

WORKERS OF ALL COUNTRIES, UNITE!

ENVER HOXHA

SPEECHES

(1961-1962)

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**THE OPEN POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC
PRESSURE OF THE SOVIET REVISIONISTS
WILL FAIL IN THE FACE OF THE
DETERMINATION AND IRON WILL
OF THE ALBANIAN PEOPLE AND
COMMUNISTS**

Letter sent to the CC of the CPSU

January 14, 1961

TO THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE
COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE SOVIET UNION

M o s c o w

By means of a note of the Soviet Embassy in Tirana, on January 6, 1961, the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania was informed of the reply of the Government of the Soviet Union concerning the conclusion of the clearing agreement between the People's Republic of Albania and the USSR for the period 1961-1965, and

the signing of the agreement on the credit accorded to the People's Republic of Albania by the Soviet Union for the mechanization of agriculture. In its reply the Soviet Government, after announcing that it does not accept the proposal of the Albanian Government to send a deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers to Moscow for this purpose «once again reaffirms that the economic issues, which, as is known, are directly linked with the normalization of relations, can be discussed in the existing conditions, only at the highest level of the parties and governments».

Such an attitude on the part of the Soviet Government does not seem to us just, in conformity with the very question under discussion, and even less in conformity with the character of relations among the member countries of the socialist camp.

The Soviet Union has helped the Albanian people and the People's Republic of Albania in their efforts to eliminate the centuries-old backwardness as quickly as possible and to build socialism. The Party of Labour of Albania, our Government and the entire Albanian people have always been grateful for and appreciative of this assistance, and have always considered and still consider it as an expression of proletarian internationalism, as assistance between comrade and comrade, between brother and brother.

In this spirit our Central Committee and Government turned to the Central Committee of the Communist Party and the Government of the Soviet Union for new credits for the successful realization of the 3rd Five-year Plan 1961-1965,

of the development of the people's economy of Albania.

As is known, on the basis of talks held in Moscow in regard to this question in December 1958, between the representatives of the parties and governments of the two countries at the highest level, the Soviet Union accorded the People's Republic of Albania a credit for the period 1959-1965 and the relevant agreement, together with the lists of the projects to be extended or built in Albania with the assistance of the Soviet Union on the basis of this credit, was signed in Tirana on July 3, 1959. Likewise, in response to the request of the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania, on April 30, 1960, for a special credit for agricultural machinery and chemical fertilizers, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union agreed to accord the People's Republic of Albania another credit for this purpose and on July 25, 1960 the Soviet Government presented the Albanian Government the relevant draft-agreement for signature. As to exchanges on a clearing basis for the period 1961-1965 after the talks held for this purpose, the relevant protocol has been signed by the government delegations of our two countries, since April 3, 1959.

In such conditions, considering all these issues decided at the highest level of the parties and governments of the two countries and properly concluded, the Albanian Government proposed that the agreement on clearing for 1961-1965 and the one presented by the Soviet Government on the

credit for the mechanization of agriculture should be signed by the deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers and chairman of the State Planning Commission of the People's Republic of Albania. It is clear that no question had remained unsettled, except some changes of projects sought by the Albanian Government through the note of the Albanian Embassy in Moscow on the 28th of October 1960, and which could have been settled quite easily by the two delegations.

Here it is opportune to mention that a few months ago the Soviet Government itself considered the issues in the same way, and showed itself ready to send the minister of foreign trade of the Soviet Union to Albania for the signing of these agreements. When we were informed by the Soviet side that he was unable to come to Albania, for health reasons, the necessary official approaches were made from our side so that an Albanian government delegation, headed by the deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers and chairman of the State Planning Commission, would go to Moscow.

As can be seen, everything is very clear and the proposal of the Albanian Government to send the said delegation for the above purpose is completely normal and in order. In these circumstances, we are rightfully astonished at the stand now maintained by the Soviet Government on these questions and we cannot understand from what bases it is proceeding in unilaterally demanding the re-examination of the above mentioned issues, discussed and decided at the highest level of the

parties and governments of the two countries and definitely settled. In its reply of January 6, 1961 the Soviet Government also makes allusions to doubts about the relations between our two states and speaks of their normalization.

In connection with this attitude of the Soviet Government, we consider it opportune to express to you frankly our opinion that this attitude of the Government of the Soviet Union is not correct in principle and does not conform in practice to the real state of the facts and the issue under discussion. By mixing State relations with those between parties, the Soviet Government, improperly and in a manner unacceptable in the relations between our socialist countries, is trying to impose its will on the Party of Labour of Albania to send the main representative of the Party to talk about these issues.

Our view is that the issues raised by the Soviet Government have a distorted character and can be rightfully considered as economic pressures exerted on our State and the Party of Labour of Albania on the eve of its 4th Congress, in order to cause it economic and other difficulties. We think that the relations between our two States are quite normal, and in questioning their true character, the Soviet Government is making a very wrong and unilateral assessment, with which we cannot reconcile ourselves.

We want to point out that the Party of Labour of Albania and the Albanian Government have considered and will always consider the meeting of

delegations of our two parties and governments at the highest or any other level as a pleasure. But in such conditions as the Soviet Government presents the issue, the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania does not find it reasonable nor proper to send a top level delegation. First, because, as it was stated above, the issues concerned have been examined and decided definitely by the two sides, in full agreement and at the highest level, and second, because the Soviet Government raises these issues in an incorrect way, contrary to the spirit of relations between socialist countries, hence, unacceptable to us.

The Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania hopes that the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union will take measures so that in the future, too, the relations between our two countries will continue on the correct course of the friendly relations which have existed for a long time, relations which have closely linked our two countries and peoples. The Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania hopes that the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union will take the necessary measures so that the delegation appointed by the Albanian Government can come to Moscow as soon as possible and, with the representatives of the Soviet Government, sign the accords concerning the previously concluded agreements.

The Central Committee of the Party of La-

bour of Albania would like to point out to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union that, if things proceed in the way that the Soviet Government presents the issues, in connection with the relations between our two countries, seeking to create difficulties for the socialist construction in Albania, that is a hopeless course. Naturally, the Soviet Government would bear responsibility for the consequences these actions would have on the Albanian-Soviet relations, actions which are incompatible with the practice of relations among the Marxist parties and socialist countries heretofore. The Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania trusts that the artificial obstacles raised to the Party of Labour of Albania and to a friendly and allied country, a Marxist party and a small socialist country which are fighting unwaveringly, in the conditions of the hostile encirclement, against the imperialists and the enemies of Marxism-Leninism, the Yugoslav revisionists, in defence of the interests not only of the Albanian people, but also of all the socialist countries, will be removed.

The Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania points out that whatever circumstances may present themselves for the Party of Labour of Albania and the Albanian people, who are determined to face any difficulty with heroism, the friendship with the great Soviet people will remain inviolable.

We hope that the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union will carefully

examine these important questions and will give us a reply within a short time, so that the said agreements will be signed as soon as possible.

On instruction
of the Central Committee of the PLA
First Secretary
ENVER HOXHA

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**REPORT AT THE 4th CONGRESS OF THE PLA¹
«ON THE ACTIVITY OF THE CENTRAL
COMMITTEE OF THE PARTY OF
LABOUR OF ALBANIA»**

(parts)

February 13, 1961

Dear comrades,

With a feeling of legitimate pride, the Albanian communists and all the Albanian people have their hearts and attention focussed on the 4th Congress of the Party of Labour of Albania, which is opening its proceedings today. This Congress is another very important event in the glorious history of our heroic Party and our marvellous people. This Con-

¹ The 4th Congress of the PLA held its proceedings in Tirana, from February 13 to 20, 1961. The report delivered at this Congress by comrade Enver Hoxha made a thorough scientific Marxist-Leninist analysis of the activity of the Party from its 3rd Congress. The Congress drew the balance-sheet of the results achieved in

gress will discuss and approve the directives of the 3rd Five-year Plan for the further development of economy and culture, will open up new roads and perspectives of even greater prosperity to our people and will make our beloved socialist Homeland stronger.

The 4th Congress is meeting on the twentieth anniversary of the founding of our glorious Party. Twenty years have gone by since those difficult days for our Homeland, when our Marxist-Leninist Party, born from the bosom of our suffering but brave and dauntless people, was founded. Our country was being ravaged, our people had risen against enslavement by fascist invaders, Hitler's nazi hordes were at the gates of glorious Moscow; Leningrad, the cradle of the Great October Revo-

the political, economic and cultural field, and correctly defined the paths of the future development.

Basing itself on the radical economic-social changes in the country, the Congress reached the conclusion that *in the PR of Albania the economic base of socialism was built* both in city and countryside, and adopted important decisions which opened up great prospects to our country. It went down in history as the Congress which *initiated a new stage in the development of the country, the stage of the complete construction of the socialist society* and prepared the Party for an all-out ideological offensive on modern revisionism. The Congress approved the directives of the 3rd Five-year Plan for the economic and cultural development of the country.

lution, was besieged and in great peril. The infant born from the bosom of the people in Tirana on November 8, 1941 did not delay one single day, but raised its steel fist and struck mercilessly at the fascists and traitors. It took the banner of the fight for freedom in its steel hands, raised the fighting traditions of our people to new heights, revived the glorious epic of the times of Scanderbeg and the National Renaissance with a new splendour, guided and led our heroic people to total victory over the nazi-fascist invaders and local traitors, gave our Homeland genuine freedom and sovereignty, gave it honour and dignity, gave it security and great confidence in its own strength, forged the everlasting friendship between the Albanian people and the fraternal peoples of the Soviet Union, who helped us in the liberation of our country, between the Albanian people and the fraternal peoples of China and of the other countries of people's democracy of the socialist camp. The people's revolution was carried out successfully and it opened the most glorious epoch in the thousands of years of our history, the epoch of the construction of socialism and communism in Albania.

In fire and flame, in suffering and toil, in joys and victories people and Party became a single indivisible whole. The history of the Party during these twenty years is the history of the Albanian people itself; the struggles of the Party are the struggles of the people, just as its victories are the victories of the people. People and Party are bound together in our country like flesh to bone. This

is the greatest victory, this is the greatest guarantee of the happy future for our country. The Party, which is guided in its work and struggle by Marxism-Leninism, achieved those victories. These victories were attained at the cost of the bloodshed and sacrifice of tens of thousands of men and women partisans, who covered themselves with glory in bloody battles and fell fighting for the liberty of our Homeland, for democracy, for socialism, for communism...

II'

THE RESULTS OF SOCIALIST CONSTRUCTION IN OUR COUNTRY

Dear comrades,

The construction of socialism in our country, this is the sacred aim to the achievement of which our talented people, the heroic working class, the working peasantry and our people's intelligentsia, who, under the leadership of our glorious Party, have completely changed the face of our country, in the literal meaning of this expression, have dedicated all their creative activity. Reporting to the Party and the people, we note with satisfaction that as a result of the successful and loyal

1. The 1st chapter of the report deals with the international situation and the foreign policy of the PRA.

application of the economic and political general line of our Marxist-Leninist Party for the construction of socialism, *our country is now entering a new stage, the stage of the complete construction of socialist society, the stage of turning our country from an agrarian-industrial into an industrial-agrarian one.*

If we recall the bitter past of our country, the great sufferings and hardships, the valiant struggle, full of self-sacrifice which our working people have waged during these post-Liberation years, the importance of the stage reached in the development of our society, the heroism of our glorious people, the merits of our Party of Labour, which as an experienced captain, guided by the Marxist-Leninist compass, set our country on the course of knowledge and progress, will stand out ever more clearly.

a. The Successful Construction of the Economic Base of Socialism

The decisive conditions for the development of our country on the road to socialism were created in November 1944, when, after the triumph of the people's revolution, its main strategic task was solved: political power passed completely into the hands of the working class and the working masses, led by their Party. The profound revolutionary economic and social transformations carried out by the people's power after the country's Liberation, such as the nationalization of industry,

transport, the banks, foreign trade and internal wholesale trade, led to the establishment of public ownership of the main means of production and circulation and created the first economic possibilities to begin the construction of the new socialist society.

The transition of our country from a semi-feudal situation and technical-economic backwardness directly to the building of socialism, leaving out the stage of developed industrial capitalism, set before our Party, as one of its most vital and urgent tasks, the creation of industry through the socialist industrialization and electrification of the country.

«... Big industry», says V. I. Lenin, speaking of its role in the building of socialist society, «is the base for the transition to socialism and from the viewpoint of the state of productive forces, i.e. from the viewpoint of the fundamental criterion of all the social development, constitutes the foundation of the socialist economic organization, by uniting the advanced industrial workers, uniting the class which exercises the dictatorship of the proletariat».*

In formulating and applying the policy of socialist industrialization of the country, the Party proceeds from the concrete conditions of our country, from the internal possibilities, the natural

* V. I. Lenin, Vol. 32, pp. 270-271 (Alb. ed.).

resources, the economic cooperation among the socialist countries. Under the new historical conditions, for our small country with limited possibilities in human forces and material and financial means, the creation of all branches of industry has not been possible. The high rates of growth in industrial production, the creation and development of a number of branches of heavy industry, giving priority to the mining industry, the development, alongside it, of light industry, are some of the distinguishing features of the socialist industrialization of our country.

