outside the objective reality.

The armaments race which the two superpowers try to conduct by maintaining a balance between them is fraught with very dangerous consequences. They are preparing for aggressive wars, which they may unleash, separately or together, against other countries, or even against each other. In these conditions, not only local wars, which the imperialists and revisionists unleash continually, but also wars on a world scale, cannot be excluded. Indeed, for either aggressor the local wars prepare the ground for wars on a wider scale. They are tactical advances of the imperialists' aggressiveness in their strategy for a global imperialist war. This is also the aim of the conspiracies and putsches hatched up by the agencies of the imperialist and revisionist powers in various states without direct outside military intervention.

So long as the imperialists and social-imperialists are arming and preparing for aggressive wars, the socialist states cannot sit by with folded arms. Their arming is for the purpose of defending the socialist Homeland and opposing the policy of intervention, pressure and blackmail of imperialism and social-imperialism. It is directed against their attempts to violate the rights and freedom of the peoples and towards helping the other peoples to safeguard or win their freedom and national independence.

The peoples cannot fail to see that the aggressive

military groupings — the NATO, dominated by the US imperialists, and the Warsaw Treaty, dominated by the Soviet social-imperialists, constitute the main threat to peace and international security today. Under the pretext of defence from each other, the two superpowers are making the law in these treaties, dividing the spheres of influence, launching separate aggressions, or aiding other aggressors in their service. Taking advantage of the power of their groupings, they are further endangering the freedom and existence of peoples and states. The peoples throughout the world must look the situation straight in the eye, must expose this alarming state of affairs and make all those governments which are playing the game of the two superpowers answerable for their actions.

Responsibility for the aggressive actions of the two superpowers falls not only on their governments, but also on their peoples, just as it falls on the governments and the peoples of the partners in the respective military alliances. With regard to the aggression against Czechoslovakia, for example, responsibility rests not only on the Soviet social-imperialists who organized it, but also on the governments of the member states of the Warsaw Treaty which participated in this aggression, on the peoples of the Soviet Union, Poland, Democratic Germany, Bulgaria and Hungary who stood passive and permitted this barbarous act. The same can be said also of the direct and indirect aid which the partners of the USA give the American aggressors in Vietnam. Their partners justify their participation in NATO or the Warsaw Treaty, the alliance and friendship with the United States or with the Soviet Union, with the need for defence. But in this way they strengthen the superpowers, assist them to preserve and divide the spheres of influence, to apply the policy of hegemony, dictate, and aggression.

The more organized, extensive and powerful the

resistance and struggle of the peoples of the NATO countries and those of the Warsaw Treaty against the aggressive actions of the two superpowers and the governments which support them, the more difficult will it be for the aggressors to carry out their military adventures against the peoples.

Innumerable military manoeuvres are being carried out on the borders of Yugoslavia and Rumania by the Soviet Union, Hungary, Bulgaria and Czechoslovakia. It is clear that here we have to do with pressure, blackmail and threats, which, if not today, could turn into open aggression tomorrow. Do the peoples of the countries participating in these manoeuvres not see and feel what dangerous plans and plots are being hatched up? History will punish them severely, if they sit passive and leave the aggressors a free hand.

II

DEVELOPMENT OF THE ECONOMY AND THE TASKS OF THE PARTY

Comrades,

The 5th Congress set important tasks for the development of the economy and culture and for raising the well-being of the people. Under the guidance of the Party and with lofty revolutionary consciousness, our working class, cooperative peasantry and people's intelligentsia, accomplished all these major tasks with honour. Thus, a further important step has been taken towards the complete construction of socialism in our country.

The targets of the 4th Five-year Plan for overall industrial production and investments were achieved in 4 years and 7 months, while the workers of the city of Tirana achieved them in 4 years and 4 months. The level of industrial production set for 1970 was achieved as early as 1968. Such mighty projects as the «Vau i Dejës» hydro-power plant on the Drin River, the new oil-fields, the chemical fertilizer plants, the Rrogozhina-Fier railway, and others were added to our economy. More than 200 major projects were built and put into operation in industry, agriculture, transport and other branches of the economy. All these increased the potential of our economy, further consolidating the material-technical base of socialism.

Important, too, are the successes achieved in the socialist development of the countryside and agriculture. Proceeding on the course of intensification, our agriculture increased production from year to year, especially the yield rates of bread grain. In 1970, the average yield of grain was 17.3 quintals per hectare.⁽¹⁾ Such productivity had never been achieved before, even in the best seasons. A great leap forward was made in extending the area under irrigation and increasing the level of mechanization, the use of chemical fertilizers and selected seeds.

The 5th Congress launched the slogan, «Take to the hills and mountainsides, beautify them and make them as fertile as the plains». This directive opened new horizons for the development of agriculture and the flourishing of life even in the remote mountain regions. Within a short period, the collectivization was completed successfully in these regions, too. The plan for the breaking in of new land by the cooperativist peasantry in the preceding five-year period had been fulfilled and exceeded ahead of schedule. Bringing this land into use enabled many mountain villages to increase their grain production, to meet their own needs for bread grain through their own efforts and to sell the surplus to the state. This was the first victory on the road to turning the new prospects the Party opened to these regions into reality.

During the 4th Five-year Plan, many steps were taken to consolidate the socialist nature of economic and social relations. The entire system of management and planning of our economy was improved. In the countryside, by means of the voluntary union of the smaller cooperatives into larger ones, the socialization of property and labour was raised to a higher level. The cooperativists'

¹ In 1981, the average grain yield for the entire country was 26.6 quintals per hectare.

private plot was reduced, harmonizing the general interest with the personal interests of the members more correctly. The high salaries for party and state cadres were reduced, and the difference between them and the pay of other working people was reduced in conformity with the principles of socialism. Material interest was put into a more correct relationship with the moral incentives, while many material incentives which had become outdated or unnecessary were abolished altogether.

The self-sacrificing toil and struggle of the working masses for the development of the economy provided the essential basis which made possible the successful accomplishment of the tasks set in the 4th Five-year Plan for raising the well-being and cultural level of the people. In 1970, the national income was 55 per cent higher than in 1965, while real per capita income of population rose 17 per cent. The population was supplied better and uninterruptedly with the necessary commodities. A wide network of social and cultural services was set up in nearly every cooperative. The living standards of every rural and urban family were improved.

The extension of compulsory 8-grade schooling throughout the country was completed, making it possible to raise the general educational and cultural training of the youth to a higher level. But the most outstanding victory scored in the field of education was the program the Party put forward for the further revolutionization of the school. The implementation of this program has extraordinary importance for the sound revolutionary education of the younger generation and for the future of socialism in Albania.

The completion a year ahead of schedule of the great mass action, the electric reticulation of all the rural areas, is a brilliant and truly historic achievement of our socialist order, which brings into evidence the constant con-

cern of the Party and the state to bring about the all-round uplift and emancipation of our cooperativist countryside.

During the 4th Five-year Plan the state invested large funds in building dwelling-houses. But a very important factor which opened up new prospects of a radical improvement in meeting the housing needs of the workers of the towns and work centres was the outburst of the revolutionary initiative of the masses to build houses with the voluntary labour of the workers themselves. During the past five years a total of about 73,000 apartments and houses have been built in town and countryside. A great work of construction, in which the unity and socialist solidarity of our people was brilliantly expressed, was done to deal with the serious damage caused by the earthquakes which hit the Dibra and Tepelena districts. With the aid of the state and the contribution of the entire people, 1,600 new houses were built and about 11,000 were repaired in record time.

Our country is the only one in the world where the people pay no direct imposts and taxes. The complete abolition of taxation on the population is clear proof of the superiority of our socialist order over the capitalist order.

The results attained in the development of the economy and culture, in raising the well-being of the people and the consolidation of our social order, are outstanding victories of our socialist construction which rightly rejoice our Party and people, give them new revolutionary energy and courage to forge constantly ahead. They are clear testimony to the correctness of the consistent Marxist-Leninist line and policy which the Party has pursued, to that enthusiasm, mobilization at work, and to the lofty revolutionary spirit which characterize our working masses.

The five-year period which has just ended will go down in history as the period of the great people's ini-

tiatives and mass heroism, when the united forces of the people, under the leadership of our Party, have made the plains and mountains quake. This is the period when old and young rose to their feet, when revolutionary enthusiasm and drive swept the factories and villages, the schools and mines. It is the period of conscious heroes whom no obstacle, no difficulties or storm can turn back, whose supreme and sacred law is to perform their task, to fulfil the people's behest. This glorious period has given birth to such heroes as the young highlands girl Shkurte Pal Vata, the worker Adem Reka, the engineer Muhamet Shehu, the teacher Ismet Sali Bruçaj, the soldier Agron Elezi, and many others, who laid down their lives in the course of their duty for the ideals of the Party and the interests of the people. Their example and image epitomized the manly stand and boundless devotion which inspired the whole people.

In this irresistible revolutionary wave the marvellous initiatives of the masses and the spirit of mass actions burst out, and this gave a new content and impetus to the work in all sectors, which showed what colossal forces remain still unrecognized and unutilized within the ranks of the Party, the working class and the peasantry, the youth and the women, what inexhaustible strength our socialist order has.

Our people are modest, but they have a right to be proud of their sons and daughters who themselves build factories and install in them the world's latest know-how, who man up-to-date ships plying the oceans, who build such technically complicated projects as the «Vau i Dejës» hydropower station so well and in so short a time. They have a right to be proud of their new men who, with exemplary courage, tackle scientific and technical problems, overturn the academic norms and leave behind even the most optimistic expectations.

This unprecedented revolutionary enthusiasm, this mass heroism and this lofty spirit of initiative have not fallen like manna from heaven. They stem from that heroic and unprecedented struggle the Party and the people have waged to break the blockade imposed by the imperialists and revisionists, from the ardent patriotism and unshakeable confidence of the people in their own strength, in the certainty of the future that socialism is hammering out, in the life-giving impulse which the teachings of the Party inspire. Only a great perspective gives rise to great courage; only deep-rooted ideological convictions can work wonders. We must preserve and further develop these great moral attributes we have acquired. We must strive with all our might to keep them always vigorous and unsullied, to make them a driving force in successfully accomplishing the major tasks that lie ahead of us.

The great victories achieved in all fields of socialist construction, the experience accumulated, and the enthusiasm and lofty revolutionary spirit of the working masses, constitute that powerful foundation on which the whole economic and social development of the country during the 5th Five-year Plan will be based. The main targets of the plan which this Congress will approve stem from the continuation of the complete construction of socialist society, from the stage achieved and the prospects for the development of the economy.

Our economy has reached a new and higher quantitative and qualitative level. The further development of industry is characterized by a large volume of production and, especially, by the setting up of new branches of the heavy processing industry. Big complex enterprises with advanced equipment and technology have been set up. Wherever handicraft methods of production are still in use, the task has been put forward of going over to in-

dustrial methods of production. The new achievements of science and technology are being introduced gradually into all branches of the economy. Agriculture is continuously progressing on the road to intensification.

All this shows that our economy is entering a new stage, that its further development requires a better harmonization between extension and intensification, as well as the solution of problems arising from this harmonization. In these conditions it becomes essential that the entire development of the economy, its management and organization should be put on a firmer scientific basis.

In conformity with the fundamental guidelines of the policy of the Party regarding the complete construction of socialist society, the main task for the development of our economy during the 5th five-year period will be:

To ensure the general strengthening of our people's economy on the road to turning Albania from an agricultural-industrial country into an industrial-agricultural one, with a view to raising the level of self-sufficiency of our economy, further strengthening the socialist order, raising the material well-being and cultural level of the people, while reducing the essential differences between town and countryside in particular, and increasing the defence potential of the country.

For this, it is necessary:

To strive for a further development of industry by improving its structure with new branches and productions, especially of the heavy processing industry, to expand the energy and raw materials base, and to utilize the resources and assets of the country more rationally;

To attain a larger increase in the output of agriculture by further intensifying it on the basis of strengthening the scientific organization and management of production and increasing the power of the material technical base of agriculture;

To rapidly develop technical-scientific progress in all the branches of our people's economy, to constantly improve the socialist relations of production, to deepen the socialist revolution in the field of ideology and culture, to resolutely apply the principle of self-reliance.

The new five-year plan was drawn up by the working masses themselves on the basis of the directives and orientations of the Party and Government. The working class, cooperative peasantry, specialists and technicians, cadres from the grassroots and the centre, all together, took part in the discussions more vigorously than ever before and set the targets for the 5th Five-year Plan. Their lofty revolutionary spirit, creative thought, rich experience, self-reliance and profound sense of responsibility for the fate of the Homeland and socialism are embodied in the draft-directives submitted to this Congress on the development of the economy and culture for the years 1971-1975.

During this five-year period, industry, as always, will play the vanguard role in developing the forces of production. Total industrial production in 1975 is expected to increase 61-66 per cent above that of 1970. This means that industrial production in 1975 alone will be 12 per cent greater than that realized during the entire 2nd Five-year Plan, 1956-1960. This fact alone is sufficient to refute the banal slanders of the Soviet revisionists that our economy has allegedly been at a standstill since they cut off their aid.

During this five-year period our objective will be to strengthen our extracting and heavy processing industry, in particular, to further modernize it and raise it to a higher level. To this end a series of new projects will be built with technological processes and proportions of production without precedent in our economy. They include: the ferrous metallurgical combine with a full production cycle, the plant for the deep processing of oil, the big

mines for the extraction of iron-nickel, chromium and coal, the Fierza Hydro-power plant, the mineral enrichment factories and others. Cast iron and steel, nickel, cobalt, sheet metal, tubes, high quality liquid fuels, liquified gas, urea, hydrochloric acid and so on will be produced for the first time. As a result of this development, the working class will be increased and its technical-professional level and its leading role in the entire life of the country enhanced.

Great prospects are opened in the new five-year plan, also, for the development of our socialist agriculture. By 1975 total agricultural production will be 65-69 per cent greater than that of 1970, or about 3 times greater than in 1960. The production of bread grain, milk, meat, eggs, vegetables and industrial crops will be increased. The number of fruit-trees will be about 23 per cent greater. By building important land improvement and irrigation projects, especially in the mountainous zones, about 58 per cent of the arable land of the country will be brought under irrigation. The number of tractors employed in 1975, calculated in 15 HP units, will be about 40 per cent higher than in 1970, or 3.5 times higher than in 1960. It is envisaged that the needs of agriculture for chemical fertilizers and mechanized means, for selected seeds and breeds of livestock of high productivity will be met better than ever before. During this five-year period, thousands of middle and higher specialists will be trained for this very important sector of our economy.

A vast program of capital constructions will include all fields of social activity. The investments allocated for the 5th Five-year Plan are equal to the total investments made during the past eleven years (1960-1970) taken together. The value of construction-installation work for the two major projects, the metallurgical combine and the Fierza hydro-power station alone almost equals the total investments made during the 1st Five-year Plan, or about

50 per cent of those of the 2nd Five-year Plan. Altogether, about 270 economic and socio-cultural projects will be built.

The revolutionization of our school will be accompanied by a further extension of secondary and higher education. One in every three persons of the population will attend school of all categories. During the coming five years about 20,000 specialists with higher education, or 33 per cent more than during the past 26 years since the establishment of the people's state power to 1970, will be trained. All our socialist construction in every field will be intensified under the banner of a wider use of knowledge and scientific research.

The complex and dynamic development, which our economy will undergo, will bring about, as always, the raising of the material and cultural well-being of the working people of town and countryside. The life of our brave and hard-working people will become more beautiful, happy and joyful. Suffice it to mention that the apartments and houses which will be built during the 5th Five-year Plan will accommodate a population equal to the present populations of the cities of Korça, Elbasan, Shkodra, Durrës, Vlora, Berat, Fier and Lushnja, taken together.

Consistently pursuing the correct policy of creating a powerful national industry, in this period the main objective of our industrialization will be utilization of the natural resources of the country on a wider scale and with a greater economic effect, with the aim of fulfilling the greatest and most urgent needs for extended reproduction. In line with this orientation, the development of heavy and light, extracting and processing industries, will be continued simultaneously, in the proper proportions according to our needs and possibilities, always in harmony with the development of agriculture in particular and other branches of our economy in general.

In the implementation of this general orientation, stage by stage, the main task of our industrialization remains the expansion and improvement of the structure of industrial production. This is precisely why our industrialization during the 5th Five-year Plan will continue with the development of the existing branches and the setting up of new branches of the heavy processing industry.

The establishment, for the first time, of the ferrous metallurgical industry is of exceptional importance to our whole economy. The metallurgical combine which will be built in Elbasan, a gigantic undertaking which will strengthen the independence and self-sufficiency of our economy, will ensure within the country the raw materials essential to the development of the engineering industry, and to its eventual transition to a machine-building industry, greatly strengthening the material base of construction work.

In the complex development of industry, priority during this five-year period, too, will be given to the branches of industry extracting minerals and fuels. This will be done for the purpose of extending the raw materials base for metallurgy and for the chemical industry, with the purpose of increasing exports of minerals, as well as of strengthening the energy base which is so necessary for industry itself and for our people's economy as a whole.

As in the past, great attention will be given to increasing the production of electric power. The development of the electric power industry must precede the development of other industries and all the other branches of the economy. Therefore, its rate of development must be higher than the rate of increase of total industrial production. This course is dictated by the need to supply labour with more power as an essential condition for applying new technique, lightening the burden of labour and increasing its productivity in all branches of the economy.

The engineering industry must play a special role in strengthening the technical base of industry itself and of the other branches of our economy. Its primary task has been and still is to ensure that the machinery and equipment which our economy has at its disposal is kept in good order and works without interruption and with high productivity. The other equally important and urgent aspect of the main task of our engineering industry is to greatly and continuously improve the quality of the spare parts produced. However much the volume of production of this branch may increase, if the quality of these products is not raised to a higher level, the burden on our economy of importing spare parts will not be eased.

In the conditions when steel, rolled metal and cast iron are to be produced locally, when the question is raised of giving a further impulse to technical and scientific progress, great new prospects are opened to this branch of industry. It must not, restrict itself simply to the production of spare parts, but the time has come for it to go boldly into the production of machines as well. This has become an urgent need for our economy, which must be dealt with step by step, with determination, in line with the new possibilities which will be created. In this very important but complicated question, we must start, first of all, with those machines, mechanisms and items of equipment which our economy needs most, which can be produced in series, and which ease the burden of imports.

For the engineering industry to respond better to its present and future tasks it is necessary to go further in the specialization and co-operation of production. Regarding this problem, the 3rd Plenum of the CC has drawn up a detailed, long-term program of action.

The development and structure of industry have always been closely linked with the needs of other bran-

ches of our economy. This has made it possible to preserve the balance between the development of both industry and agriculture, so that industry directly serves the development of agriculture. Proceeding on this correct and tested course, the development of industry during the 5th Five-year Plan will be more closely linked with the needs of agriculture for its further modernization and intensification. To this end, it is planned to increase the production of chemical fertilizers and to greatly expand the production of chemicals used in fighting plant pests and diseases. Besides this, the production of spare parts for tractors will be doubled, the production of new agricultural machinery and equipment will be undertaken, measures will be taken to prepare more processed stock foods, to increase the means of transport and other materials of reproduction which agriculture needs. All this will be a major contribution which our socialist industry will make to the development of agriculture.

Although the main labour and financial resources and material means will be used during this five-year period, too, for the development of heavy industry, no excesses which might impair or slow the development of light industry will be allowed. In deciding the proportions between heavy and light industries, priority will be given to heavy industry. This has been and remains a correct and unshakeable principle for the development of our industry.

THE MAIN DIRECTIONS OF OUR PARTY'S POLICY FOR THE DEVELOPMENT OF AGRICULTURE

Although the aim is to turn socialist Albania into an industrial country, agriculture still remains the basic branch of our economy. The basing of our national econ-

omy firmly on both industry and agriculture is a permanent principle, an indispensable condition for its rapid and harmonious development, for raising the level of its self-sufficiency. For this reason the Party's policy for the development of agriculture has always had the aim that the deepening of the socialist revolution in the countryside must necessarily lead to the development of the forces of production in agriculture as well.

And indeed, every year that passes is an ever better testimony to the correctness of the Marxist-Leninist policy of our Party in this field, too. The socialist order has now triumphed completely in our countryside and in the entire life of our peasantry, and its economic and social relations, its mentality and psychology are being ceaselessly transformed on a revolutionary basis. Agriculture has made great and all-round progress.

The main objective, the basic task of agriculture during the 5th five-year period, too, remains to increase production of bread grain. To this end it is essential to ensure that bread grain production becomes as stable as possible and increases at a high rate from one year to another.

While concentrating our forces and means to increase bread grain production, we must fight no less to develop the other branches of agriculture, industrial crops and animal husbandry, vegetable and fruit-growing.

In order to accomplish the great task facing agriculture successfully, it is essential to continue the correct course towards its further intensification. To this end, during the 5th five-year period, large and all-round investments will be made, not only in the lowlands, but also in the mountain zones. The objective of this is to achieve such increased yield rates in field crops and livestock products as to ensure the overwhelming bulk of the increase which total agricultural production will achieve during this five-year period.

The development and intensification of agriculture will, of course, be greater in the plains. At the same time, attention and efforts to promote the development of agriculture in the mountain zones, too, will be increased. Along with the intensification of agriculture, the breaking in of virgin land is a permanent task for us so long as there are areas of land that could be worked and become productive.

The breaking in of virgin land and the intensification of agriculture require, above all, a higher level of mechanization of the work processes. Without complex mechanization of the work everywhere, both in the plains and in the mountains, our agriculture will not be able to achieve the results required of it and the co-operativists will be unable to completely revolutionize their concepts about work and modern agriculture. To this end we must strive for the greatest possible mechanization of the work processes in agriculture.

To accomplish the tasks of raising the cooperatives to the level of up-to-date economies, it is essential that they advance further in their specialization. Our agriculture cannot develop successfully with «mosaic» economies which plant all kinds of crops and raise all kinds of livestock. Nor should it have a narrow, one-sided specialization. It needs a specialization which will allow a more correct, more rational concentration and distribution of agricultural crops and livestock, both among the different districts and among the cooperatives of the same district. The final goal of specialization in our agriculture is to increase agricultural and livestock products in ever greater proportions, while continually reducing social expenditure per unit of production. The specialization of each agricultural cooperative or district must be supported with economic arguments, must be prepared from all aspects and must not be done hastily.

In the context of specialization, the solution of the problems connected with the modernization of animal husbandry requires special attention.

The complex tasks put forward for turning the co-operatives into economies of high productivity cannot be successfully accomplished without placing all our agriculture on a broader and more profound scientific basis. The time has come for the work of the cooperativists to be combined better and more closely with scientific knowledge, for science to be introduced to a greater extent in all branches of agriculture, for strengthening the discipline of scientific agronomy, for carrying out its requirements at the proper time and to the letter in every process of production. Therefore, our Party calls on the workers, cooperative members, specialists and all the leaders of agricultural economies to persistently study and apply zealously the conclusions of science and agricultural technique.

The accomplishment of the many great tasks in agriculture absolutely demands that every able-bodied person in the countryside, man or woman, boy or girl, work the whole year round, in summer and winter, in good or bad weather. It is essential, likewise, that every job in agriculture should be done with strict socialist discipline, not permitting the loss of even one working hour. Everywhere and at all times work should be done on the basis of well-established norms, based on scientific criteria and on advanced experience which will serve to gauge the amount of work done with the same accuracy as in industry.

At the present stage of the complete construction of socialism, we must further intensify the work to reduce the essential differences between village and town. Major results have been achieved in this direction, but they must be carried further, firmly based on the real situation

of our countryside, on our specific national characteristics and economic possibilities.

The Central Committee of the Party has reached the conclusion that the present economically strong cooperatives of the plains should be turned into cooperatives of a higher type, with the state taking a direct part in them with non-repayable social means. These cooperatives will still be the collective property of the group, while the state will assist them to make capital investments in proportions bigger than their indivisible funds permit and will provide them with more machinery, pedigree livestock, selected seeds, and so on. Although the relations of distribution resulting from the property of the group will be retained in these cooperatives and the members will keep their individual plots, the forms of management, organization of the work and payment will be similar to or identical with those of the state farms. The cooperative members will be paid according to their work with a guaranteed wage based on the income of the cooperative.

The setting up of cooperatives of the higher type is of major theoretical and practical significance for the present and the future of our socialist agriculture, for the complete construction of socialism in the countryside. The immediate aim of this measure is to achieve a more rapid development of agriculture in our country's most fertile plains and to ensure a stable increase of production of those agricultural and livestock products of which our people's economy stands in greatest need. On the other hand, these cooperatives will represent a higher level of the socialization of the property of the group, bringing it closer to the property of the whole people. Later life, the revolutionary practice of our socialist construction, will show us the other stages through which this process will have to pass later, will indicate the measures that must be taken to gradually eliminate those

differences which exist today between these two forms of socialist property.

Our Party has always considered the improvement of life in the countryside as a matter of principle of primary importance for strengthening the alliance between the working class and the peasantry, for reducing the differences between town and countryside, and for improving the general well-being of the people. It has always regarded any stand which does not take into account the needs and interests of the peasantry as an unconscious hangover of the underestimation of the countryside, as a manifestation of bourgeois ideology.

Resolutely pursuing the correct Marxist-Leninist course of economic links between the state and the agricultural cooperatives, the system of compulsory deliveries of bread grain to the state has been abolished and the system of voluntary deliveries, with a price differential between the mountain zones and the plains, has been established. It has been decided also that industrial products which are used for reproduction in agriculture are to be sold to the cooperatives at the same prices as to the state farms. In order to bring the living conditions in the countryside closer to those in the town, the supplying of the rural areas with industrial and food products will be improved. The needs of the rural areas for education, culture and health services, will be met from social funds to a greater extent than hitherto. A major victory of our socialist order is the establishment of the system of pensions for all the cooperative members, using the funds of the state and of the cooperatives themselves. This measure is of great political, economic and social importance to our working peasantry. This is a further step forward in improving the well-being of our cooperative workers, towards bringing the living conditions in the countryside nearer to those in the

towns, and will serve as a powerful stimulus to the progress of agriculture and our socialist countryside.

FURTHER IMPROVE THE MANAGEMENT OF THE ECONOMY

The stage reached in the socialist construction and the new tasks before us call for further improvement of the organization and management of the economy, putting them on a sounder scientific basis. Though this problem is neither new nor unknown, today it constitutes one of the fundamental links we must seize on to give a further powerful impulse to the development of our whole economy.

What are the main problems that should attract our attention most for better management of the economy at the new stage of its development? They are: the raising of the managerial work of the economic organs to a higher level, putting it on a sounder scientific basis; the improvement of the methods of management of production on the basis of a deeper knowledge of economic laws; the further extension of the participation of the working masses in the administration of the economy.

Further improvement of the management of the economy requires, first and foremost, that the organizing role of the state must be strengthened, raising it to the level of the new tasks. Today, the tasks of the state organs which run our economy have increased and become more complicated and complex. Any reduction of them, as sometimes happens, to the management of operative problems only, is one-sided and has harmful consequences.

The state organs and their cadres cannot run our economy effectively without being engaged to a greater

extent and more profoundly in analysis and concretization of the economic policy of the Party, its directives and orientations, without seeking and finding the best and most effective ways of putting them into practice. It is essential that in their work they pay more attention than hitherto to the study, both immediate and long-term, of fundamental problems which have to do with the socio-economic development of our country.

The need to improve the management of the economy has raised the question of strengthening the scientific character of our planning as an acute current issue. The solution of many economic and social problems in the stage of the complete construction of socialist society requires more than one five-year plan. Therefore, parallel with five-year planning, we should draw up longer-term forecast plans. The main objective of these plans should be to foresee the main directions of the development of the economy as a whole, of its individual branches, and of the most important kinds of industrial and agricultural products, the directions of the development of education, culture, science, etc.

For the five-year or longer-term plans of economic development to be as realistic as possible, our social needs must be very carefully assessed on the basis of systematic, detailed, all-sided observations, studies, analyses and generalizations, in different variants, and technical, economic and financial calculations. The purpose of all this is to enable the Party and state organs to select the optimal variant.

Strengthening the scientific character of planning dictates the need for wider use than hitherto of the recognized analytical methods of comparison, setting standards and balancing results. In addition efforts should be made, also, to introduce the use of new methods which are based on mathematics, programming, and modern

computer technique into the practice of planning and economic calculations.

The present level of development of our economic enterprises raises the need to achieve a better combination of the methods of administrative management with the methods of economic management of production. For this it is essential that the objective economic laws of socialism should be known and consciously applied.

III

STRENGTHENING THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT AND THE FURTHER DEVELOPMENT OF SOCIALIST DEMOCRACY

Comrades,

The question of state power, of the dictatorship of the proletariat, has been a key issue of the revolution and will remain so until the victory of communism is achieved. Whatever the field in which the class struggle between the two roads — socialist and capitalist, is waged, whether political or economic, ideological, cultural or military, it is, in the final account, a struggle over the question of whether the dictatorship of the proletariat will be preserved and strengthened, or will degenerate and be overthrown as occurred in the Soviet Union and some other countries. Our Party always bears in mind this vital teaching of Marxism-Leninism, which life has fully confirmed.

The years that have elapsed since the 5th Congress of the Party are years of all-round struggle by the Party, the working class and the whole people, for the further development of the socialist revolution in the political field, too. This has been a struggle to preserve, strengthen and perfect the dictatorship of the proletariat, to purge it of traces and influences of the old society, to avoid the danger of its revisionist-bourgeois degeneration, and to enhance the active role of the state in all

spheres of the complete construction of socialist society.

All this struggle has been spearheaded against bureaucracy, for the further development of socialist democracy. Its results can be seen and felt in all fields of our national life. The links of the state with the masses have been further strengthened and extended. The state apparatus has been freed from a considerable bureaucratic burden, has become more efficient in its functioning and has been brought closer to the base and its problems. The initiative and self-activation of the masses, their interest and active participation in state affairs have increased as never before. The control of the working people, and of the working class in the first place, over the apparatus and the leaders, over the whole life of the country, has become a powerful and effective means to improve matters in all directions. Relations between the cadres and the masses have been put on a more correct basis, a thing which has further strengthened the mutual confidence and close collaboration between them. The work of the elected state organs at all levels has been greatly enlivened, and these bodies are exercising their competences and control over the executive organs and administrations better and better. A more correct concept of these matters has been created and a heavy blow has been struck at bureaucratic, intellectualist and technocratic concepts and practices.

Our experience, and especially that accumulated in these recent years of vigorous political life full of originality, has shown that, provided there is correct leadership by the Party, the dictatorship of the proletariat can withstand all tests and perform its historic mission successfully.

However, we are conscious that the results achieved in the implementation of the orientations issued and measures adopted by the Party have not eliminated all

the dangers once and for all. The fight against bureaucracy and all its manifestations, as one of the most important expressions of the class struggle in the conditions of socialism, remains a permanent task of the Party, the socialist state and all the working people. It must be said that in practice, in many cases, this question is not understood in all its seriousness. Herein, lies the source of the fact that in the struggle for the implementation of the orientations of the Party we continually run up against inhibiting concepts, conservatism and bureaucratic resistance, have frequently encountered formalism, and this shows that the essence of bureaucratic distortions has not been thoroughly understood, and the fight against these distortions is often simplified and reduced to attacking certain partial manifestations and side issues.

Therefore, the party organizations and the state organs must focus their attention on the struggle against bureaucracy, must strengthen their educational work, and be continuously seeking ways and means which should be used to carry this fight through to the end, while resolutely smashing the obstacles and restrictive trends, whenever and in whatever form they may appear.

This fight is of vital importance to the future of the dictatorship of the proletariat, because bureaucracy is a great and deep-rooted evil. As the negative experience of the Soviet Union and of some other countries showed, bureaucracy leads to the separation of the state from the masses of the people, to placing the leading organs and cadres above the masses and beyond their control, to the erosion of the socialist democracy, to the creation of bureaucratic centralism and to degeneration of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The universal road to the strengthening of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the entire socialist order is the development of the democracy of the masses. With-

out socialist democracy there is no dictatorship of the proletariat, just as there can be no real democracy for the working people without the dictatorship of the proletariat. Under the guise of extending democracy, the Khrushchevite revisionists liquidated the dictatorship of the proletariat and in its place they have established their bureaucratic dictatorship, as a weapon of the domination of the new bourgeois class over the working masses. Just as in the classical bourgeois countries, the so-called democracy in the countries ruled by the revisionists is a privilege of the exploiting minority and a shameless fraud for the masses of the people.

The broadest possible involvement of the masses in running our country has been and remains the unwavering line in all the activity of the Party of Labour and our proletarian state for the building of socialism. We consider this participation as the main direction for deepening our socialist democracy in action, as an indispensable condition to ensure the experience of the broad working masses in the construction of socialism, to multiply the strength of the state apparatus of the dictatorship of the proletariat, to make the working people ever more conscious that they themselves are the absolute masters of the country, that they must have their decisive say about everything.

In addition to a great deal of educational and explanatory work by the Party, the arming of all the citizens with such conception of their role and place in political and social life, training them to play this role properly, has required and still requires many practical measures in order to create the necessary conditions for the working people to participate in the exercise of state power on the broadest possible scale, so that the adoption and implementation of decisions is brought more and more under their direct judgement and control.

From this viewpoint the implementation of the method of consulting the masses, of listening to them, of relying on them, which has already become an integral part of our practice, must be developed and deepened unceasingly. It would be a mistake to become self-complacent and remain at the point we have reached. It is essential that we continue our efforts even more persistently to overcome any obstacle that restricts the effective participation of the masses in the management of the affairs of society and inhibits their creative initiative. We must invigorate and further enrich the forms of democracy. In particular, we must enhance the role of the mass organizations as important centres of the organization of the working people, as tribunes of their voice and their revolutionary self-activation.

Firm reliance on the masses for the verification of the correctness of decisions in the vigorous practice of life is especially important. Continuous verification, ceaseless critical and self-critical re-examination of all previous work and experience in every sphere of activity, with a view to preserving and developing what is soundly based and changing what is not justified by practice or that life has outstripped and left behind, with a view to finding new ways and means for the solution of problems — this constitutes a law of the socialist revolution, which, as Karl Marx said, is invincible because it constantly criticizes itself.

This method is incompatible with the bureaucratic and conservative tendencies to make a fetish of everything issued by the apparatus, with petrified schemes and practices which no longer respond to the new tasks and conditions, which are out of step with the great revolutionizing ideas of the Party and become obstacles to putting them into practice. We must devote serious attention to this question because, as Lenin teaches us,

the contradictions between the new and the old in the development of the revolution manifest themselves with special force and are preserved for a long time in this field.

«In the whole field of social, economic and political relations,» Lenin writes, *«we are 'terribly' revolutionary. But in the field of hierarchy, of observing the administrative forms and procedure, our 'revolutionism' is nearly always replaced by the mouldiest routine. Here a very interesting phenomenon can often be observed: how in social life the greatest leap forward is associated with the most monstrous fear of the smallest of changes.»**

The party organizations, the cadres, and all the working people must always be dialectical revolutionaries, they must look reality right in the eye in its uninterrupted development, must canonize nothing, must not fear change, but must courageously advance beyond everything obsolete in the concepts, methods, laws, forms of organization and management.

The checkup by the masses from below, as an important matter of principle and one of the main aspects of the development of socialist democracy, has been constantly in the centre of attention of the Party. However, the deepening and improvement of it in the most suitable forms always remains a current, primary task.

The direct control by the working class is decisive in socialist democracy. The worker control from below is a necessity and a basic principle of social life during the whole historical period of socialism. This control, which is carried out under the leadership of the Party,

* V. I. Lenin, Selected Works, vol. 2, p. 925, Tirana 1958 (Alb. ed.)

is one of the concrete expressions of the leading role of the working class and of proletarian democracy in action. It constitutes a sharp weapon in the fight against bureaucracy and alien influences in social life and in the consciousness of the working people, a very effective form of the proletarian education of the working class itself, and is a powerful incitement to carry socialist construction forward. We regard the worker control as one of the fundamental guarantees to avert the danger of revisionism and turning back to capitalism.

Our practice of the direct control by the working class is being confirmed by life. In the period since the 5th Congress of the Party, the implementation of the worker control has led to a further growth and enlivenment of the revolutionary activity of the working class in all fields. The role of the working masses in the solution of various problems has increased appreciably, their interest and sense of responsibility in regard to the affairs of the enterprise and the life of the country in general has greatly increased and the spirit of criticism and self-criticism towards alien manifestations has been strengthened.

The worker control is a long process of struggle against various bureaucratic trends which strive to restrict it, curb it and place it under tutelage, against fear, doubts and equivocation in its application. Further perfection of it requires that everyone understands it as an indisputable right of the working class to preserve and strengthen the dictatorship of the proletariat and the socialist order. It is the control of the working class over the entire activity of the organs and organizations of the Party, state and the economy, the apparatuses and cadres, which extends over everything and everybody, in both town and countryside. The worker control is not an administrative checkup on minor, superficial matters of the moment. It is an expression of the opinion and stand

of the working class on the key political, economic and social problems.

The party organizations, the trade-unions, and the workers themselves ought to be continually seeking ways of enlivening the existing forms and finding new ones, swift-acting and effective in the exercise of the worker control. Rigid frameworks and petrified forms cripple and paralyze it.

The purpose of the worker control is not just to observe and record, but to settle and carry through to the end the questions it raises. It is a duty of all, of the party organizations, of the state organs and of the organizations of the masses, to fight persistently to ensure that the criticisms and proposals made by the workers are carried into effect, and that the problems which emerge from the worker control are solved rapidly and with the greatest seriousness. This is indispensable to ensure the development of the revolutionary opinion, action, and active participation of the workers in the affairs of the state, for the encouragement of their initiative and for the further development of the worker control itself.

It is especially important that the working class itself, first of all, understands not only its role as the decisive productive force, but also its political role as the vanguard class in our society. With its struggle, stand and example, it draws in behind itself the whole mass of the remainder of the population, introduces in everybody the proletarian spirit, discipline and culture in work and life. In order to live up to this mission it is indispensable that the worker control should develop also as self-control of the working class, as criticism and self-criticism in its ranks, as a persistent struggle against manifestations of self-complacency, indifference and hankering after narrow personal interest, against any spirit complying with the phenomena which hinder our advance.

The worker control is an inseparable component part of the control of the masses over the activity of the state organs and the economic, cultural and educational organizations of town and countryside. The exercise of this control is a right of and a duty for everybody: the peasant on the cooperative farm, the student at school, the intellectual in his sphere of activity, and every citizen in the whole of social life.

With a view to opening a wide vista to the control by the masses and creating the most suitable conditions for it, it is necessary that the working people should be continually informed of the activity of the state and social organisms and institutions. Control by the masses becomes possible and is facilitated the more the struggle is waged against the tendencies of the state and social apparatuses and organs to adopt forms of work behind closed doors, and the more publicity is given to their activities, which must be as open as possible and easily controllable by the working people. The ever better acquaintance of the broad masses of the working people with the mechanisms of socialist social life, with the laws of the state, and the rendering of account before the masses, as a permanent method of the functioning of the whole of our system of the dictatorship of the proletariat, also constitute indispensable conditions for the exercise of control by the masses. It is up to the press, which has the duty to keep the masses well informed about the situation and the problems, to promote criticism, and to become, to a more marked degree, a tribune for the active thrashing out of ideas, for the profound reflection and summing up of the experience of the masses in the socialist construction, to play a more active role in this direction.

In the fight against bureaucracy and for the strengthening of the dictatorship of the proletariat the relations

between the cadres and the masses are of prime importance. The negative experience of the revisionist countries shows that when incorrect relations are established between the cadres and the masses, when the cadres cut themselves off from the life and struggle of the masses, when they are not subject to the control by the masses, when the cadres are given unlawful privileges and favours, they become bureaucratized and degenerate, and their relations with the masses are changed into relations of domination and submission.

Since the 5th Congress especially, our Party and our people's power, enlightened by the teachings of Marxism-Leninism, have adopted a series of radical political, ideological and economic measures for the improvement of relations between the cadres and the masses so that the cadres will always remain consistent revolutionaries and devoted servants of the people. The systematic circulation of cadres from leading posts to the base and from administration to production and vice-versa has been established. Now about 56 per cent of the principal cadres of the central and local apparatus and 50 per cent of all the cadres of the apparatus and administration have been less than 5 years in these positions. The participation in manual work of the cadres and all those engaged in mental work has been applied on sounder criteria. At the same-time, adjustments have been made in the pay of cadres, to prevent disproportion between their standard of living and that of the working masses. We have also aimed our efforts to ensure that the ideo-political, educational-cultural and technical-professional training of the cadres should not be done separately from the uninterrupted raising of the general level of the broad strata of working masses. These measures, along with the extensive educational work of the Party, serve to combat manifestations of bureaucracy and careerism in the cadres, to strengthen

and deepen their ties with the workers and peasants, to combat and eradicate the influences of the intellectualist concepts of under-estimation and disdain for the masses, to bar the way to the revival of dangerous feelings of conceit, subjectivism, etc.

Our Party remains constantly concerned with the problem that all the cadres should be developed and tempered as revolutionaries, should think and work as such till the end of their lives. Socialism does not need bureaucrats and technocrats who believe only in their own «genius», in technology, in the power of decrees, but needs cadres who merge themselves and live with the masses, who think and feel in the same way as the working class and cooperativist peasantry. In the line of the Party, in the majestic work and inner world of the working class and cooperativist peasants the cadres will always find strength and inspiration.

In order to carry further the experience gained in the relations between the cadres and the masses, it is necessary to combat any subjectivist, departmentalist or localist attitudes, as well as the petty-bourgeois attitudes of some cadres, so that the circulation and direct work in production will be understood as a measure of educational and ideological importance and not as an aim in itself, that it is understood as a measure for the continuous revolutionization of the cadres themselves and of various organs and apparatuses.

The Party devotes special attention to the principle that the cadres of every instance and level should be subordinate in two directions: to the organs of the Party and the proletarian state from above, and also directly to the working masses from below. Adhering to this principle, it is necessary that in the future we combat any tendency towards fetishising existing staff establishments and work behind closed doors, so that the voice, the opin-

ion and the appraisal of the masses about the cadres and their activity will be heard ever more forcefully.

For the further deepening of democracy and enhancement of the role of the masses, in the period between the two congresses, special attention has been paid to the strengthening and improvement of the work of the elected organs of the people's power. In this direction, an important role was played by the recent elections to the People's Assembly and people's councils, which were, to a considerable degree, renewed with capable, revolutionary young people, closely linked with the masses.

Despite the results achieved, a great deal still remains to be done to ensure that the people's councils of every level, as direct representatives of the working people in power, can perform the functions entrusted to them, avoid any manifestation of formalism in their work, and prevent any bit of usurpation of their role by the executive organs, administrations, or economic organizations. We must not allow anyone to disregard the elected representatives of the people and the problems they raise. What the deputy or councillor has to say must be listened to with attention and respect.

The further improvement of the work of the executive organs is connected with the stern struggle against manifestations of bureaucracy, technocratism and shallow practicalism in the style and method of their activity, and with the constant strengthening of their links with the masses. Never for a moment must we forget that the evil of bureaucracy takes root, in the first place and above all, in the executive organs and administrative apparatuses. The vigilance of the party organizations, of the cadres who work there themselves and the working masses, is a sharp weapon to successfully combat and nip in the bud any bureaucratic tendency or distortion.

The measures that have been adopted recently for

a more correct distribution of competences have relieved the central organs of excessive burdens and of an unnecessary piling up of many affairs in their hands. In particular, this has enhanced the responsibility and initiative of the people's power at the base.

Bearing in mind the vigorous development in breadth and depth of the economy and culture, the increase in numbers, and the constant elevation of the level of the cadres and the growth of the participation of the masses in all aspects of social and economic life, tendencies to codifying everything from above, to tutelage over the lower organs, would be anachronistic and harmful. The proletarian centralism in our country rests on unshakeable foundations, for it is based on the single Marxist-Leninist line of the Party, on the unified laws governing all social and state relations, on the unified plan for the development of the socialist economy and culture, on the centralized use of financial means through the state budget, on the unified price policy, on the unified and centralized pay system, on the state monopoly of foreign trade, etc. Therefore, there is no reason to fear that with the development of initiative and self-activation of the base, with the extension of its competences, centralism will be violated.

VI

MARXISM-LENINISM — AN EVER YOUNG AND SCIENTIFIC DOCTRINE

The struggle against the most dangerous anti-Marxist trend, Soviet-led modern revisionism, has been constantly in the centre of the attention of the Party. Conscious of the historic necessity for this struggle, our Party has exposed the anti-Marxist views and theses and the counter-revolutionary activity, demagoguery and deceitful tactics of the Khrushchevite revisionists. It has fought resolutely to tear the masks from them one after another, to reveal their traitorous, social-imperialist face.

From the very beginning of the great polemic with the modern revisionists, the Party of Labour of Albania and the genuine Marxist-Leninists had warned that their departure from the principled positions of Marxism-Leninism would lead them into the lap of the bourgeoisie and capitalism, to the side of the counter-revolution. Life fully confirmed this forecast.

As a logical result of the development of betrayal, revisionism, which was born as an opportunist, anti-Marxist trend in the ranks of the communist movement, has now been transformed into a bourgeois trend in the labour movement, a trend identical with social-democracy. In the countries where the revisionists came to power the state has been turned into a bourgeois state which oppresses and exploits the working people, just as the bourgeoisie does in the capitalist countries. The head of revisionism,

the Soviet Union, has been transformed into an imperialist power, which is pursuing an aggressive expansionist policy, and is fighting for hegemony and world domination.

Driven to the wall as a result of the exposure by the Marxist-Leninist forces, shocked by the failures and defeats they are continually suffering, gripped by contradictions and the deep crisis in which they have landed themselves, the modern revisionists are trying to manoeuvre, to use various tactics to deceive the communists and the peoples, and to prolong their rule.

Although these efforts and manoeuvres, which were insistently repeated once again at the 24th Congress of the CPSU have already become stale, they should not be underestimated. The revisionists still have broad sections of the working people deceived and under their influence, especially in the countries where they are in power. They are still doing great damage to the cause of communism. To the Marxist-Leninists, to the consistent revolutionaries, revisionism remains a major enemy, no less dangerous than the imperialist bourgeoisie. No illusions whatever should be entertained on this issue. The fight against modern revisionism, headed by the Soviet leaders, must be continued, intensified, and carried right through to the end. Nothing can correct them except the revolution, which will wipe them from the face of the earth.

The Party of Labour of Albania will fight with all its might against the revisionist betrayal, as it has done until now, convinced that in this way it is performing its duty to its own people and to international communism. We regard the ideological struggle against modern revisionism as an inseparable component part of the struggle for the construction and defence of socialism in Albania, for the triumph of the freedom of the peoples and the revolution everywhere in the world.

The present situation makes the need for the intensification of this struggle of historic importance even more imperative. We are living in a period of the rise of the revolutionary tide. The struggle against imperialism and reaction is assuming ever greater proportions. All the continents are seething with revolutionary movements which are shaking the old world of oppression and exploitation to its very foundations. This is the clearest expression of the sharpening of all the contradictions, class and national, internal and external, of the world capitalist system, and of the further deepening of its general crisis.

Today the development of the world revolutionary process has taken a wide variety of forms. The various detachments of the world revolutionary movement are fighting and acting under different conditions, are in different stages of social development, are facing different tasks, have the specific features of their own historic practice. The social class basis of the world revolution is being extended, too. Besides the working class, broad social sections such as the peasantry and the urban petty-bourgeoisie, the intelligentsia and students, youth and women are taking part ever more actively in the various revolutionary movements, bringing into the movement all the ideological trappings of the strata they represent, with their good and bad aspects.

While there is a powerful upsurge of the masses and peoples in struggle and revolution, however, the weakness of the revolutionary movement in many countries and zones lies precisely in the lack of scientific strategy and tactics which should open the revolutionary perspective to the masses and guide them on the right road to their objectives. The situation is such that the practical movement of the masses has advanced and is advancing, Whereas in many countries the subjective factor, their consciousness, organization and leadership has lagged

behind and does not respond to the tasks of the times. In this, a direct role of undermining and sabotage is being played by the modern revisionists, who, having abandoned the revolutionary ideals, have turned into scabs and firemen to quell the revolution, and with their opportunist, anti-Marxist viewpoints and activity, are striving to disarm the working class and to sow ideological and political confusion in the ranks of revolution. This is the greatest service they render the bourgeoisie and reaction and the greatest harm they do the cause of the liberation of the peoples and socialism.

With its theses of the dying out of the class struggle and class collaboration under the mask of peaceful co-existence, with its illusions about the change in the nature of imperialism and about a world without weapons and wars, with its fear of atomic weapons and thermonuclear war, with its sermons about peaceful transition to socialism, etc., etc., Khrushchevite revisionism has merged with social-democracy, forming a single counter-revolutionary trend in the service of the bourgeoisie.

This opportunist and reformist platform which was put forward at the 20th Congress of the CPSU and was developed and supplemented later at the subsequent congresses was presented by the revisionists as a platform which allegedly defended Leninism from the so-called Stalinist distortions. In fact, it was very soon proved that the trend which came out with the slogans of anti-Stalinism was an alien trend, incompatible with Marxism-Leninism and in struggle against it.

The Khrushchevite revisionists trumpeted, and are still trumpeting loudly, that with their theoretical views and theses the «foundations» for the struggle and the «right» road to socialism were laid. In reality this was a road and a struggle to extinguish the struggle for socialism, to turn the masses from the road of revolution,

to perpetuate the capitalist order and to undermine the gains of socialism everywhere.

The counter-revolutionary theories and practices of the revisionists serve as nourishment for the most diverse hostile ideological trends, ranging from the most reactionary bourgeois trends to the Trotskyite and petty-bourgeois ones. The bourgeois ideologists deliberately try to present the revisionist betrayal as a failure of socialism and Marxism-Leninism, as if communism is unable to provide a positive alternative for the solution of the problems of the world today. Justifying the capitalist order, they claim that today it has become capable of overcoming its social contradictions and conflicts, of creating a society of «general well-being», that allegedly the present-day technical-scientific revolution is replacing the social revolution, is bringing capitalism nearer to socialism and is allegedly merging them in a new, single «industrial» or «post-industrial» society. This is the most reactionary wing, the openly anti-communist wing, in the present-day ideological struggle.

The various anti-Marxist trends of the Trotskyites and anarchists have been activated as never before. Infiltrating into various mass movements, especially the movements of the youth and intellectuals, they are trying to fish in troubled waters, with a view to diverting the masses from the right road and involving them in dangerous adventures which lead to heavy defeats and disillusionment. Although they frequently come out with ultra-revolutionary and anti-revisionist slogans, in fact they are playing the game of the revisionists and they are undermining the cause of revolution, in joint efforts.

There are also some petty-bourgeois ideologists and people of sincere revolutionary inclinations who, disillusioned by the revisionist betrayal, are questioning the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism and trying

to create new theories or to revive old ones. They preach that Marxism-Leninism is incomplete and inaccurate, that allegedly it no longer responds to the new historical conditions of various countries or continents.

In this situation, when the ideological confusion which the modern revisionists caused and are seeking to keep alive has become more pronounced, the great importance of the struggle of all the Marxist-Leninists for the liberation of the working class and labouring masses from all the influences of bourgeois and revisionist ideology and of the various petty-bourgeois trends, the arming of them with the only scientific ideology, Marxism-Leninism, emerges very clearly.

*«One of the indispensable conditions for the preparation of the proletariat for its victory,» says Lenin, «is the protracted, resolute and merciless struggle against opportunism, reformism, social-chauvinism, and the influences of bourgeois trends of this kind, which are inevitable as long as the proletariat acts under the conditions of capitalism. Without this struggle, without first winning complete victory over opportunism within the labour movement, there can be no talk of a dictatorship of the proletariat.»**

The ideological struggle which is being waged in the world today is very broad and complex. But the most fundamental problems being discussed are those about hegemony in the revolutionary movement, about the essence and the road of development of revolution, and about the concept and construction of socialist society.

* V. I. Lenin, Collected Works, vol. 40, p. 24 (Rus. ed.).

THE LEADERSHIP OF THE WORKING CLASS AND ITS MARXIST-LENINIST PARTY — A FUNDAMENTAL CONDITION FOR THE DEFEAT OF THE BOURGEOISIE AND IMPERIALISM

The ideological opponents of Marxism-Leninism, from bourgeois and revisionist to radical and petty-bourgeois, are seeking, in words and deeds, to deny the historic world mission of the working class, its role and hegemony in revolution. All of them together, in this way or that, are trying to prove that the ideas of Marxism-Leninism on this issue have become obsolete.

Capitalizing on the significance of the new phenomena of present-day capitalism, especially the consequences of the development of state monopoly capitalism and the technical-scientific revolution, bourgeois ideologists like Marcuse and company are trying to prove with their technocratic theories, that allegedly capitalist society is being deproletarianized, that the working class is being transformed into «co-owner and co-manager» of the capitalist enterprises, that it is no longer interested in the revolutionary transformation of society, in as much as it has been «integrated» into the capitalist system. Even when one of these ideologists does see some revolutionary force, he finds it in the strata of the «class fringes», in the lumpen proletarians, in the ghettos of the large cities, among the immigrants or the students and intellectuals.

On the other hand, overrating the objective impulse towards socialism which comes from the development of the new productive forces and which is strengthened by the influence of the new ratio of forces in the international arena in favour of socialism, the revisionists propagate the view that the struggle for socialism can be led by other social classes and forces, non-proletarian ones, ranging from the national bourgeoisie and the petty-

bourgeoisie to the progressive patriotic intelligentsia.

These views do the revolutionary movement great harm, create confusion among some immature militants and different strata of the population, especially among the student youth and the young intellectuals, who try to present themselves as an independent main force of the revolution, who feel no need for the hegemony of the working class or the political leadership of its Marxist-Leninist party.

The question of hegemony in the revolution is of great principled importance, because its direction, its consistent development and outcome, depend on who is at the head of it, who leads it. Their attitude towards the working class and its leading role is a touchstone for all revolutionaries. As Lenin pointed out, rejection of the idea of the hegemony of the proletariat in the revolutionary movement today, is the most vulgar expression of reformism.

The conditions that make the working class the decisive force in contemporary social development, the leading force in the struggle for the revolutionary transformation of the capitalist world, have not changed in the least.

Despite all the changes that have taken place in the contemporary capitalist world, the working class is stripped of any kind of ownership over the means of production, has no say in the management, organization and purpose of production. The so-called «consumer society» was created not to meet the needs of the working people, but to intensify their exploitation and multiply the profits of the capitalists. The fact is that the profits of the monopolies, trusts and concerns, have reached astronomical figures, just as it is a fact that in recent years, and precisely in the most advanced capitalist countries, fierce clashes of unprecedented proportions have broken out

between the working class and the bourgeoisie. It is not from choice that the workers of France, Italy, Britain and America are coming out on strikes, demonstrating in the streets and occupying the factories, but because life is very hard for them, because the capitalist machine oppresses them, turns them into mere tools, dehumanizes them.

Contrary to the sermons of the bourgeois and revisionist ideologists, capitalist society is not being deproletarianized, but it is being relentlessly proletarianized, the weight and the role of the working class in production is becoming more and more decisive and it remains the main productive force of society. Life shows that the working class only needs to move, to knock off work even for a single day, for the entire bourgeoisie to be shaken and all its institutions put in a state of alarm. The working class is a class with rich traditions of struggle and organization, it has its party and its scientific theory which guide it in the class struggle.

All the revolutionary forces that fight for the overthrow of the bourgeois order can achieve victory only if they merge their efforts with the struggle of the working class, if they acknowledge and accept its leading role and that of the Marxist-Leninist proletarian party. This is objectively indispensable. Any other alternative leads to adventurism and defeat. It is precisely this great unity of all the forces of the revolutionary left with the working class that frightens the bourgeoisie and the revisionists more than anything else.

On this question, the role played by social-democracy and the modern revisionists is particularly harmful, because, by enrolling the working class in their reformist trade-unions, they try to restrain its revolutionary impetus, to paralyze its fighting spirit, to turn it into a servile class, obedient and submissive to the capitalist

employers. In these conditions the awakening of the working class and its emergence in the forefront of the revolutionary struggle cannot be achieved without waging a resolute fight within the ranks of the reformist trade-unions against the line and stands of their bourgeois chiefs so as to expose and isolate them from the mass of the workers.

In the revolutionary movement today the youth, the students and the various strata of the intelligentsia occupy an important place. In many countries, such as France and Italy, USA and Japan, Spain and Latin America, they have shown themselves very active and have given proofs of their courage, selflessness and revolutionary spirit. But it must be admitted that in the leftist movements of intellectuals and students great ideological and political confusion can be seen. The character of their programs and slogans, which are frequently Utopian, the lack of patience and spontaneous outbursts, have their source in the influence of alien ideologies and the heterogeneous class composition of these movements.

The Marxist-Leninists give full attention to the leftist movements of the youth and intellectuals and, without ignoring the weaknesses of these movements, strive to win them over to correct revolutionary positions and to liberate them from the influences of bourgeois, petty-bourgeois and revisionist ideology.

Despite the increased weight of the intelligentsia in present-day society, despite the changes that are taking place in the position, character and role of its work, and the class composition of this stratum, it is not a class in itself. The intelligentsia is a stratum that comes from different social classes and stands between the different classes. From its very nature, it is characterized by various political and ideological vacillations. These vacillations are further increased because the bourgeoisie tries in every

way to corrupt the intelligentsia and enroll it in its service.

The intelligentsia, as Lenin demonstrated and life itself confirms, never has been and never can be an independent social and political force. Its role and place in society depend on its class origin and socio-economic status, the alliances of various sections of it with this or that class. Therefore, the intelligentsia can never replace the working class as the leading class in the revolution.

The youth, the students, and the progressive section of the intelligentsia, are close allies of the working class, but not the only ones. The hegemony of the working class extends over other strata of the population which are also interested in the revolution, especially the peasantry, which in the overwhelming majority of the countries and regions of the world represents the main, most powerful and resolute ally of the working class.

The present-day revisionists try to negate the great importance of the alliance of the working class with the peasantry under the pretext that the latter does not play any separate role, especially in advanced capitalist countries, and instead, bring to the forefront the alliance of the working class with the intelligentsia. In some other countries, the revisionists replace the alliance of the working class with the peasantry with the alliance between the working class and the other petty-bourgeois strata of the city and its environs. With these theories and practices they aim to detach from the working class its closest and most resolute ally in the struggle. The Leninist thesis that the alliance of the working class with the peasantry is the social force capable of overthrowing the bourgeoisie and building socialism is completely valid in our time, too.

Just as the fate of the revolution in each particular country depends on the alliance of the working class with

the peasantry, so in the international arena, the fate of the world revolution depends on the same condition, and, in this case, is expressed as an alliance of the socialist countries and the workers' movement of the advanced capitalist countries with the anti-colonial, liberation and democratic movement of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America. Any stand disregarding and denigrating the struggle of the peoples of these continents, which contain the overwhelming majority of the population of the world and where imperialism is being dealt the heaviest and most direct blows, is in essence another aspect of the negation of the role of the peasantry, which does very great harm to the cause of the revolution.

The basis for alliances becomes even further extended when it is a question of democratic anti-imperialist revolutions, in which, besides the peasantry and the urban petty-bourgeoisie, the national bourgeoisie can take part as well. But whatever the weight of the classes in any revolution, they cannot play that role of hegemony and leadership which the working class alone can play. The national bourgeoisie, linked with capitalist exploitation, is characterized by vacillation and a tendency to compromise with foreign imperialism and internal reaction. As such, it is incapable of carrying the national liberation war and the democratic revolution consistently through to the end. The representatives of the peasantry and other petty-bourgeois strata, also, have only limited demands, are under the influence of bourgeois ideology, and often waver from left to right, sliding now into opportunism and now into adventurism.

Therefore, the working class, as the most revolutionary class of society, can and must come to the forefront and take the lead, not only of the struggle for socialism, but also of the struggle for democracy and national independence. Lenin argued this thesis scientifically more than

half a century ago. It is even more true today when the working class has been increased, tempered, educated, and organized to a higher degree, and when the democratic and socialist tasks have become even more closely interwoven. In today's conditions, the working class is the most interested of all classes in carrying the democratic and anti-imperialist revolution right through to the end.

The small number of the working class in some countries is no argument to negate its leading role, because the strength and role of that class do not depend on its numbers. The working class plays its leading role through its party which, as the example of our country demonstrates, can be founded and emerge in the forefront of the revolutionary struggle even when the working class is small in numbers and unorganized.

The various theories which preach spontaneity in the revolutionary movement, which disparage the role of the conscious factor and which negate the role of theory and the party of the proletariat, have been revived today. The degeneration of the revisionist parties and their transformation into reformist parties, harmless to the bourgeoisie, and the anti-Marxist theses of the Soviet, Yugoslav, Italian and other modern revisionists that, «consciously or unconsciously, capitalism is being gradually or radically integrated into socialism», that «even non-proletarian political parties and organizations may become bearers of the ideals of socialism and leaders of the struggle for their realization», that «some countries where the new national bourgeoisie is in power are also moving towards socialism» etc., have become a basis for the spread of the most extreme views that completely negate the role of theory and the need for a party of the working class. There are also those who pose as pure revolutionaries, who go so far as to declare that «in Marx's theory about the revolution there is neither a place nor the need

for a party», that «the vanguard of socialist revolution cannot be equated with the Marxist-Leninist party», that the role of the party can be played «by the active minority» which emerges as a «ferment» in the spontaneous movement, that «revolutionary consciousness and revolutionary organization emerges from the revolutionary action itself.»

All these «theories» cause incalculable harm to the revolutionary movement, for they befuddle the minds of the working class and leave it disarmed in face of the onslaught of the bourgeoisie which, for its part, has reached the acme of perfection in its methods and means of propaganda and the organization of the struggle against the revolution and communism.

It has already been proven historically that without its party, the working class, whatever the conditions under which it lives or works, cannot achieve consciousness spontaneously. What turns the working class from a «class in itself» into a «class for itself» is its party. Of course, struggle and action temper and test the class, the masses and the revolutionaries and teach them many things. But if they lack a political party with a clear program and scientifically based strategy and tactics, the struggle will either stop half-way or fail altogether. The experience of the present-day revolutionary movement and numerous struggles of the peoples of various continents also teaches us this.

Even when some of the various revisionists and opportunists admit the need for the existence of the party, they badly distort its role and the organizational principles on which it is built. They proclaim Lenin's ideas on this matter to be obsolete and left behind. In particular they assail the principle that the party is not only the conscious vanguard of the class, but also the highest form of its organization, which is characterized by unity of thought

and action and to which belongs the leading role in all the revolutionary activity in whatever field it may take place. Some of them reduce the role of the party to that of an organization for political and ideological guidance and education, or a co-ordinating and information centre. Others identify it with the guerilla unit or favour equal «partnership» of the Marxist-Leninist party with the other parties and organizations of the working class and the working masses.

The leading role of the party of the working class in the struggle for socialism, in the conditions of the existence of either one party or many parties, is an objective law. The revolutionary transformation of capitalist society on socialist foundations is a broad and very complicated struggle waged in many forms and in all the fields — economic, political, ideological and military. In this struggle, the working class enters into alliances with various social and political forces. All the forms of struggle and organization, all the detachments of the revolutionary movement, should serve one aim. Hence the necessity for the party as a single centre of direction, leadership and organization.

The struggle for socialism has as its theoretical foundation, the ideology of the working class, Marxism-Leninism, which is the scientific doctrine that provides the only correct conception of socialism and of the ways to attain it. No other party or organization can uphold, elaborate and implement this theory, except the communist party of the proletariat, the party of that class to which the socialist and communist future belongs, which defends and fights for the fundamental interests of the workers and all the progressive forces of society, the party of the class which, as Marx said, cannot liberate itself without liberating all mankind. If the fate of the revolution is left to a centre of general guidance, to a simple co-ordinating

or guerilla organization, it will be diverted into a blind alley and suffer defeat.

The objective essence of all «theories» which negate the need for the leading role of the working class and its party, is, in fact, the negation of the revolution, of socialism and Marxism-Leninism. These concepts only bring grist to the mill of the bourgeoisie and the counter-revolution. Therefore, the unmasking of them and the determined defence of the Leninist teachings on the hegemony of the working class, on the leading role of the party of the proletariat and the principles on which it is built and organized, constitute a very important current task to clear up the confusion and disintegration which the revisionists have created in this field, and to carry forward the revolution and the struggle for socialism and communism.

THE REVOLUTION — THE ROAD TO THE LIBERATION OF MANKIND

The idea of revolution as the only means of transforming the world, the only road to escape the yoke of national and social bondage, has captured the minds of millions of people on all continents. Now everybody speaks of revolution. But the concepts about the content, the motive forces, and the ways and forms of carrying it out, are most diverse. All these things are the object of great ideological struggle and polemics.

On this matter of vital importance, too, the Soviet-led modern revisionists have come out in defence of the interests of the bourgeoisie and in their service. They are trying to sow confusion in the ranks of the revolutionaries and to undermine the revolution. As the demagogues they are, although they pose as supporters of the revolution, with

their views and deeds the revisionists are trying to strangle it at birth or sabotage it when it has burst out. They have reduced the entire theory and practice of revolution to reforms within the capitalist order and are trying to persuade the workers that, in our days the dividing line between revolution and reform has allegedly been wiped out altogether. They loudly propagate that the working class has the possibilities to bring about radical transformations in the economic base of capitalism, to occupy important positions, to seize all power and achieve socialism without violent revolution, without smashing the bourgeois state machine and without establishing the dictatorship of the proletariat.

In their practice the revisionists take up only day-to-day demands. They have concentrated all their efforts on broadening the bourgeois democracy, on improving its institutions, and for the sake of these things they sacrifice their ultimate objective. The clearest demonstration of this is provided by the entire activity of the Italian, French and other revisionists, who have turned themselves into appendages of the bourgeoisie, into defenders of the bourgeois order, have betrayed the vital interests of the working class and have gone so far as to fiercely condemn any revolutionary action of the masses which threatens the domination of the bourgeoisie. The modern revisionists express themselves against the revolutionary violence of the masses and resort to counter-revolutionary violence where they are in power, as in the case of Czechoslovakia and Poland, where they suppressed the Czechoslovak people and the revolt of the Polish working class with fire and sword. It is there, in those countries, that their betrayal and complete degeneration are even more evident.

The failure of the peaceful evolutionist theories of the modern revisionists is also confirmed by the present development of events in the world. The anti-imperialist

and liberation wars that have broken out in Asia, Africa, and Latin America, the revolts of the workers and working masses in the advanced capitalist countries themselves, prove that the revisionist reformist alternative does not respond to reality or to the aspirations of the masses. In fact, the present revolutionary activity is taking place without the revisionists and against their wishes. Nevertheless, the danger of the revisionist theories and practices and the harm they do should not be underrated. Many persons, including some sincere revolutionaries, while rejecting and criticizing the reformist course of the revisionists, have adopted some other erroneous concepts about the revolution and the ways to develop it. This is connected with their petty-bourgeois class position, their lack of Marxist-Leninist ideological formation and the influence that anarchist, Trotskyite and putschist views exert on them. Some of them imagine the revolution as a military coup, as the deed of a few «heroes». They overrate and absolutize the role of «subjective activity» and think that the revolutionary situation, as a condition for the outbreak of the revolution, can be created artificially by the «active operations» of a militant group, which serves as a «starter motor» that sets in motion the «main motor» of the masses. According to them, the revolutionary potential of the masses in capitalist society is ever ready to erupt, it only requires an impulse from outside, only needs a guerilla nucleus to be created and the masses will follow it automatically.

The armed struggle of a group of professional revolutionaries can exert an influence on the upsurge of the masses only when it is co-ordinated with other objective political, social, and psychological factors, which determine the birth of the revolutionary situation, when it is based on the broad masses of the people and enjoys their active sympathy and support. Otherwise, as the tragic practice

of certain Latin-American countries shows, the activity of the armed minority, however heroic and self-sacrificing, comes up against misunderstanding from the masses, is isolated from the masses and suffers defeat.

Revolutions are matured by the situation itself, while their triumph or failure depends on the condition and role of the subjective factor. Just a group of persons, no matter how conscious they may be of the need for revolution, cannot represent this factor. The revolution is the deed of the masses. Without the conviction, training, mobilization, and organization of the masses no revolution can triumph. The subjective factor is not prepared by the actions of the guerrilla «nucleus» or by propaganda and agitation alone. For this, as Lenin and life itself teach us, it is essential that the masses are convinced through their own practical experience.

The concept of the decisive role of the armed minority is associated with views about conducting the struggle only in the countryside or only in the cities, that we should engage only in the armed struggle and only in illegal work. The Trotskyite thesis, too, which regards the revolution as a sudden act and the general political strike as the only form of carrying it out, is also widespread. To be orientated towards the armed struggle in no way means you should give up every other form of struggle. It does not mean that you must concentrate only on the countryside and abandon the struggle in the cities, or vice-versa, concentrate only on the final objective — the seizure of power, and neglect the «minor struggle» for the urgent economic, political and social demands of the workers. It does not mean you should engage only in the organization of armed forces and disregard the work with the masses and in their organizations, should work and fight only in illegality and reject using the legal and semi-legal opportunities, and so on. The preparation of the revolution

is not a question of one day, but an all-sided complex job. For this it is necessary to work and fight in all directions and in all forms, combining them correctly and changing them when situations change, but always subjecting them to the attainment of the final goal.

The revolution is not carried out by the working class alone and, even less, by its vanguard party alone. In order to accomplish it, the working class, according to the nature and stages of the revolution, enters into alliances with other social forces with which it has common basic interests, sets up broad popular fronts with definite political programs, in which the party of the working class does not merge itself, but always retains its organizational and political independence. Narrow, sectarian elements consider all these things erroneous tactics which allegedly open the door to the peaceful, reformist road. According to them, the programs, fronts and alliances are only artificial machinations intended to distract attention from and hinder the armed struggle. These views echo the familiar theses of the Trotskyites who consider every alliance as class conciliation, who negate the stages of revolution, and are for the «pure» direct proletarian revolution.

The revolution has its own laws, which are universal and indispensable for any country. Denial of these laws leads to revisionism. Capitalizing on the changes that are taking place in the world and with the specific national conditions, the revisionists have replaced the universal truths of Marxism-Leninism with their own anti-Marxist and counter-revolutionary theses and conclusions. No less harmful, however, are the dogmatic concepts of those who disregard the national peculiarities, who deviate from analysis of the real situation, and build up schemes into which they try to fit the reality of different countries, who absolutize the experience of one country and present it as universal, and who speak of a continental revolution

and deny the possibility of the victory of revolution in one or in several individual countries.

In our days, when the tide of the revolution is rising, when the revolution is on the agenda in many countries and regions, correct understanding of its content, of the ways and forms of its development, is decisive. The struggle against rightist and leftist, revisionist and anti-Marxist concepts, the struggle for a creative application of the fundamental teachings of Marxism-Leninism on this question, is a component part of the class struggle, an indispensable condition for the victory of the revolution.

SOCIALISM CAN BE BUILT ONLY ON THE BASIS OF THE MARXIST—LENINIST THEORY

The triumph of the October Revolution in Russia marked the beginning of a great epoch in the history of mankind, the epoch of the transition from capitalism to socialism. Since that time socialism has been transformed from a scientific theory into a living reality, which, despite the revisionist betrayal, has fully demonstrated its indisputable superiority over the capitalist order in all fields. All the victories of socialism have been achieved on the basis of the scientific theory of Marxism-Leninism.

As a new social order, which is built in conditions of a fierce class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie on a national and international scale, socialism cannot develop smoothly, without difficulties and contradictions. The struggle between the two roads of development, the socialist and capitalist roads, is protracted, and, so long as it continues, the danger of the restoration of capitalism always exists. But this restoration is not inevitable, as the bourgeois ideologists try to present it. It is

entirely possible to avoid it, if the communist party remains loyal to the teachings of Marxism-Leninism, if it wages the class struggle resolutely and consistently against the influences and pressures of the old world, if it is able to successfully solve the difficulties and contradictions that arise, if it closes all the loopholes to the possibility of bourgeois degeneration.

The turning back of the Soviet Union and some other countries is linked precisely with the fact that there the teachings of Marxism-Leninism were abandoned and the fundamental principles of socialist construction rejected. There the victories of the revolution were smashed and the road was opened to the restoration of capitalism. But this is not the only great damage that the revisionists did to socialism. To open the way to their betrayal, they launched furious attacks on the revolutionary line pursued by the Bolshevik Communist Party headed by Stalin and on the whole historical experience of the dictatorship of the proletariat, and raised doubts about the vitality of the Marxist-Leninist science in the solution of current problems, about the ability of the working class to bring about the revolutionary transformation of society, and about the leading role of the communist party. With all these things the Khrushchevite revisionists provided the bourgeois ideologists with powerful weapons for their anti-communist propaganda. They became a source of all types of anti-Marxist concepts about socialism.

The confusion is made even worse because the Khrushchevite revisionists try to peddle the restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union and elsewhere as socialism. This demagoguery misleads many honest people, who, while they rightly criticize many negative phenomena in the life of the Soviet Union and other revisionist countries, identify the order there with socialism and attribute the consequences of the restoration of capitalism to socialism. The

other revisionist trends which have contradictions with the Soviet leadership criticize «the Soviet model of socialism» as bureaucratic and totalitarian, and propagate their own so-called «democratic and humanitarian» model, which is nothing but another variant of capitalism. The Trotskyite elements and groups also try to exploit the bourgeois degeneration of socialism in the countries where the revisionists are in power to spread their slanders against socialism, which the revisionists themselves have encouraged with their anti-Marxist theories and practices.

In these conditions, the defence of the theory and practice of scientific socialism from the attacks and distortions of modern revisionists of various hues and tints and other bourgeois and petty-bourgeois trends is one of the most important tasks in the ideological struggle today. First of all, the socialist mask with which the revisionists in power, especially the Soviet chiefs, have disguised themselves, must be torn from them.

In the Soviet Union the dictatorship of the proletariat and the party of the proletariat have been liquidated. It is no longer the working class that is in power, but the new revisionist bourgeoisie. The state and the party have been turned into tools in the hands of the revisionists to defend and consolidate their political and economic domination. The socialist and communist disguises in which they garb their state and party are merely to deceive the people, because the character of the state or the party is defined neither by the label it bears nor by its social content alone, but first and foremost, by the policy pursued, whom it serves and who benefits from it.

The change in the character of the party and state, the counter-revolutionary transformation of the political and ideological superstructure, could not but lead to transformation of the economic base of socialism as well. The economic reforms undertaken by the Khrushchevites

in conformity with their anti-Marxist ideological concepts led to radical transformation of the relations of production. They introduced a system of organization and management in the Soviet economy in which the aim of production became the extraction of capitalist profit. The present-day Soviet state, as a collective capitalist, administers the means of production on behalf and in the interests of the new Soviet bourgeoisie. The common socialist ownership has been transformed into a state capitalism of a new type.

Having seized the reins of the state and the economy, the new Soviet bourgeoisie, composed of bureaucrats and technocrats, uses them to ensure privileges and huge incomes for itself. The gulf between this bourgeoisie and the working class and the working masses is becoming ever deeper. Payment according to work done has been replaced by an entire system of the distribution of incomes which enables the bourgeoisie to appropriate the toil and sweat of the working masses, to ensure, in the most varied ways, incomes many times larger than those of the workers and peasants.

In the Soviet Union a process of profound corruption, decadence and degeneration is developing in all fields, in ideology, morality, education and culture. All the moral and spiritual values of socialism are being thrown out. Bourgeois ideology, with all its consequences, is becoming the dominant ideology. The norms of communist morality of dedicated service to the cause of the people are being replaced with running after personal interests, with individualism and careerism. The bourgeois way of life has become widespread. The revolutionary spirit and proletarian partisanship in art and culture have been abandoned. The Soviet school cultivates technocracy and intellectualism. trains new contingents for the revisionists.

The restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union

could not but lead to radical changes in its foreign policy. The present Soviet leaders have replaced proletarian internationalism with national selfishness and great-state chauvinism. The Soviet Union today has become an imperialist power which pursues an aggressive policy. The Soviet Union has been transformed from a base of the world revolution into a base of counter-revolution.

All this shows that the present-day Soviet Union can no longer be called a socialist country, but a capitalist state and an imperialist power. The evils of its internal and foreign policy are not evils of socialism, as the bourgeois propaganda and those who have fallen victim to or echo it try to make out. They are precisely evils of the capitalist system, which has been restored in the Soviet Union. No amount of patching up will put them in order. Any such illusion would be very dangerous. They will be eliminated only when the revisionists have been overthrown and the dictatorship of the proletariat has been re-established.