Under the correct leadership of the Party, with the mobilization, creative work and self-sacrifice of the masses of working people of the town and countryside, we have now created a new industry, with modern equipment. Albania has been converted into an agrarian-industrial country. This is a great historic victory of our Party and people on the road to the creation of the material-technical base of socialism, the expansion and further strengthening of the productive forces of our country, and socialist relations in production.

Parallel with this, our Party has waged a resolute struggle and has pursued a consistent Leninist policy for the collectivization of agriculture, which was crowned by the creation of the economic base of socialism in the countryside, too. Our peasantry, with unwavering faith in the Party, embraced the road of collectivization and is proceeding along this road resolutely and voluntarily, fully convinced of its superiority over the small individual economy. Today, in our country

in general the collectivization of agriculture has been completed. The socialist sector in agriculture predominates in regard to both the area of the arable land and production for the market.

Towards the small producers in towns, too, our Party has followed a correct policy, which aimed at organizing them on the road of the socialist economy by means of their voluntary union in the artisan cooperatives. Now these cooperatives include the overwhelming majority of our craftsmen.

The socialist forms of the economy and the socialist relations in production predominate in all branches of the economy. In 1960, the socialist sector of the economy yielded about 90 per cent of the national income. Last year the socialist sector included: 99 per cent of the total industrial output, 100 per cent of the wholesale trade, 90 per cent of the retail trade, and over 80 per cent of the total agricultural production. *Thus, the multi-form economy has generally disappeared in our country and in its place a single system of socialist economy has been created. Thus, the economic base of socialism has been created both in town and in countryside. The capitalist economy, the exploiting classes, and the exploitation of man by man, have been abolished for ever. With this great historic victory our country is advancing at a more rapid pace towards the further construction of the material and technical base of socialism.*

On the sound foundation of the new socialist relations of production, the dynamic development of the productive forces of the country has taken place, unemployment has been abolished for ever,

the national income has greatly increased, and the material and cultural standards of the masses of working people have been steadily raised.

An integral part of our socialist revolution are the revolutionary transformations which have been carried out in the ideological, educational, and cultural fields, as well as the great work done by our Party for the education of the workers in the spirit of socialist consciousness, to raise their technical and cultural level and create cadres of the new socialist intelligentsia.

The establishment of socialist relations in production radically changed the old structure of classes in our society. *The characteristic and fundamental feature of the class structure in our country at the present stage is the existence of two friendly classes — the working class and the co-operativist peasantry, their alliance under the leadership of the working class and the consolidation, on this basis, of the moral and political unity of all the working people.*

Our new working class was born, grew up, and has been tempered in the work for the construction of socialism. At present, the workers, together with their families, account for about 22.5 per cent of the total population. But what is decisive, is the fact that our working class is no longer a politically oppressed and exploited class, as is the case with the working class under capitalism, but a class which has smashed the feudo-bourgeois bureaucratic apparatus to its foundations and on its ruins has built the new state power, a leading class which holds the political power in its hands,

the initiator and organizer of all the economic and social transformations which are carried out in our society, a class which is constantly raising its political, technical, and cultural level.

With the re-organization of agriculture on a socialist basis in our countryside, in place of the individual peasantry, a new class — the cooperativist peasantry — has emerged and is being formed. The basis of its economy is no longer the small-scale private property, but the collective property. The source of its income and wellbeing is no longer individual work with primitive implements, but collective work with advanced equipment. The further economic and organizational development and strengthening of the socialist system in the countryside will be, at the same time, the process of the development and strengthening of this class and its alliance with the working class.

In the struggle for the construction of socialism the new socialist intelligentsia, born of the people and loyal to them, has been formed. It is marching shoulder to shoulder with the working class and the cooperativist peasantry. Thanks to the educational work and the correct policy pursued by the Party, the best people from that small number of the old intelligentsia which we inherited from the past also came over to the side of the people and socialism.

Our Party regards the alliance of the working class with the working peasantry as the main social force for the construction of socialism. For the consolidation of this alliance new economic links between the town and countryside in the

field of circulation of goods and that of production have been established and are being constantly extended.

As can be seen, the period we have traversed during these 16 years of people's power has been a period of profound revolutionary changes carried out under the leadership of the Party. During this period we have overcome a series of difficulties, obstacles, and contradictions. These difficulties and contradictions were increased and made more complicated because of the various imperialist plots and the brutal interference of the Yugoslav revisionists in our internal affairs, because of their hostile activity carried out in all forms against our Party and State. In overcoming them our Party has waged a stern, principled, and consistent struggle against internal and foreign enemies, against the imperialists and their lackeys — the Yugoslav revisionists. At the same time, the Party has dealt resolute blows at all the opportunists, deviators and traitors, who have attempted to undermine the work of the Party and turn it from the Marxist-Leninist course.

In all its activity for the socialist transformation of the economy the Party of Labour of Albania has applied a correct general line, has always based itself on Marxism-Leninism, and dealt with problems in a scientific way. It has remained faithful to the principles of proletarian internationalism, and has succeeded in mobilizing the broad working masses and made them conscious builders and defenders of the new socialist society.

During this period our Party has also strug-

gled to solve the non-antagonistic contradictions which have arisen from our progress in socialist construction, such as: the contradictions between the advanced political power and the relatively low level of the productive forces, between the rapid development of industry and the lagging behind of agriculture, between the advanced equipment and the shortcomings of the level of training of the cadres, between the level of production and consumption etc. In achieving the above-mentioned victories the decisive role has been played by the great efforts, the self-sacrificing and glorious work of our heroic people, the socialist patriotism, the talents and determination of our heroic working class, the working peasantry and the people's intelligentsia, the correct line and wise, courageous, and far-sighted leadership of our Party of Labour and its creative application of Marxist-Leninist theory in the concrete historical conditions of our country. The aid given to our country during this period by the Soviet Union and the fraternal countries of the socialist camp has played an important role as an external factor. The Albanian people and its Party of Labour are, and will always be, grateful to the peoples and the communist and workers' parties of these countries for this internationalist and fraternal aid.

The history of these last 20 years has confirmed the behest of our ancestors that «freedom is not donated, it must be won with bloodshed». In the 20th Century, the century of Leninism, through heroic struggle and violence, the Albanian people, unbowed through the ages, under the leadership

of their glorious Party, smashed the Italian and Hitlerite fascists, completely overthrew and crushed the feudo-bourgeoisie and its state power, created the new Albania, created the new people's state power and are successfully building socialism. It is precisely because the struggle against the imperialists, against fascism, against the feudo-bourgeoisie was waged in these forms by the Party and people for the liberation of Albania and the seizure of power, because the people worked with great revolutionary enthusiasm for the reconstruction of our poor, war-devastated country, for the building of socialism, because we were all always on guards to defend the people's victories, that we succeeded in overcoming terrible waves and storms during these twenty years. The revolutionary impetus of the people has never stopped and it never will, the tasks set were achieved and will always be achieved successfully, we smashed the enemies' heads and we shall always smash them if they try to lay a finger on our country and our people. Woe to the Albanian people if we had hoped that the American, British, French and the Italian capitalists, or the Shefqet Verlaci and Mustafa Krujas would make us a gift of freedom. Woe to our people if we had compromised and capitulated to the imperialists, if we had shown fear and vacillation, if we had begged them for freedom, liberation, and peace. The Marxist-Leninist line of our Party shines like the sun in spring time. Like the sun it warms our Homeland and makes it flower. The fiery rays of this sun are blinding to the enemies of our people, the enemies of Marxism-Leninism.

The 16 years of people's state power have demonstrated the truth of the general laws of the socialist revolution, formulated by the triumphant doctrine of Marxism-Leninism. They have also confirmed the practical and real possibility of the transition of the backward countries directly from the old feudal order to socialism, leaving out the stage of developed capitalism.

B. — The Second Five-Year Plan — an Important Step in the Further Development of our Economy and Culture

In the period since the 3rd Congress of the Party of Labour of Albania, which coincides with the carrying out of the 2nd Five-year Plan, a step of historic importance has been taken in the construction of the economic base of socialism in our country.

The 3rd Congress of the Party put forward as the main task the further development of industry, especially the mining industry, chiefly on the basis of the full use of the existing productive capacities and the mobilization of internal reserves, and the rapid development of agriculture, mainly on the basis of the re-organization of agricultural production on socialist foundations. Relying on these factors, the task was put forward of achieving a further improvement of the material conditions and raising the cultural level of the working people.

Summing up the work done in these five years, our Party, with a feeling of legitimate pride, announces that in general the main task of the 2nd Five-year Plan was fulfilled ahead of schedule.

The volume of the total industrial output set by the 3rd Congress of the Party for the 1956-1960 period was fulfilled in 4 years and 9 months, in the mining industry in four years and six months, while the level of industrial output set for 1960 was achieved one year ahead of schedule. In 1960 the volume of the total industrial production increased more than 118 per cent above that of 1955, as against 92 per cent which was the target set by the Congress, with an average annual rate of 16.9 per cent, as against 14 per cent. Production of means of production (group «A») increased at an average annual rate of 18 per cent, as against 14.8 per cent, and of consumer goods (group «B») 16 per cent, as against 13.5 per cent, which was the target. To give you a better grasp of the importance of these figures, the importance of our achievements, suffice it to mention that in 1960 the Peshkopia and Burrel districts alone produced as much as was produced in 1938 in the whole of Albania, while the city of Tirana produced more than five times as much. This is what our glorious Party and the people's power are achieving, this is what a people can do when they are free.

The main task of the 3rd Congress of the Party for the collectivization of agriculture was also achieved ahead of schedule. Since July 1960 the socialist sector has comprised 86.3 per cent of the cultivated land. In this way, the economic base of socialism has been built in our countryside. With the achievement of this victory which is of a great historic importance, our Party, relying on the immortal teachings of Lenin, successfully resol-

ved one of the most difficult tasks of the transition period.

Likewise, successfully fulfilled, were the targets set in the field of raising the people's material and cultural level. The growth of industrial and agricultural production, the complete abolition of the ration card system, the repeated reductions of retail prices, etc., have greatly improved the wellbeing of the working people.

The mobilization and the readiness of the working masses, the encouragement of initiatives for the discovery and exploitation of the internal reserves and the increase to ever higher levels of the creative energies of the working people, made it possible to revise the figures of the 2nd Five-year Plan upwards. These additions, which were approved by the Plenum of the Central Committee of the Party in February 1958, played an important role in the overfulfilment of the targets of the 2nd Five-year Plan in many important branches of production.

The successful fulfilment of the 2nd Five-year Plan is the result of the great and selfless work of our heroic working class, the working peasantry and the people's intelligentsia, and the correct and wise leadership of our glorious Party of Labour...

2. — The Collectivization of Agriculture Is the Greatest Success of Our Party in the Countryside

The policy of our Party, based on the Marxist-Leninist teachings, for the socialist transformation

of the countryside, was fully implemented during the first four years of the 2nd Five-year Plan. Excluding the areas of a markedly mountainous character, agricultural cooperatives have been formed in all the villages of the other areas. This is one of the most splendid achievements of our Party and our people.

The correct line of the Party on the collectivization, expressed in the well-known slogan, «We must neither be hasty, nor mark time», which was applied in the first stage, made it possible for the broad strata of poor and middle peasants to be convinced in practice of the great benefits to be derived from the organization of collective agricultural economies in comparison with the individual economies. The orientation of the December 1955 Plenum of the CC, which was also stressed by the 3rd Congress, for speeding up the tempo of collectivization, marks the beginning of a new stage in the mass collectivization of agriculture in all the main areas of the Republic. Thus, whereas at the end of 1955 the cooperatives comprised only 14.5 per cent of the peasants' arable land, a year later they occupied 30.8 per cent. The year 1957 became the year of the great turning point, because not only the poor peasants, but also the middle peasants began to enter the cooperatives *en masse*, and the collectivized area reached 58 per cent. In 1960, 83.2 per cent of the arable land owned by the peasantry had been collectivized. Thus, it became possible to complete the task set by the 3rd Congress of the Party one year ahead of schedule.

Understanding very well this duty that the Party put before them, the communists of town and countryside, the patriots, the best activists of the Democratic Front and of the other mass organizations, the heroic working class of our country put all their strength and energy into this great work for the socialist transformation of the countryside, together with the entire working peasantry of our country, who have always been loyal followers of the Party, and assured this great victory for our country.