In the situation created by the betrayal of the Soviet revisionists and the anti-communist propaganda of the bourgeoisie, the Yugoslav «system of self-administration» is being particularly advertized as the best road for the construction of socialism. Many revisionists in the Western capitalist countries, especially, are partisans of this road. It has its sympathizers in the revisionist countries of Eastern Europe as well. The theoreticians of «self-administrative socialism» claim that they express and apply the authentic ideas of Marx and Lenin about socialism, allegedly distorted in practice up till now by «Stalinism». In reality they have revived and come out in defence of the old anarcho-syndicalist and Bukharinite theories which Marx and Lenin criticized in their time. Their theoretical arguments are completely unfounded, while the present-

day Yugoslav reality is the clearest proof of the failure of «the system of self-administration».

The basis of the theories of the Yugoslav revisionists is the Bukharinite idea about the integration of capitalism into socialism. In the international arena, according to them, post-Second World War capitalism, parallel with its stabilization and evolution to state capitalism, is being gradually transformed into a «state type socialism», thus wiping out the demarcation line between the two systems and paving the way to a broad and all-round collaboration between them, in fact, to undermine true socialism.

Within the country, the Yugoslav revisionists, along with the Gomulka variety, abandoned the collectivization of the countryside, and allowed the kulaks freedom to exploit and accumulate wealth, pretending that in this way they would be integrated into socialism and that the industrialization of the country would be carried out with the capital supplied by them. On the other hand, the Yugoslav revisionists broke up the state property of the whole people and, by transforming it allegedly into the property of the group, paved the way for the birth of a new bourgeoisie, which seized the reins of the country and now rules the working class and the peoples of Yugoslavia. Meanwhile, the revisionists perpetrated a hoax by presenting this line as a proletarianization of the regime, as a struggle against «bureaucratic state forms of socialism», as a «new road» for the construction of the true socialist society. But all this has been unmasked and life has proved how rotten it is.

To escape from this serious situation, from the great economic, political and social difficulties and contradictions, the outcome of the capitalist restoration, and being unable «to build socialism» with the aid of the internal bourgeoisie and its capital, the Yugoslav revisionists held out a begging hand to the American imperialists and the

capitalists of other countries. Thus, they invented a new type of «socialism» which can be built with the aid of credits and investments from the international bourgeoisie and, first of all, from US imperialism, the most ferocious enemy of communism. The fact is that in present-day Yugoslavia the flood of capital and direct investments from foreign capitalist states and firms is capturing the key points of the national economy. A similar process is taking place in other revisionist countries, too.

Another manifestation of this course in Yugoslavia is the mass phenomenon of the emigration of the living, creative forces, of hundreds of thousands of workers and technicians and specialists who are compelled to abandon their families and homeland and to sell the strength of their muscles and minds to the German, Belgian, French and other capitalists. This selling of the workers, this trade in human beings, to secure a little hard currency is one of the ugliest aspects of the present-day Yugoslav reality.

In Yugoslavia there is no question of any integration of capitalism into socialism. What has happened there, and what is happening in the other countries where the revisionists are in power, is the integration of socialism into capitalism, the liquidation of the socialist victories and the return to the capitalist road.

The Yugoslav revisionists claim that their system affirms the true role of workers and of the working class as a whole, which allegedly self-administers the means of production, manages the economy and distributes the social product. In fact, quite the contrary happens there. The breaking up of the state property and the negation of the leading role of the socialist state means the division of the working class and the negation of its leading role in the life of society. The Yugoslav practice leads to counterpoising the interests of various sections of

the working class, to competition and struggle between the workers' collectives. There, the narrow momentary interests of the enterprise, commune, or the individual republic come to the fore and are opposed to the general interests of the society.

In these conditions, the working class cannot act as a class at all, cannot express and defend its general interests as a class in power. In Yugoslavia, the working class has long since lost its hegemonic role. It has been transformed from a leading class in power into a class which is led, oppressed and exploited by the new bourgeoisie which has all power in its own hands. The Communist Party of the working class in Yugoslavia has completely degenerated, has become a haven for the anti-proletarian strata which represent and defend the capitalist course.

Present-day Yugoslavia has all the features of a bourgeois country and suffers from the same grave chronic ills typical of capitalism, such as the deep economic crises, unemployment, competition, anarchy and inflation, severe social and political conflicts and national feuds. This situation has led to the creation and strengthening of bourgeois nationalist groupings and tendencies, to the sharpening of the struggle for hegemony among them and among the republics. The «Great-Serb» and «Great-Croat» clans are dominant on the political scene in Yugoslavia today. The former have been labelled supporters of the Informbureau but, in fact, they have been and are sworn enemies of the Informbureau, just as much as the Yugoslav leaders themselves and the Soviet Khrushchevite leaders.

The Yugoslav revisionists have placed the peoples and the working class of Yugoslavia in the grip of a powerful pincers, the pincers of the internal bourgeoisie and of foreign capitalism, which is becoming master of the house in Yugoslavia. Neither the economic and po-

litical reforms acclaimed by the revisionists, nor their hopes and illusions about this or that nationalist grouping can rescue them from this situation. The evil is deep-rooted and can be eradicated only when the peoples of Yugoslavia, on the Marxist-Leninist road, smash the pincers which has gripped them.

Today, there is also talk of socialism in certain countries freed from the old colonial rule of imperialism. A different content is introduced into the idea of «socialism», or «socialist society» in different countries. In these theories there are many obscure, confused, eclectic points, a mixture of principles of socialism with those of capitalism, of socialist ideology with bourgeois, nationalist, and religious ideology.

The Soviet and other revisionists also echo these unscientific theories. Indeed they have even discovered a new road, the so-called «non-capitalist road of development», which allegedly leads to socialism without the leading role of the working class and of the communist party, without the Marxist-Leninist theory, without the socialist revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat. With these sermons the Khrushchevite and other revisionists disorientate the genuine socialist trends in these countries, add to the ideological confusion and paralyze the struggle of the progressive forces for socialism. Pretending that these countries have allegedly entered the socialist road of development, the Soviet revisionists toss them a few crumbs in order to keep them enslaved, to extend their imperialist influence over them and drag them along in their wake.

The Marxist-Leninists welcome and support any sincere tendencies and aspirations to socialism, but at the same time, they stress that socialism has triumphed and can triumph in any country only on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and under the leadership of the working

class and of its party armed with the proletarian world outlook.

In our time, the problem does not arise of copying the revisionist pseudo-socialist theories, or of inventing new socialist theories. Socialism exists and is developing both as a theory and as a practice. It has accumulated a wealth of historical experience, summed up in the Marxist-Leninist theory, the vitality of which has been confirmed in life. By relying on this scientific theory and applying it in the conditions of each country, the revolutionary forces will find the correct road to socialism.

The correct understanding of socialism is a major question of principle, because it assists in the correct orientation of the aspirations and the struggle of the peoples for socialism, so that they aim at a clear objective. Therefore, the establishment of a clear line of demarcation between the genuine socialist countries and those which only bear the name socialist is of special importance to the revolutionaries, just as the distinction between the genuine Marxist-Leninist parties and forces fighting for socialism and those parties which only carry the «communist» label is important. Thus, the revolutionaries will know better on whom they can rely and whom they should support. In this way the real unity of the revolutionary forces is strengthened and the struggle for socialism is merged into a single current, on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

NIXON'S JOURNEY TO CHINA, THE SINO-AMERICAN TALKS, THE FINAL COMMUNIQUE

March 21, 1972

The outward stand of the Chinese side towards this journey, both before and during the time it took place, has been different. The Chinese side merely announced once or twice that the journey of the American president would be made on such and such a date, and nothing else. The Chinese propaganda maintained «absolute silence» about this event, as if «it were of no great interest.» **Of course, this did not represent the reality, did not represent the importance, indeed the great importance, which the Chinese placed on this journey and the results that would emerge from it.** Superficially, it seemed as if the Chinese were not taking preparatory measures, but this was not true: they cleaned up the city, painted the shops and houses, especially in those streets and zones through which Nixon would pass, removed all the «dangerous» slogans which might annoy the «notable» guest, filled the shops with all kinds of goods, displayed books of «Chinese and foreign classics», which up till yesterday had disappeared from circulation in the bookshops. **All these things were done under the guise of the Chinese «New Year». But no one swallowed this. These things were not done for the «Year of the Rat», but for «the coming of the... Paper Tiger».**

The Chinese press had ceased its propaganda against American imperialism, but while waiting for Nixon, it was obliged to write several times «in defence» of Vietnam, which at these particular moments was being heavily bombed by the Americans. Hence, precisely at this time, when the Chinese were awaiting Nixon, the Vietnamese stepped up their attacks, Nixon stepped up the bombing, while the Soviet revisionists came out as «the only sincere friends of the Vietnamese», as «rabid anti-Americans». During this time, the Chinese kept their mouths shut and did not reply to the Soviet propaganda, and it is easily understood why they were obliged to do this. The reason is that they found themselves in a weak position in regard to Vietnam and wanted to avoid making it appear that talks with Nixon would be against the Soviet Union.

Meanwhile, the other side, American imperialism and the whole capitalist world gave this journey very great publicity, and dug up everything they could find to say or guess about it. In other words, they beat the drum so loudly that to a certain degree they managed to create the impression in the world that this journey «would change the course of history», that the rabid anti-communist Nixon would achieve that rapprochement with China which no other president of the United States of America had managed to achieve. The bourgeoisie put Nixon down in history as the «man of peace», and the fact is that during all this time its propaganda became so deafening in this direction that his terrible work as a war criminal who is slaughtering the peoples of Indochina, etc., was obscured.

China has great responsibility in the matter of accepting Nixon in Beijing without laying down the slightest condition. But not only China is responsible for this propaganda victory of Nixon. The Vietnamese themselves, who are allegedly «angry» with the Chinese over Nixon's

going to Beijing, have long been engaged in secret talks with the murderers of their people. Not to mention the Soviet revisionists, who are up to their necks in filth through their contacts and collaboration with the Americans.

We, for our part, did not cease our struggle against American imperialism and Nixon for one moment, regardless. This was noticed by the foreign news agencies, too, which pointed out that our propaganda differed from that of the Chinese.

Thus, regardless of the fact that China said nothing until Nixon set foot on its territory, the president of the United States of America arrived in China with great publicity, with a large team of collaborators, with a large number of journalists, and with all the necessary television, radio, cinema and communication apparatuses, etc. The whole world talked about this. **One American journalist even described Nixon's arrival in China as a «landing on the moon».**

Nixon's welcome at the airport on the part of the Chinese was without crowds, without speeches, without the presence of the diplomatic corps. Otherwise, it would have been an open scandal and a challenge in any situation. The usual permanent group, comprised of Zhou Enlai, Li Xien-nien, the representative of the army at the CC of the Communist Party of China, and the whole series of officials welcomed him there. Zhou Enlai seemed very «stiff», of course, because he knew that the whole world was watching him, while Nixon was grinning like a horse, happy, laughing, regardless of the fact that the streets through which he passed were empty, certainly by orders and directives. However, «the American propaganda and television took great care to make this situation seem warmer».

The «external cold correctness of the Chinese», which

was apparent at the airport and in the streets through which the cortege passed, was nothing but a *trompe l'oeil**. Instead of continuing this way with an «undesired guest», who had been allowed to come «to exchange opinions on problems of interest to the two countries», without laying down any condition with the guest who up till yesterday had been described by the Chinese themselves as «the most vicious fascist criminal», «a murderer», etc., etc., the protocol observed and the stand towards Nixon took a one-hundred-and-eighty-degree turn.

The president of the United States of America had hardly rested after his journey, when he was received by Mao Zedong, and in his working office at that. As far as we know, this had never occurred before. Mao Zedong has always received other friends and guests, even the closest friends and guests of China, at the end of their visit. He has always received our delegations, too, at the end. The American journalists did not know that Mao would receive Nixon immediately he arrived, and apparently neither did the American delegation, therefore, they described it as a «bombshell». **And in fact this reception was a bombshell. In this way Mao wanted to display his special warmth and gratitude to Nixon for these contacts and talks, wanted to display intimacy, because he received him in his studio, and on the table where the president leaned his elbows, there was a pile of books, in order to let Nixon know that he was dealing with a «great thinker». Mao Zedong also wanted to show Nixon that it was he, Mao, who opened this «new era in the world», which is the «question of Sino-American relations», and, on the other hand, to tell the Chinese people that this «policy of friendship» with American imperialism «is my policy, and not Zhou Enlai's». If this policy does not turn**

* eyewash (French in the original).

out well «we have experience and lay the blame on Zhou.»

The communique issued after the Mao-Nixon meeting said only «the talks were sincere and frank», hence, it was neither fish nor fowl, while the Chinese television spoke in another language. Mao and Nixon appeared on the small screen happy and laughing, clasping each other, not by one, but by both hands. Kissinger was lolling, smiling and happy, in an arm-chair, as if in his own home. Zhou Enlai was *aux anges** **laughing and chuckling so loudly that he became embarrassed and covered his mouth with his hand. Hence, the atmosphere was more than friendly and this atmosphere only the Chinese television, that is, a controlled television, had captured, and then it was shown on the small screen, and this was done by Zhou not without a purpose, but so that history would fix this «historic moment», so that the Americans would see it and the Chinese people, too, would be orientated by this «brilliant proletarian strategy and tactics» of Mao Zedong.**

After this «very significant» act of Mao's, the atmosphere, which had appeared constrained, improved, the ice was broken, «a hundred flowers began to bloom», and the «long march» of the great friendship began.

The banquet put on by the Chinese was magnificent. What did Zhou Enlai say at this banquet? All the good things, as if he were addressing not a new friend, but an old one, because «the Chinese people and the American people are friends», etc. Hence, Zhou said: We must seek the normalization of relations between our two countries and exchange opinions which are of interest to the two sides. In the end, said Zhou, the doors to friendly contacts have been opened.

This means, in other words, that Nixon is a friend

* in the seventh heaven (French in the original).

of China and the peoples, because it is he who opened these doors of friendship. For Zhou and those who think like him, Nixon ceased to be an imperialist, a fascist, an executioner of peoples. **This means to go over to the road of lackeys of imperialism.**

«We have disagreements,» said Zhou in his speech, «but these must not become obstacles to our reaching agreement and co-existing, etc. Minor disagreements exist!!!»

Khrushchev spoke like this in the past, but he was not so «genteel» with the American guests as Zhou is proving to be, taking the greatest care to avoid saying any word out of place which could be misinterpreted.

For Zhou, who is trying to conceal his aims, the American people are so «good» that they could not be better, «the American people are friends of the Chinese people», and **Zhou continues this refrain up to the point that the orchestra at the banquet played the song «America the Beautiful»! The «beautiful» America of millionaires and multimillionaires! America, the centre of fascism and barbarous imperialism! America, the murderer of Vietnamese and Arabs, the suppressor of the peoples' freedom! The «beautiful» America of gangsters! The «beautiful» America, where the blacks, the unemployed and the communists are oppressed and murdered!!!**

And they sing to this America in Beijing so ardently that Nixon, in his reply to Zhou Enlai at the banquet, said: **«I have never heard American music played better than this in a foreign country». It was clear, even Nixon was surprised, and indeed, more or less would say: «It seems I have been wrong. I thought you really were communists».**

In his speech, Nixon praises China, too, and its great hospitality, praises the kind and eloquent words of Zhou. He says without any reservation, «What we are doing here may change the world»; «...the chances of peace

are endlessly increased»; «what unites us is that we have common interests which override these disagreements».

And Nixon continues:

«Let us set out together on a long march, not on an aimless course, but on different roads which lead to the same objective, to the objective of building a new world structure of peace and justice, in which all can stand together with the same dignity and every nation, big or small, will have the right to decide for itself its form of government, without interference or domination from outside...»

Nixon goes on:

«There is no reason for us to be enemies, because neither of us is seeking the territory of the other, neither is seeking domination over the other, or to stretch his hands over and dominate the world. Together, we can build a new and better world».

And how does Zhou Enlai reply to this filthy fascist? He replies precisely and simply like this: «...The world is moving towards progress, towards the light and not towards the darkness». Zhou Enlai eliminated the expression that the world is moving towards the revolution. The newspapers quite rightly say: **«Zhou brushed aside the world revolution»**. This is the scandalous and disgraceful propaganda and demagoguery which Beijing is making about the rabid fascist who has shed the blood of the peoples of the world, the head of world imperialism, Nixon! And who is doing this? Beijing, which claims to be the world centre of Marxism-Leninism!

The imperialist is such a demagogue that he, too, supporting Zhou Enlai, says that, «The world is moving towards the light and not towards the darkness». All the American propaganda aims to bring out that Nixon and American imperialism have become friends of China and the Chinese, friends of the people and their leaders. The ice was broken after Nixon's meeting with Mao. The

Chinese newspapers were filled with photographs of Nixon, Mao, Zhou, Jiang Qing, etc. The protocol meeting at the airport later turned into cordial meetings at banquets, theatres and covered stadiums, where twenty thousand people rise to their feet applauding Nixon and Zhou Enlai, the «architects» of this «historic meeting». Jiang Qing, Mao's wife, has changed her style of dress and *coiffure*.* She has had her hair cut short in «urchin» style, flung her cap with the red star in the waste paper basket, and replaced her military uniform of the revolution with gowns of black cashmere. At every performance Jiang Qing sits beside Nixon and, when they are not together, Nixon and his wife complete their programs, visit Chinese kitchens, are «surprised and amazed», «eat with chopsticks», «what marvels!» They visit communes, kiss Chinese children, **and visit also the Great Wall. «We must pull down every wall,» Nixon says. These are «7 days that changed the world». «We, the United States of America and China, hold the fate of the world in our hands».** And Nixon's electoral propaganda, in the campaign for re-election as president of the United States, continues from Chinese territory! Meanwhile, Zhou Enlai, for his part, is satisfied and smiling. Reaction is praising him, lauding him to the skies, but he seems to be indifferent to this because, allegedly, with this policy which he is pursuing, «he is applying the line of Chairman Mao with the greatest skill».

Hence, during the days of the visit every desire of Nixon, Mao and Zhou was fulfilled. No contradiction was apparent between the two sides, apart from those expressed in a few usual formulas. In the end, the Sino-American joint communique came out to confirm their unity on many basic views. Let us examine these.

* French in the original.

Nixon's going to Beijing, the welcome he received there, and the Sino-American joint communique constitute a victory for American imperialism and for Nixon personally. Meanwhile China did not and could not gain anything out of this; on the contrary, it lost in the eyes of the revolutionary peoples of the world and the international communist movement. **China «financed» American imperialism with credibility in the eyes of the peoples. It told the peoples and the communists that even at these moments when American imperialism is sowing death and destruction, when it has occupied their territories, when it does not have and is not going to have diplomatic relations with them, and when its system is in crisis, still you can hold friendly talks with it, sit cheek by jowl with it, and recognize its right to deceive the peoples.** This is what China has done. This is impermissible and must be condemned. It is not on our Marxist-Leninist line.

The Sino-American communique is the most disgraceful document conceivable. In this communique the «beautiful» views of the two sides are set out equally, side by side. The Chinese «feed us large helpings» of general phrases: «The peoples want freedom; where there is oppression there is resistance; the nations, big and small, must be equal; all troops must be withdrawn from foreign countries», etc. Thus, the Chinese side continues a long tirade without any address or concrete allusion to anyone. Only Japan and Bangladesh are mentioned by name, while everything else has been eliminated. Does the famous politeness of the Chinese (!?) require this since «the guest is in their house»?! Why did you invite him? However, it would be better to say that the new line you are following, and not good behaviour towards the «guest» you have invited, requires this stand.

The American side indulges in an even longer tirade in the communique referred to. It does not make any

commitment, but on the contrary, according to what the communique says, «beautiful America» is the «most peaceful and democratic country», the Americans are against aggression, are in favour of self-determination for the countries of Indochina (!). The United States is ready to do this and that, whatever you want and whatever you think (plenty of beautiful phrases), but, in other words, says that it is going to maintain its friendship with Chiang Kaishek, with the cliques of the countries of Indochina and the Republic of South Korea, that it will withdraw its troops from different regions (only in words, of course) «when tension has been reduced», etc., etc. This is the tenor of the American refrain in the joint communique.

What came out of all this? Nothing! Almost no opposition, although they stress that «major contradictions exist» between them. Not the slightest sign of the polemic appears; but on the contrary, after they performed this «idyllic tableau» before the waiting public, they came out with what they had in their hearts. And the conclusion is this: **peaceful coexistence typical of Khrushchev, indeed more perfect than his, because according to the Sino-American communique, everything will be settled without conflicts, in other words, «without weapons, without wars», will be settled with rose petals! Truly the tiger turned out to be a «paper tiger». But one cannot work out who is the paper tiger.**

What emerges from this communique? China tells the world: I talked with the United States of America in a friendly way, and as a result of these talks war between the two of us will be avoided, the Asian-Pacific region will not be allowed to become a sphere of influence of any great power (a fable), neither party must enter into agreement with a third party against the other party (a fable), and the world must not be divided into spheres of influence (again a fable).

All these fables written in the communique are approved by the Chinese, who tell the world: «See, we forced the Americans to accept all these things, this is a great victory for socialism». The Chinese tell the gullible: «See, the Americans aren't so bad after all» and although we concluded nothing about Taiwan or the establishment of diplomatic relations, «we shall carry on trade with the United States of America, exchange scientists, artists, journalists,» etc. In other words, «we opened the doors for the invasion of China by the United States of America». This is rather astounding, but this is what will occur in fact.

When Zhou Enlai returned to Beijing from Shanghai, where he had gone to see Nixon off, he received a triumphant welcome with gongs, with flowers, and with Jiang Qing. Zhou was the «hero of the day»! This «hero of the day» will work with all his strength within the country, with the support of Mao, to strengthen the position of his group. He will rapidly develop all-round relations with the Americans, will support the candidature of Nixon, because now he is his friend, and will make many combinations with him, but will also try to avoid being badly exposed in the eyes of the peoples. For the time being the «hero of the day» will oppose the Soviets as far as he has the support of the United States of America, but in the end he, too, will throw off his disguise, as Khrushchev did. **As for the world revolution, for communism and socialism, he will put the heavy lid on them, just as the revisionists in the Soviet Union and elsewhere did. This is where the road they have taken leads them to.** May we prove to be wrong, but the facts do not permit us to judge otherwise! Marxism-Leninism, which inspires and guides us, does not permit us to judge the Chinese and their activities differently.

HOW WE SHOULD UNDERSTAND AND FIGHT THE IMPERIALIST-REVISIONIST ENCIRCLEMENT OF OUR COUNTRY AND THE EFFECT OF ITS PRESSURE ON US

*Speech delivered at the general meeting of the communists
of the apparatus of the CC of the PLA
to render account and hold elections*

March 15, 1973

We have spoken many times about these questions of vital importance at party meetings and with the people, in various forums and with individual comrades, whenever they have been on the agenda or have been linked with other questions. We raised this problem again with the comrade secretaries of the Central Committee in particular, so that we will always bear it in mind and raise it in the Party time and again in a concrete way, related to life, to the situation, and not merely as a political and ideological slogan.

Our Party fights hard in this direction and that is why our internal situation is sound. But it is right to say, and we must look squarely at the situation, that there are comrades and citizens who do not go deeply into this reality. Some underestimate it with amazing unconcern, saying: «We are very strong, there is nothing they can do to us». Others think that by using these matters merely as political formulae in some speeches and talks, they have done the job, have fought the encirclement, have weakened

and eliminated the enemy influence and can relax, because they have made the situation clear to the masses.

Some understand the struggle against the capitalist encirclement in a one-sided way and not in its complexity. These people speak and argue more or less in this way: «We Albanians are bold and courageous and, if danger comes from abroad, we shall make short work of the enemy who attacks us. It is enough for us to be militarily strong, to have a strong army; these two things we have, and we develop and temper them. Hence these constitute an armour which the enemy cannot penetrate». This is by no means the whole matter, but even if we consider these two factors alone, the armour can be penetrated by the influence of the bourgeois-capitalist-revisionist pressure, if we do not combine the question of valour, defence and the army with the whole development of the country.

A man is brave if he is taught and comes to understand why he is brave, what he must defend, why he should defend it, that what he is to defend he has created himself with blood and sweat, hard work and effort, and does this consciously, of his own will. These aims have guided and inspired the Albanians in the past, and that is why they have been brave. These sacred ideals of the Party and the people must guide us today, too.

During our history there have also been traitors who have fought against these ideals, the class struggle has existed and still exists, there have been brave men but there have also been cowards, there have been people who understood the issues correctly and fought for them to the death but there have been others who wavered, hesitated and lagged behind. Some of these were enlightened and educated, others fell away. This process is going on now favouring the positive side, but let us not forget that it is going on and will go on, for people are not all cast in the same mould.

Today the Party is in the lead, the working class is in power, we are building socialism and educating the new man. But does this new man we are educating and tempering properly understand the question of defence of the Homeland from the military angle? In general we can say that he does, and we have many successes in this direction, but it is impermissible for us to close our eyes to the shortcomings that are observed in this matter.

We have to fight encircled by many enemies who are equipped with weapons more modern and more numerous than ours. So our People's Army must be trained to perfection in modern military art, should master its weapons well, know how to use them properly, be disciplined, brave, politically and ideologically capable, and the area behind the lines must be sound, etc., etc. In this direction, however, there are shortcomings, laxity, any amount of defects in the teaching, in organization and in education, there is liberalism, bureaucracy and routine.

Do we fight against these defects? Undoubtedly we do, but let us not forget that it is precisely these manifestations that make the armour of our defence penetrable. What are these manifestations? Are they hostile and deliberate, do the external or internal enemies have a hand in them, etc.? Call them what you please, but you are never wrong if you call these manifestations totally alien to us, therefore, we must correct them, clean them up, eliminate them, because they endanger the true concept of bravery and the defence of the Homeland.

In all this process of educating, correcting and cleaning up, we will distinguish between what is done with hostile intentions and what is done unintentionally, but which brings grist to the enemy's mill just the same. The aim of the enemy is first to know the terrain, to feel your pulse, to blunt your vigilance in a thousand ways, to corrupt you, and then attack you.

In the present circumstances the enemies are using this tactic while shouting that «peace and peaceful co-existence exist». Latter comes the attack, and we must prepare ourselves to oppose and fight off this eventual attack. At no time can we say lightly: «Oh, we're strong, they can't do anything to us!» but we must really make ourselves strong. Likewise we should never say lightly: «Oh, when the war comes, then we'll show them!» We must prepare ourselves for this war, if it comes. The enemy exerts great pressure to convince us that «no danger exists for socialist Albania» and therefore, «sleep peacefully». The enemies call us conservative and want us to be liberal.

I say to some of our people: «Yes, towards our external and internal class enemy we are conservative, because we want to conserve the freedom, independence and sovereignty of our Homeland, which have cost our people so much blood, generation after generation. We are conservative because we want to conserve and develop for our people the great achievements we have attained. We are conservative also towards the liberalism which causes socialism, youth, women, art and culture to degenerate, which the imperialists and revisionists have adopted and are advising us to adopt.»

Some, like Fadil Paçrami and others, were greatly concerned to know which was the main danger today, conservatism or liberalism? The Party has said long ago that both are dangerous, and that we must fight the pair of them, and the Party has followed this course. The history of our revolution which is developing is alive, continuous and tangible. But do these short-sighted comrades want us to assert that the main danger at present is conservatism? They must excuse me, but this is the thesis of the enemy. And we ask these comrades: «Are you for the thesis of the Party or for that of the class enemy?» These comrades

want us to assert that liberalism is not the main enemy. But this is the thesis of the enemy. We ask them: «Are you for the theses of the Party or for the theses of the enemy?»

No! You will never catch our Party unawares, it will never distort its theory, either in a conservative or a in liberal direction, but it will uphold the purity of Marxism-Leninism and will always fight guided by this unerring compass, just as it is, pure, creative, pointing to the right course, and revolutionary.

The bourgeoisie, reaction, the imperialists and the revisionists apply a thousand and one epithets to our Party and our internal and foreign policy: «Stalinist, iron curtain, cold war, conservative, destroyers of religion and venerable traditions, etc.» Recently voices are heard saying: «Albania has begun to open its borders, Albania has begun to liberalize, Albania is turning its face towards the West», etc.

Regardless of what slogans they use, we must understand why our enemies use them, what their aim is, and what they want to achieve. Imperialism, revisionism and the reactionary bourgeoisie want at all costs and will use any means to break the resistance and struggle our people put up to defend their political, economic, ideological and cultural freedom, to defend their independence, sovereignty and socialism. First and foremost, they want to smash the Marxist-Leninist stand of our Party which is the decisive factor in all these achievements of our people.

We are the only country in Europe and the only communist party fighting heroically and successfully resisting this great pressure which is exerted day and night. All the former communist parties of Europe, including that of the Soviet Union (we will confine ourselves to Europe and not extend to the whole world) have betrayed Marx-

ism-Leninism, the cause of the proletariat, the revolution and their own peoples. They betrayed the cause of socialism and turned their countries into capitalist countries. The Party of Labour of Albania did not betray, it stood its ground fearlessly, unyielding, it upholds the principles of and defends socialism, its own country, and revolution. Neither the imperialists nor the revisionist traitors could have expected or conceived this.

Socialist Albania is a small country, the Party of Labour of Albania is a small party, some may say. No, that is not so, because the ideas they uphold are great and are the future of the world, the beacon blazing continuously in socialist Albania not only highlights the treachery and harm plotted against the peoples by the imperialists and revisionists, but brands them as a hot iron. Precisely because the People's Republic and the Party of Labour of Albania are small, they serve as a great example of a mighty fighter against a many-headed monster. Viewed from this realistic angle, the task of the imperialists and revisionists is to crush us; the task of the Albanian people and of the Party of Labour of Albania is to resist, to avoid being broken, and to win this battle.

But are the names which the imperialists and revisionists and their open and disguised lackeys call the Albanian people and the Party of Labour of Albania well founded? Can a people and a party like ours, who in a few decades did away with centuries of darkness and slavery, be called conservative? Can a party and people like ours, who fought arms in hand and defeated powerful foreign enemies and the age-old internal enemies, who seized power and established the dictatorship of the proletariat in their country, who carried out a series of the most progressive major reforms, who carried out the agrarian reform and built socialism in the coun-

tryside, who liquidated the class of feudal landlords, capitalists, kulaks and usurers, who abolished the exploitation of man by man, built up modern industry and a whole working class which is guiding the destiny of the country, who set up and worked out an administration appropriate to a socialist country and modernized it, as they modernized industry, agriculture, the army and all the other sectors of the life of the country, be called conservative?

Can a party and people who accomplished such a profound, progressive revolution in social life, who brought women out of obscurity and gave them all their rights and made them equal with men in all spheres of life, who broke for all time the cruel chains which had made women slaves of men and society, who did away with the savage canons, laws, habits, and bad customs, who opened to women the broad vistas of a dignified life, opened the way to work, learning and knowledge, be called conservative?

Can our Party, which brought happiness to the youth, which opened schools all over the country to equip them with knowledge, culture, and lofty proletarian morality, which provided everything to enable them to grow up healthy, to become capable and worthy to take up the torch of the revolution handed on to them, and to work with pure and lofty consciousness so that when they, in turn, hand over this torch to the coming generations, it will be intact, not feeble, but sound, and with further successes attained solely on the honourable Marxist-Leninist course of our people and Party, be called conservative?

Was not the crushing blow dealt to religious dogma, that ancient plague, that poisonous black spider, in our country the most heroic, the most daring, the wisest, the most well-considered and the most skilful act? Was the abolition of the power of religion, along with its appa-

tus and personnel, an insignificant, conservative act? That was a centuries-old, spiritual and material structure. Our Party and people destroyed this structure within a few decades, but the fight to eradicate this cancer from the mentality of the people is still far from ended. A cure for cancer has not yet been discovered, but for religion it has been, and if a struggle is waged in this direction, consistently and with conviction, the cure will no longer take centuries but a few decades, a few generations. The fight against religious ideology is closely connected with the fight against imperialism and revisionism, with the fight for socialism and communism.

We could pose questions similar to these, in regard to every field, every activity of our new life. So, it is not we who are conservative, but those who call us conservative, the imperialists, the feudal gentry, the bourgeoisie, the capitalists, the clergy and all their followers. These enemies aim to seize back from us what our people and Party won and will belong only to our people and Party. They want to rob us of our freedom, democracy, independence and sovereignty. Thus, they want socialist Albania to be socialist no longer, but totally dependent on them.

So that Albania will no longer be socialist, these conservatives, reactionaries and bandits want the land returned to the kulaks, to the big landowners or to a new generation of capitalists, and thus, to destroy the socialist system in the countryside and return the peasant to his former condition, only this time, with his hair over his ears and down to his shoulders like a woman, clad in extravagant synthetic clothes and with the soul of a slave; they want the factories to become the property of a new bourgeoisie, and the working class to work in chains for them and their foreign bosses; they want the Albanian women to be corrupted, spiritually and physically, to be worn out with toil; they want the youth to

become degenerate, to dance crazy dances and use narcotics; they want the schools to be closed, hooliganism, crime, unemployment and emigration to become rife, and religion and the Church to dominate our minds and help in this degeneration which they call «modernism» and «liberalism».

These sworn enemies of the advance and progress of mankind claim to be «modern, progressive and civilized», while they call us «old-fashioned, barbarians, savages, backward, conservatives clinging to outdated ideas» and allegedly behind the times. We are allegedly «out of step with the century». But which century? Obviously, their century of filth, degeneration, shame and slavery.

However, it is we who are modern in the real meaning of the word, because we are fighting in the century during which the revolution has triumphed, we are fighting for the revolution, for socialism, for communism, because we are guided and inspired in everything and at every moment by the immortal ideas of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, because the revolution is the progress, the advance, and the future of mankind.

But how is it that conservative black reaction world wide accuses us of being conservative when we are not? How can it identify us with itself? Is there not a contradiction here? The contradiction apparent to us does not exist from the viewpoint of world reaction. It claims through widespread propaganda that «it is not conservative in anything, that it is progressive». It alleges that capitalism is not the same as it used to be. It has changed, has become more progressive, more liberal and more humane, it no longer oppresses and bleeds the peoples or hinders progress, it no longer incites wars, kills people or speculates with their sweat and toil. According to reaction, «times have changed and people have changed, too, capitalism has developed the forces of production,

has allegedly given the people many freedoms and rights even over the capitalist enterprises; the class structure has changed, class antagonisms have been reduced and are being eliminated, the class struggle is dying out, and is no longer the motive force of history. Other factors have appeared on the social scene, such as the technical-scientific revolution» etc., etc.

In other words, according to reaction, «the theory of Marx and Lenin is outdated, has lost its value, and moreover as such it has become a theory which restricts advance, progress and well-being and has become a conservative, anachronistic theoretical concept». Hence, according to them, «all who remain faithful to the theory of Marx and Lenin are conservative». In their view there are «dogmatic conservative communists», and we are among them, because we remain loyal to the theory of Marxism-Leninism and fight for its triumph. There are also «liberal communists with a human face», who are the betrayers of Marxism-Leninism of every hue and category, headed by the Soviet, Titoite and other revisionists.

The seizure of power by the modern revisionists in the Soviet Union and in many countries of people's democracy was a major victory for imperialism and world reaction. Modern revisionism is a variant of the reactionary bourgeois ideology, and its aim, which it achieved, was to bring about the transformation of the Marxist-Leninist parties of those countries which were building socialism into reactionary bourgeois fascist parties, and the transformation of their countries into capitalist countries. This betrayal touched off a chain reaction of betrayals in a very large number of communist and workers' parties on all continents.

Through their 20th Congress and their slanders and condemnation of Stalin, through their rehabilitation of

traitors to the revolution and socialism, allegedly victims of Stalin, through the wide-scale liberalization of the life of the party and the allegedly oppressed masses, the Khrushchevite revisionists prepared the soil and opened the way for capitalism in the Soviet Union. This process of transformation proceeded rapidly in the Soviet Union and in many countries of people's democracy which we know. The Soviet Union was quickly transformed into a big social-imperialist power, a partner and ally of US imperialism in the division of spheres of influence, domination of the world, and suppression of peoples' national liberation wars and revolutions.

We have lived through all this process, our Party has analysed it in all its details, and, at the head of our people, has waged and continues to wage a very fierce and successful struggle against the traitors to Marxism-Leninism and their allies, the various imperialists, led by the Americans.

I will not enlarge here on this analysis, but from what we have done, and we have not done it badly, on the basis of those genuine facts and documents we have been able to have access to, and while rejecting the trumped-up charges, slanders and falsifications of the Khrushchevite revisionists, we can say that the revisionist betrayal was able to triumph because, after Stalin's death, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union was not in sound revolutionary positions. It had lost the revolutionary spirit of the glorious period of the Great October Revolution, of the civil war and the war against intervention, of the period of the struggle to accomplish the tasks of the great five-year plans, of the correct and fierce class struggle against the Trotskyites, Bukharinites, Zinovievites, the kulaks and the treason in the army, and the spirit of the period of the Second World War.

After the war the Leninist norms were retained in

the Party and the state, but they were not properly implemented, there was a lack of revolutionary discipline, not enough was done to combat bureaucracy, routine, stereotypism and a series of other evils which weakened the structure of the Party and Soviet state. There, in the dark corners, the Khrushchevites arose and thrived, singing hymns of praise on the one hand and, on the other hand, making concessions and preparing for the future.

The most dangerous enemy is the one who is forgotten. The Bolshevik Party forgot this and that is why the Soviet Union suffered this catastrophe, and why international communism suffered this great injury.

The whole leitmotif of the Khrushchevite traitors was their ideological reconciliation with US imperialism and with capitalism, peaceful co-existence, the suppression of revolutionary wars, the assumption of power in parliamentary ways, extensive, sincere economic collaboration, the free exchange of experience, taking and giving economic credits, promoting tourism and the exchange of ideas, the whole range of unrestrained degenerating liberalism. All this is done under the slogan of «protecting peace», of «a world without armaments and without wars», of «the prosperity and progress of mankind», of «the triumph of socialism with a human face».

It is clear that a big market was opened for the reactionary bourgeois ideology to step in; revisionism became a zealous apprentice in spreading it, a worthy partner of US and world imperialism in spreading, backing and upholding the American way of life, the Western way of thinking and all the evils they bring in their wake, leading to the degeneration of society, the women and the youth, etc.

Decadent music, radio broadcasts, literature, dancing and jazz festivals, narcotics, murder, prostitution, putting

the interests of the Homeland up for auction, the influx of US capital, the buying of secrets, people and brains became the fashion, the prevailing currency, to such an extent that the individual, the enterprise or state that does not act in that way «is not in its right mind, has no brains, is backward, is not modern». The sea has turned into yoghurt, and such people have lost their spoons. «Come on!» they say, «let us live in euphoria, in gaiety, let the young amuse themselves, the young want what is new and modern! Who are these conservatives who hinder us from doing what we please? We want freedom, we want democracy, we want to sleep with women in the streets and parks, we boys want to let our hair grow long like women, to wear crosses round our necks, to go to church, to have our pornographic clubs, to have a private car, and even hope to have an aeroplane at our disposal!» This is what life is like there, this is how it is understood in the capitalist and revisionist countries. There are people who are amazed at the Albanians, but let us not forget that there are many who are not only amazed, but are also bitter enemies, and have the barrel of their gun pointed towards us. We do not lag behind either, we have our artillery trained on them.

Old and young in our country must understand clearly, and the Party must always make it clear to them, that socialist Albania is a thorn in the flesh of the imperialists, the revisionists and all the capitalists of the world, and not one of them, at any time, ever wishes it well. As regards their activity against us, it may and does differ in intensity, kind, method and circumstances. We must always be prepared to cope with, avert and wipe out this activity even temporarily, to combat it with the same intensity as it appears, and never reach agreements to the detriment of the cause, the interests of our Homeland, and our principles. We must be vigilant, not only

we, the leadership, but the whole people, every individual.

The imperialists, the revisionists and the reactionary bourgeoisie make their calculations in this way: «Albania is a small country, and at any moment we can change the face of the regime through our intervention; even though the Albanians are obstinate and brave and will fight, nothing can resist our force, especially now when we great powers have reached an understanding between ourselves». «However,» these eventual aggressors say, «we have tried all the methods of force and subversion, even the use of arms and economic blockades against Albania, and the truth is that we have had no success. Now, for the time being, let us resort to another tactic which has yielded such good results in certain countries: degeneration in peaceful ways, infiltration by other means, with a smile, some trade exchanges, by publishing a few of their books, making a film, etc. This was the way we broke the 'Stalinists' in the Soviet Union and achieved our purpose in the other socialist countries, so why should we not achieve it in Albania, too? After all, these old people who are hindering us will die one day. So we can take our time. Let us work from within, and of course we should get a hold on those who are still unformed, get to know their inclinations, encourage them in one way or another, and let the situation ripen so as to take the fortress from within, because it is no use beating our heads against a wall.»

In broad outline, this is the reasoning of the external and internal enemies of our Party and people. Then what must we do? We must follow the opposite reasoning, the realistic analysis of the situation, and act correctly and energetically to foil the plans of the enemy. But can these plans be foiled? They certainly can if we fight. If we don't, if we fall asleep, then socialist Albania will be doomed, if not today, tomorrow. Let us not forget the

tragedy of the Soviet Union, which should serve as a lesson to us.

At present the external enemies aim to weaken our internal front, that is, to weaken our socialist regime, and first and foremost its leading body, the Party of Labour of Albania. The external enemies always co-ordinate their overt and covered activities with internal enemy elements, who act in various ways and forms to weaken the regime of the proletariat which suppresses them, and they link all their activity with the propaganda, actions and political circumstances of their external allies. This alliance may or may not be organized with secret connections, but the alliance and collaboration exist, and they grow stronger the more careless we are and the more we lack revolutionary vigilance.

No one should think that it is only we who wage the class struggle against our enemies; they also wage it against us. Of course, the ratio of forces and the balance of victories on the battlefield of the class struggle is positively in favour of the dictatorship of the proletariat with its all-round potential, which is in power in our socialist country, but precisely because the class enemy wants to emerge from this struggle alive, so that he may hit harder later, he has learned to fight in this situation which is difficult for him; he operates underground while being legal, he throws the stone and hides the hand that threw it, he beats his breast and swears that he supports this regime which he hates, he has learned to disguise himself and protect himself against storms and lightning, he has the umbrella of those «good» but very naive people who, when the Party and the government raise acute problems, say: «Oh, this is only a passing wave which will be forgotten in a month». He utilizes, inflates and spreads everything which comes to his hands or reaches his ear, he encourages people's weaknesses, uses

self-criticism in his own interest, sows confusion, anarchy and indiscipline, encourages exaggerated desires, theft and hooliganism, and does not do those things openly for he protects himself, but lets others, often possibly the «good people», do them, in order to compromise them and in this way add them to his ranks...

Some who think very wrongly say: «Why should we raise these problems? We should not make a fuss about them, should not spoil the joyful atmosphere which exists; we should not spoil the 'reputation of our youth, our peasants, our workers, we should not do such a thing, for the people will say: 'What has the Party done, why has the Party allowed this, let us take measures on the quiet,' etc.»

Such an idea is not revolutionary, it must be combated. The people have never reproached the Party when it has said things, as it has always said them, bluntly, openly, just as they are; on the contrary, they love the Party and would lay down their lives for it, precisely because it speaks out openly. Why should the Party not boldly cure certain diseases that appear in the healthy body of our socialist society? Or should it allow gangrene to spread in this beautiful body? Certainly not, for then we would have committed the greatest crime.

To point out the defects and dangers openly, to criticize and fight them, this has always characterized our Party. Has the honour of the Party suffered because it has acted in this way? No, its honour has been raised to the skies and shines like the sun.

Why should the reputation of the youth, the peasantry, the workers and others be spoilt when we speak of their defects and mistakes? Can they be faultless? There is a wise saying: «He who does not work, does not make mistakes». If it is the workers and peasants who work, it is they and no one else who err. Then, should we cover

up one another's mistakes, and create a false situation? Neither the Party nor the working class has allowed or will ever allow us to do this.

Our Party should mobilize the public opinion of the whole country and raise an iron front against the front consisting of the external and internal enemies, and people should understand correctly and profoundly that this enemy front, this pressure of the enemy, is neither imaginary nor hypothetical, but real and concrete, and therefore, the fight against it should be real, concrete, political, ideological and practical. Conceit and arrogance on this key problem lead to the course of forgetting the enemy and underrating the danger he represents.

Groundless euphoria creates difficult situations and serves to cover up shortcomings and faults. It is like the quilt used for protection from the cold which has no effect on him who is shivering from a high fever. It creates disillusionment, discontent and discouragement. We should not be afraid to look reality in the eye and to take measures appropriate to this reality.

The struggle against petty-bourgeois survivals in people's consciousness is often thought of lightly and reduced to an ideological struggle through lectures and meetings, and since it is a protracted struggle and these survivals are manifested in our people, and not only among the rank-and-file of our people, but also among the working class and its vanguard — the communists, the idea is created that we have time to tackle them slowly and in a mild way, instead of seeing that this is the biggest, most complicated, most harmful and most dangerous front of our struggle, which requires the greatest attention of the Party, the state and the masses, and the greatest militant strictness.

Calling them «survivals» should not lead us into underestimating them. The word survivals gives the impression

of insignificant, transitory, speedily cured things without serious consequences, let alone dangerous ones. This is how many people, including some communists, regard these manifestations, so dangerous to the formation of the new man and the construction of the socialist society, they take a very liberal stand towards these manifestations, and do not go deeply into their essence, into their consequences in practical life. This is the broadest front for hostile work, because these survivals, as we call them, are manifestations of the ideology of the enemy who fights us with our own hands, with our own men, who, intentionally or unintentionally, bring grist to the mill of the enemy.

We call these manifestations «survivals» only with regard to the people who are loyal to our people's state power and our Party, because among ten good qualities they also have some manifestation of this kind. But in regard to the enemy elements these have never been and never will be «survivals», but are their genuine ideology and the guide for action. However, these petty-bourgeois survivals are not just one or ten, nor the same in kind, intensity, or the way they manifest themselves. They have only one thing in common: they are harmful, very harmful.

Our Party and all its levers are engaged in a colossal, persistent and successful struggle against them. Everywhere there is heroism at work, conscientiousness, honesty. People are being tempered and educated with proletarian morality. This is undeniable, evident and tangible. Innumerable difficulties are being overcome with heroism and maturity, because this is a daily struggle, which does not and cannot proceed smoothly. All this is very positive, real, encouraging and inspiring, and constitutes the unbreakable strength of our Party, of Marxist-Leninist ideology and the dictatorship of the proletariat.

But this sound situation must not make us underestimate the extent of the danger of these survivals and deal with them and their consequences in a liberal way, for we must admit that there is also liberalism in the way they are dealt with, which may cause these «survivals» to turn into bourgeois philosophical concepts, resulting in dangerous social ills.

I have the impression that some people have a narrow understanding of the class struggle the Party Wages, as if it is directed only against the class enemy as a person, as an individual, and do not have a deep grasp of its ideological essence, the ideological struggle of the working class against bourgeois and petty-bourgeois ideology, which includes the famous «survivals» and a number of other things which we currently call «errors, mistakes, distortions, indiscipline», and so on. The bearers of all these are people who live, work and struggle in this land of ours where socialism is being built, where the new clashes with the old, where this class struggle is being waged in fact. These manifestations show up in life and work and must be fought using all ways and means, at all times and in every class or stratum of the population in which they appear, but they appear to a greater extent and more often among intellectuals, then among peasants, and less so among workers. This is the case in general, but this categorization should not lead us to the conclusion that we will find the source of these manifestations only among intellectuals and the peasants, while our working class is free from these dangerous manifestations...

Are all the bearers of the alien anti-socialist views enemies of socialism? No, certainly not, for if this were so, socialism would be in danger in our country. Does the external, or even the internal enemy go and whisper into the ears of pupils and students: «Violate discipline in school, why rack your brains to study, leave your lessons

without permission and go for a stroll»? Or do they tell the teachers and lecturers of these pupils and students: «Why do you need to extend your knowledge, why should you be interested in educating your pupils out of school?»? Or do they tell the peasants not to apply the laws of agricultural technique properly, or tell the workers, «Instead of eight hours, work only six. Don't worry about the quality or range, but try your hardest to exceed the norm in order to gain more for yourself». No, certainly not!

Then, why do these things happen? «External pressure», some say, as if this explains everything. However, it is not exactly so. The external enemy pressure is great, and it is impermissible for us to underestimate it, but we must recognize that there also seems to be «internal pressure» deep down in ourselves, which we do not fight as we should in our conscience through sound education, nor do we fight it as we should when this pressure is expressed in work and in life, with all its evil consequences.

Capitalism has its laws, its labour discipline, which it enforces with the greatest strictness, of course, for its own benefit and to the detriment of the working class which it oppresses and bleeds white. Socialism, which is the state of the workers in alliance with the peasant class, has its own laws, its own labour discipline, which it must implement strictly for the good of the class and the broad masses of the people, for the well-being of all, hence, of each individual...

Precisely in our socialist country people do not starve, do not suffer from unemployment; they have material and spiritual benefits which they increase, must and will increase day by day, through their work, toil, struggle, sacrifice and education. These vital teachings of our Marxist-Leninist Party, these laws of the dictatorship of the proletariat are precisely what have created this situation, and

therefore, our working people should study them thoroughly, understand them thoroughly, and struggle hard to apply them and defend them in life. The laws and norms of the Party must not be violated at any time, by anybody, the laws of the dictatorship of the proletariat must not be violated, our freedom and proletarian democracy must not be abused. Any laxity, any abuse, any liberalism, any underestimation of mistakes and errors, causes incalculable damage and leads to decay of the situation. None but the enemy wants such a thing to happen. But it may happen, if we do not fight as a body united around our Party and government against these manifestations.

These manifestations are not new, and they did not and do not emerge in one day. There are circumstances which foster some of them. The Party reacts and points out their danger and the way to fight them on all fronts. Certain people, including leading cadres, consider these reactions as «campaigns», as unexpected things and ask: «How did these things come about, how did we fail to see them?» This is a wrong unrealistic view. The Party saw these manifestations long ago, warned about them and mobilized itself and fought against them. However, those who express such ideas ought to be more courageous and say: «We have operated with campaigns, sometimes superficially, have left one and taken up another, have appreciated one problem and have underestimated another, and what is worse, we have been afraid to speak out to express our opinion.» When you ask them: «What were you afraid of?», they reply: «We were afraid we might be accused of being conservative». But what sort of a reply is that!? These comrades need to analyse their conscience and their work over this issue.

The question was raised of the television and the radio broadcasts, and the festival, in short, of alien manifestations in literature and art. Some opened their eyes

wide in amazement, others said that Italian television was to blame, while others again minimized the correct reaction of the Party, reducing it to the issue of long hair. There is no doubt that Italian television has had an influence in this direction, but the masses of the people have been watching it for only a few months; the directors of television and the arts have long been watching television, listening to music of all kinds, and reading foreign [decadent] books. The Party is not raising these problems of art and culture for the first time. It has constantly combated deviations in line, because there are people who have deviated from the line of the Party and have deviated precisely towards liberalism, towards «modernism», imitating the ugly, the corrupt and degenerate, and they have done this because allegedly this is what the youth want, because the youth want the new, because the youth want to amuse themselves, etc...

We can say that the economic situation of our country is not bad, but satisfactory. This is due to the correct line of the Party, to the tireless efforts of the producers, to the development of these forces according to the scientific laws of Marxism-Leninism, to the proper administration of the national income, to the continuous increase in investments, and so on. Our markets have been supplied with everything, prices have never risen, but have been reduced, while in the revisionist and capitalist countries, prices rise every day, and those countries are in the grip of a great economic and monetary crisis. We know that the purchasing power of our population is high, and their desires and needs are growing. We all want these desires and needs to be fulfilled and strive for this, but not everybody understands and acts correctly to achieve this, because they view these things from their personal angle, from the angle of their micro-world.

In order to have more you must produce more, in

order to have good, beautiful and cheap things, you must work well, be disciplined at work, acquire technical training, work eight hours, and even longer sometimes, turn out good quality products according to the range and in the time specified, and deliver the goods, that is, fulfil contracts, obligations and plans. Do we do all this as we should? No! Then is it right to make inordinate, unjust demands, when we do not take strong measures to ensure that the plans are properly fulfilled in agriculture, industry, mining, transport, education and trade? All these things are linked...

I said earlier that socialism and the dictatorship of the proletariat have their own laws. These laws must be strictly applied. Absolutely, no spirit of liberalism should be permitted. Strict proletarian discipline must be established everywhere, and punishment in accordance with the law should be meted out without hesitation to all, whoever they may be, who violate this labour discipline in production, in education, or in offices, who violate discipline and the plan in all its range and aspects, who violate the norms of the Party and the laws of the state.

Work is an honour for the people of our country, and therefore, it is inconceivable and unacceptable that there should be some, especially young people, who are idle and stroll up and down the streets without working. The finest sons and daughters of our people shed their blood for this land and this freedom we enjoy today, while individuals who loaf and do not want to lift a finger for their country are simply abusing this freedom. I say to them that they should go to work tomorrow, at the double, and not wherever they please, but wherever the country needs them. Let the iron dictatorship of the proletariat hit hard without hesitation and mercilessly at parasites for they are among the most dangerous enemies of our socialist Homeland.

The dictatorship of the proletariat and its organs must defend the rights of citizens to the letter, but, at the same time, it should demand that each citizen performs his duties to the letter. There is and can be no one-sidedness in this matter. Everyone has rights, but at the same time he has duties as well, therefore, no one is allowed to demand his rights while neglecting his duties. If someone does not fulfil his duties and tries to disguise the fact, this means that the good advice, the educational and political work are having no effect on him, that he is abusing them. Then anyone who breaches or evades the laws, ordinances and regulations issued by the working class and the Party should be punished without hesitation, and any one of the appointed or elected working people, who does not properly carry out these laws, ordinances and regulations should unhesitatingly be charged with penal responsibility and be turned over to the court.

Strict proletarian discipline must be established at work, including coming to work on time, fully observing the eight-hour day, taking breaks only at the time set and for the length of time specified, observing the discipline of production and of the plan, and so on. Measures must be taken against those who do not implement and respect these essential requirements, measures ranging from cautioning them (and this should not be abused) to dismissing them from their jobs. These disciplinary measures should be clearly recorded in the work records of such undisciplined workers who commit abuses, and they should not think that they can go out through the door and come back through the window. The state of the proletariat will not leave them without work, but this time they will go to work wherever the state considers it necessary.

All those working people who damage the common socialist property must pay compensation for this by deductions from their pay. If the laws in this direction are

inadequate, measures should be taken to amend them. We can no longer allow what has been happening up to now, that a few irresponsible individuals should get away with abuses and this be covered up under the label of educating them.

The dictatorship of the proletariat and its organs must be merciless towards those who steal public and private property. There must be no mercy or leniency for the enemies of the people and of socialism, and the thieves are included amongst them. There should be no pardon for those who commit such crimes nor for those who try to moderate punishment of them...

With what I have said and other things I have not mentioned, but which we must go into in more detail in every sector, is the line of the Party changed? Not at all. The Party has said these things and continually repeats them to us. We will find them in every directive of the Party and at all times. They have become laws, customs, regulations and ordinances. We work and fight inspired by them. We will never give up the policy of persuasion, of intensive and continuous political work with the people. First and foremost we must work to educate our people ideologically with the Marxist-Leninist theory of our Party. In no instance do we abandon this course, which is the principal and decisive one, in order to have recourse to administrative measures. Ideologically immature people may easily make this mistake. Naturally these people will now waken from their opportunist and liberal slumber and take up the «whip» only to fall into their opportunist sleep again. These matters must be viewed correctly and a correct attitude taken towards them.

It must be acknowledged that there is a lot of liberalism and leniency in these matters. Some lead an easy life, not putting themselves out or making much effort. Some others think that the great, difficult and glorious

struggle that the Party has been waging for decades in order to revolutionize people and the life of the country is over, that it has been won on all fronts and in all the vicissitudes of life, and they continually bring out communiques full of slogans which put people to sleep, precisely when a few are breaking the laws and regulations, stealing and adopting the detestable, reactionary bourgeois way of life.

The thing is that people should shake themselves up, the overwhelmingly sound opinion in our country should put those who do evil, who behave badly and think badly, with their backs to the wall.

The good advice, the political and ideological education are for all the masses, while the punishments are only for those who deserve them, and not for good people. The bad are a minority, the overwhelming majority are good, and where there are bad people, there is education, but there are also measures to be taken when the educational work has no effect on them. This is what the Party teaches, and we should never forget it. Hence, we should carry out the line of the Party fully, and not imperfectly.

We must educate our people so that they have a deep ideological and political understanding of problems. We must never give up the policy of persuasion and clarification, but at this stern phase of the class struggle, in this capitalist encirclement, the dictatorship of the proletariat and our ideology do not permit us to confine ourselves solely to this form of education for those who break the laws, for those who do not hesitate to drop work when they please and return when they please because nobody asks them where they were, or for those who produce what they feel like while receiving full pay, or damage the common socialist property and get away with only a self-criticism. This liberalism and condemnable leniency must

be ended at once. The Party and the government must be stern in their justice on these matters, and so must the people's courts. Formalism and bureaucratic concepts must not be permitted in our courts, but the revolutionary spirit should develop in them. Each person's rights must be defended, but not to the detriment of the collective. Each person must have his rights ensured, but must be required to perform his duties, as well.

Social insurance benefits for the working people must be protected and implemented, but the latter must fulfil their obligations to work to the letter, otherwise these benefits must not operate in their favour.

In other words, the laws of the dictatorship must operate properly and not be covered with the rust which, in this case, is called liberalism, indifference, bureaucracy, favouritism, nepotism, morbid familiarity and friendship. And often these things are covered with the excuse, «We are doing political work, they are young and inexperienced, they will mature». The people say, «Spare the rod and spoil the child», therefore, wherever necessary, along with educational and persuasive work, the dictatorship of the proletariat and the Party must use all measures with patience and discretion, but without hesitation, because they are for the good of our people, they are for socialism and a better future.

So let us all set to work with multiplied efforts, with heroism, with the maturity and the revolutionary spirit which characterizes our people, firmly relying on and inspired by the correct Marxist-Leninist line of our Party, so that each of us individually and all of us together accomplish our allotted tasks in order to make our socialist Homeland ever stronger, more prosperous and more beautiful!

INTENSIFY THE IDEOLOGICAL STRUGGLE AGAINST ALIEN MANIFESTATIONS AND LIBERAL ATTITUDES TOWARDS THEM

*From the Report submitted to the 4th Plenum
of the CC of the PLA*

June 26, 1973

Comrades,

This Plenum of the Central Committee is devoted to a major problem, vital to our Party and the cause of socialist construction: the problem of the struggle against the influences of alien bourgeois and revisionist ideology, in order to implant the proletarian ideology on all fronts and at all times, and especially in the present conditions of the hostile imperialist and revisionist encirclement of our country.

This problem which we have always been up against has become more acute recently, and therefore has attracted the particular attention of the Party and of all the working masses. Adhering to Marxist-Leninist principle, the Party badly criticized many alien manifestations which had appeared in certain spheres of our social life as a result of influences of the old society, and especially of the pressure of the capitalist and revisionist world. The measures that have been taken to fight these negative

phenomena mark a further important step in deepening the process of revolutionizing the whole life of the country.

Although only a relatively short time has passed since the Party raised these problems before the whole people, we note with satisfaction that good work has been done and very positive results have been attained in all fields. The first thing to point out is the profound understanding, the unanimous approval and the readiness which the communists, the working class, the youth and all the working people expressed on this occasion. A lively atmosphere of debate and confrontation to criticize shortcomings, to expose weaknesses and alien manifestations in work centres, cultural and artistic institutions, at school and at home, and to determine effective ways to overcome them has now been created everywhere. A sound spirit of mobilization to fulfil the plan and carry out tasks, to strengthen proletarian discipline at work, and to protect the property of the people is being created in town and countryside. Ideological and political vigilance towards internal and external enemies and military training for the defence of the Homeland have been raised to a new, higher level.

In this revolutionary atmosphere, a series of valuable initiatives have burst forth in the spheres of production, ideology, culture, etc. They are a concrete expression of the correct understanding of the internal and external situations in which we live, of the lofty moral qualities the Party has implanted in the working people, and of their steel-like unity round the Party and its correct Marxist-Leninist line.

All these things are a premise and a guarantee for even greater successes in the future. But we cannot rest content with what has been achieved, nor can we think that the problems recently raised by the Party have al-

ready been fully solved. On the contrary, it is essential that we dwell on and go still deeper into certain important aspects of the class struggle in order to smash all the influences of the alien ideology of the past and the present, both bourgeois and revisionist, in order to make the dictatorship of the proletariat even stronger and ensure the ceaseless advance of the revolution and our socialist construction.

Comrades,

The struggle against alien ideology for the inculcation of the socialist ideology in the consciousness of all our working people on all fronts has always been one of the main preoccupations of the Party in all its activity. It has always regarded this struggle as one of the fundamental conditions for the ceaseless development of the revolution and the construction of socialism, for the formation and tempering of the new man of the new society. It has regarded it also as an essential condition for its very existence and development as a Marxist-Leninist party capable of fulfilling both its national and its internationalist duties.

The emergence of revisionism and its advent to power in the Soviet Union and certain other countries, where underestimation of the struggle against the influences of bourgeois ideology became one of the important causes of the degeneration of the socialist order and of the party itself, add further strength to our correct conviction that, without a persistent struggle to eradicate the influences of alien ideologies, both the old feudal and petty-bourgeois and the present-day bourgeois and revisionist ones, without achieving the decisive triumph of the socialist revolution on the ideological front, too, its achievements on

the economic and political front cannot be secure.

We are all witnesses to the major successes of historic importance which have been achieved in the determined struggle waged by the Party, at the head of the working masses, against bourgeois and revisionist ideology, against religious, patriarchal and feudal ideology. A great qualitative stride has been taken towards the complete emancipation of women, important measures have been taken for the further revolutionization of the school, the eradication of bureaucracy, etc. Great results have been achieved in the revolutionary education of the new man, and profound socialist ideological convictions about work, property, society and the family have been created among the working people. The Party's slogan, «We must think, work, fight and live like revolutionaries», inspires and mobilizes all our people.

In further deepening this process of revolutionization, the 6th Congress of the Party placed the emphasis more firmly on the need for a battle on all fronts, not only against the conservative survivals and traces of the past, but, in particular, against the dangerous influences of the present-day bourgeois, revisionist and liberal ideology which exerts ceaseless and intense pressure on us. It very rightly described this battle on two fronts as a decisive condition to ensure lasting victories in the struggle against alien ideologies.

The victories achieved in the struggle against alien manifestations and influences are major ones. However, we cannot fail to take into account that, under the existing conditions of encirclement and all-round imperialist and revisionist pressure, we are very far from the point when we can consider ourselves immune to dangers. The successes our Party has achieved in its struggle to unmask imperialism and revisionism in the political and theoretical planes, especially through the great polemic with mod-

ern revisionism, must not lead us, in any instance, to think that they constitute a barrier impervious to the penetration of alien ideology in various fields of the life of the country and the minds of our people. The fact is that our enemies have not in any way ceased the fight against us. They have changed only their tactics, concentrating their efforts especially on the ideological front. In order to pave the way for the degeneration of our people and our socialist order, they mostly prefer to exploit the lingering vestiges and beds of old ideologies in the consciousness of our working people, especially petty-bourgeois, individualistic concepts and habits. Our internal and external enemies encourage and support one another in various forms and ways, co-ordinating their activities against our people's state power and socialism.

On the other hand, there are situations in the world which automatically pose the need for a great mobilization to enhance the vigilance and muster all the forces against the ideology and policies, attitudes and activity of the enemy.

The atmosphere is thick with the stench of pacifism and capitulation. The American imperialists and the Soviet revisionists are trying to spread a spirit of reconciliation and compromise in Europe, Asia, Africa and America. Now the war in Vietnam is coming to an end, there is talk that the situation in the Middle East can be settled in a peaceful way, talk of some sort of security and reduction of troops in Europe, the results of the improvement of the relations between the big powers are being proclaimed far and wide, the frequent contacts and talks of statesmen are greatly publicized, etc. Such situations may create a spirit of demobilization, may create the opinion that the danger of war is remote, that «the world is simmering down».

The tactic of spreading this phoney peaceful psy-

chosis, as a means to facilitate military and ideological aggression, is now supported by a host of theories and doctrines which the imperialists and revisionists have concocted especially for this purpose. They talk a great deal about «peaceful coexistence», «detente», «negotiations», and so on. These are not simply propaganda slogans. They are also ideological devices, means to create a general psychology of fatalism towards events which occur in the world, efforts to prepare the peoples ideologically to accept the arbitrariness of the superpowers and whatever future they may decide for them.

The imperialists and revisionists try to inculcate this pacifist spirit in us, too, through honeyed words, through proposals to «normalize relations», trying to persuade us that no danger threatens us and that we can live demobilized and off-guard. This diabolical and very dangerous tactic is intended to overwhelm our vigilance and to incite and encourage liberalism and disintegration. It should be clear to us that even if some sort of detente actually exists, this can be true only between the imperialist superpowers, but there is not and will not be detente between them and us, between the peoples on the one hand and the imperialists and social-imperialists on the other. It is completely clear to us that the imperialist and revisionist strategy to suppress the revolutionary struggles and movements and any resistance to their hegemony, to destroy and crush any force, state, or party which opposes their domination, remains unchanged. Only the tactics and means they use have changed, and now these have become more numerous and perfected.

The agreements and collaboration between the big powers, first and foremost, between the United States of America and the Soviet Union, which are steadily extending, cannot fail to be expressed and result in an increase in their pressure on the small, independent countries, in

their increased efforts to interfere in the internal affairs of sovereign states, in the intensification of their struggle to force others into accepting their dictate in matters of international relations, and in the extension of their activity to impose their way of thinking and way of life on other peoples and nations. It is natural that in this new situation the all-round imperialist-revisionist economic, political and military pressure on our country will become greater, with the aim of stifling the only voice in Europe which is raised boldly against their aggressive, expansionist policy, and which boldly tears the mask from the sinister plans, demagoguery and deception of the superpowers against the peoples and the revolution.

The imperialists and revisionists have always wanted and still want to do away with socialism in Albania. This we know. But what we must keep most clearly in mind is that for us there exists the danger not only of direct military aggression, but also of ideological aggression. Moreover, the enemy's ideological pressure on and struggle against us is a preparation for and precursor to an eventual military assault. Not for one moment must we forget that we are a small country, and because of our principled revolutionary stands, the all-sided ideological pressures of the capitalist and revisionist world are focussed on us. On the other hand, we cannot live isolated from the outside world, the influences of which penetrate into our country and our people through many channels, through various means of information and propaganda, which today are more widespread and sophisticated than ever before, and through contacts which cannot be avoided. Therefore, the Party has frequently emphasized that, along with serious military and economic preparations to cope with any eventuality, we must take all measures and mobilize all our forces to defeat the ideological aggression of the enemy, too. In this life-and-death strug-

gle we must bear in mind that the ideological pressure is permanent, that we cannot fight and defeat it once and for all, but must fight it and triumph over it every-day, every month and every year.

In the present conditions, the essence of this ideological aggression and the main objective of the class enemy is to encourage liberalism on all fronts for the degeneration of the socialist order and the internal and external policy of our Party and state.

This is precisely the way in which these counter-revolutionary results were brought about in the Soviet Union and in certain other countries, results which imperialism had not been able to achieve either by armed intervention or by fascist aggression. Under the slogan of liberalism, Stalin and his work were smeared and the dictatorship of the proletariat destroyed. Under this slogan, the road was opened to the revisionist economic reforms which led to the elimination of socialist relations of production, and to their replacement with new capitalist relations. In spiritual life, liberalism became the key which opened the door to the influx of the degenerate Western culture and way of life. And again, it was under the same slogan that the line of determined struggle against imperialism was rejected and replaced by the Khrushchevite policy of opening up to the West and all-round collaboration with US imperialism.

Liberalism may appear in the most varied fields and forms. Regardless of how or where it presents itself, in essence it is an expression of ideological and political opportunism, a rejection of consistent class struggle against external and internal enemies, against the blemishes of the old society and the present influences of alien ideology, is acceptance of peaceful co-existence with the enemy ideology. By encouraging liberalism, our enemies want us to give up our principled stand and struggle against

modern revisionism, to give up our determined struggle against imperialism, and to open our borders to «the free circulation of people, ideas and cultures». They want to spread a liberal and anarchist interpretation of socialist democracy, with a view to disrupting proletarian discipline at work and undermining the dictatorship of the proletariat. They want our people of culture and the arts to abandon proletarian partisanship, in order to open the way for all sorts of decadent bourgeois and revisionist trends to flourish. They want our people, our youth and all our working people to adopt the degenerate ways of behaviour, tastes and way of life of the rotten bourgeois-revisionist world.

Characteristic of the present ideological subversion of the bourgeoisie and revisionism against socialism is the combining in a single front of the basic counter-revolutionary trends, ranging from the pure bourgeois ideology of an openly anti-communist nature to the old traditional opportunism, from modern revisionism to the present so-called left opportunist trends. Regardless of the positions from which they attack Marxism-Leninism and socialism, regardless of what slogans and «arguments» they use against them, all these trends are united on their main objective, on their aim to show that capitalism has overcome its contradictions, that bourgeois society has been improved, that capitalism and socialism are converging towards one and the same society, that there is no longer a place for class struggle, no longer a place for revolutionary upheavals, no longer a place for communist ideals, etc.

In order to propagate this out-and-out reactionary thesis, in order to confuse people's minds, to befog their outlook and to bring about their degeneration, the bourgeoisie and the revisionists have set up a very powerful industry for poisoning public opinion, which, in terms of

capital invested and the number of people employed, exceeds even the biggest branches of the economy. At their disposal there are the numerous means of mass communication, and closely linked with them are literature and art, fashion and advertising, the press, radio, television and films.

The mighty wave of this propaganda crashes against our shores, too. It links up closely with many blemishes from the past in the consciousness of working people, especially with manifestations of petty-bourgeois individualism. These two aspects nurture each other, the old and the modernist merge into a single front of struggle against socialism and the dictatorship of the proletariat. Consequently, our struggle against these two evils also constitutes a single, complex and indivisible front. Our task is to muster all our forces and means to cope with the pressure of alien ideological influences, which is exerted precisely under these new external and internal circumstances, and to counter-attack actively. We must consider this struggle as one of the most important aspects of the class struggle for the triumph of the socialist road over the capitalist road.

The broad discussions in the Party and among the masses about the struggle against alien influences and liberal manifestations confirmed that the worries of the Party and those of the working people were fully justified. During these discussions there emerged a considerable number of ideological problems which have to do with the development of art and literature, education and culture in the right way, with the education of our youth, with the strengthening of discipline, with the further improvement of the activity of the Party itself, and the enhancement of its leading role. We must analyse all these problems at this plenum in a spirit of criticism and self-criticism and determine the ways and the measures to

keep alive the revolutionary atmosphere that has been created and to carry the struggle of the Party further ahead on all fronts.

STRENGTHENING PROLETARIAN PARTISANSHIP — AN ESSENTIAL
CONDITION FOR THE DEVELOPMENT OF LITERATURE AND THE
ARTS ON THE CORRECT COURSE

Our Party has displayed constant concern for the development of literature and the arts on the correct course and has always considered them as a powerful means for the communist education of the masses, especially for their ideo-aesthetic formation. Our literature and arts have kept pace with the whole development of the life of the country, with the deepening of the ideological and cultural revolution, and have made a major contribution to the formation and education of the new man and to raising our new socialist culture to a higher level.

Guided by the teachings of the Party and loyal to Marxism-Leninism, our writers and artists have created inspired works with sound content. Our art, with its socialist and revolutionary content, bears the national seal and expresses the consciousness of our people in the great historic moments we have experienced and are experiencing. The masses like this art and it serves as their spiritual nourishment. The people love and respect their own writers and artists.

The successes of our literature and art are clear testimony to the vigour of the method of socialist realism and its fundamental principle of proletarian partisanship, to its harmonization with the people's national spirit and sound realist tradition. Our arts, like all the spiritual life of our society, have developed in struggle with alien ideological influences, old and new, conservative and modernist, and especially bourgeois and revisionist influences.

The orientations of the 15th Plenum of the Central Committee, held in 1965,* have been of special importance in this struggle.

In recent years, however, as a result of the pressure of alien ideology, and especially of subjective weaknesses, some overt influences of bourgeois and revisionist ideology have appeared in literature, art and culture, and a liberal attitude has been taken towards them. They have harmed the development of our literature and arts. All the discussions have pointed out the danger of these alien influences as a means of imperialist-revisionist ideological subversion to divert our literature and arts from the correct revolutionary course of socialist realism and from the sound national basis and to lead them away from the line of the Party and its correct orientations.

The fundamental cause for the spread of these alien influences is the failure to implement consistently and departure from the correct orientation of the Party about waging a frontal ideological struggle in both directions, against conservatism and liberalism. The danger of the current influences of bourgeois and revisionist ideology has been underestimated by certain working people and leading cadres in the sector of culture, literature and arts. Certain old manifestations and traditions of a conservative nature have been considered as the only actual practical danger, while the danger from liberalism has been viewed only as a possibility. The simplification of the danger of bourgeois-revisionist influences, especially when this is done by «learned» intellectuals, is not a lapse of memory, but an inclination, a tendency which, if it is not combated, will grow and become dangerous. The corrupting liberal-modernist influence is not a potential danger, but a real one.

* See Enver Hoxha, Selected Works, vol. 3, p. 832 (Eng. ed.)

Certain elements contaminated by decadent modernism, posing as «competent» people, tried to open the door to anti-proletarian liberalism, to alien bourgeois-revisionist currents under the guise of fighting conservatism. In body they were here, but their hearts and minds were elsewhere. They viewed the life and development of our country in an inverted way, and tried to adapt decadent trends to our situation. These elements launched the divisive thesis that our genuine literature allegedly begins in the 60's, thus disparaging and negating all earlier artistic creation. In the name of criticizing conservatism, they misdirected the struggle against certain individual writers, especially against the older ones, seriously damaging the comradely atmosphere in literary-artistic circles.

The theorizing against so-called conservatism in the different genres of art has appeared in various forms. In the figurative arts, often under the slogan of combating scholasticism, an academic approach, naturalism and so on, works with alien old and new modernist influences and even borrowings from impressionism and cubism were not only legalized, but were often taken as models of bold creativeness and innovation. In music, the predominance of melody was called a manifestation of conservatism, just as reliance on the people's musical creativity was called archaism and folklorism. This so-called folklorism has often been presented as a bogey and as the main obstacle to the development of cultivated music.

In recent years, there has been an underestimation of the finest traditions of our folk music, and this is apparent also in the infrequency of performance of it by our best artists and, especially, in the lack of serious work to train new talents. This underestimation cannot be isolated from the preference some people have had for so-called dynamic, rhythmic music, which is allegedly the last word in modern music and the only music which

responds to the «demands of the time and our youth». No, we do not need such music. Only the bourgeoisie and the revisionists need it as a narcotic to stupefy the masses, especially the youth. Our youth need pure cultural nourishment, really of the times, but imbued with high ideals and a sound spirit. And our gifted composers have created many beautiful and original works with a revolutionary, national spirit of the times. They sing with inspiration and love to our country and people, to the beauty of the Albanian landscape, to the socialist life and pure sentiments of our people.

In the misrepresentations about archaism, folklorism and so on, we have to do with an openly scornful stand towards folklore in general, towards its great artistic and social values, and towards its relation to cultivated art. Precisely such stands and theorizing have been one of the causes for departures from the sound national background and have served as arguments to justify these departures. These pseudo-theoreticians attached disparaging labels to everything good and beautiful in folklore, labels which were often incomprehensible even to themselves, because they were bourgeois terms and currents in literature and art which with the passage of time had been discarded. These so-called modern aesthetes attached importance to form and not at all to ideology, politics or content.

Elements with liberal inclinations have often identified conservatism with tradition. They divided present-day literary-artistic phenomena mechanically into «traditional» and «innovative». Such confusion and division opened the way to the negation of the sound aspects of tradition. On this course, the alien influences were spread more easily. Naturally, these people could not base themselves on tradition, which they called regression, but on so-called innovation, which they called progress.

The Party has continually stressed the need to base ourselves on sound traditions and to cultivate them further. It has pointed out the great values, the patriotic, democratic and popular spirit of our finest cultural traditions. For us, however, tradition is not only the powerful tradition of the patriotic literature of our national renaissance, of the revolutionary democratic and progressive literature prior to Liberation, but also the tradition of the very rich and varied literature and art of our socialist realism, which is already thirty years old.

Our Party has been and remains in favour of innovative art, firmly based on sound tradition, old and new, and on proletarian partisanship.

For us Marxist-Leninists, the new is that which helps destroy everything outdated, regressive and reactionary, everything alien to our society and ideology, that which serves the affirmation of everything progressive and revolutionary, the development of socialist society, of its base and superstructure, production and spiritual life. We always see the new, first and foremost in content and then in form. That is how we see it in literature and art, too.