To achieve the victory of the cooperativist order in the countryside, our Party had to wage a bitter struggle against the external and internal enemies, against the kulaks, who strove to hinder the working peasantry from setting out on the socialist road by exploiting the individualist psychology of the small property-owner in the village. The kulaks tried to create distrust and hesitation among the peasants, to turn them from the right road which the Party pointed out. But all these efforts failed. Our patriotic and hard-working peasantry, with unshakable trust in the Party, and its correct line, turned from the capitalist road and followed the road of socialism. *The line of our Party triumphed in the countryside and once again it was proved how correct was the line, how invincible the strength and unity of the Party with the people, how politically mature was our peasant, who with conviction, resolutely took the road the Party showed him for the collectivization of agriculture, as the only right road to emerge once and for all from backwardness, and build the new life in the village.*

The victory of collectivization of agriculture in our country is another clear demonstration, verifying the correctness of the teachings of V. I. Lenin on the policy which the Marxist parties should follow to put the working peasantry on the road to socialism. The Belgrade revisionist clique prattle in vain about «the specific road», through which «socialism» is allegedly being developed in the Yugoslav countryside. Only the enemies of Leninism, such as the modern revisionists, strive to deceive the masses by showing them «new roads» for the building of socialism in the countryside, whereas in fact these «new roads», not only obstruct socialism in the countryside, but contribute to the further impoverishment of the peasant, to his proletarianization, to the enrichment of the kulak economies and their buying the land, and the exploitation of agricultural implements in the interests of the kulaks alone even although it is State owned. With these «forms», allegedly «specific» and «new», allegedly «preliminary» and in preparation for future collectivization, the modern revisionists dig the grave of socialism in the countryside, strengthen the rich peasantry, and allow capitalism to grow stronger day by day in the countryside. Life has proved that the only road which assures the future of the peasantry, which rescues it for good and all from capitalist exploitation and poverty, is the road of collectivization of agriculture...

3. — The Rise of the Material Wellbeing of the Working Masses

The increasing increase of total industrial and agricultural production, the triumph of collectivization in the countryside, the development of all the other sectors of the people's economy have brought about as an objective result the further raising of the material wellbeing and the cultural level of the people. In our country, the planned organization of the process of social production is carried out in order to assure the all-round wellbeing and development of all members of our society.

During the years of the 2nd Five-year Plan, the rise of the material wellbeing and cultural level of the working people is characterized by these main indices:

At the end of 1960 the national income was 48 per cent greater than in 1955.

Important measures have been taken to lower the retail prices of goods, to raise low wages and pensions, to increase the wholesale purchase prices of the agricultural, livestock, and other products. These, together with the increased level of qualification of the workers and labour productivity have brought an increase of 29 per cent in the real wages of the workers and employees in 1959.

The trade organs have supplied the people better with mass consumption goods. The volume of the circulation of goods at the end of the 2nd Five-year Plan reached 194 per cent, compared with that of 1955.

The results achieved in the first years of the 2nd Five-year Plan in the increase of industrial and agricultural products, created the conditions for the total abolition of the rationing system in November 1957, earlier than the time limit set by the 3rd Congress of the Party. The successful implementation of this important measure was a great victory, which testified to the wisdom of the economic policy pursued by our Party and which has given a further impulse to the all-round development of production and distribution.

One of the problems of the living conditions of the people, on which we have concentrated more attention, is housing, the increase of the number of houses and their upkeep. The number of houses built during these last 10 years is sufficient to house the pre-Liberation population of the cities of Shkodra, Durrës, Korça, Vlora and Elbasan, taken together.

The health situation of our people has undergone obvious improvement. The natural increase of the population per 1,000 inhabitants has been about 32 persons. Never before has there been such a rapid growth of population in our country. Our country now ranks among the leading countries of the world in this respect. From 1,122,000 inhabitants which Albania had in 1945, according to the preliminary data, at the 1960 census, it reached 1,625,000 inhabitants.

4. — The Cultural Revolution Is Being Successfully Carried out in Our Country

The tasks laid down by the 3rd Congress for the development of education, science, and culture in general have been achieved with success.

Our country has become not only a great construction site but also a big school, where one out of every five persons of the total population goes to school. Today, more than 300,000 persons are attending day and evening schools. An important step has been the building of 7-year schools so widely extended that classes have been opened even with only 10-15 pupils. Today we have 557 7-year day schools, with more than 63,300 pupils, as against 2,563 pupils before Liberation.

Middle schooling, which in the past was the privilege of certain strata of the population, has now taken wide proportions. Middle schools have been opened not only in the smallest district centres, but even in the centres of some localities. This school year alone over 16,000 pupils are studying in the day time middle schools, including 9,500 pupils in the technical and teacher-training middle schools.

During the 2nd Five-year Plan the Tirana State University, the biggest scientific and teaching centre in the country, the pride of our people's state power, was established. Today 7,800 students are studying in the higher institutes, at home and abroad, that is 4.6 times more university students than there were pupils in all the middle schools in

1938, or 3 times more the number of pupils in the 7-year schools of that period.

Today, total of 4,245 higher cadres and about 20,000 middle cadres are working in all branches of the economy and culture. Now there are 870 engineers working in our country, as against the 35 we had in 1938, 570 agronomists, as against 45 in 1938, and 478 doctors and dentists, as against the 122 there were in all in our country. In 1960 alone about 1,000 persons graduated from the universities at home and abroad, that is over double the number of higher cadres in 1938.

Our country, which 15 years ago was a backward agricultural country, today has a fully formed working class in ranks of which 62 per cent are qualified workers. During the 2nd Five-year Plan about 46,000 new workers, as against 39,000 envisaged in the plan, were trained in the lower vocational training schools and labour reserve schools, and more than 83,000 others, as against 70,000 envisaged in the plan, passed through courses to raise their level of qualification. During the 2nd Five-year Plan about 9,300 middle school cadres completed their training in the day and evening schools at home, as well as 2,800 higher cadres in schools at home and abroad.

In our country the organization of scientific work has been put on the right road. Important successes have been achieved, especially in the field of the historical-philological sciences. Under the care of the Party, the treasury inherited in the field of material and spiritual culture, everything

positive and progressive which the past generations of our heroic people have created through the ages, is being constantly brought to light, is becoming the property of the people, is becoming a great mobilizing force in the struggle to build the new life and culture in our country. A valuable contribution in this direction is the compilation of the «History of Albania» and the «History of Albanian Literature». Valuable studies have likewise been made by the scientific institutions on some problems of agriculture and animal husbandry.

Important successes have been attained also in the field of literature and arts. During this period about 700 original works of different genres have been published. Today, we have the Opera and Ballet Theatre, the drama theatres and 11 professional variety theatres. The first Albanian operas and feature films have been created, figurative art exhibitions, theatrical and folklore festivals, have been organized, which together, have animated the artistic cultural life of the country. Always loyal to the great cause of the working class, our writers and artists, with their works, have given the Party great assistance in its ideological struggle for the education of the new man. During this period they have created artistic works and figures, which embody the great ideals of their contemporaries and of our wonderful epoch.

III

THE FURTHER DEVELOPMENT OF OUR COUNTRY ON THE ROAD OF SOCIALIST CONSTRUCTION

Comrades,

The Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania has worked out the draft directives of the 3rd Five-year Plan for the development of the people's economy and culture. Before the examination and final approval of these draft directives by this highest forum of our Party, as is known, they were submitted for discussion to the masses of the people. Everywhere, in the work centres, villages, to the most remote corners of our Homeland, the masses of working people vigorously discussed the main figures of the splendid perspective being opened to our country with the 3rd Five-year Plan. The draft directives were also examined in detail in the meetings of the party basic organizations and at the party conferences for rendering account and election of officers.

The enthusiasm aroused among the working people by the draft directives demonstrated once more that the figures of the 3rd Five-year Plan are realistic. Although this plan is a solid one, it is completely achievable, and this is confirmed by the numerous pledges which were taken for its fulfilment ahead of schedule.

The Party has always considered the discussion of the main problems with the masses of the people as a matter of principle in its work. In

this regard it is always guided by the well-known Leninist principle of democratic centralism which implies the harmonious combination of the centralized leadership of the economy by the State, with the widest possible development of the creative activity of the working masses, with their direct participation in the management of production. This is the source of the ever greater strength of the ties between the Party and the people, who see in the Party the true representative of their sentiments and age-old aspirations.

The popular discussion of the draft directives demonstrated once again the essence of our State of people's democracy, which is the organized people themselves, united by the fundamental idea and interests of the construction of socialism.

Allow me, comrades, on behalf of the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania, to thank all the participants of this popular discussion for the valuable contribution which they have made to the examination of the draft figures of the 3rd Five-year Plan. The wide participation of the people in the discovery of internal reserves, their criticism and proposals, have helped to increase production, as well as to improve the planning of our people's economy.

In determining the main figures of the draft directives for the 3rd Five-year Plan, the Party, in conformity with its program, aims to ensure the further development of the socialist revolution, to raise the productive force to a higher level, to increase the economic potential and strengthen our

Homeland, to steadily increase the material blessings in order to improve the life of the people.

On the basis of the further development of the productive forces, our working class, its alliance with the working peasantry as well as the economic, political and organizational foundations of our state of people's power, will grow and become stronger.

The 3rd Five-year Plan will mark an important step forward in the construction of the material and technical base of socialism. Our country will advance more rapidly on the road of transformation from an agrarian-industrial country into an industrial-agrarian one, agricultural production will increase more quickly, and consequently, the material and cultural level of the masses of the working people will be further raised. This is the main task of the 3rd Five-year Plan.

Our People's Republic has all the possibilities to make this objective of the 4th Congress of the Party a reality. The generally successful fulfilment of the State economic plans, the construction of the economic base of socialism, the uninterrupted development of the productive forces, the lofty consciousness and the socialist emulation, which has burst out all over our Homeland, have made it possible for us to put forward new tasks and to march at a rapid pace on the road of socialist construction.

The high and uninterrupted rates of development of industrial production, are outstanding features of the 3rd Five-year Plan, too. They are fur-

ther clear evidence of the strength and nature of our socialist economy.

The grandeur of the 3rd Five-year Plan can be appreciated, also, from the large funds which will be invested in the people's economy, and which will further increase the production of material goods. Another feature of the 3rd Five-year Plan, also, is the fact that a part of the investments will give their economic effect during the first years of the 4th Five-year Plan, thus ensuring the continuation of extended socialist reproduction.

In the 3rd Five-year Plan correct ratios have been established such as to ensure the harmonious development of the branches of the economy, especially the ratio industry to agriculture. With the creation of new branches of material production, the 3rd Five-year Plan improves the structure of the economy and creates better conditions for increasing social production further.

Priority for the increase of production of the means of production, as compared with the production of consumer goods, is another distinguishing feature of this five-year plan. This is the result of the economic policy followed by our Party in the industrialization of the country and in the distribution of investments to the different branches of the economy.

During the 3rd Five-year Plan, the process of the socialist industrialization of the country will be raised to an even higher level. New branches, equipped with an advanced technology, will be added to our up-to-date industry. The raw materials will be more completely processed, and this charac-

terizes the further rise of the level of the industrial development of our country.

1. — The Continuation of the Socialist Industrialization of our Country — Decisive Link for the Development of the Material and Technical Base of Socialism

During the 3rd Five-year Plan, too, our Party of Labour considers the further development of the socialist industrialization of the country, giving priority to the rapid development of heavy industry, as an important task.

It is envisaged that in 1965 the total volume of the industrial production (at 1960 prices) will be increased 52 per cent, with an average annual rate of growth of 8.7 per cent. In the same year the specific weight of industrial production in the total volume of industrial and agricultural output, will reach 54 per cent.

Production of means of production (group «A») will be increased by 54 per cent, while production of consumer goods (group «B»), by 50 per cent. More than half the total volume of industrial production will be production of means of production.

As can be seen, in its economic policy concerning the socialist industrialization of the country, despite the existence of special features, our Party always has in mind the Leninist thesis, that heavy industry is the basis of socialist industrialization, that in this process production of the means of production

must be increased at higher rates than the production of the consumer goods.

The mining and processing industry will undergo great development, with the aim at achieving better utilization of the wealth of the country — the useful minerals, sources of fuel and hydro-power, the forest wealth, agricultural raw materials, and so on. Large funds will be invested for the establishment of branches of heavy industry, such as the chemical industry for the production of nitrate and phosphate fertilizers for agriculture, as well as for the ferro-chrome metallurgy, electro-metallurgy of copper, and preparations will be made for the establishment in the future of the black metallurgy base¹.

By creating these conditions, our industry will give a more powerful impetus to the development of the productive forces. A more effective structure of the economy will be created, and the further pro-

¹ Part of the new projects of heavy industry, such as the ferro-chrome factory, the copper processing complex, the metallurgical complex, the azotic and phosphatic fertilizers plant, etc., were decided to be set up during the 3rd Five-year Plan (1961-1965). But because of the anti-Marxist and anti-Albanian policy of the Khrushchevite revisionists and their followers who organized a savage all-round blockade on socialist Albania and arbitrarily annulled all agreements concluded with it, taking account of the new situation created, the Government of the PR of Albania decided to postpone the schedule of construction of these projects to the coming five-year periods.

cessing and the better evaluation of the raw materials of the country will be carried on, which will improve the import-export balance.

The Party has taken and will take important measures for the further development of the oil industry, one of the main branches which has great prospects for our economy. It is envisaged that in 1965, as compared with 1960, the extraction of oil will be increased 51 per cent and its processing 38 per cent. The out-put of oil to be extracted in 1965, is equal to the total output during the years 1951-1956 taken together. During the 3rd Five-year Plan, the volume of prospect drilling will be increased by 63 per cent above that of the 2nd Five-year Plan.

The oil workers face great tasks in order to put new oil and gas resources at the disposal of our economy. Special care must be devoted to rapid and high quality well-drilling in order to improve the technical-economic indices and to raise the economic efficiency of capital investments. Advanced methods and the achievements of science must be utilized to step up oil extraction.

There is no doubt that oil is a great wealth for our country, and at the same time a produce of great export value. Our extraction of oil will guarantee a large income for the economy of our country. All of you recall the systematic sabotage by the Yugoslav revisionists in this important branch of our economy. Their aim was to strangle our economy and make it wholly dependent on the Yugoslav economy, to achieve their devilish plans to bring our Party to its knees, to dictate their

will to our Party and people, to eliminate the sound leadership of the Party and replace it with traitors sold out to them. You clearly recall the attempts of the friend and collaborator of the Yugoslav revisionists, Tuk Jakova, who tried many times in the Political Bureau and in the Government, not only to prove that we had no oil and that the little which we extracted was not profitable, but also to defend his thesis, which of course was rejected with contempt, that we should give up oil extraction completely. Life itself proved what criminals the Titoites and Tuk Jakova and Co. were. The Yugoslavs and their agents were convinced that our country had very good prospects for oil, and that this oil would be extracted, according to their reckoning, after they had eliminated the Party and its leadership. In this way, not only would they have secured our oil for their own interests, but they would also have «proved» the «inability» of our Party and its leadership and the «ability» and «wisdom» of traitors like Tuk Jakova and Co. However, this plan of the enemies of our Party and people did not work out and it never will. Today we have created a sound basis for oil; we have thousands of glorious workers, specialists and engineers, whom the Party has raised with the greatest care. It has trained them in higher schools, which have the great experience of life, and not only do they successfully fulfil the plans, but nobody can fool them. . .

Refining capacity will be extended on the basis of the increase of oil production. At the Cërrik oil refinery a reforming plant will be added, and this

will make it possible to fulfil the requirements of our country for liquid fuel better.

During the years of the 3rd Five-year Plan, the other branches of the mining industry will also undergo great development. New mines will be opened and exploitation in depth of the existing ones will begin. In 1965 the total output of our mining industry will be 49 per cent higher than in 1960.

At the end of the 3rd Five-year Plan our country will produce 45 per cent more coal. This means that the production of 1965 alone will be equal to 72 per cent of the total quantity of coal produced during the 1st Five-year Plan.

The chromium industry, too, will continue to develop rapidly during this five-year plan.

At the end of the 3rd Five-year Plan the output of the copper industry will be almost three times greater than in 1960.

The iron-nickel industry will undergo vigorous development. At the end of this five-year plan our country will be producing almost half a million tons of iron-nickel ore. This will be a sound starting point from which to set up our ferrous metallurgy in the not distant future.

The rapid rates of development of the oil and mining industries, the new projects of non-ferrous and black metallurgy and the chemical industry, which will be built during the third and future five-year plans for the processing at home of our underground wealth, make it urgently necessary to ensure and extend the raw materials base.

The Party considers it indispensable that dur-

ing this five-year plan, too, geological work must be extended and intensified, paying special attention to complex prospecting to find new sources, first of all of oil, bitumen, natural gas, coal, chrome, iron-nickel, copper as well as other useful minerals.

The working people of geology must devote great attention to the enrichment, safeguarding, and utilization of the documents and materials in a scientific manner, so that they serve not only for the present, but also for the coming generations. Special attention must be paid to increasing the effectiveness of the geological prospecting in order to discover and raise the reserves in category, with the lowest possible expenditure.

The work in geological field must be evaluated not only by the volume of the work performed, but also by the quantity and quality of the useful mineral reserves put at the service of our people's economy.

The coming into production of the new works envisaged in the 3rd Five-year Plan, especially those which consume large quantities of electric power, and the prospects of the development of our country during the coming five-year plans, raise before us as a primary task the further extension of the energy base.

The Party has taken timely measures to keep ahead of the needs of our economy for electric power. During the 3rd Five-year Plan, our State will invest huge funds for the purpose of strengthening the electric power base. With the new hydro-power stations which will come into production in the first years of the 3rd Five-year Plan, such

as those of Shkopet and Bistrical, together with the powerful thermal station which will be built in Fier, it will be increased 2.5 times. During the 3rd Five-year Plan studies will be made of the possibility of harnessing the huge energy reserves of the Drin river in the service of our economy. Eighty-four per cent more electric power will be produced in 1965 than was produced in 1960.

The main targets of the mechanical engineering industry in future will be the profitable increase and extension of the range of spare parts for industry and especially for the oil industry, road transport, agriculture, and other branches of the people's economy. The work begun of producing simple machines must be continued and the existing engineering base must be exploited in depth. In 1965 the engineering industry must meet not less than 50 per cent of the country's needs for spare parts. The task which the Party puts forward for the production of the spare parts has special significance for our country. Its achievement will help in better utilization and maintenance of the equipment and machinery, and will reduce our imports...

The fulfilment of the ever-increasing needs of the population for consumer goods makes the further extension of light and food industries indispensable. Great importance will be given during the 3rd Five-year Plan to the strengthening and modernization of these branches of industry, by building

1 The «F. Engels» and «J. V. Stalin» hydro-power stations respectively.

new plants with modern equipment such as the woollen textile factory for the production of soft fabrics in Tirana, and the knitting combine in Korça; another big cotton textile combine will be built at Berat, the construction of the edible oil extraction and refining factory in Fier will be completed, and the «Ali Kelmendi» food combine in Tirana will be finished; the grape and in general the fruit processing industries will also be greatly developed.

The construction of these new plants as well as the more effective exploitation of the existing productive capacities will make possible the local processing on a larger scale of agricultural and livestock raw materials, thus contributing to the development of these branches and to the improvement of the material wellbeing of the people...

The fulfilment of the ever growing daily needs of the population for different services and repairs is the number one task of our artisan cooperatives. Guided by this aim, these organizations, together with the local organs of the Party and State, must have a thorough knowledge of the needs of the people for different services, and according to these needs they must establish their activities and the network of such services.

The fulfilment of the majestic tasks of the 3rd Five-year Plan will be accomplished to an appreciable extent by the large funds which will be invested for the development of the economy and culture. The investments of this five-year plan will reach 69,500 million leks, or 51 per cent more

than in the 2nd Five-year Plan. As in the past, the great bulk of the investments, 81.9 per cent, will be made in the sphere of material production.

In the coming five-year plan, capital construction work will have very great weight. For this about 35,700 million leks, at 1961 prices, will be spent, or 60 per cent more than the volume of the construction carried out during the 2nd Five-year Plan, and 400 million leks more than has been spent during the fifteen years of the people's power, calculated at 1958 prices.

Out of the total volume of construction 72.1 per cent will be carried out for the productive branches. This will make possible the construction of more than four hundred industrial, agricultural, and social-cultural projects.

The magnificent plan worked out by the Party for the reclamation of the plains, for the elimination of the ancient swamps, for putting the maximum land under crops, will enter its final stage.

To speed up the rate of building houses, expenditure of 6,500 million leks, or 75 per cent more than in the 2nd Five-year Plan, is provided for.

Important work will be done for the further development of transport, by increasing the road and railway network, by mechanizing and modernizing our sea ports and especially the port of Durrës, which will become one of the largest on the Adriatic Sea...

Comrades,

In general, these are the tasks which the Party puts forward for the further development of these important sectors of the economy during the 3rd Five-year Plan. As seen, these are no easy tasks. Fulfilment of them requires full and an all-round mobilization of the party organizations and the working collectives. It requires further improvement of the method of leadership and organization of work, a more determined struggle for savings, for the exploitation of the internal reserves and possibilities which exist in the country. In connection with the tasks which are put forward in these sectors of the economy, I want to speak about some very important questions which the Party and the working masses must keep in mind and which have to do with the further improvement of the quality indices of production.

a) *In the field of labour productivity*

Our Party has always taught us that the uninterrupted increase of the productivity of labour, as an economic law of socialism, is the decisive factor for the acceleration of rates of production, reduction of costs, the increase of socialist accumulation, and the improvement of the material and cultural level of the working masses. The productivity of labour, as Lenin teaches us,

«...is, in the final analysis, the most important thing, the main thing, for the victory of the new social order».*

* V. I. Lenin, Works, Vol. 29, p. 474 (Alb. ed.).

Such an evaluation of these very important economic indices has found its concrete embodiment in our State plans. In the field of increasing the productivity of labour, as in all our economic activity, we have achieved satisfactory results. The target set by the 3rd Congress of the Party has been achieved in general: about 67 per cent of the increase in total industrial production during the 2nd Five-year Plan was achieved thanks to the increase of the productivity of labour.

As can be seen, these are big tasks, but they are completely realizable, if effective measures are taken to exploit the great possibilities which exist in the economy of our country.

Continuous technical progress is the material basis for rapid increase of the productivity of labour. V. I. Lenin constantly stressed that the provision of new advanced equipment for all the branches of the people's economy, perfecting the technology of production, and mechanization of the processes of work are the material foundations for the uninterrupted increase of the productivity of labour.

Unlike the capitalist system which is based on the exploitation of man by man, in our socialist economy unlimited possibilities have been created for the introduction of modern equipment on an extensive scale and in a planned way. The increase in the productivity of labour in our country is not based on the inhuman intensification of work, as it is in capitalism. The equipment with which our industry is being provided constantly is the source of the uninterrupted growth of production and of

the productivity of labour. For this reason the maintenance and rational exploitation of the machinery, mechanisms, and technical equipment, as the chief elements of the productive capacity, have been and continue to be one of the most important tasks for the party organizations and the State economic organs.

The Party has always made it known that the improvement of the utilization of the machinery must aim at both utilization in breadth through productive operation for the maximum time, and utilization in depth through raising productivity per work time unit. The carrying out of these tasks requires the establishment of a correct regime in the operation of the machinery, improvement of the rhythm of production, and so on.

The training and the qualification of cadres is the decisive factor in mastering the equipment and raising the labour productivity.

The rapid development of socialist industrialization, the re-construction of a great number of enterprises and their equipment with up-to-date machinery, as well as the vigorous development of the other branches of our people's economy set the urgent task of training the necessary cadres to put the planned capacities into as complete a degree of exploitation as possible.

Technology, no matter how good and perfect, remains a dead letter if it lacks people capable of using it. Therefore, in this five-year plan, too, the Party will take particular care for the growth and training of the working class and the leading ca-

dres, as a decisive factor for mastering technology and raising labour productivity.

The implementation of the effective measures provided for in the 3rd Five-year Plan in the field of the technical and vocational training of cadres will create the conditions for a more rapid march towards the elimination of the existing discrepancy between the needs for cadres and their availability, on one hand, and the level of the technology and their professional training, on the other.

The solution of these problems, which have first-hand importance for raising labour productivity and building socialism, is closely connected with the reorganization of general and vocational education.

The organization and utilization of work time — an important condition for the raising of labour productivity. The problems that have to do with the fixing of output rates and in general the socialist organization of work have a profound economic, political and social content, and as such, have consistently drawn the attention of the Party. The number of workers working according to fixed output rates has gone on increasing in all the branches and sectors of our economy. Good work has begun to be done in revisioning upwards experimental-statistical output norms and replacing them with technical ones.

Technical norms are a great mobilizing force, a sound basis for raising labour productivity. They are set on the basis of the average indices of productivity already achieved so as to draw the broad

masses of the workers up to the level of their advanced comrades.

Taking into account the socialist principle of remunerating work according to its quantity and quality, during this five-year plan the Party will adopt a series of important measures designed to make the system of wages an even stronger incentive for raising production and labour productivity.

Socialist emulation — a great social force in raising labour productivity. One of the characteristic features of the socialist organization of labour in our country is the fact that the workers are directly interested in increasing labour productivity. The fact that they are working for themselves, for the society, and not for the capitalist, develops great conscientiousness and an exemplary attitude towards work. This is the source of the birth and development of such wonderful initiatives as the «1+2» method¹ for the qualification of the workers, the movement for every worker to fulfil the norms, and, above all, the great social movement of brigades which are struggling to earn the title, «Socialist Labour Brigade» under the slogan, «We must work, learn and live in a socialist way».

It is the duty of the Party and the Trade Union organizations to support any workers' initiative, to generalize and publicize it in every way. Thus they open broader horizons to the development of the

¹ A method of raising the technical-professional abilities of workers. According to this method a skilled worker pledged to train two more workers to the level of his own qualification.

productive forces of the country as a powerful factor in the increase of the productivity of social labour at even higher rates.

b) *Special attention must be paid to fulfilling the plan not only in quantity, but also in quality.* The establishment of a series of industrial works, with an advanced equipment, the reconstruction and modernization of the existing industry, the raising of the level of mechanization of construction work, the work done for the training and qualification of cadres have created favourable conditions and real possibilities for the radical improvement of quality. The measures taken for the standardization of products, the changing of the methodology of planning, and the organization of offices, laboratories, etc. to check on quality have also been to this end.