Our Party, which is a great and courageous innovator, a fearless revolutionary, which does away with outdated things one after another, which is leading an unprecedented revolution in the material and spiritual life of society, will never allow itself to be deceived by false innovation, by the glossy veneer which conceals the poisonous reactionary ideas of bourgeois and revisionist art and culture, or by the sensational advertisement of the so-called innovations of that culture. Our Party is in favour of truly modern development of the whole of our social life, our economy and culture, literature and arts. But this has nothing in common with the corrupting modernism of the present-day capitalist and revisionist world.

Many deviations which we are criticizing have come about through departure from, ignoring and denying, the national spirit. In the name of the new, the demands of the times, and the fact that we live in Europe, the supporters of liberalism began to distort the orientations of the Party about a differentiated critical attitude towards foreign culture, and to serve up to us the monstrosities of the present decadent, modernist, bourgeois-revisionist culture as new and innovative.

Through many storms of the times, through endless bitter battles, our people created a culture and art with clear national features, which constitutes a priceless asset. For us, these values of the progressive art of our nation are a source of legitimate pride. They are our contribution to the treasury of progressive world culture. Since our people preserved and further developed this culture through the centuries, then it falls on us, the generations of socialist society, to strive with the passion of communist militants to keep it pure and to develop it still further.

The imperialist bourgeoisie has always tried to denigrate or eliminate the cultural traditions of small peoples and the national spirit of their art and culture. This is one of the ways to carry out its cultural aggression and to subjugate the peoples. The aim of the reactionary bourgeois concept of the «internationalization» of culture and art, the idea that «the stage of national schools has already been superseded» is to eliminate the cultures of other peoples. Under these conditions it becomes even more imperative for us to fight to safeguard the national features of art, the cultural wealth of the people.

While fighting to defend the national spirit of our literature and art, we always emphasize strongly their revolutionary and socialist character. Its socialist content is the distinctive and most essential feature of our lit-

erature and art. This content has a clear proletarian class character. As such it must be achieved in unity with the national form, and this we see, too, in the practice of our literary and artistic creativity.

Our Party has spoken at other times, too, about our critical revolutionary stand towards foreign culture, of both the past and the present. We are obliged to return to this problem once again because, despite the Party's correct instructions, in practice there have been misunderstandings and distortions which have been one of the causes of the revival of alien influences.

Today, the phenomena of the decay and degeneration of bourgeois culture are becoming more and more pronounced. Its «isms», which pop up like mushrooms, are the clearest symptoms of this decay. Every day «new» schools and trends, which resemble innumerable religious sects and heresies, appear. Nevertheless, they have a common philosophical basis: idealism, with all its endless refinements. This is also the essence of those trends which, at first sight, appear to be leftist, radical protests against the official bourgeois society and its culture and morality.

Under the guise of an art which allegedly recognises no social prejudices and ideological commitment, the cult of void content and ugly form, of the despicable and horrible, is created. The principal heroes of decadent, modernist art are murderers and prostitutes, and its themes immorality and social pathology. Its banner is irrationalism, liberation from «reason». Its ideal is the primitivism of the caveman.

It is precisely this culture, coated with a glossy veneer, accompanied by sensational advertisement, handled in the most commercial way and backed up and financed by the bourgeoisie, that inundates the cinema and television screens, magazines, newspapers and radio broadcasts, all the mass information and propaganda media.

Its objective is to turn the ordinary man into a passive consumer of poisonous bourgeois ideas, and to make this consumption an addiction. Not only have we nothing to learn from this culture, no reason to impart it to our masses and youth, but we must reject it contemptuously and fight it with determination.

We value only the revolutionary, progressive and democratic foreign art, be it of the past or of our century. We shall continue to make use of it in a critical way, because this is necessary for the cultural development of the masses, for their ideo-aesthetic education, as well as for the formation of those tastes which resist the degenerating and vulgar bourgeois-revisionist influence.

All this requires careful, intelligent, and differentiated work on our part, requires avoidance of extreme attitudes based on xenomania or xenophobia, liberalism or sectarianism, the lack of a critical stand, or the desire to be on the safe side.

Our Party has always been opposed to any kind of distortion or underestimation of its directives and for a consistent ideological struggle on both flanks, against both liberalism and conservatism. It has always been opposed to every kind of speculation which, for the sake of fighting in one direction, neglects or forgets to fight in the other. Therefore, it would be very wrong for anyone today to think that the correct criticism which has been made of manifestations of conservatism is invalid and that conservatism is no longer a problem for our literature and arts. In fact, in the process of their development, literature and art, besides the influences of present-day bourgeois and revisionist ideology, have clashed and continue to clash with various conservative and restrictive legacies and trends which are expressed in both their content and their form. The conservative or progressive, regressive or reactionary character of a literary or artis-

tic work depends, first and foremost, on its class tendentiousness, on the ideas it bears and the ideals for which it militates. Conservatism in this field has its own specific features and is manifested in various forms and ways which critical, theoretical, historical, and literary thought must discover and fight ceaselessly.

The Party has continually pointed out the broad political, social and ideological basis of conservatism. For us, a conservative stand is one which justifies, supports and upholds anything outdated, which is against progressive changes, against the new, which obstructs the revolutionary drive of the masses and their all-round emancipation, which hinders our advance on the road of socialism. Viewed from such a revolutionary class position, from a broad political and social viewpoint, not only the old ideologies emerging from the depths of the centuries, but also the present degenerate bourgeois and revisionist culture, all their liberalism and modernism, have a conservative character.

We need qualified, scientific criticism, which has both the necessary revolutionary feeling so essential to the discovery of the outstanding values of literature and art, and the spirit of irreconcilability with any distortion or alien manifestation in their development. We need criticism which will speak with courage and competence about every literary and artistic phenomenon. However, professional literary criticism is not the only judge of literary and artistic activity. In the final analysis, the opinion of the readers, of the public, of society as a whole, is the best judge of this activity. Both the creative artists and the critics should always bear this truth in mind.

In order to develop critical and ideo-aesthetic thought, it is necessary to take measures to extend the scientific research work in the field of the theory and history of literature and art, of aesthetics, by strengthening the exis-

ting nuclei and creating new ones. This work cannot be done successfully without taking immediate steps for the systematic training of new scientific cadres for aesthetics, the theory and history of literature and art, and literary and artistic criticism.

Criticism, like all our literature and arts, should always be guided by the principles of the method of socialist realism, which have emerged from the world experience of the revolutionary art of the proletariat, and have been elaborated by Marxist-Leninist aesthetics and confirmed by the literary and artistic practice of our country. These principles are unshakeable and adherence to them is essential, for otherwise we fall under foreign influences and depart from revolutionary traditions. Innovation has nothing to do with violation of principles, but applies them in the correct way.

The creative development of socialist realism has also come up against some misinterpretations and false theories arising from various sources. These have appeared especially in the treatment of the problem of contradictions and of the hero in art. There have been cases that the contradictions of our society have been presented as having no solution, with a gloomy feeling of pessimism which is typical of the bourgeois-revisionist way of thinking. The superiority of the socialist forces and ideal has not always been properly pointed out. There have also been cases of confusing the contradictions among the people with the contradictions between us and our enemies. This leads to serious errors of principle, into which Fadil Paçrami tried to lead our art when he said that we had already dealt sufficiently with the struggle between «us and the enemy» and that from now on we should talk mainly of the struggle «among ourselves». Hence, we should leave the enemies in peace and treat our people as enemies.

The Party has stressed that the disclosure of contradictions and their reflection in art, including the criticism of negative phenomena, must be done correctly, from the position of proletarian partisanship, so that they will be overcome and society advance and not remain in the grip of contradictions.

On the other hand, that theorizing about the positive hero, dissecting him, identifying him with everything, and making an artificial separation between the «traditional hero» and the «innovatory hero», etc., are nothing but views which lead to anti-heroism in literature and art, to retreat from life and from man. The stereotyped theories of the hero, conceived in an idyllic and sentimental way, are also harmful and lead art away from truth and realism. While criticizing the stereotyped hero, idealized in a bookish way without any basis in our reality, at the same time we can in no way accept the new scheme of a wavering hero which is, in fact, an open bourgeois-revisionist influence. These views and attitudes have nothing in common with our principles, they indicate theoretical confusion.

In order to fight successfully against alien influences and manifestations, the Party must do a great deal of work with the writers and artists, not only to further develop them ideologically and aesthetically, but also to ensure that they lead an intensive ideological life, live close to the masses, are linked closely with their occupations and struggle, and take an active part in the great economic and social actions of the working people. Contacts with the masses are absolutely essential for the people of art and culture, but these should not be conceived as simple slogans, as literature or sightseeing, but as work on which they will base their creative activity, which must be positive, and within the line and norms of the Party. In this process the creative artists are educated

and tempered in a revolutionary way, and a fight is waged against intellectualism and megalomania, against individualism and petty-bourgeois pride, against mistaken views that «we are superior to the others», that «we are free to create what we want and when we want» outside any social requirement and discipline, outside any control or norm. In this way the mistakes are corrected, not only in words, not only through self-criticism, but through creative activity, through work, through willpower and through multiplied confidence in one's own efforts and the correctness of the line of the Party.

The organizations of the Party must do serious work to create a healthy atmosphere of activity and comradely relations among the working people of literature and art. They and the writers and artists themselves must fight with determination against unhealthy passions, against bias in judging one another's work, which leads to gossip, to dangerous divisions and groupings among the artists. There must be no division between «the young» and «the old», just as now we should not allow the spread of the views that «you were wrong, we were not», «you accused us of being conservative, now it is our turn to accuse you of being liberal». Of course, the mistakes and faults must be disclosed and admitted, they must be criticized. But, as the Party teaches us, it is essential that the criticism should always be fair, constructive and never denigrating. Whenever mistakes appear, they should always be seen from the viewpoint of the Party and corrected by joint efforts. We communists do not correct mistakes by taking revenge and showing petty-bourgeois spite, but in the spirit of communist principles and partisanship. People must be helped and encouraged, especially the young writers and artists, towards whom we should show warmth, tact and care in the correct party spirit.

Our Party is very demanding in this direction, es-

pecially on the communist writers and artists, who should set an example of partisanship, of adherence to principle, of communist ethics and social discipline. For the communist there are not two kinds of stands, one within the basic organization and another outside it. The norms of the Party in line, in work, and in life are essential for all and no one can be allowed to violate or evade them.

We are fully confident that, while fighting against alien influences, our writers, artists and all the creative workers in the field of culture and art, will, as always, close their ranks even more tightly round the Party, with which they are linked like flesh to bone. With the aid of the Party and through their own revolutionary efforts, they will clean out those noxious weeds which have appeared in our literary, artistic and cultural life, and will boldly carry forward the great cause of our socialist culture, literature and art.

In dealing with the alien ideological influences and their manifestations in literature and art at this Plenum, it is essential to point out once again that, in general, our literature and art are sound, that they have developed on the correct course and have been inspired by the line of the Party and the interests of the people and socialism. The living reality of the development of our literature and arts in general, and of the recent period in particular, proves this.

The good works of our writers and artists are liked very much and followed with great interest by the masses and have made and are making a valuable contribution to the general education of our youth and the people as a whole. These works, which have added to the golden treasury of the new socialist culture, are a very valuable reflection of the patriotic, progressive and democratic content of the spiritual creativity of the Albanian people. By reflecting the glorious epoch of the

National Liberation War, the great revolutionary transformations and the construction of socialism, and being an active participant in these majestic battles, our present literature and arts will certainly be a source of inspiration for the younger generations and those that come after them.

We are certain that in the future, the creative activity of our writers and artists will be inspired by our marvellous socialist reality, by the heroic struggle of our people, the working class and our labouring peasantry, by the lofty revolutionary ideals of the Party, just as they have been hitherto. They will always take their inspiration from the centuries-long struggle of our people for freedom and enlightenment, from their powerful democratic and progressive traditions, from the inexhaustible spring of their artistic experience and genius. Guided by the great principle of communist partisanship, our writers and artists will certainly turn out even worthier works about the heroic struggle our Party and people are waging today for the cause of revolution and socialism, works clear and understandable to the masses, with lofty communist ideas, clear national features, and an ever higher artistic level.

WE MUST FORM REVOLUTIONARY CONCEPTS ABOUT TASTE, CONDUCT AND LIFE—STYLE

The socialist revolution has brought radical changes in the spiritual life of our society, in the thinking, psychology and way of life of our people. Our Party has devoted continuous care to the formation and tempering of the new man with a Marxist-Leninist world outlook, with a lofty spirit of patriotism, proletarian internationalism and socialist collectivism, with the spirit of sacrifice and heroism, with new concepts about work and life,

and with high revolutionary ideals. Today, we can speak of the rich spiritual life of our people, a pure life that is developing impetuously, in which devotion to the great cause of the revolution and socialism, heroic deeds, high moral virtues and sound tastes are outstanding. This is a complicated and continuous process which takes place through an ideological class struggle against any alien influence. Our Party has always waged a battle on all fronts against all the ideologies of exploiting classes.

But in recent years, when a heavy blow has been dealt to the old religious, feudal, patriarchal and conservative concepts and prejudices, the struggle against the present influences of bourgeois and revisionist ideology and their manifestation in our life has been somewhat neglected and underestimated. Liberal concepts and attitudes appeared, giving rise to certain harmful phenomena among certain people and especially among some of the youth.

Those influences in literature and art, about which we spoke, cannot be viewed apart from certain alien manifestations which have been observed in the tastes, conduct and unseemly behaviour of a few young people. These, and the continuous pressure from abroad, are the fundamental causes of the spread of certain vulgar, alien tastes in music and art, the adoption of extravagant and ugly fashions, and unpleasant behaviour contrary to socialist ethics and the positive traditions of our people. Our social opinion quite rightly strongly condemned such degenerate «importations» as long hair, extravagant dress, screaming jungle music, coarse language, shameless behaviour and so on. If the influences and manifestations of the bourgeois-revisionist way of life are not nipped in the bud, they open the way to the corruption and degeneration of people which are so dangerous to the cause of socialism.

The all-round spiritual development and the moral image of our new man cannot be conceived without the formation of sound ideo-aesthetic tastes about what is beautiful in art, in nature, in work and in life. The problem of tastes is not a purely personal matter for individuals, which allegedly cannot even be discussed. Despite the presence of the individual element in them, tastes always have a social character, being formed under the direct influence of social and economic relations, ideology and culture and social psychology. Hence, it is clear that they have a class character. Therefore, in essence, our tastes are the complete opposite of bourgeois-revisionist tastes. Our communist taste is imbued with the revolutionary ideal, with proletarian simplicity, with noble sentiments and pure moral virtues.

While fighting against the penetration of base, vulgar, bourgeois-revisionist tastes, we have, at the same time, fought and continue to fight against outdated and anachronistic tastes inherited from foreign occupations and the old feudal-bourgeois society, interwoven with the old way of life and backward, patriarchal customs and traditions. We support every natural evolution of tastes in the conditions of our rapid socialist development, in compliance with the new requirements of this development, in the spirit of our Marxist-Leninist ideology and our sound national traditions. We are opposed to those conservative attitudes of some who fail to understand this process and regard it as a negative phenomenon and an alien influence.

The formation of sound tastes with a clear socialist content also requires the all-round cultural development of the new man, and especially systematic efforts to educate him ideologically and aesthetically. These aims are also achieved through a continuous fight against a superficial, narrow cultural horizon and for a deeper appreci-

ation of the outstanding values of national and world culture.

Great possibilities have been created in our country today for the continuous uplift of the cultural and ideological level of all the working masses and of the youth in particular. Along with the schools, both the specialized cultural and artistic institutions and the other means of mass propaganda have been greatly increased and strengthened, and these play a role of primary importance in this process. But these means, which have been extended to the farthest corners of the country, are not utilized in an intensive and qualified way.

For us Marxist-Leninists our way of life is an integral part of our whole socialist social life, which develops in close connection with our whole revolution, in conformity with our socialist ideology and the norms of communist morality. This is how we conceive the material well-being and the spiritual world of man, the assertion of his individuality, emancipation, personal happiness and family life. The revolutionary communist ideal is the one and only ideal which guides us in all our activities and life. The bourgeois-revisionist concept of life, the most typical manifestations of which are unrestrained individualism and egoism, aimlessness and vanity, the pursuit of luxury and fulfilment of every whim, dissipation and degeneration, parasitism and crime, which have become incurable moral and social ills of present-day capitalist and revisionist society, is utterly alien to us.

We see the way of life in constant development, conditioned by all the social, economic and cultural transformations, and by the rise in the general well-being. In particular, the rapid social and demographic changes, the growth of towns and the creation of new inhabited centres, the increase in the working class, the all-round development of the countryside, especially its social and

cultural development, the break-up of the patriarchal family, the great development of education and culture and the evolution of the social psychology, have led to radical changes in the way of life.

A very important role in this respect has been played by the great ideological actions against religion, backward customs and outdated traditions, actions which have dealt heavy blows to anachronistic concepts and practices. These positive revolutionary developments have also been accompanied by the emergence of new problems, by increased demands of the masses in material and spiritual life, and especially for culture and education. In order to respond to these demands and fulfil them gradually, in accord with the existing conditions and possibilities, it is necessary to broaden our concept of a cultured life in all its aspects, from the intellectual development of man to the environment where he lives and works.

On the other hand, our Party also strikes hard against all those who, in the name of the struggle against conservatism, in the name of meeting the demands of the times and of the youth, of freedom and democracy, attempt and strive to introduce among us the spirit of bourgeois corruption and degeneration. Now, our working masses and our youth have gone on the attack against this corrupting influence, against any liberal stand that paves the way to its penetration. This struggle is being waged by revolutionizing public opinion, by enhancing its vigilance and sensitivity. Liberal attitudes towards alien influences cannot be eliminated without fighting against manifestations of indifference in public opinion, against passivity, toleration and negligence. These are open and typical petty-bourgeois attitudes and have nothing in common with the revolutionary spirit of communist irreconcilability with any negative phenomenon and alien manifestation.

We must create a severe atmosphere incompatible with any breach of our ideology, morality, laws, must create a unified front of education by merging into one the joint efforts of the school, all the mass means of culture and propaganda, the social organizations, the family and public opinion as a whole.

The results achieved in the struggle our Party and the masses are now waging against alien influences and manifestations are an important step ahead. But it is the duty of the Party, relying on these results, to continue the fight against liberalism on all fronts, to implant revolutionary concepts deep in the consciousness of the masses and make these part of their world outlook.

We regard and must always regard the work for the communist education of the working people, for the formation of their communist tastes and conduct, for the triumph of socialist morality and the new way of life, as a very important aspect of the class struggle on the ideological front. It is through this prism that we should assess all the educational activity which is conducted under the direction of the Party, all the activity of its levers and of the various educational and cultural means.

I want to speak rather more extensively on the work of the youth organization. As a lever and militant reserve of the Party, throughout its existence it has played a very important role in educating and mobilizing the younger generation for the construction and defence of the Homeland. The Party has always entrusted the youth organization with responsible tasks, and it has always fully justified this trust with its tireless struggle and work in the service of the people and the revolution.

The exposure of the mistakes and the self-criticism which the youth organizations made are a very good sign, indicating that under the guidance of the Party they

will soon improve their situation and will stand as militant detachments guiding the impetus of the youth. But our Party as a whole, and the cadres and militants of the youth organization must draw lessons from the mistakes that have occurred and not allow them to be repeated.

We should never for a moment forget that the youth have been and always remain a target of the activity of all our enemies. Therefore, the youth must be continually tempered and moulded as revolutionaries, both by speaking to them about the past, about the struggle and the difficulties that have been overcome, as well as by launching them into actions, making them work seriously: when they are pupils and students, and when they leave school, in production work or wherever they are appointed. In all the work the Party is doing today for the general consolidation of the situation, a special place should be occupied by the strengthening of the Labour Youth Union of Albania and the strengthening of the work with youth in general. We must see to it that the schools, the artistic and cultural institutions, all the means of propaganda, sports, etc. are placed more completely at the service of the revolutionary education of our youth.

As always, the youth have understood the advice and teachings of the Party correctly and are putting them into practice with all their might. This is another proof of the close links of the youth with the Party. The question now is to intensify our work with youth so that these problems are understood better from the ideological standpoint, so that they engage themselves more extensively and actively in the class struggle, in study to master the Marxist-Leninist theory, science and technology, in work and mass actions for the construction of socialism, and in physical and military training for the defence of the Homeland and, on this sound basis, to temper them fur-

ther as an invincible revolutionary force in the struggle the Party is leading for the construction of socialism in our country.

THE ORGANIZATIONS OF THE PARTY AND THE COMMUNISTS
SHOULD STAND IN THE FOREFRONT OF THE STRUGGLE
AGAINST MANIFESTATIONS OF ALIEN IDEOLOGY

Our Party has never concealed shortcomings and weaknesses, has not hesitated to denounce them openly and courageously before the communists and the people. This is how it has acted in the past, and this is how it is acting today. Our criticisms in no way obscure the magnificent successes and victories the Party has scored in all spheres of the socialist construction of the country. They are further proof of the seriousness of our Party, of its strength and its close ties with the people. The authority of the Party and the people's trust in it have never been higher or stronger than today.

The line of the Party has been and is correct, revolutionary and Marxist-Leninist, but its directives on certain important issues dealt with in this report have not always been interpreted and implemented correctly and, indeed, have even been distorted. All these things have happened before the very eyes of many communists, cadres, organizations and committees of the Party. But why have they been allowed? Why have certain comrades tended towards a one-sided interpretation of party directives? Why have many alien manifestations been underestimated and the struggle against them slackened? The main source of the evil must be sought in the liberalization of concepts and attitudes on a number of important issues. And this evil must be eradicated.

Liberalism does not fall from the sky: it is a product of the ideological pressure of internal and external

enemies who aim to undermine the people's state power and socialism. But the appearance of this phenomenon and especially the extent to which it spreads depend, to a large degree, on how the Party works, on the extent to which the danger is recognized, and on the struggle the Party wages for the revolutionary education and tempering of the communists and working people. The fact that this phenomenon has not become a widespread disease in our Party is clear testimony to its vigilance and the correct fight it has waged and continues to wage. Nevertheless, the manifestations of liberalism in the life of our society, which we are criticizing today, must be viewed in close connection with those manifestations of liberalism which have appeared in the life and activity of the Party itself. It must be stressed, however, that this problem has been dealt with slightly in the meetings of the basic organizations.

Where is liberalism expressed in the life of the Party?

In the first place, in the fact that in many basic organizations there is not always a full sense of responsibility, both on the part of the organization as a whole and in each individual communist, about implementing the line of the Party in all the spheres of life within its jurisdiction. In certain sectors, like those of art, culture and education, the basic organizations of the Party have not always played their leading role in the forefront of the work. They have not taken up the fundamental problems of the content of the activity of these institutions and have not exerted their influence and exercised their control to ensure that the line of the Party is correctly interpreted and applied. Harm has been done in this direction by erroneous concepts according to which the problems of art and culture are questions which mainly concern specialists, and the party organizations have no reason to involve themselves much in these matters.

Undoubtedly the opinion of the specialists must be listened to and respected, for they have emerged from the people, are men of the Party, educated with its teachings. In every instance, however, the basic organizations bear full responsibility for the correct application of the line of the Party. The communists cannot be required to know the technical and artistic aspects in detail, but it is their fundamental duty to defend the line. Every communist must be a specialist of the line of the Party. And the fact is that when the party organizations of the cultural-artistic institutions seriously involve themselves in analysing the work of these institutions, they show that they are fully capable of dealing profoundly with the problems of the ideo-aesthetic content of the activity of their sector and solving them correctly.

It must be thoroughly understood in principle and applied well in practice that strengthening the leading role of the basic organizations is a permanent and vital task of the Party, because its leading role is realized through them.

As we have stressed at other times, the leadership of the Party is primarily a political-ideological leadership. This means that the Party must carry on extensive ideological work for a correct understanding of its directives, and to make workers conscientious in carrying them out. This is a very wide field of party work, with decisive importance. Many weaknesses and shortcomings which we are criticizing have their source precisely in the defects in this work, in its superficiality and one-sidedness, lack of contact with life, formalism, and its frequently general character. If there have been narrow and one-sided interpretations of the capitalist and revisionist geographical encirclement, of centralism and democracy, of state control and worker control, of rights and duties, of the emancipation of women, if there have been

misunderstandings and distortions of certain issues in the field of literature and art, education and culture, this shows that in many cases the directives of the Party have not been analysed in a full and all-round way, theoretically and practically, and hence they have not been properly embodied in the daily activity of the communists and working people, and there have been vacillations from one side to the other, taking up one aspect and neglecting the other.

These one-sided interpretations and attitudes, the lurches from one side to the other, from conservatism to liberalism and vice versa, also have a real basis in our country in the petty-bourgeois character inherited from the past, which we cannot say has been totally eliminated.

The petty-bourgeois tends to leave one problem and take up another, to seize upon one aspect and neglect another, to go from one extreme to the other. The petty-bourgeois ideology and psychology, which are deep-rooted in our country, are a basis of support both for the old patriarchal, feudal and religious ideologies, and for the bourgeois-revisionist ideology of the present day. They constitute the bridge which connects conservatism and liberalism and which nurture and encourage them.

This means that the committees and organizations of the Party must go more deeply into ideological problems and deal with them better, for we see that in practice the directives of the Party are not explained and understood properly, the problems and phenomena are not analysed profoundly from the ideological and political point of view, few issues of this nature are taken up for discussion, and often the committees and organizations are overwhelmed by the routine of minor daily issues. This we must see as one of the main shortcomings in the work of the Party in regard to the problems we are discussing. If this shortcoming is not thoroughly under-

stood, it is difficult to correct the defects and weaknesses we are criticizing and to have our affairs run smoothly.

We must form a more correct understanding of the work of the Party in general and of its educational work in particular. Despite the great role education plays, it cannot be absolutized. In fact, overestimation of educational work and the level of consciousness led, in many cases, to the weakening of organizational, administrative, technical and economic measures, which became the cause of various liberal manifestations in the attitude towards work and property, towards lesson, the performance of duties, towards organization of checkup, demanding the rendering of account and so on.

The work of the Party is very complex, because life itself, which it directs and leads, is complex. This means that various problems cannot be solved simply by appealing to people's conscience, indeed education itself cannot be achieved only through lectures and conferences. In life, problems are solved through a complex of political, economic, educational and cultural organizational and administrative measures. People are educated and their revolutionary consciousness is tempered in this complex.

The duty of the Party is to raise the masses to its level of consciousness. But we must be realistic, must take into account the level of consciousness reached by the masses and not confound it with the consciousness of the vanguard, or demand of them what we can and should demand of the most advanced section of the class and of the masses which is organized in the Party. This must never be forgotten whenever we put forward new tasks, otherwise the vanguard goes too far ahead and detaches itself from the masses, which, in turn, leads to serious consequences.

Like all the work of the Party, its directives form a single unity and should never be taken in isolation from one another. It would be a mistake to think that earlier directives of the Party on the struggle against bureaucracy and for the development of democracy, on worker control and the fight against arbitrariness, on the correct relations that should exist between the Party, the class and the masses, on the revolutionization of the school and the army, etc., are now no longer valid. The stand of the Party is consistent, and there are no contradictions in its directives. It would be an entirely erroneous practice in our method of work if, when a new directive is issued, a new decision taken or a new speech delivered, all the previous ones are left aside. This leads both to work by campaigns, and to viewing problems one-sidedly.

Therefore, the struggle against liberalism and conservatism, too, must be waged in a correct way. Conservative elements would like the struggle against liberalism to be waged from their position, just as the liberal elements tried to exploit the struggle against conservatism in order to spread liberalism. The only correct stand on this issue is that both the struggle against liberalism and the struggle against conservatism should be waged successfully only from a principled Marxist-Leninist position.

If this problem is not understood correctly there is a danger that now, when we are fighting against manifestations of bourgeois and revisionist ideology and against liberal attitudes, we may make mistakes and take an inflexible, sectarian and extremist attitude. We emphasize this because there are certain people, including cadres, who think that the time has now come to tighten up, who are inclined towards administrative measures, who want to revive arrogance and arbitrariness and to substitute

them for the educational work of the Party to create convictions.

The issues we are raising at this Plenum are closely linked with a major cardinal problem, that of the understanding and development of the class struggle in the proper way. The Party has long made it clear that the class struggle is one of the main motive forces of our socialist society, that it is a very broad struggle which is waged in all fields, both against internal and external enemies and within the ranks of the people and the Party, and that in the existing conditions the class struggle on the ideological front assumes special importance.

In our country the class struggle has been waged correctly, and that is why all the plans of the enemy have failed and our revolution has always forged ahead. In this struggle the Party has been strengthened and tempered, the dictatorship of the proletariat has been consolidated, the solidarity of the Party with the working class and the working masses has been further strengthened, and the revolutionary consciousness of the people has been raised. But this does not mean that there are no faults and weaknesses in the way the class struggle is understood and waged. In practice we have come up against many superficial, narrow and one-sided interpretations, toning down of the class struggle and underestimation of the enemies, lack of profound knowledge of their present tactics, and indifferent and opportunist stands.

To stick or not to stick to the class struggle, to have a full or superficial knowledge of it, to wage it on all fronts or in a one-sided way, to wage it in a correct, revolutionary way or to weaken it and make concessions — this is a vital problem on which the future of socialism depends. Our enemies want us to slacken our vigilance and allow the class struggle to die down. But what should we do? The opposite. We should enhance our vi-

gillance and wage the class struggle consistently in order to defend the victories achieved, and to make our Homeland, socialist Albania, even stronger, even more invincible, for the good of the people and the cause of communism.

*«Against Modern Revisionism
1971-1975»*

**THE TRAGIC EVENTS IN CHILE —
A LESSON FOR THE REVOLUTIONARIES
OF THE WHOLE WORLD**

Article published in the newspaper «Zëri i popullit»

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In Chile the counter-revolutionary storm continues to rage against the working masses, the patriots and fighters of that country. The rightist forces which seized power as a result of the September 11 coup d'état have established a reign of terror which even the Hitlerites would have envied. People are being ruthlessly murdered and massacred everywhere, in the streets or at work, without trial, and on any pretext. The sports stadiums have been transformed into concentration camps. Progressive culture is being trampled underfoot. Marxist books are being burnt in bonfires in the squares, nazi style. While the democratic parties, trade-unions, and democratic organizations have been outlawed, mediaeval obscurantism is spreading over the whole country. The most fanatical, ultra-reactionary forces of darkness, the agents of American imperialism are strutting on the political stage. The democratic freedoms which the people had won through struggle and bloodshed were wiped out within one day.

The events in Chile affect not only the Chilean people, but all the revolutionary, progressive and peace-loving

forces of the world, therefore, the revolutionaries and the working people not only of Chile, but also of other countries, ought to draw conclusions from these events. Of course, we are not talking of an analysis of purely national details and aspects, or of specific actions, shortcomings or mistakes of the Chilean revolution, which do not go beyond the internal framework of this revolution. We are speaking of those universal laws which no revolution can avoid and which every revolution is obliged to apply. The problem is to examine and assess in the light of the events in Chile which views proved correct and which distorted on the issues of the theory and practice of the revolution, to verify which theses are revolutionary and which are opportunist, and to determine which attitudes and actions assist the revolution and which assist the counter-revolution.

In the first place, it must be said that the period during which the Allende government remained in power is not a period which can easily be erased from the life of the Chilean people or from the whole history of Latin America. Interpreting the demands and wishes of the broadest popular masses, the Popular Unity government adopted a series of measures and carried out a number of reforms which were intended to strengthen the national freedom and independence of the country and the independent development of its economy.

This government struck heavy blows at the local oligarchy and the American monopolies which held all the key positions and were making the law in the country. The inspirer of this progressive and anti-imperialist course was President Allende, one of the noblest figures to emerge from Latin America, an outstanding patriot and democratic fighter. Under his leadership the Chilean people struggled for the land reform, struggled for the nationalization of foreign companies, struggled for the

democratization of the life of the country and for the freedom of Chile from American influence. Allende strongly supported the anti-imperialist liberation movements in Latin America and made his country an asylum for all the freedom fighters persecuted by the thugs and military juntas of Latin America. He gave the peoples' liberation and anti-imperialist movements his unreserved support and was in full solidarity with the struggle of the Vietnamese, Cambodian, Palestinian and other peoples.

Could the big Chilean landowners, who saw their estates distributed to the poor peasants, forgive him for pursuing this course and this activity? Could the manufacturers of Santiago, who were expelled from their nationalized plants, tolerate this? Or the American companies which lost their power? It was certain that one day they would unite to overthrow him and regain their lost privileges. Here a natural question arises: Was Allende aware of the atmosphere which surrounded him, did he see the conspiracies being hatched up against him? Of course, he did. Reaction operated openly. It assassinated cabinet ministers, functionaries of government parties and rank-and-file officials. It instigated and directed the organization of the counter-revolutionary strikes of the truck drivers, merchants, doctors and other petty-bourgeois strata. Finally it tried its strength in the military coup in June, which proved abortive. Several plans of the CIA for the overthrow of the lawful government were discovered.

These attacks by internal and external reaction would have been sufficient to sound the alarm and make Allende reflect. They would have been ample reason to implement the great law of every revolution, that counter-revolutionary violence must be opposed with revolutionary violence. But President Allende did nothing, made no move. Certainly, he cannot be accused of lack of ideals. He loved the cause for which he fought with all his heart

and, to the end, he believed in the justice of that cause. He did not lack personal courage and was ready to make, and did in fact make, the supreme sacrifice. But his tragedy was that he believed he could convince the reactionary forces through reason to give up their activity and relinquish their past positions and privileges of their own good will.

In Chile it was believed that the relatively old-established democratic traditions, parliament, the legal activity of political parties, the existence of a free press, etc., were an insurmountable obstacle to any reactionary force which might attempt to seize power by violence. The reality, however, proved the opposite. The coup d'état of the rightist forces proved that the bourgeoisie will tolerate certain freedoms just so long as its essential interests are not affected, but when it sees that these interests are threatened, it is no longer concerned about ethics.

The revolutionary and progressive forces in Chile have suffered a defeat. This is very serious, but temporary. A constitutional government may be overthrown, thousands of people may be killed and scores of concentration camps set up, but the spirit of freedom, the people's spirit of revolt, can be neither killed nor imprisoned. The people are resisting, and this proves that the working masses are not reconciled to defeat, that they are determined to draw conclusions from this and to advance on the revolutionary road. The liberation struggle against reaction and imperialism has its zigzags, its ups and downs. There is no doubt that the Chilean people who have given so many proofs of their lofty patriotism, who have displayed such love for freedom and justice, and who hate imperialism and reaction so profoundly, will know how to mobilize their forces and fight the enemies blow for blow to ensure the final victory for themselves.

For the Chilean people this is a grave, although temporary, misfortune, but for the modern revisionists it constitutes an all-round defeat, a complete overturning of their opportunist theories. All the revisionists, from those of Moscow to those of Italy, France and elsewhere, presented the «Chilean experience» as a concrete example which proved their «new theories» about the «peaceful road of the revolution», the transition to socialism under the leadership of many parties, the moderation of the nature of imperialism, the dying out of the class struggle in the conditions of peaceful coexistence, etc. The revisionist press made great play with the «Chilean road» in order to advertise the opportunist theses of the 20th Congress of the CPSU and the reformist and Utopian programs of the Togliattist type.

From the «Chilean experience» the revisionists expected not only confirmation of their «theories» about «the parliamentary road», but also a «classical» example of the building of socialism under the leadership of a coalition of Marxist and bourgeois parties. They expected confirmation of their thesis that the transition to socialism is possible through parliamentary elections and without revolution, that socialism can be built, not only without smashing the old state apparatus of the bourgeoisie, but even with its aid. not only without establishing the revolutionary people's power, but by negating it.

The theories of «peaceful coexistence» and the «peaceful parliamentary road», propounded by the Soviet revisionists, in the first place, and by the Italian and French revisionists and their other supporters, are responsible to a very considerable extent for the spread of pacifist illusions and opportunist stands towards the bourgeoisie and deviation from the revolutionary struggle.

All the programmatic documents which the Western revisionist parties have adopted since the 20th Congress of

the CPSU, absolutize the «parliamentary road» of transition from capitalism to socialism, while the non-peaceful road is definitely excluded. In practice this has brought about that these parties have finally renounced the revolutionary struggle and strive for ordinary reforms of a narrow economic or administrative character. They have turned into bourgeois opposition parties and have offered to undertake the administration of the wealth of the bourgeoisie, just as the old social-democratic parties have done hitherto.

The Communist Party of Chile, which was one of the main forces of the Allende government, fervently adhered to the Khrushchevite theses of «peaceful transition», both in theory and practice. Following instructions from Moscow, it claimed that the national bourgeoisie and imperialism had now been tamed, had become tolerant and reasonable, and that in the new class conditions, allegedly created by the present-day world development, they were no longer able to go over to counter-revolution.

However, as the case of Chile proved once again these and similar theories make the working masses irresolute and disorientated, weaken their revolutionary spirit, and keep them immobilized in the face of the threats of the bourgeoisie, paralyse their capacity and make it impossible for them to carry out decisive revolutionary actions against the counter-revolutionary plans and actions of the bourgeoisie.

As the genuine Marxist-Leninist parties had predicted and as time confirmed, the revisionists were against the revolution and aimed to turn the Soviet Union, as they did, into a capitalist country, from a base of the revolution into a base of counter-revolution. They worked for a very long time to sow confusion in the ranks of the revolutionaries and undermine the revolution. Everywhere and at every moment they have

acted to extinguish the flames of revolutionary battles and national liberation struggles. Although for demagogical purposes they pretend to be for the revolution, with their views and activities the revisionists try to nip it in the bud or sabotage it when it bursts out.

Their deviation from Marxism-Leninism, their abandonment of the class interests of the proletariat, their betrayal of the cause of national liberation of the peoples, has led the revisionists to complete denial of the revolution. For them, the theory and practice of the revolution have been reduced to a few reformist demands, which can be met within the framework of the capitalist order, without affecting its basis. The revisionists try to prove that the dividing line between the revolution and reforms has been wiped out, that in today's conditions of world development there is no longer any need for a revolutionary overthrow, because, they allege, the present technical-scientific revolution is doing away with the social class contradictions of bourgeois society, is allegedly a means for the integration of capitalism into socialism, a means to create a «new society» of prosperity for all. Thus, according to this confusing logic, one can no longer speak about exploiters and exploited, hence according to them, social revolution, the smashing of the bourgeois state machine and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat become unnecessary.

Under the mask of Leninism and its creative development the revisionists aimed at world domination, turning themselves into social-imperialists. They began with Khrushchevite «peaceful coexistence», with «peaceful competition», with a «world without weapons and without wars», with the «parliamentary road», etc., and ended up with the restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union and the degeneration of socialism into social-imperialism.