The industrial enterprises and those of construction have all the possibilities to provide the people with high quality goods and work. The time has come for every enterprise or economic organization to concentrate its attention on fulfilling quality indices of production.

It has been noticed that during recent years many working collectives have turned out high quality products and constructions, which the people have eagerly welcomed, such as the products of the «Stalin» textile combine, those of the cement works in Vlora, of the timber processing cooperative at Pogradec, and of many others. But this is only the beginning of the great work ahead of us. Therefore the party organizations, in the first place, must wage a fierce and persistent fight against all

alien manifestations, against narrow departmental interests, and against the spirit of tolerance, which are observed here and there.

The struggle to raise quality is, at the same time, the struggle to increase production and raise the material and cultural level of the working people. Therefore, in the future the party organizations must display greater care for the organization of production, to ensure respect for and extension of State standards and of technical conditions, for the establishment and application of the advanced technological processes. But the improvement of the quality is inconceivable without an ever increasing level of allround and systematic technical control, without raising the people's feeling of personal responsibility.

c) *We Must Further Strengthen the Regime of Savings.* The fulfilment of the magnificent program of the Party for the construction of socialism requires the mobilization and rational use of all material and financial values, the establishment of a strict regime of saving in the people's economy and throughout all the State and social activity in our country.

The Party has educated the cadres and the working people that, while exploiting the great objective possibilities of the socialist order, they must discover and use the internal reserves of production for the further growth of financial resources, and must use them in favour of the development of the economy and for the improvement of material and cultural conditions of the working masses.

In this way it was possible to put into practice the recommendations of the 3rd Congress of the Party for the increase of production, the reduction of costs, and the reduction of non-productive expenses, providing the people's economy with savings above the plan. After the December 1959 Plenum of the Central Committee of the Party, the struggle to economize everywhere, to manage the people's assets and money well, to raise socialist consciousness on the job to a higher level, has become especially vigorous. It is estimated that at the end of 1960 in the economic sector the reduction of costs exceeded the targets set by the 3rd Congress of the Party by 700 million leks. The new tasks which are put before our economy in the 3rd Five-year Plan require an even greater mobilization of our internal material and financial resources. Special importance, with regard to savings, must be attached to the rational exploitation of raw materials, to other materials, fuel, etc.

The systematic reduction of the norms of consumption of materials and especially of imported materials, saving and replacing materials in short supply, must be a permanent duty of the economic and State organs. In this direction we still have great possibilities. The application of advanced methods and experience, improvement of the quality of raw materials, the application of technical norms of the consumption of materials are important factors which ensure the saving of material and monetary values.

In the struggle for the establishment of the

regime of savings it must be kept in mind that non-productive expenditure must be reduced, turnover must be speeded up, enterprises must increasingly meet their expenditure from their income, and unnecessary administrative costs must be reduced.

The struggle for the establishment and further strengthening of the savings regime is closely linked with the work of the Party to inculcate in the workers the socialist consciousness of the need to protect the common property of the people. Damage to and mismanagement of socialist property must be considered as a reflection of the class struggle. Therefore, besides the educational work, which must be intensified, we must never slacken our revolutionary vigilance.

The party organizations, the mass organizations, the managers of the economy, and all the workers must clearly understand that the struggle for the achievement of the planned targets is inevitably connected with the struggle for savings. The problem of further strengthening of the savings regime must be made a problem of the masses and subjected to the check-up. The workers' initiatives for the reduction of expenses and the strengthening of the savings regime must be supported and encouraged. The Party should continue to inculcate in the masses of the working people great respect for socialist property and instil in the workers the sense of strict frugality.

2 — The Further Development of Agriculture during the 3rd Five-year Plan

Agriculture is one of the basic branches of the people's economy, which in 1959, accounted for 42.8 per cent of the national income. Proceeding from the great importance which agriculture has for the socialist construction of the country and from the fact that 62.7 per cent of the population is engaged in agriculture, the Party has always devoted special attention to its development, as it is to every aspect of the socialist construction in the countryside.

The 3rd Five-year Plan envisages a considerable rise in the material and cultural standards of the working people of our country. Industry in general will be extended, and especially light industry and the food processing industry. The successful achievement of these important tasks is closely linked with a considerable increase in agricultural and livestock products. Therefore, the measures taken for the rapid development of agriculture have an important place. During the 3rd Five-year Plan, *the main task in agriculture remains the increase of grain production. Along with this, other agricultural and livestock products must increase, too, on such a scale as to ensure satisfactory supplies for the people, to adequately fulfil the needs of industry for raw material, and to increase exports.*

Measures must be taken so that in 1965 agricultural and livestock products will be increased over 1960 levels as follows: bread grain 95 per cent,

cotton 65 per cent, tobacco 112 per cent, sugar-beet 75 per cent, vegetables and potatoes 109 per cent, olives 181 per cent, fruit and grapes 90 per cent, milk 58 per cent, meat (live weight) 34 per cent, wool 44 per cent, etc.

On what does our Party base itself in putting forward such targets for the rapid upsurge of agriculture and the increase of the agricultural and livestock products during the 3rd Five-year Plan?

First, on the new conditions created with the completion, in general, of collectivization, on the results of the cooperatives up-to-date, as well as on the measures which will be taken for their economic-organizational strengthening during the 3rd Five-year Plan.

Second, on the level which the mechanization of agriculture has reached and on the measures envisaged for its further extension. We need only say that in 1965, as compared with 1960, the volume of the mechanized work will be almost doubled, while the tractors available will be more than doubled. For this purpose, 2,600 billion leks will be invested, that is nearly three times more than the 1st Five-year Plan and 8 per cent more than the 2nd Five-year Plan.

Third, on the draining and protection of a great part of the most fertile plains of our country, as well as on the extension of the irrigated area, which were carried out during the 2nd Five-year Plan. The work in this direction will continue on a large scale during the 3rd Five-year Plan, too, investing for this purpose 3,693 billion leks, or 18

per cent more than in the 2nd Five-year Plan, and 2.5 times more than in the 1st Five-year Plan.

Fourth, on the breaking-in of 63,000 hectares of virgin land and on the waging of a more determined struggle by all the working people in agriculture to increase productivity.

The drainage of land, through working of it, especially periodical deep ploughing 30-40 centimetres deep, for field crops, the struggle for accumulation and good use of the organic manures, the use of selected seeds, the carrying out of agrotechnical services on time, the fight against agricultural pests and diseases, the raising of the level of agrotechnical knowledge of the workers in agriculture and the training of a larger number of specialized cadres and leaders for the agricultural cooperatives and for the needs of agriculture in general, all these measures must be supervised and be faithfully carried out by the State organs, by the workers in agriculture and the party organizations, because they are closely linked with achievement of the targets put forward for agriculture during the five-year plan ahead of us.

Under the 1st and 2nd Five-year Plans the breaking-in of virgin land and the extension of the area under crops was the task of first importance, while under the 3rd Five-year Plan along with breaking-in new land the main task is the increase of crop yields. *Therefore, without ceasing the struggle to break-in new land, the main road for the development of agriculture and for the increase of the agricultural products, under the 3rd Five-year Plan and later, is the unceasing increase*

of crop yields. In this direction, if we work properly, there are inexhaustible reserves. With this concept of the importance of the increase in crop yields, during the 3rd Five-year Plan it is envisaged that the area under crops will be extended only 13 per cent, while the total volume of agricultural and livestock production will increase 72 per cent.

The targets for the increase of agricultural and livestock products in the 3rd Five-year Plan are set very high, but it is entirely possible to achieve them. Hence, on the basis of our conditions as a country with a very limited arable land, it is necessary to take measures to go over everywhere to intensive agriculture.

The increase of mechanization, extension of the irrigated area and the drainage and protection of the plains create favourable conditions for the intensification of agriculture. With the exception of some mountainous districts, we must fight to get two or three crops per year from the cultivated area. For the irrigated lands this matter is beyond dispute, but even in the unirrigated areas, if it is not possible to get two crops of grain a year, it is entirely possible, following grain or some other usual crops, to plant forage crops the same year, as the Party has always stressed. The State and agricultural organs, the party organizations and the working people of agriculture, especially the agronomists and technicians, must consider the taking of two and three crops a year from each hectare of land as a very important duty for the development of agriculture and the increase of agricultural and livestock products.

The intensification of agriculture over a wide area, the taking of two and three crops a year from the same land, the raising of more livestock for every 100 hectares of land, the increase of income for every hectare of land under cultivation, etc. are closely related to the exploitation of the great reserves of the land. . .

Comrades,

I wish to deal especially with the question of the agricultural cooperatives. Today they constitute almost all the agriculture of the country. To a large extent, the fulfilment of the targets of the plan for the rapid development of agriculture and livestock farming and for the increase of agricultural livestock production depends on the successful running of the agricultural cooperatives.

During the 2nd Five-year Plan, the Party scored an historic victory with the completion, in general, of the collectivization of agriculture, but we cannot put our minds to rest and think that from now on the problems of agriculture will be easily solved, without great efforts and brain-racking.

The large economies which have already been created must be managed with the greatest thrift in order to become truly advanced economies, in which all their branches will be developed harmoniously. Our agricultural cooperatives are very far from such a standard. Therefore, while the struggle of the Party and State organs in the countryside during the 2nd Five-year Plan was concentrated on

the completion of the collectivization of agriculture in general, during the 3rd Five-year Plan the *main task is to strengthen the agricultural cooperatives economically and organizationally, so as to make them powerful and highly profitable economies.*

This is not a simple task and it cannot be solved either by decisions and by decrees, or by agitation and propaganda. It demands a careful study of the situation of each cooperative, their conditions and possibilities to develop the different branches of their economy, as well as the perspective for each of them.

All these great problems must be studied in a complex manner. The direction of the cooperative or the development of its branches cannot be decided without taking into consideration the conditions of the soil and climate, the manpower and the working means, and the profitability of the development of one branch or another, etc. The harmonious development of the branches in the agricultural cooperatives should always be considered from the angle of the profitability of the cooperative and the tasks assigned to it under the State plan.

Special care must be shown for the cooperatives of the mountainous and hilly districts. Up to now they have a one-sided development, their members get little income even when they put in a great number of work-days, although it often happens that they do not use all their manpower. We must give these cooperatives special, first-hand assistance. We must thoroughly study every econo-

my and point out not only the branches to be developed, but also the types of crops which can be best raised and bring greater income both to the cooperative and to the State.

Along with the work which must be done for the organizational and economic strengthening of the agricultural cooperatives, during the 3rd Five-year Plan the State organs, especially those of agriculture, and the district party organizations must always keep in mind the perspective development of the villages, which must be not only centres of the agricultural economy but important inhabited centres, cultural and educational centres as well, which truly represent the new socialist village.

Seeing the future of our countryside in this light, now that agricultural cooperatives and their members, especially those of the lowlands, are achieving a good income, which may be employed for constructions, dwelling houses, etc., we must look to it that all these investments are well studied so as to serve as a basis for the future development of the countryside.

The work for the unification of the small cooperatives in larger units must be continued carefully during the coming years, too. The Party must work for the unification of the small cooperatives into bigger ones, especially in lowlands, but cooperatives larger than 700-1000 hectares of land must not be allowed. This would make their management very difficult and instead of bringing benefits unification would damage the work. In the mountainous regions the unification of cooperatives must be done very cautiously, and only where

it is seen as indispensable, when the cooperatives are too small and close to one another.

The unification of small cooperatives has great importance for the future of agriculture, for in this way the possibilities are created for better exploitation of the reserves which the agricultural economy has, the development of the branches of agriculture can be combined better, investments for the development of the economy are used more correctly and a better distribution of manpower and working means is carried out, the many expenses met by the small agricultural cooperatives of today both for administration as well as for other purposes are reduced.

In each case we must take good look of the cadres who will manage the enlarged cooperative. The cooperative can advance only when it has capable cadres at the head of the united economy. Therefore, the sending to the cooperatives of selected cadres who are working in the Party or in the State administration, as well as those who are studying in the higher economic schools or party schools, and the raising of the management capacity of the existing cadres in the agricultural cooperatives, remain important tasks for the future which the party organizations and State organs must attend to.

For the smooth running of the agricultural cooperatives, the implementation of the Constitution of the cooperative, the organization of the work and fair payment for it, and the wide participation of all the able-bodied members at the cooperative in the collective economy are indispensable condi-

tions. Now that we have accumulated the necessary experience, time has come to introduce more widely, but with proper care, some new improved forms, for the organization, remuneration, and planning of the work. Thus, for instance, the allocation of different funds, especially that of social aid, as well as the distribution of the income, must be done in such a manner so as to encourage the cooperativists to increase agricultural production and their participation in work. In some cooperatives where the possibilities have been created the provision of pensions for members, who no longer fit for work, sick leave, assistance to mothers with many children, etc., can be started gradually. A compulsory minimum number of the work days per year and per month must be fixed, too. The establishment of creches and kindergartens and collective bakeries must be organized better, the role of the representative bodies, especially in the enlarged cooperatives, of brigades, presidiums and control commissions, must be raised. These and other problems must be thoroughly studied and properly reflected in the model Constitution, and in the Constitution of each cooperative. Along with these, some other forms of remuneration, which are applicable under the different conditions of each cooperative and understandable to all, must be studied in detail and submitted to the coming congress of the agricultural cooperatives which should be held this year.

In the successful solution of all the problems of the economic and organizational strengthening of agricultural cooperatives, the leading cadres play

a decisive role. The training and qualification of the cadres of the agricultural cooperatives remains one of the most important tasks. Therefore, the work in the schools of the agricultural cooperatives, in the agricultural technical schools, in the Agricultural Institute, as well as in the other educational institutions, must be improved.

The further development of agriculture as whole, and particularly that of some branches which are still lagging behind, for instance livestock farming and fruit-growing, is closely linked with a complex of important measures, the targets for which have been defined correctly in the 3rd Five-year draft Plan. *The proper utilization of the agricultural machines, the completion on time, maintenance and proper use of the drainage and irrigation works, the successful fulfilment of the afforestation plan, economy in the use of timber, and protection of the land from erosion must always be the focal points of the attention of the working people of agriculture and the Party, and must be made the concern of the masses.*

The Party has always practised a correct Marxist-Leninist policy towards the peasantry. It will carry out this policy resolutely in the future, too. During the 3rd Five-year Plan, besides the huge investments, which will be made by the State for the mechanization of agriculture, for irrigation and land improvement works, various kinds of aid for the development of agriculture will be made available to the peasantry, for instance, agrarian credits, chemical fertilizers, selected seeds, fruit-tree saplings, etc., worth thousands of millions of ieks.

3. — The Tasks of the 3rd Five-year Plan for the Material Wellbeing of the Working Masses

Guided by the fundamental economic law of socialism, during this five-year plan we shall take important measures to raise the level of material wellbeing and culture of the working masses, in order to make the life of the people better, happier, and more prosperous.

On the basis of the increase of the volume of the industrial and agricultural production, at the end of 1965, as compared with 1960, the national income will increase by 56 per cent. At the same time, the real wages of the workers and employees will increase by 30 per cent, and the real income of the peasantry by 35 per cent. The increase of real wages is envisaged mainly through the increase of nominal wages and the reduction of the prices of retail goods. Hence the real income of the working people will increase, and in this way their purchasing power will be raised. Under these conditions *the working people of State and cooperative trade face very important tasks for the uninterrupted distribution of goods from the producer to the consumer. Having a more thorough knowledge of the needs of the people, they must give further encouragement to industrial and agricultural production of ever higher quality.*

The Party and economic organs must work harder in order to raise the level of the service, technique and culture in trade, taking into consideration that in 1965, as compared with 1960, the

circulation of the goods will be 38 per cent higher. The following increases in goods will be sold to the people through the trade network: sugar 126 per cent, fats 68 per cent, among others, meat 83 per cent, fish 124 per cent, beans 96 per cent, rice 118 per cent, vegetables 40 per cent, among others, potatoes 122 per cent, sawn timber 73 per cent, cement 117 per cent, nails 73 per cent, glass 183 per cent, cotton textiles 61 per cent, woollen textiles 53 per cent, footwear 113 per cent, and so on. Greater attention will be paid to the extension of the production and selling of building materials, articles for children, and those which lighten the burden on the housewife. During the 3rd Five-year Plan the organs of agriculture, wholesale purchase and trade must ensure fulfilment of the needs of the population for vegetables and potatoes and cope better with the demands for meat and milk.

The victory of socialism in the countryside requires the activation of the consumer cooperatives as economic organizations of the masses so that they serve the members at the proper time and fulfil their requirements better.

The Party instructs the working people of commerce to be ready to put all their abilities at the service of the people. The time has come when the working people of commerce must master the skills of their profession better and improve their work. It must be understood that our socialist commerce, as J. V. Stalin has said,

«...is our work, a work which we have created, a bolshevik work, and that when

*they work honestly, the working people of commerce, including here even the salespeople in the small shops, are performing our revolutionary bolshevik work»**

During this five-year plan foreign trade matters assume special importance. The working people of this sector face great tasks. The volume of foreign trade is up about 65-70 per cent as compared with that of the second five-year plan, of which exports 90-95 per cent and imports about 50-55 per cent. We shall continue to develop economic and trade ties with the countries of the socialist camp. Respecting the known principles of the mutual benefit and nonintervention in internal affairs, we shall develop commercial exchanges with all the capitalist countries that wish to have such relations with our state.

Export goods must increase continuously in quantity and assortment. There are great prospects open to the export of the minerals, cigarettes and tobacco, the products of the food industry, preserves, wine, and fresh fruit and vegetables. Our producers and the foreign trade organs must ensure that these products are of high quality. They must work to protect and raise the reputation of their factory's brand and this should become a matter of honour.

Reduction of imports should be the concern of all the working people of our country. All the

* J. V. Stalin, Works, vol. 13, pp. 328-330 (Alb. ed.).

economic, state and party organs should do better work in this regard. The employees of foreign trade must ensure the orders, contracts and the arrival of imported goods at the proper time.

During the years of the 3rd Five-year Plan we envisage further extension of the tourist bases, because the beauties of nature and the climate conditions allow us to do this.

Wide prospects open for the construction and extension of the fund of housing during the 3rd Five-year Plan. About 6,500 million leks, or 75 per cent more than during the period of the 2nd Five-year-Plan, will be spent for this purpose. About 1,360,000 square metres of dwelling space will be built, which represents approximately the total housing of five new towns like present-day Vlora. A great and ever-increasing socialist asset has been placed in the hands of the working people. Therefore it is the duty of all to look after it like the apple of our eye.

Important measures will be taken for the further extension of communal services. During the 3rd Five-year Plan new water supply systems will be built and the existing network will be extended. The further electrification of the towns, and especially of the villages, will take a great leap forward. Considerable funds will be spent for the tidying up and beautification of the towns and other inhabited centres. Without doubt our people will make their own contributions to the solution of the numerous communal problems as they have done up to date. The party organs will know the right way to organize the

initiative of the masses in town and countryside for the flowering of our beloved Homeland.

The Party will show even greater care in the future for the protection and improvement of the health of the people, to lengthen the life of man. To carry on the good results which have been achieved, it is necessary to give more attention to improvement of the work in all sectors of health, and especially to hygiene and prophylaxis, for the propagation of health education among the working masses. In 1965 we shall have 6.5 hospital beds for every 1,000 inhabitants. The medical personnel will be greatly increased and at the end of the five-year plan we shall have one doctor for every 1,600 inhabitants.

The carrying out of this program will raise the standard of life of our people to a higher level and will create conditions to make the family life of every worker happier and more pleasant.

4. — The Training of Cadres and the Development of Education, Culture and Science during the Coming Five-year Plan.

The all-round development of our country on the road of socialist construction, the progress of technique and science, bring out the first-rate importance of the need to raising the educational and cultural standards of the masses, the need to ensure cadres for all the sectors of the economy and culture. Therefore, the problem of cadres, of training them at a faster rate and in a proportional way for all the sectors, the development of

education, the extension of the network of schools and strengthening them, the work of the educational, cultural, ideological and professional uplift of the working people, are among the most immediate and important problems, which are facing the Party today. To a large extent, the fulfilment of the tasks for the development of our economy and culture, not only for this five-year plan, but for the future also, is dependent on the successful solution of these problems.

The 3rd Five-year Plan will mark an important turn in the training of cadres because now the possibilities for carrying better and faster with the great needs in this direction have been increased.

In setting the targets for the training of cadres the Central Committee and the Government have been careful to preserve correct proportions among the sectors of the economy and culture, keeping in mind the sectors most backward and most vital in this period, as well as the prospects of the development of various sectors in the future. Thus, for example, the number of engineers will be much increased — from 870 existing today to 2,290. Whereas we had one middle and higher cadre for every 31 workers in industry and mining in 1955, today in the mines we have 1 such specialist for every 13 workers, and in 1965, despite the growth of the working class, we shall have one for every five workers, while for every higher cadre there will be two to three middle cadres.

Agriculture will have 1,150 agronomists as compared with 570 at present. In 1965, in general, we shall have one agronomist for every 600 hecta-

res of land, whereas today we have one agronomist for every 1,200 hectares, and one middle agricultural technician for every 330 hectares, while today there is one for every 650 hectares.

Important measures have been envisaged for the training and qualification of cadres for the health service, education, science, arts, and other sectors of the economy and culture.

The solution of the problem of the cadres, the carrying out of the tasks for their training and qualification, require that the whole Party and all the State organs take up the matter concretely.

The 3rd Congress of the Party also pointed out to the party and State organs that in the work for training cadres they should keep well in mind the disproportion between the high level of the equipment and the low level of our workers. Despite the results achieved, the disproportion in this regard continues to exist. The main reason is that the party organizations and the leaders of the enterprises show little care for the promotion of the workers through their practice to middle technicians and for the qualification, in the first place, of those workers who play the most decisive role in the process of work and production.

The Party has always stressed that evening and correspondence schools for adults are a great reserve for the training of cadres and raising the level of their skills.

For the fulfilment of the needs for qualified workers and specialist cadres and to raise the educational and cultural level of the working masses

in general, the source is the further development and extension of schooling for the people.

Among the various measures for the extension of education, *the most important link in the 3rd Five-year Plan is the extension of 7-year schooling and later 8-year schooling*, which ensures the necessary contingents for all the other categories of school. In the end of the 3rd Five-year Plan we shall include in the 5th class of the 8-year schooling system 80 per cent of the children who graduate elementary schools and create conditions for the implementation of the general compulsory 8-year schooling within the coming decade. The number of pupils in the secondary schools will be almost doubled.

Following the Educational Reform of 1946 which profoundly democratized our school system and paved the way for the creation of the new socialist school, the reorganization of our school system, based on the fundamental Marxist-Leninist principles of linking learning with production work, is the greatest and most important step in the field of education.

As the Plenum of the Central Committee¹ decided, the reorganization of the school will begin to be applied gradually from the 1963-64 school

¹ This Plenum was convened in October 1960. It discussed the report of the Political Bureau of the CC «On the Reorganization of the School and the Further Development of the Educational System», and taking into consideration the conclusions of the popular discussion that had begun in the June of that year about

year. But it is clear that our school should prepare itself and begin to march right now on the basis of the important principles of the reorganization laid down by our Party. The solution of these tasks requires that the necessary economic, organizational, and pedagogical measures should be taken in time. The Ministry of Education should take measures right now for the drafting of plans, programs and text books and for working out the schedules and new instructions which will be needed for the reorganized school. At the same time the education organs and the party organizations, in cooperation with the working people in production, should be thinking about ensuring the work fronts in production for the pupils, as well as the technical and teaching personnel. It is necessary that the education organs, under the care of the party committees, should carefully study the experience accumulated by the experimental schools and take measures to publicize this experience.

Parallel with the preparation for and putting into effect of the reorganization of the school, a very important problem facing us is the improvement of the quality of teaching, which finds its expression in the increased real progress of the pupils. The weak progress of the pupils is the

the theses of the CC of the PLA and the Council of Ministers of the PRA, decided on the reorganization of the school and the educational system on the basis of the principles embodied in those theses: linking the school with life and production work.

most serious problem at present in our educational work. To some extent, this situation is a consequence of the rapid expansion and development of schooling in our country and can be explained by a certain backwardness of the development of schooling in depth and quality as compared with its development in extension and quantity. But the main causes of this situation should be sought in the work of the school, in the work of the teaching staff. The problem of the improvement of the pupils' progress can and must be solved, first and foremost, by the teachers themselves. Our Party and people have surrounded the teachers with special care and honour. They highly esteem the noble work that the teachers have done and are doing for the extension of schooling to the most remote corners of our country, for the communist education of younger generation, for the dissemination of culture among the masses. But even more work is required from our teachers. The teachers should not forget that every hour of every day they are educating and training our younger generation, that they have in their hands nearly one fifth of the population of our country whom they must equip with culture. This lofty and noble mission is an honour for them, but at the same time it charges them with responsibility to the people and our Homeland. Therefore, from the rostrum of this Congress, we once again appeal to our teachers to rally to their job with all their strength in order to raise the level of their teaching and educational work, to assure a high rate of progress of the pupils in their lessons, and to fur-

ther strengthen our school. This task cannot be achieved all at once or automatically. Its achievement requires from the teachers even more persistence in their work and greater efforts to raise their own ideological and professional level.

In the complex of the training of cadres in general, the training of teachers is one of the most serious and urgent problems. This is truly the key problem, the decisive link for the solution of all the main tasks in the field of education. During the 3rd Five-year Plan, the number of the teachers will increase from 11,000 at present to 17,000. During the 3rd Five-year Plan about 21,000 persons will go through the teacher training system, while the two-year teacher training institutes alone will be attended by over 4,000 students. A large number of teachers must be trained especially to teach natural sciences, mathematics, physics, chemistry and to give lessons on practical work and on general technical subjects. The difficulty of securing educational cadres is connected not only with the number of them, but also with their respective educational level, because, as is known, we are very backward in this direction, and especially in the 7-year schools. Therefore, in 1965 the number of teachers with the necessary education in the elementary schools will reach 90 per cent, as compared with 50 per cent at present, in the 7-year schools it will reach 63 per cent, as compared with 24 per cent at present, and in the secondary schools it will increase from 63 per cent at present to 90 per cent. The number of pedagogues with higher education will increase from 1,000 at pre-

sent to over 2,000 in 1965, that is, some hundreds more than the total number of teachers in our country during the regimes of the past.