Hence, they were against the revolution and the strug-

gle of the peoples for liberation, and were against the communist parties which remained loyal to and defended Marxism-Leninism. In order to achieve their aims, especially the extinguishing of liberation struggles and revolutionary movements, the revisionists made the «peaceful road» the foundation of their «theory». By revising the fundamental question of Marxism, such as the theory of revolution, and propagating their opportunist theses, they wanted to convince the workers to give up their revolutionary class struggle, to submit to the bourgeoisie and accept capitalist slavery.

On the other hand, «peaceful coexistence», which the Soviet leaders proclaimed as the fundamental line of their foreign policy and which they wanted to impose on the whole world communist and national liberation movement, was a complete strategic plan to reach a broad agreement with imperialism, to strangle the revolutionary movements and to quell the liberation struggles, to preserve and extend their spheres of influence. The revisionists wanted to use, and did in fact use, this kind of «coexistence», which was entirely suitable to imperialism and the bourgeoisie, as a great diversion to disarm the masses ideologically and politically, to blunt their revolutionary vigilance and immobilize them, to leave them defenceless in face of future attacks of the imperialists and social-imperialists.

The Soviet revisionists, as well as the other revisionists who managed to usurp state power, destroyed the party by stripping it of its revolutionary theory, rejected and trampled underfoot all the Leninist norms, and paved the way to liberalism and degeneration in the country. In spreading their anti-Marxist theses that «capitalism is being integrated into socialism», that «non-proletarian parties, too, can be the bearers of the ideals of socialism and leaders of the struggle for socialism», that «even

those countries where the national bourgeoisie is in power are moving towards socialism», the revisionists not only aimed to deny the theory of the vanguard party of the working class, but also wanted to leave the working class without leadership in the face of the organized attacks of the bourgeoisie and reaction.

History has proved, and the events in Chile, where it was not yet a question of socialism but of a democratic regime, again made clear, that the establishment of socialism through the parliamentary road is utterly impossible. In the first place, it must be said that up till now it has never happened that the bourgeoisie has allowed the communists to win a majority in parliament and form their own government. Even in the occasional instance where the communists and their allies have managed to ensure a balance in their favour in parliament and enter the government, this has not led to any change in the bourgeois character of the parliament or the government, and their action has never gone so far as to smash the old state machine and establish a new one.

In the conditions when the bourgeoisie controls the bureaucratic-administrative apparatus, securing a «parliamentary majority» that would change the destiny of the country is not only impossible but also unreliable. The main parts of the bourgeois state machine are the political and economic power and the armed forces. As long as these forces remain intact, i.e., as long as they have not been dissolved and new forces created in their stead, as long as the old apparatus of the police, the secret intelligence services, etc., is retained, there is no guarantee that a parliament or a democratic government will be able to last long. Not only the case of Chile, but many others have proved that the counter-revolutionary coups d'état have been carried out precisely by the armed forces commanded by the bourgeoisie.

The Khrushchevite revisionists have deliberately created great confusion concerning Lenin's very clear and precise theses on the participation of communists in the bourgeois parliament and on the seizure of state power from the bourgeoisie. It is known that Lenin did not deny the participation of the communists in the bourgeois parliament at certain moments. But he considered this participation only as a tribune to defend the interests of the working class, to expose the bourgeoisie and its state power, to force the bourgeoisie to take some measure in favour of the working people. At the same time, however, Lenin warned that, while fighting to make use of parliament in the interests of the working class, one should guard against the creation of parliamentary illusions, the fraud of bourgeois parliamentarianism.

*«Participation in the bourgeois parliament,» said Lenin, «is necessary for the party of the revolutionary proletariat to enlighten the masses, enlightenment which is achieved through elections and the struggle of the parties in the parliament. But to limit the class struggle to the struggle within the parliament, or to consider this struggle as the ultimate, the decisive form, to which all other forms of struggle are subordinate, means in fact to go over to the side of the bourgeoisie, against the proletariat.»**

Criticizing the «parliamentary cretinism» of the representatives of the Second International, who turned their parties into electoral parties, Lenin clearly showed where parliamentarianism leads to in ideology, policy and practice. He stressed that,

* V. I. Lenin, Collected Works, vol. 30, pp. 304-305 (Alb. ed.).

*«the proletarian state (the dictatorship of the proletariat) **cannot** replace it through its 'gradual withering away', but as a general rule, only through violent revolution.»**

He stressed that

*«the need to systematically educate the masses with this idea, and precisely this idea of violent revolution, is the basis of the entire doctrine of Marx and Engels.»***

By still advocating the «parliamentary road», the modern revisionists are simply blindly following the course of Kautsky and company. But the further they proceed on this course, the more they expose themselves and the more defeats they suffer. The whole history of the international communist and worker movement has proved that violent revolution, the smashing of the bourgeois state machine and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat, constitute the universal law of proletarian revolution.

*«The advance, that is, towards communism,» Lenin stressed, «runs through the dictatorship of the proletariat and it cannot follow any other course, because there is no other class and no other way **to smash the resistance** of the capitalist exploiters.»****

In the stage of imperialism, both at its commencement and now, too, the danger of the establishment of a fascist military dictatorship whenever the capitalist mon-

* V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, vol. 25, p. 473 (Alb. ed.).

** Ibidem.

*** Ibidem, p. 548.

opolies think that their interests are threatened always exists. Moreover, it has been proved, especially from the end of the Second World War to this day, that American imperialism, British imperialism and others have gone to the assistance of the bourgeoisie of various countries to eliminate those governments or to suppress those revolutionary forces which, in one way or another, offer even the slightest threat to the foundations of the capitalist system.

As long as imperialism exists, there still exists the basis and possibility for, and its unchangeable policy of, interference in the internal affairs of other countries, counter-revolutionary plots, the overthrow of lawful governments, the liquidation of democratic and progressive forces, and the strangling of the revolution.

It is American imperialism which props up the fascist regimes in Spain and Portugal, which incites the revival of German fascism and Japanese militarism, which supports the racist regimes of South Africa and Rhodesia and keeps up the discrimination against the black people in its own country. It is American imperialism that helps the reactionary regimes of South Korea and the Saigon and Pnom Penh puppets, which has instigated the Zionist aggression and helps Israel to maintain its occupation of the Arab territories. All the furious winds of anti-communism, national oppression and capitalist exploitation blow from the United States of America. Throughout Latin America, with some rare exceptions, American imperialism has established tyrannical fascist regimes, which mercilessly suppress and exploit the people. On that continent, all the weapons used against demonstrations, the weapons which kill the workers and peasants, are made in the United States and supplied by it.

The fascist military coup in Chile is not the deed of local reaction alone, but also of imperialism. For three

years on end, during the whole time President Allende was in power, the Chilean rightist forces were incited, organized and encouraged in their counter-revolutionary activity by the United States. Chilean reaction and the American monopolies took revenge against President Allende for the progressive and anti-imperialist policy he followed. The undermining activity of the right-wing parties and all the reactionary forces, their acts of violence and terror were closely coordinated with the pressures exerted from outside by the American monopolies, with the economic blockade and the political struggle the American government waged against Chile. Behind the military junta was the CIA, the same criminal hand that had carried out so many coups d'état in Latin America, Indonesia, Iran, etc. The events in Chile once again revealed the true face of American imperialism. They proved once more that American imperialism remains a rabid enemy of all the peoples, a savage enemy of justice and progress, of struggles for freedom and independence, of the revolution and socialism.

But the counter-revolution in Chile is a deed not only of the avowed reactionary forces and the American imperialists. The Allende government was also sabotaged and savagely opposed by the Christian-democratic and other factions of the bourgeoisie, so-called radical democratic forces similar to those together with which the communist parties of Italy and France claim that they will advance to socialism through reforms and the peaceful parliamentary road. The Frey party in Chile does not bear only «intellectual responsibility», as some claim, because it refused to hold talks or collaborate with the Allende government, or because it was lacking in loyalty to the legal government. It bears responsibility also because it used all possible means to sabotage the normal activity of the government, because it united with the

forces of the Right to undermine the nationalized economy and to create confusion in the country, because it perpetrated a thousand and one acts of subversion. It fought to create that spiritual and political climate that was the prelude to the counter-revolution.

The Soviet revisionists, too, were implicated in the events in Chile. A thousand threads link the Soviet leaders in intrigues and plots with American imperialism. They did not intend or desire to help the Allende government when it was in power, because this would have brought them into conflict and damaged their cordial relations with American imperialism.

These stands of the Khrushchevite revisionists towards Chile and the theory of revolution had been confirmed before the Chilean events. They had been confirmed in the repeated tragic events in Iran: while the local reaction was killing and imprisoning hundreds and thousands of communists and progressive revolutionaries, the Soviet revisionists did not lift a finger, let alone severe diplomatic relations! These stands were confirmed in the shocking events in Indonesia, where about 500,000 communists and progressives were killed and massacred. Once again the Soviet revisionists did nothing, took no action and did not consider withdrawing their embassy from Djakarta. (1) These stands of the Soviet revisionists are not accidental. They testify to the existence of a secret collaboration with the American imperialists to sabotage the revolutionary movements and to put down the peoples' liberation struggles.

This stand sheds light on the demagogic character

1 The Soviet revisionists expelled the correspondent of «Harjan Rakjat», organ of the CP of Indonesia, from the Soviet Union and welcomed the visit of Adam Malik, then foreign minister of the Indonesian fascist regime. They also continued to supply Soviet weapons to Indonesia.

of the much publicized severance of diplomatic relations with Chile now.

Such is the reality. Their fine words about their alleged solidarity with the Chilean people, like all their other demagogic catch-cries, are simply to deceive public opinion and to conceal their betrayal of the revolution and the peoples' liberation movements.

The Soviet government severed diplomatic relations with Chile in order to exploit the opportunity to pose as a supporter of the victims of reaction, as if it is on the side of those who struggle for freedom and independence and the revisionists are defenders of progressive regimes.

The Soviet revisionists help any progressive regime just so long as this assists their imperialist interests. But they go no further. Indeed, they are not ashamed to maintain regular diplomatic ties with such a discredited and bankrupt regime as that of Lon Nol, while they keep silent about such a great liberation struggle as that of the Cambodian people.

The events in Chile once again revealed all of the grave tragedy the peoples of Latin America are experiencing. Likewise, they brought to light again the shortcomings, limitations and weaknesses of the revolution on that continent, the very great difficulties and hardships it is undergoing. But they provide a lesson not only for the revolutionaries of Latin America. All the revolutionaries of the world, all those who fight for national and social liberation against imperialist interference and violence, for democracy and the progress of mankind should draw lessons from them. This includes the revolutionaries of the Soviet Union, who must rise against the revisionist rulers and overthrow them along with all their opportunist and anti-Leninist theories. Likewise, the revolutionaries of Italy, France and other developed capitalist countries ought to draw lessons from the Chilean events, and fight

revisionism resolutely, rejecting the reactionary theories of the «peaceful parliamentary roads» which the Togliattists and the other revisionists propagate.

We believe that the events in Chile, the fascist attack of reaction against the democratic victories of the Chilean people, the brutal interference of American imperialism and its support for the military junta will encourage all the peoples of the world to be vigilant, to resolutely reject the demagogic slogans of the imperialists, revisionists and opportunists of every hue, and mobilize all their forces in courageous defence of their national freedom and independence, peace and security.

*«Against Modern Revisionism
1971-1975»*

OUR POLICY IS AN OPEN POLICY, THE POLICY OF PROLETARIAN PRINCIPLES

*From the speech at the meeting with the electors of
the Tirana No. 209 precinct*

October 3, 1974

Comrades,

The foreign policy of the People's Republic of Albania is the policy of a socialist country where the dictatorship of the proletariat is in power, which is led by the Party of Labour and is inspired by and stands loyal to the doctrine of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin.

The People's Republic of Albania has its own opinions and implements its constructive policy openly, in the light of the sun. There is no problem about which it is unconcerned, and it does not allow anyone to shut its mouth. Any state, any nation, has the right to express its opinions freely, to oppose those of others when it does not agree with them, just as others have the right to oppose your views when they do not agree with them. It is utterly wrong to sit with folded arms and closed mouth when others are acting to the detriment of peoples and states, or to accept, as some might desire, that since you are a small state or people, it is sheer arrogance to try to have your say, to defend your rights or those of your friends

or to come out with your opinions before the «mighty». False modesty and the slavish opportunist spirit are alien to the policy of the Albanian state and the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The two superpowers, the United States of America and the Soviet Union, are imperialist aggressor powers. They are dividing the world into spheres of influence and proceeding to the division and capture of world markets. Their ultimate aim is to dominate all the world, all the peoples and all states. Hence, the irreconcilable contradictions between them which may lead to another major world war. Their hegemonism, their reckless arms race, are not taking place smoothly and quietly, but through great upheavals which keep the world simmering.

The two superpowers are in the grip of a great economic, cultural and spiritual crisis. Their regimes and ideologies are riddled with corruption. No one trusts them any longer, but by means of force and demagoguery they impose themselves on the other capitalists who have become so completely caught up in the webs the two imperialist superpowers have spun that without a general uprising of the people they will hardly be able to free themselves of these bonds. Naturally, the two imperialist superpowers and those who have been caught in their webs want to load the terrible consequences of the crises onto the working people of their countries. This gives rise to the conflicts between states and between rulers and peoples. But the people must not expect others to rescue them from their sufferings. They must save themselves, because, when it comes to defending themselves against the people's revolution, the capitalist-revisionist leaders always unite with one another.

When they see the game is up, the capitalists throw off all disguise and establish the fascist dictatorship. Some states are doing this now, while some others did it long

ago. There are all sorts of slogans and demagoguery, but people must be judged by their deeds and not by appearances.

The two superpowers have armed themselves to the teeth, while making propaganda for others to disarm. Besides, they have become the biggest dealers in arms. This may seem contradictory, but it isn't. In fact, they sell arms to others, but the modern weapons they keep for themselves, always preserving due proportions to maintain their superiority. And they supply weapons only to those on whom they feel their grip is sure. They exploit arms sales, on the one hand, to suck their blood and plunder their wealth, while posing as friends so as to worm their way into their homes where they take over, and on the other hand, to incite them to fight their neighbours.

The United States of America and the Soviet Union stir up strife everywhere, revive ancient feuds, and try to weaken any resistance they might meet. Meanwhile, in their own interests, they stir up conflicts, accompanying these with allegations in defence of one or the other, beating their breasts and swearing great oaths, demanding the convening of the Security Council with the greatest of fervour until, at last, the bubble bursts.

Peace was allegedly restored in Vietnam, but the war is still going on there. The Vietnam question was allegedly solved, but the war began in the Middle East. Peace was allegedly made there, too, but the war continues in many ways. The Arab-Israeli war was supposed to be over, but the Cyprus problem flared up. The process we mentioned above is still going on. Who is hatching up all these conflicts? The two imperialist superpowers, Soviet and American, which are gambling with the fate of the peoples of the world.

The Soviet Union and the United States of America

go into outer space and launch innumerable earth satellites. There are people and states who chant that these inventions «belong to mankind», that «they are for the good of humanity». In themselves they really are colossal inventions, but one cannot help asking: In whose hands are they? Who enjoys them and for what purpose are they used? Are they employed for the good of mankind, or as means for the superpowers to spy on the peoples and states? Can it be said that the danger of aggressive wars has diminished? Not in the least! Are the hunger and poverty in the world being wiped out? On the contrary, they are becoming worse! Has the life of the poor been improved or the power of the rich been liquidated? The opposite is occurring. Thus, to glorify «the successes of mankind» means to make yourself a mouthpiece of capitalist and revisionist superpowers.

On what does the security of the peoples of Europe and the world depend? Does it depend on the public or mysterious journeys of a certain Kissinger, a certain Gromyko, or the scheming of a Brezhnev, who has made the Soviet and other peoples bleed, or the travels of a Nixon who drowns the world in blood and leads the American mafia in the most disgraceful Watergate scandal, which shook the whole of America? Should it be left to such people as these to ensure the future of the world? A fine future it would be!

Of course, those who believe in tragic illusionists are free to go to meetings in Vienna, Helsinki, or anywhere they like. Let them palaver with one another. But for our part, we, too, are free not to go to those meetings, and we are not going. At these meetings and conferences it is not only we, but also the peoples, who are absent. This is significant for us. But someone will ask: What do the Albanians suggest, how should we act? The Albanians state their views every day. They are clear to all who

want to hear. The Albanians say: Any dish mixed with poison should not be eaten because it will kill you. It should be rejected and thrown out. There are those who say: But what can we do about the Americans and the Soviets? They are powerful — should we shut the door to them? The Albanians say: Not only should we shut them out, but we must isolate them and put them in a «straight-jacket». This is a wish, they say, but the reality is another matter. But we Albanians declare that we must turn this wish into reality. If you submit to the Soviet-American dictate, then you cannot escape their yoke. We Albanians accept neither their dictate nor their yoke. We are determined to fight on to victory.

There are some who, when they hear us, smirk and sneer: «How swell-headed these Albanians are! They want to put the world to rights!» But who are these who speak like this? They are the very ones who want to dominate the world and its peoples, who do not like it when the peoples raise their voice against them, the ones who are used to looking down on the peoples and ordering them around with bullets and whips. And it is they who pose as the most unpretentious persons on earth!

We say to them that we are not swell-headed, but we are the soldiers of that great and powerful army which is making the revolution of which they are so afraid and which will be the end of them! This revolution is not a movement of «yes-men» and slaves, of bowing and scraping, but is the powerful blow, the continuation of the Great October Revolution, the peoples' liberation wars. All this they call «pretension and arrogance». They don't like it because it cuts the ground from under them, and destroys the structure they have erected on human corpses.

Eroded by its internal contradictions and gripped in grave all-round crises under the relentless blows of the forces of the revolution, national liberation, democracy and

social progress, the capitalist-revisionist world is staggering towards ever greater degeneration and decomposition.

The bourgeoisie is trying to restrain the present crisis and to save itself from catastrophe by shifting the burden onto the working class and the masses, while keeping its profits intact. This line is bound to bring about the revolt of the proletariat and all those oppressed and exploited by capital.

The working masses, their most conscious forces, will assuredly rise to their feet to defend their vital interests and turn this situation of crisis into one favourable to the advance of the cause of the revolution.

The revolution and the struggle for political and economic independence constitute an unceasing historical process. The present conditions of the social development of the world drive them forward with ever greater force and make them indispensable. And this constitutes a reliable guarantee for their triumph.

With its foreign policy, the People's Republic of Albania defends the interests of our country on the international arena, defends and struggles, together with the socialist and progressive democratic countries, for freedom, progress and genuine democracy all over the world, for the freedom of those who work with hand and brain.

The People's Republic of Albania fights American imperialism, Soviet social-imperialism, all other imperialists and reactionaries in the world, who cause the misfortunes of mankind, who cause wars of oppression and plunder, quarrels and dissensions, subversion and plots all over the world, who cause hunger and poverty on a world scale. Socialist Albania makes its modest contribution to this struggle and to these great efforts of mankind, a modest help, but given openly, without hesitation and fearing nobody. And these «nobodies» may be great and powerful, but the strength of the policy of our Peo-

pie's Republic consists in the fact that it defends its just cause, a sacred cause dear to all peoples. You must know how to seek and find this cause, to make it your own and defend it with all your might. But to defend it with all your might means, first of all, to be prepared to accept any sacrifice. The People's Republic of Albania has chosen this course thanks to its glorious leadership, the Party of Labour, and no storm has ever made it, or will ever make it waver from its course.

The policy of the Party of Labour and the People's Republic of Albania is open and aboveboard: it states the truth before the world, regardless of whether someone or other may not like it. Our policy complies with the interests of peoples and not of cliques and ideologies that oppress the peoples. It seeks the friendship of these peoples and not that of their oppressors. It is not a pragmatic policy, but a principled proletarian policy. It does not stem from secret diplomacy behind the scenes, from mysterious talks, from putting its own interests and those of other countries up for auction.

The policy of our country is not the policy of a state with a hundred flags up its sleeve. Our People's Republic does not lower its colours either to blackmail and intimidation or to the ruble and the dollar. Is this correct, principled and courageous policy which should be followed, or that of going down on your knees, of crawling to the Americans and the Soviets, of becoming a prostitute state? The former course should be followed while the other should be mercilessly exposed and combated.

Such is the policy of our Party and Government, and that is why we have hundreds and hundreds of millions of people with us, and Albania, for its part, is in unity of thought and action, with those hundreds and hundreds of millions.

We, the people of the People's Republic of Albania.

a small country in the Balkans which has suffered greatly through the centuries at the hands of barbarous imperialist invaders and which won its freedom and everything it enjoys today through armed struggle, issue a warning to all the common people of the world: Take care! US imperialism and Russian imperialism are leading the world into another world war, more terrible than any other! These two are to blame for the present great crises; they are vying with each other for world hegemony, are fighting to capture markets, which means to occupy countries and enslave peoples. It is precisely the two super-powers that arm the anti-popular cliques and governments to use them as gendarmes and providers of cannon-fodder for the inevitable slaughter they are preparing if we let them have their way.

See what is happening in the world! The peoples of the Soviet Union are being oppressed and pumped full of aggressive nationalism; the peoples of the pseudo-socialist countries of Europe are being oppressed and their ruling cliques subordinate the interests of their peoples to those of the Soviet Union and the Warsaw Treaty. The Kremlin oppresses them and threatens: «Either you act the way I want and as I order, or I shall invade and crush you as I did with Czechoslovakia.» This is how Hitler acted. He started with Austria first, then with Czechoslovakia, and continued with the others. Soviet social-imperialism started like this, too, and will end up the same way. Just as Haša began and finished up, so Husak, Bek-Gierek, Zhivkov-Filov and Co. have begun, and they will end up the same way, too.

US imperialism is grinding the peoples under its bloody «iron heel». It has the pressure on its «allies», striving at all costs to keep them under the constant menace of the economic crisis, the atomic bomb, the Soviet danger, of intrigues and subversion. It is trying to preserve the

Atlantic alliance, to stir up rivalries to its own advantage within it, and to create a climate of insecurity in the countries and governments of its so-called allies.

The United States attacks Vietnam and Cambodia, and the Americans and the Soviets, the two in solidarity, interfere in Pakistan and Afghanistan, provoke Wars in the Middle East and hatch up the tragedies of Chile and Cyprus.

The whole world waits in anguish. Where will they strike next? Now the world is buzzing with rumours spread by agents provocateurs, venal journalists, the diplomats of the drawing-rooms and clubs, who are all sowers of confusion, blackmail and fear in the service of the two superpowers. «Tomorrow,» they say, «it will be Yugoslavia's turn. What will happen after Tito? Yugoslavia will be annexed either to the Soviet or to the American sphere of influence; Rumania will be gobbled up by the Soviets; Albania will not go unscathed. Which side will Greece take now it has withdrawn from NATO?» etc., etc.

All these rumours express the wishes and plans of the two superpowers. They are not only a demoralizing psychological preparation, but also an effective military preparation to weaken the resistance of the peoples and then drown them in a blood-bath.

The psychosis of fear and war is fostered by the two superpowers. They use it to advertize the two umbrellas, the one American, the other Soviet, as the only hope of salvation. According to them, if you want to save yourself you must take your pick between them. «Don't think for yourself any more — your freedom and fate are bound up with these two monsters.» Over all this psychosis of blackmail, intimidation and terror reigns a dense pall of meetings, contacts, talks, bilateral and multilateral commissions. Everything is discussed but nothing is solved;

even when some decision is taken, nothing is certain. Even that minimal «bourgeois morality» of the diplomatic acts of days gone by has turned into hideous filth and corruption today. Degeneration, falsehood, and deceit prevail in the policies of the two superpowers and their allies.

Should the peoples sit idly by, awaiting the catastrophe these criminal cliques are preparing for mankind? Certainly not! Then what should be done? We say it is necessary to fight. But in what way? Through messages and telegrams of congratulations and good wishes to those who are trying to dig your grave? By saying nothing publicly but singing praises to the Soviet revisionists who want to bury you or to gobble you up, by tossing bouquets at the US imperialist butchers, and by seeking and accepting enslaving loans from the two superpowers, and then pretending you are fighting them? No, no one will swallow such demagoguery and lies! If you are to carry out a policy that is correct and realistic towards your own country and towards other countries, you must free yourself from the complexes which the two superpowers and their agents continue to create.

These powers of darkness accuse us Albanians of shutting ourselves off. But from whom have we shut ourselves off and what do they mean by shut-off? And next, what would they have us do? They advise us not to shut ourselves off from the imperialists and the revisionists, to accept their loans and make those who have always oppressed us and sucked our blood business partners in our country. They advise us to turn our country into an inn, with the doors wide open to pigs and sows in pants or with no pants at all, with hair down to their shoulders, and to hippies to bring in their crazy dances to supplant the beautiful dances of our people. They try to corrupt our people, to poke their spy's noses

into our affairs, to organize putsches and plots, to occupy the strategic points in the country, to establish military bases, to make our country a colony belonging to foreigners and turn our free people into slaves. If you do not do all this, they say, then you have shut yourself off from «this wonderful world, from this marvellous civilization». If you make such concessions to these monsters, they will even allow you to insult them, to call yourself a «communist» and even pose as a «Marxist-Leninist», or a «follower of Mao Zedong». But that's all a bluff, because they have you by the throat and you cannot move; you are their slave, their agent, and have sold out your people and your country.

They want us to become slaves of this sort, otherwise we shall not be considered «civilized» or «fashionable». This way of life, this way of thinking we reject with contempt, and they need cherish no hopes that this attitude will change. Our glorious people and the heroic Party of Labour of Albania, the two in absolute unity of thought and action, are the reliable guarantee of that.

Rogues, enemies, agents in the pay of foreigners have come up now and then with the aim of impeding the construction of socialism and sabotaging the splendid, steel-like defence of our country, but they have all been wiped out and liquidated as soon as they have dared to raise their heads. The class struggle that is being waged with such success, determination and vigilance by Our Party and people mercilessly discloses and destroys these specks of rot in our society.

When the iron broom sweeps our ranks clean of them, the external and internal enemies prick up their ears and timidly whisper some rumour, «Maybe this is the end; they are split; the worm of dissension has done its work», and so on. But what do the Party and the people say? «We must crack down on them, because this will make

us a hundred thousand times stronger.» The rumours spread by the enemy are merely their wails of defeat. Our people and our Party are neither surprised, confused, nor alarmed by such rumours, because they are used to them. Not only do our people and government know who these people are who spread venom when the enemy has been dealt crushing blows, but they also know how to administer the appropriate remedy to such individuals. And this makes our position even stronger, because the diabolical plots of the enemy, both external and internal, are foiled, and those involved in them are caught red-handed. Herein lies the strength of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the strength of our socialist country, the strength of the Marxist-Leninist ideas of our Party.

The revisionist Kremlin and its stooges are screaming, «We want contacts, we want diplomatic relations, we want friendship with the Albanian people, with that people we love so dearly.» These wolves in sheep's clothing swear by their most sacred things that they want to embrace us — or better to strangle us. They want to kiss us three times, according to the custom of the Russian church, to dispatch us to heaven. But we say to these enemies of socialism and Leninism, these sworn enemies of our people and the Party of Labour of Albania, that we will never be reconciled with them, will never be friends with them, but everlasting enemies! And they should not imagine that these are just the opinions of a few Albanian leaders who are alive today but will be dead tomorrow. No! The Albanian people and the Party of Labour of Albania will never die! We are their soldiers, we are millions, and we are of one mind, one unwavering stand. Neither your guns, your missiles, your aircraft, nor your atomic bombs can shift us, today or ever.

Our Party and people are not deceived by the demagoguery of Radio Moscow which weeps nostalgic crocodile

tears every night over the erstwhile Albanian-Soviet friendship. Our friendship was in the time of the great Stalin. We have not hidden and never will hide this friendship, but it was violated precisely by those who betrayed the cause of Marxism-Leninism, of Bolshevism, who betrayed the ideas of Lenin and Stalin, proletarian internationalism, and the friendship with the Albanian people. The Party of Labour of Albania and the Albanian people will never be at peace with them, but at war. We are prepared to win this war, and if not today, tomorrow we shall certainly triumph over them.

There is something else they should realize, too, and in saying this I speak in the name of the Albanian people and the Party of Labour of Albania. We are not afraid, either of them or of their weapons. We say to the Kremlin traitors and their running-dogs that we know how to distinguish between the Soviet people and the revisionist chiefs, but we do not and will not differentiate between those chiefs and those who follow them. We lump all traitors together. They will not be able to deal with socialist Albania and the Party of Labour of Albania the way they dealt with Prague and the party of Dubček.

With the megalomania and despotism of a great fascist state, the rulers in the Kremlin, knitting their histrionic bushy eyebrows, may ask, «Where do these Lilliputians find the strength to stand up to the Soviet Union?» Do you want the answer? Pick up Marx, Engels and Lenin (because you have condemned Stalin), read them the right way up for a minute (because you read them upside down) and there you will find the precise answer as to where the source of our strength lies. Do you agree, dear electors, with the answer we give these treacherous enemies? *(The hall echoes with a powerful «Yes!», applause and ovations.)*

Now, too, the Soviet revisionists and Brezhnev are

pursuing the same ends, adopting the same tactics, and maintaining the same propaganda position as in the time of Khrushchev. Following the course of the Khrushchevite betrayal, the revisionist Communist Party of the Soviet Union is now organizing a meeting of the revisionist parties of Europe with the aim of imposing its views on them, keeping them under control, and showing that allegedly it is not isolated, but is the «centre of world communism». The other parties which take part in this meeting will prove that they are on the road of betrayal, and will make themselves accomplices of the evil, counter-revolutionary activity of the Soviet revisionist leaders. The Party of Labour of Albania sternly condemns such a meeting of conspirators, but on the other hand, it is a good thing that the peoples and the communists of the world will have the opportunity once again to see the true face of those parties which are meeting to plot.

The Kremlin chiefs and their running-dogs pretend that they are the embodiment of Marxism-Leninism, and their countries — of socialism. Whoever is with them they sanctify as such; whoever is against them is stigmatized, not only as not a Marxist-Leninist, but as linked with, sold out to, and in the service of US imperialism. In other words, they say, «Either with us or with them». But to be against both US imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism is something they cannot accept.

Khrushchev accused us of having sold out to imperialism. But who sold out — we or he? Since we have not submitted to him, Brezhnev accuses us of playing the Americans' game at a time when he himself and his followers are close friends and collaborators of the Americans, who are kissing the Americans and getting into bed with them every day, while accusing us who are at daggers drawn with the Americans. Nobody believes the lies of these traitors, because honest people with brains

in their heads are able to understand the policy and stands of our People's Republic and the Party of Labour of Albania, to see this policy in its development and application. We rely on these people and we thank them for their fair judgement of our policy. And people like this, communists and non-communists, people of varying political opinions, including some who may not agree with our course, are the overwhelming majority.

But there are also some who believe the calumnies of the imperialist renegades of the Kremlin. What can we do? Such people exist. Hitler had such people, too, both inside and outside Germany. Through demagoguery and terror he even lined up the German people. This is what is happening in the Soviet Union today.

But can it be said that Albania is an isolated country, as our enemies trumpet? Not at all! The whole world knows socialist Albania; countless people, friends from all countries, come to visit it. We have diplomatic, trade, and cultural relations with 65 countries(1). The frank and loyal policy of the People's Republic of Albania towards its friends and well-wishers is respected, just as the art and culture of our people are respected, just as the all-round progress of our country is fairly and positively assessed.

Can it be that we are isolated because we do not have diplomatic links with the United States of America? It is true that in the US Senate, neither Truman, Nixon, nor Ford have spoken in favour of diplomatic relations with Albania, nor about the «ardent love» they allegedly have for Albania, as the hypocrites of Moscow are doing. But from time to time the State Department sends up a «test balloon» and waits for the response. Every day we are giving American imperialism our answer.

Following the Second World War, in which we fought

1 See footnote on p. 137 of this volume.

together against Hitler, Albania expressed its desire to establish diplomatic relations with the United States of America. But it did not deign to establish relations with a government born in the mountains; it wanted a government of drawing-rooms and Coca-Cola established in Albania. However, the Albanian people were not greatly bothered about it. They enjoyed their place in the sun and prospered, whether or not it pleased the United States of America.

At that time they did not want to establish diplomatic relations with us; now we do not want to establish such relations with them. A lot of people might say that it doesn't matter to the United States that we don't want to establish diplomatic relations with it. This is true. But it is equally true that it doesn't matter to us, either.

The British government, too, which maintains the same stand towards us as the American government, from time to time sends up a «test balloon» for diplomatic relations, but we say to them, «Before you send up such balloons release the gold that you have robbed from the Albanian people and send it back, together with the accumulated interest.» This is what we have to say to the Bonn government, too, which is carrying out a revanchist policy and which owes Albania billions of marks in war reparations.

Are they, perhaps, expecting us to bow low to these governments which have committed so many evils, so many injustices, against us? Never! They are just as mistaken as all those who accuse us of being pig-headed.

We have sympathy for the working people of America, Great Britain and Germany, but not for those who trample underfoot the peoples' rights, freedom and sovereignty. We fight those governments and those persons who have enslaving aims. We have many friends and well-wishers in France, Belgium, the Nordic and Scandinavian countries, and in many other countries around the

world. We respect them and they respect us, despite the differences in our regimes and ideologies.

We respect those peoples and those governments who do not bow to the dictates and desires of the two superpowers, who carry out an independent and sovereign policy. The well-wishers of the People's Republic of Albania respect our policy regardless of the fact that they may not agree with us on all matters, but they understand that, just as they have the right to conduct their own policy, we, too, have the right to conduct ours. In the past, distinguished persons have emerged from the bosom of these peoples who have written and spoken with sympathy about the Albanian people. Now, too, in this new period, workers, well-known professors, doctors, philosophers, diplomats and journalists are speaking and writing with sympathy about our small and courageous nation that has never harmed anybody.

We are friends with the neighbouring Yugoslav and Greek peoples. The imperialist powers and their agencies have laid their fuses and detonators among us to set us squabbling with one another. But to us, the Balkan peoples, these things have become lessons and, in the face of the common danger, even though we may not agree with one another in many respects, we have found and must find a common language. The facts of history cannot be wiped out. When one has been attacked, the other has been attacked, too, by the same enemy. The same enemy has incited one or the other to weaken the third. The enemies of our people and the cliques sold out to them held the fuse of the powder barrel.

The Albanian, Yugoslav and Greek peoples have never submitted to the foreign invaders. These peoples have no slavish spirit, and they have demonstrated this over and over again throughout the centuries of their history. The Albanians, the Yugoslavs and the Greeks are not the kind

of people who keep a pistol in their belt just for show, when the Americans, the Soviets or anyone else try to attack them and rob them of their freedom and sovereignty. Therefore, however much the two superpowers or their captive aircraft-carrier states may day-dream, neither the Yugoslav, Greek, nor Albanian people will ever allow themselves to be trodden underfoot by the Soviets, the Americans, or the Italian and German fascists. If they embark on such adventures, our countries will become their grave.

We have said and we say again to the Yugoslav and Greek peoples that Albania's borders with them will always be quiet. The enemy will first have to do battle with us Albanians, will be broken here and will find it hard to reach their borders. We trust that the same will occur from their side towards us.

We want to live free in our countries. The enemies should not think that they would be able to deal with us easily. We Albanians wish the peoples of Yugoslavia and Greece well. We must promote our friendship in the way most suitable to each without interfering in one another's internal affairs, and we must not permit anything within our territories which, for one reason or another, may violate or threaten the interests of good neighbourliness... We welcome the efforts of the Greek government to withdraw from NATO. The Greek people did not permit themselves to be trampled underfoot, and anyone who thinks that Washington's departmental secretaries and Moscow's foreign ministers can strike bargains and plot at the expense of the Greek people is sadly mistaken. The world remembers very well how Greece shed its blood in the fight for freedom while others looked on and turned their thumbs.

We say to our neighbours that in our country there are and there will be no foreign military bases, but we wish

that they, too, would get rid of the foreign military bases in their countries. There is no valid pretext for the fleets of the two superpowers to be permitted even the right to anchor, to be repaired, or supplied, let alone to have permanent bases in these countries. This is very dangerous, both to the country that makes these concessions and to its neighbours. We cannot agree to anyone making such concessions. We have declared our stand towards the presence of aggressive US and Soviet fleets in the Mediterranean and we remain loyal to and consistent with this policy.

We wish the Bulgarian people well. We have been and are friends, but this friendship is being clouded through no fault of ours. The Bulgarian people should open their eyes, because their rulers are turning Bulgaria into a real colony of the Soviet social-imperialists. The Moscow chiefs and their Bulgarian agency, headed by Todor Zhivkov, have turned Bulgaria into a military base against our countries. The Soviets want to use the Bulgarian people as cannon-fodder against our peoples. Todor Zhivkov and his clique in the hands of the Soviets have become dangerous provocateurs against Yugoslavia, Albania, Greece, Turkey, and so on. The dreams of the old czars have become identified with the desires of the new Russian-Bulgarian czars and Todor Zhivkov, who has ambitions to a Greater Bulgaria, and does not coin the slogan «Through the centuries with Russia» for nothing. We say to the Bulgarian people that friendship is friendship, and we remain loyal to the friendship with the Bulgarian people of the great Dimitrov, but this friendship has its rules. If the Bulgarian people harbour bandits in their country, and permit them to attack us from there, then our sincere and pure friendship no longer exists.

We want good, friendly relations with Italy. But We observe that now the fascists are raising their heads

there, launching a widespread campaign of crimes and threats, seeking to revive the old Mussolini spirit of adventurism. Acts of fascist terror have been carried out in Rome against the embassy of the People's Republic of Albania, which is inviolable. All those actions which hinder the normal development of good neighbourly relations between our two countries must be condemned and stopped.

A close fraternal friendship binds our people with the heroic people of Vietnam. Our country has always resolutely supported the just war of the Vietnamese people for the liberation of South Vietnam, the defence of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the re-unification of the homeland. The Party, the government, and the entire Albanian people forcefully condemn the aggressive policy followed by the United States of America towards Vietnam where it is continuing its military involvement, urging the Saigon administration to violate the Paris Agreements, and inciting it to grave provocations against the Vietnamese people. We express our unshaken confidence that, through their resolute struggle, the fraternal Vietnamese people will achieve all their national aspirations and their just cause will triumph completely.

We hail the historic victories which the valiant Cambodian people are achieving under the leadership of the National United Front in their struggle against the American imperialist aggressors and the puppet regime of Lon Nol. We are convinced that the ultimate victory of the Cambodian people over the foreign aggressors and the Phnom-Penh traitors is inevitable.