The training of these thousands of new teachers and the raising of their educational level to the necessary height, must be a great action, not only for the Ministry of Education and its organs, but also for the entire State and the Party, for the youth organization, the trade unions, and the women's union.

The question of education in our socialist society is a general problem of the state and society, a matter for the whole people. Therefore, in the field of education the Party should create an overall united front of efforts and make this a problem of the masses, the parents, and all the citizens, a problem of the entire society.

The socialist construction of our country, the development of the material and the technical base of production, the solution of the problems connected with the further development of the productive forces and the speeding up of the pace of training higher cadres, *require greater and more persistent work on the part of our higher cadres and all the scientific working people, in order to extend the basis for the development of science in our country.*

The establishment of the State University of Tirana created more favourable conditions for raising the training of cadres to a higher level and for the development of scientific work in broad fields of knowledge. But despite the successes achieved in the field of scientific research, espe-

cially in recent years, the development of scientific work is not yet up to the level of the needs of the times and is proceeding at a slow pace, in comparison with the demands of the socialist construction.

In order to overcome this backwardness and to further develop scientific work on a sounder basis, the Central Committee of the Party recently approved the 10-15-year plan of scientific research in our country. For the further development of scientific studies, it is necessary that, parallel with the development of the humanitarian and agricultural sciences, the natural and technical sciences, too, should be developed rapidly so that study of the natural resources of our country and their maximum utilization can be carried out.

In the field of natural sciences, research work should be directed towards the chemical and the physical study of the useful minerals of our country as well as towards their practical exploitation, towards the laws of the occurrence and distribution of chromites, copper, etc., towards the cataloguing of the useful plants and flora of Albania, etc.

The work of scientific research in the field of technical sciences should be developed in studying the regionalization and standardization of buildings, re-inforced concrete constructions, the hydro-energetic resources of the rivers and the modelling of the hydro-technical projects, as well as in studying the electrification of our country.

The further development of studies in the field of agriculture should be concentrated, in the first place, as it has been up to the present, on the

problems of increasing grain production, of raising the yields and the qualities of industrial crops, as well as on the problems of fruit-growing, the fodder base and breed improvement in livestock farming.

In the field of medical sciences, the main task is the clinical study of the diseases that occur in our country and the measures to diminish or eliminate them.

In this phase of the development of the historical and philological sciences, an important task is the thorough study of the key problems of our history, of our literary language, the history of Albanian literature, etc. As has been stressed in various decisions of the Central Committee of the Party, the work in the field of the history of the material culture, especially in regard to the Illyrian and the early Albanian periods, as well as in the field of the history of arts and the preservation and restoration of monuments, should be extended.

In the field of economic, juridical and philosophical sciences, research work should be concentrated on the main problems, such as the special features of the transition from capitalism to socialism in the People's Republic of Albania, on studying the birth and the development of our State and socialist law, and the laws of the construction of socialist society in the People's Republic of Albania.

The organization of the scientific work on a sound basis, by carrying out a concentrated work and by organizing complex studies, as well as the successful realization of the great tasks which

lie before us in the field of science for the next 10-15 years require, first of all, the training of a large collective of scientific workers, especially in the field of natural and technical sciences, and work with perspective for the future establishment and organization of scientific institutes for the successful development of scientific research. Efforts should be made for a better combination of all scientific forces with the material means at our disposal. Scientific work, which serves the construction of socialism at a rapid rate, should be supported without hesitation by the leaders of the ministries and production centres, considering it as an important State task, which is organically linked with their concrete tasks for the construction of socialism.

The Central Committee of the Party is fully confident that our men of science, like all the working people of our country, will strive with might and main to push ahead with scientific work, to solve important problems of production and of the socialist construction of the country. In their noble work, they will enjoy, as always, the unsparing aid and support of our Party and our people's power, so that our young socialist science will advance and flourish.

The great economic tasks of the 3rd Five-year Plan, the rapid pace of the construction of socialism require the raising of the culture of the masses to a higher level, in order to achieve a greater and more conscious mobilization of the masses in the struggle for the construction of socialism. . .

IV

ON CERTAIN PROBLEMS OF STRENGTHENING THE PARTY

Comrades,

The decisive factor in all the successes we have achieved and those we are going to achieve in the future, is our Party of Labour, its organizing and leading role, its always correct policy. All our people, all our communists, are proud of their Party because it is only under its wise, far-sighted and courageous leadership that the beautiful dreams of our working people have become and are becoming reality.

The great heroic struggle, the indefatigable and selfless work, tempered and steeled our Party, made it brave and indomitable, a capable leader that enjoys the complete trust of all the working masses of our country. The strength of our Party lies in its unwavering loyalty to Marxism-Leninism, in its unity, in its indissoluble ties with the people who gave it birth and raised it. Our whole Party is rallied around its Central Committee to a man. The steel-like unity and solidarity of the ranks of the Party have always been one of the distinctive characteristics of our Party of Labour. Always, and especially of the most important moments of the history of our Party and people, the unbreakable unity of the whole Party and the entire people around the Party, the readiness of

everyone to carry out the correct Marxist-Leninist line of our Party resolutely and without hesitation, has been displayed with its full might.

The whole Party has guarded the unity of its ranks like the apple of its eye, fighting with all its strength and without the slightest hesitation against every enemy that has attempted to violate this unity in the slightest. Towards those communists who have made mistakes but have recognized the error of their ways, our Party has displayed great care and patience. But towards the enemies of Marxism-Leninism, towards the deserters and those who have attempted to split our unity, the Party has shown itself stern and merciless, and it will always be so. In our unity lies our strength, in our unity lies our invincibility, in our unity lies the guarantee of all our successes.

The further continuous strengthening of our Party is one of our main tasks, because the Party is the leading, organizing, and guiding force of the whole life of our country, because, as great Lenin has said, in it

«... we see the mind, the honour and the conscience of our era».*

The Yugoslav revisionists, who have built up a whole «theory» about the «diminishing role of the Party» and its «withering away» in the conditions of the construction of socialism, aim precisely here, to strike at the heart, the brain, the head of our movement. The fact that the imperialists and their lackeys, the revisionists, have aimed

* V. I. Lenin, Works, Vol. 25, p. 303 (Alb. ed.).

their main blows against the Party increases our conviction that we must strengthen our Party more and more and increase its role as leader and organizer.

From the 3rd to the 4th Congress, the organizational work of our Party has been strengthened a great deal. In the all-round activity for the implementation of the tasks which the 3rd Congress of the Party laid down in this field, the organizing role of the Party has increased, its composition has been improved, the level of the party basic organizations has been raised, the method of work of all party organs has been improved, and the organizations of the masses have been invigorated and activated better. All these things have assisted the generally successful fulfilment of the important tasks which the 2nd Five-year Plan set before our people.

But the new conditions, the majestic tasks which this historic Congress of our Party is putting forward, require that the level of the organizational work of our Party must be raised still higher. . .

2. The Main Problem Today in the Organizational Matters of the Party Is to Strengthen the Role and Raise the Level of the Work in the Party Basic Organizations

Always having a correct appreciation of the role of the Party basic organizations as the foundation of the Party, during this period, too, the

Central Committee and the district committees of the Party have paid great attention of the all-round strengthening of their work. Now the force of the party basic organizations and their role in the solution of all the problems is felt everywhere. On the basis of the directives of the 3rd Congress the extension and distribution of the party forces have been improved. Now in all the sectors we have 3,336 party basic organizations, or 188 more than we had at the time of the 3rd Congress, and in the production centres we have 6,082 more communists than at that time. *Thus we may say that today the extension and distribution of the party forces fully responds to the tasks facing us.* This fact and the constant assistance of the Central Committee and of the district and city committees, as well as the struggle for the implementation of the line of the Party, have raised the level of the work of the party basic organizations still higher.

But bearing in mind the major tasks facing us, the need arises for further improvement of the work of the party basic organizations and an increase in their abilities.

First, we must further improve the work of the party basic organizations in the State enterprises and the cooperatives for the management of production. Now, for every basic organization working in production, new conditions have been created in connection with the new requirements laid down for the improvement of all quality indices of production, as well as with the great extension and development of the agricultural coopera-

tives. Therefore, these organizations must carry out more thorough-going and concrete work, in order to exert an effective influence on the growth and improvement of production. In this direction the work has begun well, but it must be continued and carried through to the end. Here the attention of the Party should be concentrated in three main directions: to draw in the collective opinion of the Party, and indeed of the non-party masses, in order to find the weak points in the work of the enterprise or of the cooperative, as well as to find the ways to eliminate them; to organize the work with people properly, to make the tasks clear to everybody, to work for the raising of their technical and professional abilities and for the assimilation of advanced experience, etc.; to ensure a more effective check-up by the the party basic organizations on the activity of the administration of the enterprise.

By making the administrations of the enterprises face up to their responsibilities for the weaknesses which are observed, by not allowing them to tolerate these shortcomings and deficiencies, and by mobilizing the masses properly to overcome these difficulties, the successful fulfillment of all the targets of the plan will be ensured. Of course, care must be taken to avoid the situation in which the party basic organizations displace and take over the functions of the economic organs and State organs. Such a thing would be very harmful both to the work and to the cadres, but they must be made to face up to their responsibility for the performance of their duties, must be given

assistance in carrying them out and constantly checked up on.

The most important condition for strengthening the check-up by the party basic organization on the activity of the management of the enterprises, and in general, for enhancing the leading role of the Party in production, is to increase the interest of all the communists in the outcome of the work in the enterprise and the carrying out of all tasks.

Greater attention must be paid, also, to the improvement of the work of the party basic organizations in the State administration bodies and the cultural, educational and scientific institutions. A large number of communists are working in these organizations, and the work at the base is heavily dependent on their work. It has to be said that the deficiencies which lead to failure by various enterprises to fulfil the targets of the plan are often connected with the weaknesses of the central administration in the work of giving leadership and assistance to the base. Therefore, work must be done to enhance the role of the party organizations of this apparatus for the overall improvement of its work. In this direction, the party basic organizations which are working in the government departments and other central institutions, as well as those of the local executive committees, or other administrative bodies at district level, must further extend the range of problems with which they deal, aiming mainly at the struggle against bureaucracy, at the strengthening of the

work of concrete management, in order to give the base greater and more effective assistance.

In the work for the overall raising of the role and level of the party basic organizations, first rate importance should be given to strengthening the internal life of the Party. The sound development of the internal life in the Party should serve to temper the communists to free them from their shortcomings, and divest them of the hangovers and mental attitudes of the strata from which they come, as well as to consolidate in them the lofty virtues of communist morality. The forge of the Party must temper those elements who enjoy the trust and great affection of all the working people with whom they live and work.

In this regard we should give first-rate importance to thorough and always principled discussion of issues which are raised in the party basic organizations, and especially to the development of criticism and self-criticism.

Another very serious problem for the party organizations is the strengthening of revolutionary vigilance. We have a wealth of experience in the struggle against enemies both inside and outside the ranks of the Party. In particular, we have waged a consistent, principled and correct struggle against Yugoslav revisionism. In the struggle against the enemies our Party has grown stronger and its members have been tempered. But the enemies have not ceased their activity, either against our Party and our country, or against the socialist camp and the international communist movement. And there is no doubt that they will con-

tinue this struggle as long as they live. Therefore, on this question we must not entertain any opportunist illusions. The protection of the Party from hostile elements is, in the first place, the duty of every communist, just as the struggle against any enemy of the Republic is the duty of every communist and of every patriot of our country. Therefore, we must raise the vigilance of the communists and the entire people to a higher level. We are strong and growing stronger from day to day, but this in no way allows us to close our eyes and sleep on our laurels. Experience teaches us that any slackening of our vigilance, however slight, is a plus for the enemy. . .

5. We Must Strengthen the Work of the Party for the Further Enhancement of the Role of the Mass Organizations

While working for the implementation of the tasks set by the 3rd Congress of the Party, all the mass organizations have considerably raised the level of their work during this period. The trade unions, under the leadership of the Party, have made obvious improvements in their work in drawing the mass of the workers, engineers, technicians and officials enthusiastically into the successful solution of production problems, into the struggle to increase the productivity of labour, to reduce costs, to utilize the internal reserves, to increase production and to develop the initiative and creative activity of the working class further.

During this period, there has also been an obvious increase in the concern of the trade unions about raising the political, cultural and technico-professional level of the mass of the working people as well as about the improvement of their working and living conditions.

During this period, the Albanian Labour Youth Union, under the direct leadership of the Party, has done better and more effective work for the communist education of the youth, has extended the forms and improved the content of all its work in this direction, thus making a great contribution to the training of the new man in our socialist society, while making our youth a great force always ready to go anywhere to carry out the tasks with which the Party charges it.