Friendly relations and close collaboration exist between our country and the People's Democratic Republic of Korea, and they are being strengthened and developed continuously. We deeply rejoice at the successes the fraternal Korean people are achieving in the construction of socialism. Our people support the just stand of the Party and government

of the People's Democratic Republic of Korea on the withdrawal of foreign troops from South Korea and the reunification of the country.

Currently, the Middle East constitutes one of the problems worrying, not just the peoples of this area, but public opinion throughout the world. As a result of the interference of the superpowers, genuine peace there is far from being established. There is no rapid solution in view which would conform to the genuine sovereign interests of the Arab peoples, and which would return to them all the land stolen from them and restore to the Palestinians the rights they have been denied.

The so-called peace plans fabricated in the chancelleries of Moscow and Washington have the aim of burying the genuine Arab cause. Every initiative the United States of America and the Soviet Union take in the Middle East aims at strengthening the position of the imperialists and enhancing their influence there.

But any anti-Arab half peace like that which the United States and the Soviet Union seek to impose cannot be long-lived. The four Arab-Israeli wars so far have proven this. We are convinced that the Arab peoples, who have ancient traditions and a freedom-loving and progressive spirit will foil all the anti-Arab intrigues and plans of Israel and the two superpowers, and with their united forces will attain all their lofty national objectives.

Recently, the flames of war were kindled in Cyprus, too. A fresh threat to peace and security in the East Mediterranean and the Balkans was created. The development of events to date shows that the new Cyprus tragedy arose on the background of the Soviet-US rivalry, in the atmosphere of plots and intrigues that the two superpowers, individually or jointly, hatch up against the peoples. The US imperialists seek to establish themselves politically and militarily on the island, while the social-imperialists

want to fish in troubled waters. They are taking advantage of the situation to revive the old Turkish-Greek feuds and to create conditions which will facilitate their expansion or justify their intrusion.

The problems of Cyprus are numerous and are certainly not easy to resolve, but we are of the opinion that the Cypriot people, Greek and Turk, are able and have the possibilities to decide their own future, free from outside pressure and on the basis of their sovereign interests. Cyprus is an independent and sovereign state, a member of the United Nations and recognized by the majority of the world's states. It should remain so, and nobody has the right to attack it under any pretext at all, to meddle in its internal affairs and to impose solutions which do not conform to the freely expressed will of the Cypriot people.

These events which are taking place not far away from us impose on us the necessity for still greater revolutionary vigilance, even greater mobilization for a more powerful and all-sided struggle against all enemies on all the fronts.

As hitherto the People's Republic of Albania will continue to stand in the forefront of the struggle against imperialism, revisionism and reaction, and will give its support to all those peoples and countries that fight for national freedom and independence, for emancipation and social advancement.

In the future, too, we shall follow the same foreign policy that has ensured our country sound international positions, powerful friends and numerous well-wishers, and has won it an honoured name and high prestige.

**WRITERS AND ARTISTS ARE ASSISTANTS OF THE
PARTY FOR THE COMMUNIST EDUCATION
OF OUR PEOPLE**

*Speech delivered at the meeting of the Secretariat of the
CC of the PLA concerning the implementation to date
of the tasks in literature and art set by the 4th Plenum
of the CC of the PLA*

December 20, 1974

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I asked the comrades of the Ministry of Education and Culture as well as the comrades of the apparatus of the Central Committee engaged in problems of literature and art how they activate the writers, poets and artists, because they should not burden them with office routine, involving them in one way or the other in the machinery of bureaucracy. I asked this question because I think that the League of Artists and Writers should not be turned into a bureaucratic organ. On the contrary, it must be a centre where there is a lively threshing out of philosophical, artistic, aesthetic and other opinions. We must not allow the League of Artists and Writers to be turned into an organ for control over the various writings of all the writers and poets of the country, but, primarily, it should work in many different ways and forms to inspire them to write better and better...

Over these thirty years of a free existence in a country such as ours, in which socialism is being built, we have achieved many successes in the fields of the economy and culture. There is no doubt whatever that these successes would not have been achieved without the existence of the Party of Labour, without its correct Marxist-Leninist line, without the establishment of the people's power, without the dictatorship of the proletariat and without the continuous waging of the class struggle. All these factors have resulted in major transformations being carried out in the socio-economic field and, linked with them, in the all-round education of the working people. The economic and cultural life of our people has changed, has progressed. Our people work, produce, create, learn and consume.

In all this development the Party has continually made all-round analyses of key moments, which have helped the communists and all the working people to see the good aspects, as well as the weak ones, during the process of this development.

Some people have not appreciated these analyses made by the Party as much as they should. They have not seen in them the essence of the policy and philosophy of the Party, to point out that the results of a given stage have their good aspects, but also have weak aspects associated with them; there are positive and negative factors and these factors are both objective and subjective. In the opinion of these people, social life develops outside their will, because, they allege, events will take their «predestined» course willy-nilly. Such people differ in appearance from those who philosophize in an idealist and mystical way, but they do not differ at all in their world outlook. At one time, people said and believed that this or that «had been ordained», «it was bound to happen so», «there is a supernatural power, the decisions of which cannot be opposed». They called this «extraordinary force», «God,

Heaven, Christ, Mohammed» and all kinds of saintly names. Even now there are people who think metaphysically and believe in certain «forces» which they raise as factors that allegedly set development in motion, such as «the bureaucracy, the administration, selfishness, the sense of private property, ambition, position, etc.». For them heaven has been transformed and taken root precisely in those world outlooks and signposts in life which have consolidated the idealist inspiration and the life of the capitalist, merchant or money-lending bourgeoisie. Naturally under our regime, the sphere of action of such people has been narrowed and is becoming narrower, but their harmful mentalities are not without effect in life. These views operate in life in various forms, frequently seem to be quite harmless and normal, and lie hidden under a mentality which allegedly conforms to the laws, the customs and even to the new «patriotism» of the epoch of the Party. This is that petty-bourgeois mentality, these are those bourgeois and petty-bourgeois remnants, which the Marxist-Leninist party fights and will continue to fight until the classless society is achieved.

It must not be imagined that the people have shaken off these remnants, we should not think that after a few moralizing articles these dangerous vices and world outlooks disappear without a trace, we should not think that, with the improvement of the living standards of the people, our men and women become immune to these «diseases». Otherwise, we may have a reminder of them, and this time shouting «long live the Party» which created abundance for us. But together with the abundance and well-being, **the Party must create in individuals and in society precisely that world outlook, those customs, those feelings, those tastes, those ethics, that revolutionary philosophy, which will not permit the revival or the spread of petty-bourgeois and bourgeois world outlooks, either.**

Of course, this is not an easy task and that is just what the bourgeoisie, capitalism, relies on when it hopes for the «failure of socialist society», «the defeat of communism». It is precisely that philosophy, those world outlooks and those economic relations on which the development and consolidation of its state power are based, that capitalism is counting on. Its whole structure and superstructure have, of course, oppressed man in a twofold way: both spiritually and physically. During the entire course of history, the reign of capital, of religion, of the aristocracy and the bourgeoisie has clashed with the progressive forces, with progress, and has lost many limbs in these wars. Now it has reached the stage of its decay. Capitalism, imperialism, has lost its economic, political and ideological positions one after another. The revolution, the peoples, are eroding its foundations. Marxism-Leninism is leading the peoples towards the new life, socialism and communism, but we must not think that in face of the defeats it is suffering, world capitalism has laid down its arms. In its objectives, capitalism relies precisely on its barbarous attacks and on predatory imperialist wars against the liberation of the peoples from its yoke, but it also counts on that world outlook and on those remnants which burden the consciousness of men and have kept them as its slaves for life.

In this direction, the propaganda of imperialism for the degeneration of men and women and society as a whole, for the revival of every form and aspect of the former vices, feelings, sentiments, appetites, selfishness, robbery, and gangsterism of those individuals and those societies that supported its power, has never before known such a broad extension and range as it has at the present time. All this is a reflection of the savage face of capital, a reflection of its degeneration. Nevertheless, with this way of life it is still striving to prolong its existence and

domination, by influencing the peoples with its propaganda in order to demoralize them, to divert them from the road of the revolution.

Capitalism and imperialism are afraid of the revolution, of the proletariat, but not of the lumpen elements or of those democrats and socialists who fight them with kid gloves, nor of the modern revisionists, like those of the Soviet Union and others, who have betrayed the ideas of Marxism-Leninism. All these, dressed up in various pseudo-revolutionary ideologies, are forces and means of the counter-revolution which capitalism and imperialism use for their own purposes.

In view of these things, and being aware of the danger of them at every moment, our Party teaches and educates the people, throws them into struggle for the construction of socialist society and the consolidation of the victories achieved, and to prepare the ground for those new objectives which must be achieved. Hence, every citizen of our country must reflect deeply on what the Party means when it says that «we must fight with all our strength against the external and internal pressure of the bourgeois and revisionist ideology». This double and, at the same time, single enemy is not imaginary but real. The struggle must be waged every day, must be active and take place in all the manifestations of life, in the philosophy of all these manifestations. The struggle must be waged with all the means, through education in schools, in factories, in fields, at work and at home, with the family and tête à tête with the mother, the wife, the sister, the children, the neighbours, in all their manifestations, pointing out and encouraging the good things and condemning the bad things. If we act in this way, we have triumphed step by step over the enemy. We must not allow his evil seed to germinate, and, as soon as it puts up a sprout, we must nip it off at once.

The writers and artists have an exceptionally great role in this direction. The people and the Party need them. Through their creativity and talents they should give more help in eliminating those remnants I spoke of earlier from the dark corners of human consciousness and should bring out the majesty of the socialist world and the virtues of its new men and women. Under the leadership of the Party, our workers of literature and art should do that profound ideological, political, moral, and ethical work which is needed to combat the influences and poisons of the old world and of the present-day capitalist and revisionist world, to bring out the lofty communist virtues and implant them in the character of our men and women. They should struggle to always play the role of the assistant of the Party in the formation of the new man. I regret to have to say that many communists and leaders of party committees and state institutions do not properly understand the importance of literature and art. In their reports they repeat Lenin's golden words about the role of literature and art in educating the masses, but when it comes to practice, they underrate or forget them.

In the direction of the development of literature and art the Party has helped to bring about a great qualitative leap forward. Life in our country is so great, so broad, so varied, so beautiful and so open that if you immerse yourself in it you cannot fail to be inspired to write whatever you like — novels, poems, plays, music, comedies, etc.

The comrade writers, poets, musicians, artists, actors and directors of drama, opera and ballet theatres, cinematography, etc., inspired by the work and heroic deeds of the people, have achieved very great progress in the development of literature and art in our country. The best evidence of this is the creative literary-artistic work done on the occasion of the 30th anniversary of the liberation of our Homeland. Inspired by the decisions of the 4th

Plenum of the CC of the PLA, our artists and writers came to that great jubilee with all those beautiful works. These achievements, in the series of others, testify, among other things, to the possibilities created when the people are in power and are led by a revolutionary Marxist-Leninist party, such as our Party of Labour.

Among the works of foreign authors of various countries which I have read, there are some that I have liked, for instance, the works of classical poetry and outstanding French and other prose writers, but there are also some which I have not liked at all, such as many new novels which I have happened to pick up and tried to read, but which, to tell the truth, I have thrown away, because they are worthless. Let alone the modern «poetry» which I have read, which is unimaginably awful. Reading such «poetry» I ask myself, who are these people who write such stuff. Meanwhile, compared to this corrupt and worthless creativity, the magnificence of our literature and art of socialist realism, the value of our exceptionally beautiful folk songs and dances, becomes ever greater.

Among our poets and prose writers there are authors who turn out literary and artistic creations of value, others who produce works of less value; then there are those who write materials without any special value. Who is going to help the latter, particularly the young poets and writers, progress? We must pay great attention to this question, we must encourage and help them, and our affirmed writers and poets, as well as those who have had more training than the young ones, have a special duty in this direction. But the first and continuing aid we must give them is to open the eyes of their consciousness to the reality of our country and our people. They themselves must learn to see with their own eyes and feel with their own hearts the vigorous development of the

life of our people and faithfully reflect it in their diverse creativity. We must understand the most profound and diverse aspects of this development, which are discovered through knowledge of the material life and the feelings which arise in each period, through the clash of opinions created by internal and external antagonisms, which were and are inseparable in the life of a people, in whatever period and in whatever corner of the continents this people may live and fight for its existence, for a better life, a life in freedom and economic and political independence.

A poet who does not know the reality is quite unable to produce a powerful poem, no matter how developed his imagination may be. But if he combines his imagination with the objective reality of the country, with the vivid life of the people, if in his writings he combats expressions full of pompous phrases, he, too, can become a talented writer.

We must not be discouraged because, alongside the recognized poets and writers, we do not see new talents of high calibre emerging, as was said here. It must be borne in mind that it is not easy to create worthwhile literary pieces, poems, novels, etc. in a short time. You need time to write valuable works; besides, you must link yourself with men and women, with the people, must go deep into the heart of the masses, not just to find the subject for your novel or poem and then immediately leave the village or the factory, considering the birth of the idea to be sufficient. No fine work, no achievement, can come out in this way, that is why it is required of the writer to really get to know people, to know their lives, their difficulties and worries, their pleasures and hopes, etc.. as I said earlier.

The majority of our young writers have a cultural horizon, but their task is to link this culture well with

the life of the country, with the directives of the Party. I am convinced that, by drawing inspiration from the life of the people and the correct line of the Party, in time the young writers, too, will mature and succeed in winning recognition.

There are two ways of viewing the development of life: one is the idealist, mystical, pessimistic and conservative view, **and the other is the realist view, with a revolutionary spirit, fruit of a materialist analysis of events and history, a view full of optimistic feelings about a further positive change and development of history and about the advancement of society, of a classless society.** This view becomes the property and outlook of those men and women with pure revolutionary virtues, who, uniting with the progressive classes, strike powerful blows at the entire abhorred ideological and political-moral arsenal of the reactionary forces. **In order to educate and help the young writers and artists, it is essential that we teach them, and make understandable to them, the ideology that guides our Party and our working class — Marxism-Leninism.**

We must teach our young writers and artists how to read the open book of the socialist life of our country, how to study and grasp the content of this wonderful book. We must make them love every «letter» of this book of life, make them see and feel the powerful pulse of the strength, feelings and ardent desires of our people. We must work to make them see and handle the colossal achievements of our people in all fields, see how our new man of socialist society, led by a Marxist-Leninist party, has transformed the plains, the mountains, has harnessed the flow of rivers, and built entire cities from nothing. We must make these young people see all these beauties, all this rich colour of our people and nature. From this wonderful book, which is the life of the people, they

should make deductions and put all these great treasures of our socialist life in their books, novels and poems, in their songs and plays, in the paintings and sculptures they create.

If our artists and writers proceed in these directions and are imbued with these teachings, if they immerse themselves completely in the revolutionary current of life with all their strength of character and the depth of their pure and ardent feelings, they will certainly give the people and their Homeland wonderful works which will be a reflection of the mighty work being done in our country for the construction of socialism and the formation of the new man. As to their usefulness and majesty, their works will be like the giant hydro-power stations, factories and combines, the beautiful wheat fields and the hills covered with fruit trees; they will be like the beauties of our cities, schools and creches, where the happy children of our socialist country laugh and sing, where our working class, cooperativist peasantry and people's intelligentsia, with their minds and skills, are creating and building a new, happy, and prosperous life.

I think that another special sort of help which should be given to the young, less experienced and as yet unformed writers, apart from the friendly advice of the outstanding poets, writers, painters and musicians, or the comments they will make about the creative work of the young people, will be the beautiful and rich creativity of our great talents, the splendid writings and compositions they bring out, which will inspire those who are younger and with less training from the ideological and artistic viewpoint. The works of poetry, prose, music, painting, etc., provided by our well-known writers and artists, should become major subjects for study to inspire all those engaged in literature and art, in regard to their ethics, content, treatment of problems, etc. This creativity is and

will remain a great school and assistance provided for the young by the recognized artists, from whose works not only those who have just begun to write, but also the readers, all those who are not engaged in writing, learn and gain education, because they inspire us, too.

The fine works of the outstanding writers, poets and artists please us, because they are permeated by valuable ideas and thoughts, which do not drop from the skies, but stem from knowledge of the real state of things, of our reality, of the development of the political and social life of our people. These ideas and thoughts correctly and accurately reflect the desires, joys and sorrows, the life and depth of the thinking of the people, they are linked with our future, therefore, they not only please us, but also inspire us and invigorate our work. Hence, the successful works of the outstanding authors should become the main source of assistance to the young creators, rather than any schematic organization of giving help on their part. When the works of the writers and artists, their paintings and musical compositions, express the profound thinking and great-heartedness of the people and portray real characters from life, this makes those who are reflected in these creations think: With the work we carry Out, do we deserve this honour? And this question which they ask themselves inspires them and multiplies their strength to work even harder.

The works of our writers, including the young ones, contain inspiration, ideas, taste, art. All these things may not be always profound, may not be perfect. It is known that the tree does not yield fruit as soon as it sprouts from the soil. It is like this also with the young writers and artists, but in time they, too, will grow up, will mature in their thoughts and will know how to create works which are more beautiful, of greater and more lasting value.

In their creative work the young writers must draw inspiration, first of all, from the line of the Party and the colossal activity of the men of labour, but, as I said, they must also learn from their older and more experienced writer, poet, and artist comrades. Among the young artists and men of letters, indeed also among the older ones, through systematic educational work, we must patiently fight and eliminate egoism, ambition and conceit, which linger among us as stains from the society with antagonistic classes. This work is indispensable for a massive development and blooming of the beautiful, fragrant, multi-coloured flowers of a socialist garden such as ours. But, I think, we cannot expect that all talents will reach that level of development at the same time. Therefore, we must not make unwarranted comparisons between individuals engaged in creative work, saying that the productions of this one or that are superlative, while those of the others are nothing! No, we must not act in this way. The literature, art, music, and indeed the economy, the sciences and the entire culture of the countries and peoples of the world have not developed all at one time, but have passed, step by step, from the lowest stages to the highest. Differences, of course, have always existed, not only when high levels of science, literature and culture have been attained, but also when they have not. Time and life themselves will make the differentiation.

In the world literature of different epochs and centuries, mention is made of men who, in their own time, have been among the most renowned, but in the later centuries their value has fallen right away and they have been forgotten. A book about the French Academy writes of those outstanding French and world authorities who were never admitted to the Academy, such as Molière. Rousseau, Diderot, Balzac, etc. It says that many of them were turned down when they presented their candidatures

for membership of the Academy. But who turned them down and who was chosen in their stead? The authors of the book show that those who were elected instead of these authorities were men whose creative work had no great value, therefore, with the passage of time, many of them have been forgotten and some have disappeared without a trace. In this book, one of these authors, Himself an academician, presents the grandeur and immortality of Molière who was never admitted to the Academy. In the final account, what did Molière want with the luxurious armchair of the French Academy when, even today, millions of men and women go and respectfully touch the old armchair in which he died, playing his immortal comedies?

I mentioned the instance of the French Academy to illustrate the idea that time is what does the sorting out of many people and works. Those which are of the greatest value, the masterpieces, last through centuries as immortal monuments whose glory never fades. Others, of a certain mediocre value, are talked about for a time, whereas those which are worthless are entirely rejected and nobody even mentions them. Thus, do what you will to impose a valueless work, it will be short-lived. The opposite is just as true, do whatever you like, organize cabals, invent baseless criticism in a spirit of ambition and denigration about a fine work, nevertheless it will not disappear, its worth is not reduced but resists any action, and, finally, it imposes itself through its great values.

I think that a work, of whatever genre, has its good aspects, but it has also its weak aspects. This is precisely why criticism is necessary, but not denigrating criticism impelled by ambition and other unhealthy feelings, but-fair, objective, constructive criticism.

I make no claim at all, through these few elementary thoughts I am expressing, to pose as, or place myself, in the role of a literary critic. No, I am not in that category, but I think that a work, of whatever genre, **must have its essence in the correct political, ideological, moral road and present the situation, its general and typical aspects realistically.** First of all, the work must inspire, educate, and enthuse the reader. The force and intensity with which it will do this, depends on the profundity of its ideological content and on the forms, style, figures, colours, etc., used by the author.

In their colossal work, our great classical teachers — Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, have dealt with the problems of literature and art, too. The revisionists and Trotskyites try to minimize this major contribution of the classics. They do this with a view to opening broad fields for their filth of all genres which they are pouring out in all directions.

I advise the writers and artists, particularly the literary and art critics that along with their study of the Marxist-Leninist theory they should read with especially great care those more than a few instances in which our classics make criticism of writers and artists. They are profound analyses and models of how we should judge a literary-artistic work.

As I have said, I do not want to go into detail about what a critic should be, but I hope you will forgive me, because I would like to make a criticism of our literary critics. Sometimes their criticism is neither simple nor understandable, thus it cannot always be grasped by those who read it and who want to learn. Many of these criticisms are verbose, what should be pointed out is drowned in a flood of analysis and, frequently, abstruse and «specific» phrases and terminology are used to give the impression of «competence» and of having thoroughly studied

the work. But in acting in this way, they forget the reader, on whom this kind of criticism has no great effect. If I may give some advice, this is that our critics should abandon any inclinations, if these appear among some of them, to imitate the bourgeois modernist critics of the present time who make their criticisms obscure, confused, and corrupting, under the pretext that they must allegedly adapt their criticism to the works of the times.

In the field of the literary and artistic criticism of the bourgeoisie in various epochs, too, we shall see various stages and forms of it. Without aspiring to the heights of the criticisms of Voltaire, which were as incisive and profound as they were simple and understandable, but just taking the criticisms of the early decades of our century, we shall notice that they were not so double-distilled, so tangled and twisted, to the degree to which the present bourgeois and revisionist art, literature and criticism have degenerated.

Our literary-artistic criticism must be inspired by and pursue the principled course of the great classical teachers and our Party. Our criticisms should be realist, like the works they analyse; they should be simple, understandable, concise and able to be grasped by the public. Criticism must be educational, therefore, he who makes it must not regard himself as speaking from the «peak of Olympus», but should consider the author of a work as a comrade, to whom he talks to give him advice, always with good intentions.

We must also show a little tact, comrades, in the help given to those who create. We should bear in mind the psychology and feelings of a person. The observation made here concerning subjective criticism is correct. Sometimes the criticisms made about literary or musical works are exaggerated and subjective. We must demand

from our writers, poets and artists that the content, the essence of their work should be on a correct party road and be inspired by a sound revolutionary spirit in the service of socialism. This is the main thing which our authors must bear in mind in their creative work. As to how one or the other will construct the theme he has chosen, the characters, this is the business of the writer, the poet, or the musician. He, better than anyone else, finds for himself the artistic figures which please him, knows which moment must be underlined to further strengthen the ideological and political core of his work, and so on. On questions like these, each must decide for himself. It would not be advisable at all, for example, to say to one writer or another: «If you will remove this idea or line and add that other one, if you will shorten it a little here and extend it there, remove this artistic figure and put in another,» etc. In such a case the writer would have the right to retort: «Then why don't you write your own verse the way you want it and stop messing me about?» We must never interfere **expressively** with uncalled for criticism of literary-artistic works, because such subjective interference is not assistance, but massacre. Criticisms must not be made in this way. If we allow others to make one comment after another, endlessly, about the publication of a poem, a play, etc., the work will end up a disaster and be turned into a «Russian salad». We should be particularly careful to pursue a correct policy of aid and criticism in regard to the young writers, in the sense that we should neither depress nor intimidate them by telling them baldly, «Your poem is worthless», «Your writing is very poor», etc. We should also bear in mind the other aspect, that we should not turn their heads with undue praise otherwise they might get «stuck up». The aim is to help them advance, so that they, like all the others, serve the people with devotion.

In a few words, when a work is correct in line and does not lack artistic values, but which may be a bit lame somewhere with regard to this or that aspect, there should not be too much hesitation to publish, exhibit, perform, or stage it. On the other hand, I want to re-emphasise that it would not be right and proper for the people of art and literature to take a contemptuous attitude towards the fair criticisms and suggestions of an essentially ideological and artistic character made by the critics or the readers.

Our theatre, both of drama and of opera and ballet, has gained experience and has created a tradition, but efforts must never cease to find other, newer, ways and means with a revolutionary spirit to enrich and further improve this experience and these traditions. Our theatre must reflect our revolutionary reality, the demands of the working class and cooperativist peasantry to consolidate the new society. Of course, for us the theatre is a political and ideological weapon for the education of people, therefore, it must be understandable and, in order to be so, it must express their feelings and desires.

It is essential that our dramaturgy should be raised to the highest possible level of perfection, should avoid banality, and not only respond to the present level of culture of the masses who frequent our theatre, **but should be, at the same time, the inspirer of a further advance in the tastes and revolutionary impulse for a more cultured life.**

Naturally, we are opposed to the literature of modernist dramatic art which tries to entangle and enslave people in the consumer society, to deprive them of their pure feelings and of a revolutionary human morality in thoughts and actions.

Of course, our revolutionary theatre does not and cannot have the individual features of one artist, but has the finest features of our masses, of our socialist society. This

in no way means that our revolutionary theatre lovers, underrates, or entirely eliminates the personality and creative talent of the artist, as the bourgeoisie and its «theories» about theatre claim. On the contrary, our revolutionary theatre opens to the artists a very wide field of feelings and thoughts which greatly enrich their creative spirit and possibilities.

The inner world of our artists does not know those restrictions which are imposed on the artist in bourgeois society. Such artists in bourgeois society have only the illusion of «freedom of creation», while, in fact, their activity is conditioned and, of course, orientated by the bourgeois reality, by a life full of abnormal, amoral, extravagant phenomena. It is precisely these corrupting phenomena and this extravagance that give the bourgeois writers and artists the impression of having «freedom to create.» The darkened halls of their cinemas and theatres are dominated by the aim of creating anguish in the hearts of the audiences, so that this anguish will stay with them the whole day and the whole week and become their second life. This content, this aim, this form and these aesthetics are rejected and combated by our revolutionary aesthetics, inspired by the pure feelings of our people and intended to serve the masses of the people.

In this sense we should give a great impulse to our popular art through the development of the amateur art movement, too, and with this we should not think only of our folk songs and dances. We must extend and enrich these two genres which the people love.

Now we have people who are masters of the pen. I am not saying that they should not write novels and poems, because they are a sound and indispensable nourishment for the education of our men and women of socialist society, but I notice that there is a marked inclination among the literary people to follow those who have

blazed the trail in creativity with novels and poems, and a trend to underestimation or lack of interest in writing plays, film librettos and scripts and sketches for the variety theatre. I have heard people say: «What can we do, one cannot write without the desire», «there are no inclinations, no talents for these genres». What unfounded and harmful ideas! These people are making a great mistake, because they are neglecting or, what is worse, underrating these genres, which are also of incalculable importance for the education of our people. Little by little, even those who have had inclinations for these genres and who have distinguished themselves in this field of literary and artistic creativity, have begun to neglect them. We see our theatres filled to capacity. Our cinemas, likewise, are packed every night. But what do the audiences see? The repertoires are old, not in the sense that they are useless, but they have no new subjects. We make few films, very few. We should not expect to have theatrical pieces in perfect form. Such a requirement would certainly lead us to close down the theatre and would make us see the dramatization of the novel «The Gadfly» day and night, as we do. Why should we not put on more of our own works but always persist with «The Gadfly» till our eyes are sticking out from watching it on television? «The Gadfly», with a subject from the history of the carbonari, hasn't so much value that it should be put on so often.

Our cinemas are screening bad foreign, capitalist and revisionist, films. How do our people endure the showing of revisionist Czechoslovak, Rumanian or Hungarian films, for example, «How I Became a Policeman», and similar vile rubbish? Not only is the selection of foreign films done badly, which does great harm to the education of our people and our youth, but hackneyed excuses are made: «What are we to do? We have no films,» they say.

My opinion is that the films produced by our film-studio are very good, they are marvellous in comparison with those dished up to us from abroad, with bandits and cowboys.

We have wonderful artists whom, without the least hesitation, I consider to be of world calibre. With these wonderful actors and the talented directors we have, we can produce not two or three films a year, but many more, provided we prepare the scripts for them and their working and living conditions. These treasures we possess but do not know to use them properly.

We have wonderful singers whom we say belong to the opera. It may be so, but these and the variety show singers, as well as singers from the ranks of the people, greatly please the public with the concerts they give. Well, these great artists and others, a little less great, could they not play in films? Couldn't we use them in films in which they would sing to this beautiful life blooming before our eyes, to this life which we are building with our own hands? Of course, we could.

In no way must our variety theatres in districts confine themselves to a few songs, a few sketches which they put on in the cities where they have been set up. My opinion is that the professional variety shows and theatres of the districts must be turned into powerful centres and means for organization and propaganda to encourage a great development, both in extent and quality, in the setting up of theatrical and variety groups in work centres, schools, and particularly in the agricultural co-operatives.

We are filled with great enthusiasm when we see on the stages of the Opera and Ballet Theatre of the capital, in the concerts and variety shows of the districts, hundreds upon hundreds of young girls and boys who play so perfectly and sing with such fine, harmonious and melodious

voices that we forget that they are lathe operators, workers of the «Migjeni» artistic products enterprise, or the «Stalin» textile combine, wool workers from Kukës, girl students from Shkodra, or school girls from Gramsh.

What great development our art has achieved! These talented young people are capable of stage performances full of feeling and pathos, of playing important roles in films, of learning all sorts of songs and dances. I am speaking of all those who have not been through schools of art. We have opened schools and we shall extend them, but we should not forget and should not underestimate the great art which is like a precious jewel in the bosom of the people, and which is developing from day to day towards new heights. This we must organize even better.

I am aware of the instructions given, according to which our professional variety shows and theatres of the cities must give performances in the villages, too. From what I have heard, however, these institutions are not yet implementing this directive of the Party properly, because even today they give few performances in villages and the greater part of them in villages near the cities. It is the duty of our professional theatres and variety shows to extend their activity even to the most remote areas, covering our entire countryside with their artistic performances.

Today, in all the agricultural cooperatives everywhere in our country, there are groups of outstanding folk singers and dancers, there are talented instrumentalists who please and educate the broad masses of the cooperativists with their performances, and new ones are emerging every day. There is no doubt that along with them in the villages there are also talents with inclinations towards dramatic art, people capable in this field, fine humourists, with whom variety groups could be created in every agricultural cooperative to give theatrical and variety performances

there. Therefore, when the professional theatres and variety shows of the cities go to the villages, they should discover these talents in the ranks of the masses, should urge them and encourage them, and organize amateur theatre troupes with them, help to organize them and get them going, appoint artistic leaders from among their own company, who will look after these amateur groups and help them until they are able to stand on their own feet. Thus in our socialist countryside amateur dramatic art will flourish, too, new people and new talents will emerge who will enrich the stages and the repertoire of our professional theatres.

The teachers who work in agricultural cooperatives, communists and non-party people, art-loving boys and girls, must help to extend the artistic activity in the countryside. All-around them are people with rare dramatic talents, capable people, with a keen sense of humour which is both educative and amusing. The houses of culture in the cooperatives should become real cultural centres in the full meaning of the term. See the great talent with which our people perform folk dances and songs! These cooperative farmers are able to play theatrical parts, too. They know life well and, if we organize them properly, they will find great satisfaction for themselves, and they will please others and make them happy, too.

But we must go still further. In every period, talented artists have emerged in the ranks of the people, who, though illiterate, have created works of a great artistic value, even including some masterpieces. But now, when all the boys and girls have seven- and eight-year schooling can this not occur? Of course, it can. Therefore, we must work, look for them, encourage them, support them wherever they are, on the jobs, in production, in the villages, and then we shall have lots of cooperativists,

lathe operators, textile workers and women workers, like those of the «Migjeni» enterprise, who will create artistic works so beautiful that they will enthuse and inspire the professional artists, too. Let us smash the rigid walls of academicism, the petrified forms, let us thaw the ice which keeps so many new talents paralysed because, allegedly, you need school for this and school for that. The Party is not opposed to school, but even when we did not have special schools for poetry, music, painting, etc., our people have created and continue to create, to produce wonderful talents from their ranks.

Personally I feel a satisfaction when I listen to music, whether that of the great classical and progressive composers of the world, or the musical works of our own composers. But, to tell the truth, the beautiful songs and dances of the people please me most, move me with their beauty and power and, at the same time, with their simplicity. I am not saying this just because I am an Albanian. No, but because our folk songs and dances are really beautiful, very beautiful indeed. The Party has done a great thing that it elevated to a high pedestal and perpetuated all this rare wealth we have inherited from the past. Since the first years of Liberation, when our people were still poor and living in great privation, it set about this work vigorously, insisting that folk instruments should be produced and that the folk songs and dances should not be neglected. Do you remember, comrades, when the instructions were given on these matters? And today the folk songs and instruments have become a very healthy spiritual nutriment for our working masses and our youth.

If the writer or poet desires to write, or the musician to compose a musical piece inspired by the sufferings of the Albanian people in the past and their joys, let him turn to the songs and melodies of the people, in which he will

find a powerful source of inspiration. Recall, for instance, the song «I was left there comrades, left there!» which Dritero Agolli has included in his poem «Mother Albania». This is a song of value not only for the words' chosen with rare artistic mastery, for its great spiritual power, but also because its content is a profound synthesis and reflection of the past suffering of the Albanian people. You never tire of hearing this song interpreted with such rare mastery by the folk singers of the Skrapar district, Demir Ziko, Medi Kushi, and others.

Our people have always been optimistic. In sorrows and joys they have never lost their faith in the future, and this great optimism has been perpetuated in the rich heritage of oral literature, in their songs, in their dances, in their costumes and their other wonderful traditions. This is something great which only the genius of the people realizes perfectly in art.

Sometimes I see concerts by the groups of folk singers of various districts on TV. Among them there are many beautiful pieces of a really high level of content and melody. In many instances I have noticed that they have managed to achieve a logical and attractive integration between the form of the folk melody and the new content of the song. For instance, I am very fond of the songs which the folk singer Fatime Sokoli sings with so much feeling and love about the hero of Dragobia, Bajram Curri, and about the heroic feats of the warrior people of those regions. In another television programme I very much liked some songs by folk singers from the town of Kavaja about the girls with golden hands who weave carpets, about the workers of the glass works who decorate vases with designs of such beautiful roses, that when you hear them sing, it seems their fragrance is wafting round you. I heard another programme of songs with singers from Elbasan, a city with musical traditions, where

60 years ago the Normal School was established, one of the important educational institutions, which, besides a whole army of patriotic teachers, also turned out musicians and composers. But, to tell the truth, without wanting to underrate them, the «arranged» melodies of the folk song festival of this district seemed to me feeble and cold in comparison with the colour, freshness and beauty of the songs full of spirit of folk art. This does not mean that our composers should give up the «arrangement» of folk songs or dances, cultivated music, as it is called, but these «arrangements» and «cultivations» should always be based on the national heritage, not just here and there with a chord or motif, but should be formed from the very soil of this land, should be inspired by the creativity, the work and aspirations of this people, and be dedicated to them, please them and arouse their spirit. If you depart from this background, you neither serve your own people, nor give other peoples any reason to value you, because you are not bringing anything new to the common treasury of the world's progressive culture and art.

Another evening I heard on television the interpretation of some folk motifs for cello and piano. Not only was I greatly pleased, but I said: How beautifully our cultivated music can be developed on the basis of folk motifs!

On this correct road valuable works have been created like those composed by Çesk Zadeja, Tish Daija, and many others. Songs like the one entitled «For You, My Homeland», composed by Pjetër Gaci and interpreted by the People's Artist Mentor Xhemali, will remain immortal in the treasury of our new art. This song is a hymn to our socialist Homeland, to our unconquerable people and Party. It was born at the difficult moments of the revisionist blockade, and is permeated by a lofty revolutionary and optimistic spirit. If not every day, at least every two or three days, in moments of joy or difficulty, I like to listen

to it on my tape recorder and it always moves me and inspires me to work...

On no account must we neglect our folk songs; on the contrary, we should strive to have our composers base themselves firmly precisely on these songs. It is not right that at the «Jordan Misja» secondary school of art the pupils begin to learn foreign classical music first, and Albanian folk music later. The remark made on this question by Comrade Ramiz Alia is quite right. However much effort may be made to teach the pupils foreign music, they will not reach the heights of Liszt, for example, who became a famous composer precisely because he knew how to revive the Hungarian folk rhapsodies. The same can be said of Chopin, Bizet, etc., who won renown with folk music as their basis.

The broad and varied life of our country needs a multitude of people working in art, in music. Let us discover them, support them, put them on the stage, and some among them who distinguish themselves will be sent to special schools and then return in large numbers to the bosom of our art-loving people.

Our Party wants every work which comes out to be as nearly perfect as possible from all aspects, and it strives for this, but perfection is not easy to attain. It takes time, requires experience, requires ability, too, things which are not innate in man but are developed and worked up during the process of the continuous education of his inclinations. Our people have many inclinations which ought to be utilized and developed for the good of our socialist society. In this direction, as in everything, the Party must play the decisive role, not only from the material aspect, but especially from the aspect of ideas, by inspiring people with its ideology, with Marxism-Leninism. Our poets, writers, musicians, etc., all our artists, should learn

Marxism-Leninism not only from books, but also from life, there where it is concretely applied by the people. Books have great importance for the information and education of man, therefore, our people must have books and read them zealously. But to inspire people, to form their world outlook and their education, this cannot be confined to books alone. Moreover, in the case of people lacking in ideological and political development, who have extravagant inclinations contrary to the orientations of the Party, it is even more necessary that they should not be given books of any old kind, particularly those with a harmful, poisonous content, for this has a negative influence on their formation. We must provide our readers with that literature which has a revolutionary character. However, we must bear in mind that there are writers of other countries who seek to arouse the working class to revolution, but who do not conceive the revolution in the way Marxists do; consequently, they are unable to handle the question of the revolution, in prose or poetry, like our writers, poets and artists. Therefore, we must always be very careful to continually mould our young artists and writers with the ideas of Marxism-Leninism so that, under the leadership of the Party, they will mature, create for the people and think like the people. If we act in this way, what fine, healthy fruit we shall have!

In our post-Liberation literature many Albanian writers and poets have distinguished themselves. A good many of them have long won recognition, therefore, I think that the works of value which they have produced and which please us so much should become subjects for study, not in an amateurish way, but systematically. I remember how in the French school that I went through, we were given a thorough systematic foundation knowledge of the works of French writers and poets. But our poets and writers also have wonderful talents and are

linked closely with the people, are inspired and learn from them and, on this healthy soil, create popular works of ideological and artistic value. Therefore, it is essential that their works should not be simply skimmed just to say we have read them, or read once and then put back on the shelf, but should be studied attentively and persistently, because the mighty reality of life, the heroism of our people who are building socialism is reflected in them.

The beautiful works of our writers not only please us, but foreigners like them, too. Here I am not speaking only of Ismail Kadare's novels or Dritëro Agolli's poems and those of some others of our literary men, which have been translated into foreign languages, but of the works of many other writers and poets. If we can manage to train our own really able translators in foreign languages (because foreigners have always ignored our beautiful language and that is why you do not find people in other countries who have mastered the Albanian language thoroughly), we shall have great success in popularizing Albanian literary-artistic works abroad. Therefore, let's get down to the job of training our own cadres who will really master other languages so that they are capable of translating the works of our writers into them.

We have been informed that the exhibition «Albanian Art Through the Centuries» which we opened in Paris has aroused great interest among the progressive French public. We have been told that thousands upon thousands of people, including critics, literary men, artists, philosophers, diplomats, etc., have gone eagerly to visit our exhibition, which they have appraised as one of the best put on in the French capital. The visitors were astounded at the development of our art, just as foreign audiences were astonished at the Second National Folklore Festival in Gjirokastra when they saw it on film, or a few years ago

at our folk music and dances at the Dijon Festival where our wonderful folk art was presented. Imagine when the foreigners are able to get really good translations of the works of our poets and writers, they will discover and get to know many aspects of the material and spiritual life of our people, who are building the new life of a genuine socialist society.

Thus, in this direction we must work very hard indeed. It is not sufficient to publicize abroad the grandeur of the Albanian people in the field of national traditions alone, but we must also make world opinion acquainted with the great struggle and work of the Party, of this Marxist-Leninist Party which is building socialism in its own country, quite unafraid of the all-sided struggle which the bourgeoisie and the modern revisionists wage against it. We must make the bourgeois-revisionist world see the great force of Marxism-Leninism in Albania, not only in the economic field, but also in that of art and culture. We are building in all directions with the maximum we have, and our friends can see this in the works produced and draw inspiration from the heroism of our people.

There are many foreigners who, even though they are bourgeois, speak well of our country. In the past, Albania was a «blank space» to foreigners, about which they knew nothing. Now, when they see the development of our archaeology and the scientific level of our research work in this field, they are amazed and ask: «How is it possible that all these treasures have lain hidden in this country?!» «It is a good thing that you have discovered them for yourselves,» they tell us, «because had you sought the help of others they would have robbed you of them.»

In the outside world there are people with great artistic culture who have the Byzantine culture and art, for instance, at their finger tips. The appraisal which these

critics make of the mural paintings of Onufri¹)ami the works of other Albanian artists is exceptionally high. In these artistic works they do not see the plastic qualities of Byzantine art. In these paintings, in the colours, even in the rocks of our soil which are reflected in them, they observe a special living quality. «Even the saints» they say, «have human faces and are presented like the mountain eagles.»

*«Reports and Speeches
1974-1975»*

1 Albanian painter of the 16th century. His works are distinguished by the positive spirit of the European Renaissance art and by the special red colour, which is known in the history and criticism of art as «Onufri red».

CADRES MUST BE TRAINED IN THE SCHOOL OF THE WORKING CLASS

*From his contribution to the discussion at the meeting
of the party basic organization of which he
is a member*

March 31, 1975

Cadres, the Party advises us, must acquire knowledge and science, but **first of all they must be educated in the school of the working class.** If a cadre does not graduate this school, he is worthless. A cadre who is not equipped with the education and spirit of the class, sooner or later, if he finds the possibility, is ready to ride roughshod over the Party and the masses.

When we say that the cadres should teach the class, this in no way means that intellectuals or people with higher schooling are the most appropriate to educate the class and, therefore, they can impose themselves upon it. Our Party long ago understood and will understand even better in the future that the people of the class should be educated first, and then the others should be educated through them. The working class has the right to impose its law on those who are not of that class. Bureaucratic intellectuals must never be allowed to impose their law on the class and the Party. This is a major issue of principle of great theoretical and practical importance. The

Party long ago taught us this serious lesson, but we see that it is not applied properly in practice.

In regard to the education of cadres the problem is not raised that we should be satisfied merely with taking some one-sided measures, but there is one thing that the cadres should always bear in mind: they should engage in the study of our Marxist-Leninist theory and implement it thoroughly in practice, taking a look at themselves and the work they do every day and judging whether or not the action they perform serves the cause of the revolution. If they fail to do this, then they fall into the mire.

The Party protects its cadres because it has been hard to raise them and train them; but if ten or twenty who do not listen to the Party fall into the mire, it does the Party little harm. If the Party does not supervise the work of the cadres with great attention and does not correct those who err in time, then grave events which are caused by serious faults will occur.

The education of cadres must be made an object of daily work and struggle by the Party among the civilian population and even more in the Army. Among the civilian population we have all the concrete conditions for the Party and the working class to eliminate the weaknesses of cadres and the negative manifestations in their activity, while in the Army the problem is somewhat different: a sterner struggle against technocratism and bureaucracy is required there. If the party cadres practice the revolutionary method and style in work and study, then it will be more difficult for the alien ideology with its ugly manifestations to penetrate into their ranks. The Party has always stressed that the Marxist-Leninist handling of problems of the Army and its cadres is not an easy task. We, comrades, should guard against using such phrases as «There are marvellous cadres in the Army», etc. This is not because the military cadres are not

good — on the contrary, but this is done to guard them from becoming conceited, which is a danger that could bring disaster to the Homeland.

It was precisely those cadres who had forgotten the road of the working class, the teachings of Lenin and Stalin, that carried out the counter-revolution in the Soviet Union. These teachings are valid today and will remain immortal for the true revolutionaries, but the Bolshevik Party is no longer Bolshevik, no longer Leninist, it has turned into a fascist revisionist party, and the Soviet Union into a capitalist country. Why did this regressive process occur? Because the cadres in the Soviet Union gradually became bourgeois and stifled the Party.

Learning from the bitter experience of others, the Party must not solve the problem of the revolutionization of cadres theoretically only, but should apply it in practice. For some thirty years or so now, the Party has been leading our people gloriously. There are many persons who have participated in two major struggles during this period: in the National Liberation War and in the struggle for the construction of socialism, which is a much greater struggle than the former. The Party, the working class, the masses, have waged these prolonged struggles. The cadres have played and are playing their part in these struggles, but this in no way means that they can do what they please and behave as they like, disregarding the interests of the Party and the people. That cadre who acts contrary to these interests is answerable to the class in power, which is in a position to dictate its will to everybody. The struggle against dangerous symptoms which show up in the cadres does not mean any disregard for their role. On the contrary, this stand is clear evidence of the great concern of the Party to protect cadres from alien manifestations.

The comrades reported to me that at the meeting of

activists in the oil sector held in Fier to analyse the hostile activity that was carried out there, the working class rose to their feet. «What should we do with these saboteurs?» the revolted workers asked. «What you yourselves decide,» replied the delegates from the centre, «because the Central Committee has instructed that you who are masters of the job should decide. Dismiss the enemies and place at the head of affairs the best people of the class, whom, willy-nilly, the technocrats and bureaucrats will have to obey.»

There are leaders like Koço Theodhosi (1) who have gone there many times and have given orders, but still the interests of the Party and the Homeland were sabotaged by the enemies. Are we going to protect Koço Theodhosi from severe criticism for his grave mistakes, simply because he is a minister, etc.? By no means. Such a stand would not be Marxist. Criticism should not be hindered with the distorted reasoning that the comrade who has erred holds a very important task or is a leader. Let him be whatever he is, the one who has erred will be criticized. In our Party and state there are not two kinds of discipline but only one.

Amongst us there is and should be love, principled solidarity and mutual respect, because we are communists, but not unhealthy friendship, unjust support, because, above all and ahead of everything, we put neither ourselves nor our comrade, but the Party and the people. For these reasons the situation is good and we have a sound Party, but we also observe shortcomings, weaknesses, mistakes and grave faults of the nature I mentioned.

We are speaking a great deal about bureaucracy, tech-

1 Former minister of industry and mining, a member of the enemy traitor group in the economic sector, whose activity was analysed and frustrated by the 7th Plenum of the CC of the Party, held from May 26-29, 1975.

nocratism, and intellectualism, but these very negative manifestations, which are the offspring of alien ideology, are not understood profoundly. When we speak about the technocrats, for example, we think only of the mechanics, chemists and engineers, but we forget that many of us here, who absolutize the role of science, technique and the technical intelligentsia, gradually turn into technocrats. Has this thought ever crossed your mind? If we do not understand and practise our profession as party workers properly, if we are not placed in the iron grip of the working class and do not value the role of the masses highly, if we underrate policy in relation to technique and disregard the needs of people, etc., then we are not in order with the tasks entrusted to us. But what is our task as party workers? It is a profession with its own peculiarities, like that of the teacher, engineer, etc., and it must be practised with a great sense of responsibility and revolutionary spirit. We observe with regret that some cadres do not rack their brains to work in the most revolutionary and appropriate manner, therefore, irrespective of the fact that they speak with party terminology they have turned into bureaucrats. You may speak with party terminology but, nevertheless, may not be a revolutionary.

Has it ever occurred that when you have been among workers you have made self-criticism before them? Have you ever said, «Comrades, I have made this or that mistake»? Can anyone of you raise his hand to show that he has done something in this direction, even once? Not one! Have you, comrades, asked the workers what opinions they have about you and your work, inviting them sincerely to speak with open hearts? No, you have not asked them. This stand of the cadres inevitably creates a very grave situation. Why do we fail to carry out this task, comrades? Why, for example, don't we send 40 workers to work in the ministry in order to make

up half the staff of the department? The Party should educate cadres to the level that they themselves say, «Comrade worker, come and take my place, because I, the vice-minister, am going to work in your place, on your lathe, where I shall learn your trade, the beauty, satisfaction and difficulties of this job, and I shall work there as long as the Party needs me there. And during this time I shall get your wages.»

If the vice-minister does not do this, then it will be the worker who will tell him, «Comrade vice-minister, or director, come and sweat a bit here as I do! You are an engineer, bravo! My work, too, is highly honoured and I have gained experience, since I am the one who works directly in production and produces material blessings with his own hands.»

«What is your plan of work, comrade vice-minister, what are you going to do tomorrow?» the workers asked a comrade. «I have no plan, you have caught me there.» he replied. «How is it possible you have no plan, when all this work is done here and we have so many problems to solve?» the workers quite rightly criticized him.

The worker who is going to work in the central organs, not reconciling himself to the bureaucratic spirit and working with a revolutionary method and style, will close the door of his office and go from plant to plant, to the people of his class, to see how the work is going at the base. If someone says to the worker: «Hang on a moment, comrade, where are you going? Stay here, because we have a memorandum to prepare,» he will reply, «I need no memorandum. I shall consult directly with the workers, to see how they work, what desires and demands they have, what obstacles and difficulties they encounter, and I am not going to put them off with empty words or consider my task performed by sending a memorandum just to show I know of the problem.» The

worker appointed an employee of the central department would have the courage to reply to his superior properly, without servility. He would ask the workers of the plant or the enterprise, «Well, comrades, how does your director work, what do you think of him, do you agree with his appointment to the job?» If his class comrades reply that the party committee appointed the director without consulting them, he would raise his voice demanding to know why the directive of the Central Committee of the Party, according to which, in appointing the director of an enterprise, the working collective must first give its approval, was violated.

Some manifestations of the nature of these I mentioned, as well as others observed here and there among us, prove that, despite the stern struggle which the Party has waged and is waging for the revolutionization of the relations between cadres and masses, for the application of the line of the masses, for the ideological and political tempering of the people, the continuous strengthening of socialist democracy, etc., and despite the undeniable successes it has had in these directions, nevertheless, the struggle against bureaucracy will continue as long as classes and the class struggle exist.

Our people must work energetically with courage and on their own initiative in all fields of socialist construction. Work is the only source of well-being in socialist Albania. Therefore, everyone in his own job, in his brigade, sector, scientific or cultural institution, work and production centre, should work every day and every hour with a high sense of duty and proletarian discipline for the fulfilment of the tasks. This is one aspect of the problem. The other especially important aspect is that of the defence of our work and the victories achieved from the enemies, both internal and external. It is senseless to toil when you do not take measures to defend the fruit

of the toil and sweat of the people, and defend it with bloodshed if need be. People should live simply and think first about the welfare of the Homeland, and then about their own welfare.

We have to look ahead, therefore we should further increase our activity so that our work will be more fruitful, our development will proceed at the rates envisaged by the Party, and the rise of the standard of living will be almost equal for all, without creating privileges for certain strata.

Under the leadership of the Party, our people liberated themselves and they love socialism. But it is of great importance to understand what socialism is, how it is built and what are the laws which guide this construction. This construction does not take place without difficulties, since socialism is endangered not only from without, but also from within, not only from declassed elements from the overthrown bourgeoisie and the aghas, but also from elements of the new bourgeoisie to which the terrain contaminated by bourgeois and petty-bourgeois remnants on which socialism is built, gives birth. This new bourgeoisie may spring up among us like weeds in a clean field of wheat. The people who take the bourgeois road of thinking and acting, hide themselves under the name of the Party and use the dictatorship allegedly of the proletariat to distort it in favour of the creation of the most extensive and fruitful field for the development of their liberal-bourgeois ideas and the creation of the conditions for their personal gain. If the dictatorship of the proletariat does not wage a stern and merciless struggle against these manifestations, then the danger of the restoration of capitalism in our country becomes imminent.

The working class and its Party must always subject the situations that are developing to scientific analysis and study the inequalities which exist and will exist in

connection with the differences in wages according to the work done, but must not allow a great difference in income between town and countryside to exist, or worse still, consider this to be something politically and ideologically right.

Some time ago the Political Bureau decided that the present wages system should be re-examined, but the study has not yet been presented. The differentials must be reduced, the high salaries should be cut down further so that the raised standards of living for a certain category of people will not encourage the desire for a bourgeois way of life, the desire for material gain and stimulus.

The communists, the genuine workers, the patriotic peasants and the loyal simple employees, party or non-party members, must not forget that if you get into the habit of living like the bourgeoisie (because unrestricted personal property, the struggle to have ever greater comfort and gains lead you to the bourgeoisie), this is a great danger looming over us which we must fight and not just with words.

*«Reports and Speeches
1974-1975»*

LETTERS FROM THE PEOPLE — THE FRESH BREEZE OF OUR SOCIALIST DEMOCRACY

*Speech delivered at the meeting of the Secretariat of the
CC of the PLA*

April 11, 1975

The letters which the common people send me are invaluable to me. Not only do I read them with great care, but I reflect on them deeply to make a preliminary analysis of the character of the problem, whether personal or of general interest, of the character of the person who writes it, as far as I can gather from the letter, and from this to consider to what extent the things written there are really true. This is the preparatory work I do and, in general, I point out to those who are going to verify the content of the letter, which points they must check up on for me.

To receive and read the letters of the people is fascinating to me. It would be physically impossible for me to meet and talk face to face with as many people as I would like, and the people would not be able to tell me orally as much as they raise in their letters. What broad horizons the letters from the people open, what interesting things they reveal about people, about their character, their work, the justice and injustice, the favouritism and underhand dealings of some of them! What valuable things

they make known, intentionally or unintentionally, about the social situation, the spirit which prevails, the good and weak aspects of the organs of the state and the Party in the places where the authors live and from which they write these letters.

It sometimes happens that a simple letter provokes such an impulse in me that it helps me to understand a situation in a district that no report of the party committee has presented previously. An ordinary peasant from Zalldardha, Dibra district, in a short letter he sent me recently, said that «on the orders of the chairman of the cooperative, the brigade-leader with several agricultural workers went to my house and seized the manure from my personal plot,» and he demanded justice.

You see how simple this letter is, but the injustice and the crime committed against this person are very clear.

In the margin of this letter I wrote to the first secretary of the Party Committee of the Dibra district, «Is this true and why are things like this permitted? Are measures taken against such crimes? Are the things the peasant says about the chairman of the cooperative true? If so, what class struggle are you waging? Please, reply to all these questions, giving me your opinion on what measures you will take.»

The first secretary of the district answered in detail, making an analysis of the situation of the Party in the district, and told me, of the measures he thought we at the centre and they at the level of their district should take. These measures are important not only for the life of the Party in the Dibra district, but for the entire Party. And, just the simple letter of a cooperativist brought this about.

Listen: the event the peasant described turned out to be true and the culprit was handed over to the court.

All the things he wrote about the chairman of the cooperative turned out to be true. Who was this chairman of the cooperative? A person who had three kulak uncles, a cousin executed, a nephew an agent of the Yugoslav UDB, and his wife's uncle a condemned political criminal. And such a person goes from one function to the other and not only is he a party member, but for four years he has been chairman of the agricultural cooperative. This is scandalous.

Why has this occurred? The answer given is that he has concealed all these things in his biography, as if he had not come from the village, but from South Africa, so nobody knew his biography!

The stands of those comrades of the Party and state who pay very little, or no attention at all, to the letters of the people are to be totally condemned. Apart from those letters which are sent to us and over which the comrades in the districts make efforts for better verification and more rapid and just measures, at the base letters are not given the proper attention, serious investigation is not carried out, but they are given a superficial solution. There are cases of favouritism, injustice and arrogance in solving problems, and all these things create discontent which is expressed in the anonymous letters which I receive. These anonymous letters are not all sent by enemies. No, it is very rare for bad elements to send me anonymous letters. The writer of the anonymous letter is not always an enemy simply because he sends an anonymous letter. Mostly these letters are written to explain an unhealthy situation, an injustice committed by someone in power who acts badly, against the law, and since he violates the law, the writer of the anonymous letter is afraid to reveal his name lest the person against whom he complains takes revenge against him. It would be better for the author to sign his

name, but we must realize that there are people in responsible posts who act badly and take revenge in violation of the law, norms, etc. In connection with many anonymous letters which I send to the base for verification, I notice something characteristic: in their replies, the comrades of the districts write that «this, that and the other are true, but not completely, because it occurred like this or like that,» etc. Since the letter is anonymous, this is a tendency to make things easier for the accused and thus avoid a confrontation.

To my mind, and I recommend this to the comrades as well, a letter from the people is one of the frankest, most valuable and most beneficial talks, which makes things clear to us, reveals things to us, criticizes us, advises us and strengthens the Party and the state, denounces enemies, swindlers and liars. Therefore, he who underrates these letters, underrates the directive of the Party and the role of the masses who are building socialism. To underrate the directive of the Party means to leave the field to bureaucracy, despotism, arrogance, to the creation of the new bourgeoisie which wants to dominate the class and the Party. To underrate the letters of the people means to underrate the voice of the masses.

I would like to receive more letters, not only those arising from a personal problem, discontent, or injustice done to a particular person, but letters in which the person who writes takes the trouble to give me his critical opinion about a problem which he considers important and necessary, to make a good or bad analysis of a situation just as he sees it, to tell me what he thinks should be done, what measures should be taken for the improvement of work, etc. What great benefit the Party and the state will have from these letters!

I ask: have I the possibility to make contact with all these people who have something to say to the Party

through me? No, I do not have the possibility! But I have the possibility to study, and I do study, all the letters of the people; and I do not read them to while away the time, because I have no time to waste, but I am, and always will be, very happy to spend a good part of my working day talking to the people, consulting the people, learning from the people through the letters they send me.

I receive many reports on affairs and I judge from them, the comrades and I consult together, hold discussions, draw conclusions and take decisions. But when I read a letter from five cooperativists of Gjergjevica, Korça district, frankly, I was much clearer about the situation of the united cooperative of Gjergjevica, Voskopoja, Krushova and Shipska than I had been from what I had read in the reports of the Party Committee of the Korça district. I know those villages and the peasants there, because I have been there and fought with them during the war. I know they live better now, but still not as they should. «Oh, that's the mountains,» is what is always said, and then the talk goes on about the plain of Korça. But the mountainous regions must be given more help. These highlanders are forced to go elsewhere to work as bricklayers and then the officials impose fines on them thinking that through administrative measures they can solve these problems of the political economy of socialism. But what is the Party Committee of the Korça district doing? Nothing, it just looks on. For two years on end they have been saying, «we shall annul the fines», and still they have not done so...

I want these opinions to reach the ears of the people. Some say, and this I have heard, «We can write to Comrade Enver, but the letters don't reach him, they don't give them to him.» There is not a shred of truth in this. I receive all the letters. I have comrades especially to handle them, who prepare them for me and I read them all, take

notes on them, send people to investigate, because it is necessary to verify many things on the spot, since often there are subjective things, and exaggerations and sometimes it turns out that some people who write to me do not tell the truth. Therefore, attention must be paid at the base to the implementation of instructions.

Perhaps sometimes there may be gaps in my judgments and in the investigation that I order, the party committees of the districts may not be objective in all cases in the replies they send me or may not carry out the correct instructions and decisions which are recommended to them in the proper way. What should be done in these cases? The person interested should write to me again, but objectively, correctly, to inform me how the question was solved, what he was and what he was not told, otherwise a vicious circle will be created and the problems will never be solved. The writer of the letter must be objective, therefore, when he writes the letter he himself must think how to facilitate the proper solution of the problem, be it personal or of a general character.

It is very important not only to study and solve correctly the problems which are raised in the letters of the people, but also to preserve and classify the letters, because they are invaluable to the sociologists, economists, historians, scholars and specialists in party affairs, because from them conclusions can be drawn about the development of the class struggle, of antagonistic and non-antagonistic contradictions, about the progress as well as about the undesirable acts and methods which hinder this progress.

The letters of the people show the level of participation of the people in party and state affairs, they reflect the level of development of the proletarian people's democracy in our country, they show the people in action and activity, their close, intimate and sincere contacts with their elected leaders. Whoever hinders such an ac-

tivity, whoever disparages or smothers it must be severely punished. This must be understood and openly denounced as an evil. If it occurs, it does so only because there are people who direct badly. Then, what should be done against those who lead badly, who underrate, disparage or stifle this source of popular strength, this strong fresh breeze of the people's democracy? They must be removed from the leading positions and be replaced by honest, simple, diligent persons who care for the people.

Our people understand that the state power is theirs, that all laws and rules operate and must operate for their benefit. Faced with an injustice done by someone in power, the common man, who has justice on his side in our country, must never feel isolated and think that he is in a position of inequality: «on the one side the official vested with power which he misuses, and on the other side he who is not in power, but has justice on his side.» No! The man who has justice on his side is a colossus, because he has the entire people, the Party, the state power of the proletarians with him, while he who has got into power dishonestly, or has degenerated, amounts to no more than a fly, a maggot which must be got rid of.

The Party should work to erase from the people's mentality the bourgeois ideology about state power and the omnipotence of those in power. The people must learn, understand and apply in practice the Marxist-Leninist theory on the state power of the proletarians. No one should think that we know, understand and implement this properly. We must be realistic. All of us are elected. But, by whom? By the people among whom we work. Irrespective of our rank the people elect and approve of us, therefore, they should also dismiss us when we do not work well. But is this procedure carried out properly? No! Why? Because bureaucracy does not permit it. There must be the directory and the cadres office to propose the cadre,

to draw up his biography, but then when it comes to accepting him or not, let the masses thrash the question out thoroughly and the decision to appoint him must not be taken simply because this is what the director, the committee, or the minister want. All these instructions and directives, this correct line, the Party has made clear. Then why is it not carried out properly? Because people do not have sufficient understanding of the philosophy, the ideology, the policy and the organizational forms of the Party. Therefore, all of us must understand them and all **must fight hard to see that they are applied.**

*«Reports and Speeches
1974-1975»*

THE CONFERENCE OF THE INSECURITY OF EUROPE

Article published in the newspaper «Zëri i popullit»

July 29, 1975

After two years of wearisome talks, backstage bargainings and combinations, it was decided to convene what is called the European Security Conference in Helsinki, at the end of the month. On July 30, no small number of documents, full of beautiful words and sweet promises, will be placed before the heads of European states for their signatures.

The performance is being loudly advertized, but its clamour cannot conceal the dangers this perilous Soviet-American undertaking poses for the European peoples and the entire world. It cannot remove the doubts and hesitations that the Helsinki Conference has aroused among the ordinary people of the continent, among all those who really cherish peace and security in Europe.

Before the talks on the European Security Conference began, there was just one question which presented itself, a question which is being asked today and which always will be asked: Who is threatening Europe? From whom must the European peoples be secured? Can it be said that peace and security in Europe are endangered by Belgium or Switzerland, Finland or Austria, and that, therefore, the necessity arises that they, or other such

European countries, should officially pledge themselves to renounce «the threat and the use of force»?

The answer is not difficult, it is known and does not require the discovery of any unknown factor. The peace and security of Europe are threatened directly and permanently by American imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism, by their aggressive, expansionist policies, by their military blocs, by the armies and bases they maintain in other countries. The freedom and independence of the European peoples are threatened and endangered by the spheres of influence and the policy pursued by the superpowers, by their imperialist practices of political clients and their interference in the internal affairs of others, by their neo-colonialist course and insatiable appetite to subjugate and dominate countries and nations. The Soviet-American atomic blackmail, their military adventures, their feverish preparations for a third world war, endanger and threaten Europe.

From those parts of the documents which have been made known to the public so far, it seems that the papers to be signed in Helsinki contain no obligatory political conditions, military commitments, etc. From the external aspect, from the formal standpoint, it seems as if nobody is assuming any concrete obligation and that nobody's hands are tied. In reality, however, everybody can see that through the Helsinki Conference, the Soviet Union and the United States of America have imposed on others an international document in which the present status quo of Europe is recognized and accepted in fact, i.e., the spheres of influence are recognized and accepted, the political, military and economic domination of many countries of our continent by the American imperialists and Soviet social-imperialists are recognized and accepted.

From the way the talks have developed so far it follows quite clearly that the Soviet Union and the

United States of America have not been concerned about the real security of Europe, but about the security of their spheres of influence, their political and military bases, the removal of those barriers which hinder the extension of their political and economic hegemony, the pacification of their rear areas in order to direct themselves more forcefully and with greater weight to zones where «vacuums» are created or where the revolution and the liberation struggles of the peoples are taking place.

What have the European peoples gained, what is the advantage to general peace?

Can it be said that the domination of the Soviet revisionists in the East-European countries now becomes less onerous through this «European security», have the Soviet troops been withdrawn from those countries, or has their political, economic and military integration into the Soviet Union been interrupted, has Moscow's pressure on the national culture of these countries and its attack on their national traditions diminished?

Will the suffocating pressures of the United States of America on the West-European countries perhaps be eased with the European Conference, or the interference of the monopolies from across the Atlantic in their internal affairs cease, will they escape the inflation and crisis imported from the United States?

The Helsinki Conference brings nothing else apart from high-sounding words and false illusions. What we warned about long ago and what was spelled out clearly in the statement of the Government of the PRA has occurred, i.e., that the superpowers would strive to turn the European Security Conference into a means to spread their liberal-pacifist spirit on the grounds that allegedly today all the world problems, the international class conflicts, can be solved through «peace» talks and «individual

contacts», because the present Soviet and American leaders are men of peace and work for peace.

The table at Helsinki is for the Americans and the Soviets — the others pay the bill. The documents to be signed there do not even remotely reflect the interests, desires, or worries of the European peoples. The hope of those people who thought that the European Security Conference would strengthen the independence of some countries which are under the domination and influence of the Soviet Union or the United States of America, that it would encourage some others towards autonomy, turned out to be only an illusion, a vain hope. The facts showed that in setting the objectives of the conference, in drafting the resolutions, in formulating the theses and concepts, the weight of the other participating states has been very slight and their role very insignificant. The superpowers discussed and decided about the conference outside it, at bilateral meetings, not only far from the eyes and ears of the others, but also against their interests. Indeed, even the final date of the meeting was decided only after the Gromyko-Kissinger talks in Geneva.

Now, when the two superpowers are caught up in grave crises and have sustained all-round defeats, when the anti-American and anti-social-imperialist tide in the world has begun to rise, they feel great need for each other's support. This is particularly so of the Brezhnev clique, the initiator of this conference, which has linked «European security», the «relaxation of tension», with its personal political future. It has to appear before the 25th Congress of the Soviet revisionist party, scheduled for the beginning of the coming year, with a «success» to show that its foreign policy is «listened to» and «respected». By means of diplomatic manoeuvres it aims to consolidate its positions at home and in the satellite countries, and to pursue its hegemonic policy in other regions with a fresh impulse.

The conclusion of the Helsinki Conference is also seen by Brezhnev as a favourable condition for summoning the conference of the revisionist parties of Europe in the immediate future and transforming it into a means to strengthen his domination over them, to bind them still more tightly to the chariot of Soviet foreign policy.

The United States, too, has no less need for a diplomatic «success». Following its ignominious defeats in Vietnam and Cambodia, following Kissinger's failure in the Middle East, following the great decline of its allies' faith in it, American imperialism needs to raise its fallen political prestige and to establish order in its shaky alliances through the fear of Soviet-American collaboration.

Ford gave the green light to the European Security Conference, because he wants to help the pro-American Brezhnev group in Moscow, just as the clique now ruling in the Kremlin wants the Nixon line of rapprochement with the Soviet Union, which Ford follows, to be carried on by the new administration which will be elected next year.

It is well known that any security is closely connected with the military aspects, with the question as to what real conditions it offers to avoid or repel an eventual aggression. But why did the superpowers refuse to discuss the military aspects of security, despite the insistence of some of the participants? They did this because they want the European peoples to be insecure and weak, so as to impose their will and dictate on them more easily, because they want to deprive the European peoples of the possibility and power of self-defence and the ability to oppose the law the superpowers want to make in Europe. The American imperialists and the Soviet social-imperialists seek to compel other countries to remain unarmed or with only limited armament, ineffective in face of the ever-increasing military strength of the two superpowers,

to remain passive and powerless before the ever greater improvement of their armaments, before the increase of their military bases and war budgets.

The military aspects of security were left out in Helsinki, because the superpowers want at all costs to preserve the psychosis of fear and war among the peoples. The superpowers want to put the military security of the European countries under their two umbrellas, and their aim is that the peoples and countries will have no alternative other than to see their salvation linked with either the one or the other superpower, will not think independently, so that their will and freedom will be linked with these two monsters.

The European security agreements are a new web of the two superpowers to entangle their allies and others even more thoroughly. This is the greatest misuse that has ever been made of the European peoples' desire for peace and security, cooperation and good neighbourly relations. How can one speak of a secure Europe while it is bulging with foreign military bases and the atom bombs of the superpowers, with hundreds of thousands of soldiers, and innumerable Soviet and American tanks and aircraft? The superpowers did not want the military problems to be discussed, because they want to keep their gendarmerie intact in Europe, to preserve their permanent military pressure and blackmail, and to keep Europe besieged and isolated from the other parts of the world.

How can one speak of the security of Europe without the Mediterranean, without the Middle East, without North Africa? History has proved more than once that even when the conflicts that have broken out in Europe have not been over the Mediterranean, North Africa, or the Middle East, these regions have always been caught up in their flames. The fates of these zones are very closely connected with those of Europe and the separation made of them

by the European Security Conference seems artificial and ill-intentioned.

The United States of America and the Soviet Union furiously opposed the linking of European security with that of the Mediterranean, North Africa and the Middle East, because the problem of the withdrawal of their fleets from the Mediterranean would have arisen, the barbarous gunboat policy they carry out around the shores of this basin would have been exposed, their brutal interference in the Arab-Israeli conflict would have been thoroughly unmasked, and their savage rivalry in this area, which endangers the peace and security of all the peoples, would have been dragged out into the light of day. The attitude of the superpowers on this question is proof that they want to further extend their domination in these areas, to make it complete and permanent.

Therefore, the participants in the Helsinki meeting should not be too hasty in singing about the «triumph» of peace and security and the relaxation of tension in Europe.

The agreements, treaties, concessions and compromises which are manipulated and concluded under the direction of the Soviet Union and the United States of America can never contribute to the strengthening of peace and security either on a regional scale or on an international scale.

This «European security» not only does not eliminate the inter-imperialist rivalry, which constitutes one of the main sources of the outbreak of aggressive wars, but, being a product of the expansionist and hegemonic policy of the superpowers, it will contribute to the increase of the existing contradictions and tensions in every zone and on all the continents.

It gives the superpowers possibilities to act more freely on the other continents, to increase their pressures and intrigues, in order to divide the peoples and set them

against one another with a view to capturing markets, taking over new zones of influence and extending their hegemony. They have already begun to enter the Indian Ocean and extend in Africa, to cast greedy eyes on the riches of the Arabian Gulf and to show their claws in Asia and Latin America.

Thus, the existing situation becomes more insecure, while the possibility of the accumulation of new explosive elements is increasing and the threats and dangers to the interests of the peoples and nations are growing everywhere.

At the moment, the zealous propagandists of this European security are having a great deal to say about how, by means of this agreement, the violation of borders will be stopped and the use of force will be avoided. As a guarantee for this they offer Ford's «solemn» declarations and Brezhnev's «word of honour». But can the peoples of Europe base their security on such palaver? They have suffered too much from imperialist aggressions and the perfidy of the superpowers to allow themselves to be deceived by some bits of paper, by demagogic agreements and treaties.

Tens of times Hitler signed solemn promises that he would never violate the borders of France, Belgium, or Holland. With tears in his eyes he swore that after receiving the Sudetenland he would not touch Czechoslovakia, even remotely. Everybody knows what happened later. And Brezhnev, too, less than one month before he sent his tanks into Prague, had signed a lengthy document at Bratislava in which the non-use of force was lauded to the skies. Not only through the UNO Charter, but also in an endless number of treaties, the United States of America has pledged itself not to violate borders and not to resort to force. But it has not failed to intervene in Greece and attack Korea, to occupy Vietnam

and to land in Lebanon, to interfere in San Domingo and fight the Cambodian people. Only the naive and the short-sighted can believe the imperialists' sweet words and promises about peace, only they can build their hopes on the power of declarations and general agreements, or on the false morality of the aggressors. But the peoples put no trust in words and are not deceived by the imperialist and revisionist demagoguery.

The so-called policy of relaxation of tension, about which the American imperialists and the Soviet social-imperialists are now making so much fuss, is a continuation of the «cold war», but in another form. It is the old policy of strength, but camouflaged with smiles and lullabies.

Peaceful coexistence, as conceived and interpreted by the imperialists and the revisionists, is a counter-revolutionary and anti-national ideology and practice; it is anti-popular and anti-democratic from start to finish. As an expression of the expansionist and hegemonic policy of the superpowers, it represents a dangerous instrument to put the peoples in bondage, to subjugate and colonize them. The so-called «spirit of detente», which is propagated especially by the revisionists, is the spirit of submission and passivity, which aims to slacken the revolutionary vigilance of the peoples, to compel them to renounce the defence of their vital national interests and leave them politically and spiritually disarmed in face of the attacks of the two superpowers.

There has been a long-standing illusion in Europe which has cost it dear. Many politicians have thought that concessions could be made to aggressors on this continent, to direct war towards far-off fields. History, however, has proved that peace is indivisible. In the conditions of the present-day world, this is truer than ever. The aggressors have not been stopped, and never will be stopped with concessions and, even less, with illusions. Retreat before

them has only whetted the appetite of those who have sought to attack and occupy.

True relaxation of tension, removal of the danger of war, is not achieved through illusions and hopes based on the «reasonableness» and «realistic attitude» of the American imperialists and the Soviet social-imperialists. They constitute an objective which must be attained by the peoples themselves, by fighting the hegemonic and expansionist policy of the superpowers, by exposing and hindering their deceitful diplomatic manoeuvres, by combating the sham pacifist psychosis they spread, by strengthening the sentiments of defence of the freedom and national dignity of the peoples and independent states, and above all, by strengthening the revolutionary spirit and international unity of the proletariat and the working people throughout the world.

A year ago we declared⁽¹⁾: On what does the security of the peoples of Europe or the peoples of the world depend? On the public or mysterious travels of a certain Kissinger, of a certain Gromyko, or on the wiles of a certain Brezhnev who has made the Soviet and other peoples bleed, on the travels of a certain Nixon who has drowned the world in blood and led the American Mafia in the shameful Watergate scandal which has shaken the whole of America? Should it be left to such individuals to ensure the future of the world? A fine future, indeed!

Of course, those who put their trust in tragic illusionists are free to attend the meetings in Vienna, Helsinki and anywhere they like. Let them indulge in their palavers! But for our part, we are free not to go to those meetings, and we will not go there. And it is not only we who are absent from those meetings and conferences, but the peoples, too. This has importance for us.

1 See p. 866 of this volume.

This clear stand of our Party, government and people concerning European security responds not only to the supreme interests of Albania, but also to the cause of strengthening peace and security on the European continent. We have pointed out openly and sincerely that the sovereign states must in no way be taken in by the plans of the revisionists and imperialists, because these plans are to the detriment of their national sovereignty and the security of the peoples.

Now many of the participating countries, which went to the talks in the hope that a dialogue among equal states about settling European and world problems would take place there, are left disillusioned. But they were dragged into the dance by the Soviets and the Americans and were quite unable to get out of it. Indeed, even many of their efforts over procedural matters and requests for some moderation of the formulations were arrogantly rejected and brutally squashed by the super-mighty.

Real peace and security of Europe is not something which can be donated by the superpowers, or be ensured by some worthless bits of paper, by demagogic statements and false promises of the American imperialists and the Soviet social-imperialists. First of all, the military bases and foreign troops which are still in many countries of Europe must be removed, the superpowers' policy of armaments, threats and military blackmail must be opposed and combated, the aggressive blocs and other agreements which are utilized by the United States of America and the Soviet Union to pursue their policy of domination and subjugation of the European peoples must be smashed.

Of course, the threats and dangers are great, but they must not be viewed in a fatalist spirit as inevitable. The battles will be severe, but they can be won if the pacifist illusions, the imperialist-revisionist lies and deceptions are forcibly rejected, if the chains with which the super-

powers seek to bind the peoples of Europe are severed with the sword. There can never be relaxation of tension between the peoples, on the one hand, and the American imperialists and the Soviet social-imperialists, on the other hand, just as there can be no real peace and security as long as the present hegemonic policy of the superpowers continues to exist.

Peace and security, the relaxation of tension and collaboration are problems which must be solved, and can be solved, only by the peoples, by means of a permanent, consistent and determined struggle against those imperialist and expansionist forces which seek to rob the countries and nations of the things they hold most dear, their freedom and independence, the prospect of their future.

*«Against Modern Revisionism
1971-1975»*

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