The Women's Organization, under the leadership of the Party, has successfully carried out the important task of drawing the masses of the women, in town and countryside, into production. Now the Women's Organization is effectively fighting for the raising of the cultural and professional level of the women, for their promotion to responsible posts. The Union of Albanian Women has been outstanding for its concern to know about and study at first hand the special problems of women and to practice interesting forms of work and activities appropriate to these problems.

The Democratic Front, also, has made an important contribution to the political and patriotic education of the people as well as to their mobilization in a number of economic actions in the public interest.

But the work with the masses, the regular and organized contact of the Party with them, is one of the main questions, a permanent task for us, therefore, in the future, too, we must further strengthen the work of the mass organizations as well as the work of the Party with them.

In the first place, we must take care that the mass organizations carry out properly their function as «levers» and «transmission belts» which link the Party with the masses. In this sense, they must not only carry the line of the Party to the masses and mobilize them to carry it out precisely, a task which is being done better and which must be done even better still in the future, but they must also bring back their thoughts, observations and suggestions to the Party, continually and regularly, because this enables the Party to give better leadership, to always take account of the demands of the masses and to check whether decisions taken are correct.

*«... We can govern only when we express correctly what the people feel»**,

The education of the masses is one of the main tasks of the Party. Taking into account the differing levels and demands of each stratum of the population of our country, as well as the specific problems and tasks they are faced with, the educational work of the Party with them should be differentiated also.

* V. I. Lenin. Works, Vol. 33, p. 336 (Alb. ed.).

Despite all the great work done so far for the education of the working class, we must give greater attention to this in the future. The trade unions are schools of communism, therefore they should intensify their work for the ideological and political uplift of the workers, to raise the level of their consciousness, for the mastering of technique. We should concentrate our main concern about the education of the working class on educating it in the socialist attitude towards work and the social property, in the spirit of collectivism, cooperation and mutual aid, in the spirit of innovation and incompatibility with every outworn practice, in the correct concept of personal and social interests, and the communist standards of behaviour in life and society. Among the masses in the countryside, the aim of our work should be the inculcation of socialist discipline at work, against laziness, the inculcation of a correct attitude towards the collective economy as the basis of the livelihood and future of the peasant, of the correct scientific world-outlook, against superstitions, empty beliefs, and harmful customs, with the sense of the new and against conservatism, for a more cultured life in the countryside. We must educate the youth with the standards of communist morality, with an irreconcilable attitude towards manifestations of bourgeois ideology, must enable them to increase their political and technical-professional knowledge, nurture them continuously with the glorious traditions of our people and with the heroism of our times, educate them with a socialist attitude towards work and social property, with love for

the Homeland and unwavering confidence in the triumph of the cause of socialism and communism. Among the masses of women a more effective fight must be waged against fanaticism and backward customs, against underestimation of their strength, against a number of unjust attitudes which are sometime maintained towards them by men, and which lead to violation of their rights and hinder them from taking a more active part in the whole life of the country. On the other hand, the work of raising the level of consciousness and the cultural and professional level of the women must be strengthened, with the aim that they themselves, and especially the girls, should fight more effectively for their rights and for their proper position in society.

An other important problem on which the Party must concentrate the attention of the mass organizations, and especially the Trade Unions of Albania and the Albanian Labour Youth Union, in the future, is the question of the discovery, study, and dissemination of advanced experience in production.

In our conditions, when the workers know and feel that they are working for themselves, for the happiness of their children, many new initiatives emerge, which have as their aim the better organization of work in production, the better utilization of working time, increased production, reduction of costs, that is to say, the development of the economy and culture of our country at higher rates. The thing is to know how to seize

on these movements as soon as they emerge, to support them and open the way to their full-scale development, to assist the implementation of them wherever the conditions exist.

In this direction, the trade unions and the youth organizations must give the Party a great deal of help. We can say that during the period between the two Congresses good work has been done as regards the support and relatively wide dissemination of these new and very important movements, such as that of brigades of socialist labour, the «1-2» movement for the education of cadres, the recent movement for every worker to fulfil his norms, the movement to achieve at least 300 work day in the agricultural cooperatives, etc. The party organizations and trade unions of economic enterprises in the towns of Tirana and Shkodra, as well as the village organizations of the Party and the Labour Youth Union of Albania in the towns of Lushnja and Fier, which have done the best job in the direction of the study, support and dissemination of new initiatives, are particularly to be commended. But it must be said that in this direction we are still only beginning to work well.

It is often considered that the important progressive experience which is to be supported and spread is that of a few individuals, outstanding in the whole Republic, who have achieved record results. There is no doubt that the example of the heroes of socialist labour should inspire all the workers of our country. The indices achieved

by them in the realization of the targets of the plan should convince every worker of what his work is capable of yielding. But we should not seek advanced experience only in the work of these few outstanding people. In every enterprise and cooperative, in every brigade and team, there are workers who successfully fulfil and overfulfil the tasks assigned to them, who organize their work well, who utilize their working time properly, who turn out products of high quality and who make great savings. To make all the members of the team or brigade work as these people do, to raise the mass of the workers in the brigades and teams to the level of the best — this is a very great reserve for the fulfilment of our plans.

Finally, in our work with the mass organizations the question of invigorating their internal life must concern us, mainly the question of enhancing the feeling of responsibility of every member of these organizations for the smooth running of the work as a whole. In this direction the creation by every organization of a broad network of activists, energetic people, conscientious and tireless in carrying out social duties is of first-rate importance. The struggle for the carrying out of social tasks raises people's political consciousness, it makes them ardent patriots of their country, indomitable fighters for the cause of the Party. Therefore, great concern should be displayed for charging these activists with concrete tasks, as well as for their continuous education.

6. The Further Strengthening of the People's State Power — an Indispensable Condition for the Successful Performance of All the the Tasks Facing Us

The establishment of the people's state power is the greatest victory scored by our people under the leadership of the Party. The people's power made our people masters of their own fate. Always basing itself on the immortal teachings of Marxism-Leninism, our Party has worked with all its might to strengthen, perfect and further democratize the people's power, in order to make it an ever more effective weapon both for the consolidation of the victories achieved and for the continuous advance of the socialist construction of the country.

Along with the all-round growth and development of our country, our State of the people's democracy, as a form of the dictatorship of the proletariat, too, has grown up and become perfected. As a result of the construction of the economic base of socialism and of the establishment of socialist relations in town and countryside, as a result of the liquidation of antagonistic classes, the growth of the working class, and in general, the rise in the consciousness of all the working masses of our country, the socialist base of the dictatorship of the proletariat in our country has been greatly strengthened and extended. Without doubt, these things have also brought about the development, in keeping with the new conditions, of the main internal tasks and functions of our State.

The further strengthening and rapid development of the socialist economy and the raising of the material and cultural level of the working masses remain links in the chain of tasks facing our State. In this direction, both the ability and the responsibility of all the State organs, from top to bottom, must be raised, for the timely and correct solution of the problems which emerge in this field of activity. The main economic-organizational, cultural-educational function of our State finds its expression here.

The other, equally important, task of our State is the defence of the victories achieved from any attempt of external or internal enemies against them. Here our State carries out its functions of the suppression of enemy activity and defence of the Homeland.

In the future, too, these will remain very important functions of our State, although the field of action of the function of repression will become narrower in the future, because, on the one hand, the exploiting classes have been liquidated, and on the other hand, the development of the economy and culture, the constant rise in the well-being of the working masses and the great political-educational work of the Party steadily reduces crime. The function of repression is maintained, also, because our country is surrounded by rabid enemies, the imperialists and their lackeys, who are doing everything in their power to eliminate, or at least to injure, the People's Republic of Albania. Moreover, the facts themselves show that in our country at the present period, the main enemy

activity takes the form of espionage and subversion directed mainly by the imperialists and their lackeys. The Party has always taken account of this important function of our State, as well as of the fact that we are building socialism encircled by rabid enemies. Therefore, we have paid special attention to strengthening the organs of the dictatorship, and we can say that, under the leadership of the Party, those organs have carried out the functions assigned to them very well and successfully. All the attempts of the enemies, from the founding of our State of the people's democracy to this day, in whatever form they have been made, by all the external or internal enemies, have been discovered in time and have been dealt with and smashed as they deserved.

Our armed forces, our valiant army, under the constant leadership of the Party, has been strengthened and modernized and is completely capable of defending the People's Republic of Albania, and the victories of our people. Our soldiers, non-commissioned officers, officers and generals, fully conscientious in the performance of their duties towards the Homeland and the socialist camp, have become masters in the use of all kinds of arms, including the most modern ones which we possess.

The organs of State Security and the People's Police, under the leadership and the daily care of the Party, have been strengthened and raised in qualification to the level necessary for the performance of their tasks. Characterized by the party spirit and always vigilant, they have smashed all

the attempts of enemies and other evil-doers. They have become the terror of the enemies and a very beloved weapon for the people, who support and assist them in all their activity.

Our borders have become impassable; they are guarded and defended with heroism and pride by our brave border guards, in close cooperation with the people. According to the teachings of the Party and under its constant care, the Border Forces, educated with fiery patriotism and the spirit of proletarian internationalism, have always honourably performed their duties for the protection of the borders of the People's Republic of Albania.

In the future, our Party will continue to give increasing attention to strengthening the organs of the dictatorship. We must make our armed forces, our valiant Army, even stronger. We must modernize and perfect all the types of arms. The Ministry of People's Defence, all the commanders, the political organs and the party organizations in the Army must work with all their might to perfect the military art, to strengthen the political and educational work and all the work of the Party in the Army, to increase the knowledge of the troops and the staffs so that all become real masters of their weapons.

We must strengthen the work of the Party in the organs of the Ministry of Internal Affairs (Security, Police, and Border Guards), must enhance their professional capabilities, must ensure that their revolutionary vigilance is constantly at its peak so that they are always ready and capable

of performing the duties assigned to them. We must constantly strengthen the ties of these organs with the people.

The tasks ahead of us require that the work of the central State organs and of their apparatuses must be further improved. The time has come to increase the demands on the central apparatuses for better quality work, for a more profound and timely study of problems and more effective assistance for the base, both for the enterprises dependent on them and the executive committees of the people's councils. The central apparatuses must free themselves from petty daily questions, must fight resolutely against the bureaucratic handling of problems, must engage more seriously in correct planning and supply, in check-up on the main indices, and deal with the demands and proposals of the base in connection with production, correctly and quickly.

The foundations of our people's power are the people's councils, beginning from the village and city precinct councils up to the district councils. Both during the National Liberation War and after Liberation, our councils have always honourably carried out the tasks assigned to them. Through the people's councils we have always secured an active and broad participation of the masses in the affairs of the State. Now, the people's councils and their executive committees have become more deeply involved in matters of production as well as with social and cultural questions.

The extension of the socialist sector of economy both in the towns and in the countryside has

greatly increased the responsibilities of the people's councils. On the other hand, the improvement of the work in the Ministries requires their being relieved of the direct management of a number of enterprises and sectors. To this end it is necessary to extend the competences of the local organs of power. Therefore, we must greatly strengthen the work of the people's councils, especially in these main directions:

On one hand, the organs and the organizations of the Party, as well as the State organs themselves, should pay great attention to the organizational strengthening of the people's councils, to their regular functioning, to the full activation of the various commissions and the broad masses of the council members, to the ever greater involvement of the working masses in State problems.

On the other hand, the method of work of the local organs of state power at all levels must be improved and their initiative must be increased, within the limits of their authority under the law.

The people's councils in the villages, in particular, must be given great assistance in the directions mentioned. With the collectivization of agriculture, a new situation has been created for the people's councils in the villages, therefore, they must be instructed as how to go about their work. With the uniting of agricultural cooperatives, State administration units covering two or more villages are being created. This process is correct and must continue, but the people's councils of those big villages face the task of looking after the work in the residential centres (the former villages), as

well as production. The people's council is the sole, supreme authority of the State in the village, therefore, it should know about and concern itself with everything. In this direction struggle should be waged to present the replacement of the people's councils, which sometimes occurs, either by the chairmen of the agricultural cooperatives or by the higher State organs.

The work of the people's councils in the localities must also be improved. In some zones, where the unification of the agricultural cooperatives has been completed, since only a few economic-administrative units are left under the charge of the localities, the latter have been dissolved. This is correct and should be carried through to the end. But in the places where the localities are still maintained, they should not be weakened or displaced in any way, but should be assisted and activated, in order to strengthen the work of the people's councils in the villages, to strengthen the agricultural cooperatives and gradually to proceed with their unification, which will eventually make localities redundant.

Measures should be taken to strengthen the people's councils of the towns, to gradually increase and extend their competences.

At the same time, the further strengthening of the people's State power requires the strengthening of the socialist law, too. In this field we have scored great successes. But in the future, too, great attention should be paid by all the organs to the correct and precise application of our laws. They are the laws of the people in power, there-

fore they are inviolable and obligatory on all. The organs of justice and control, as they have done so far, must carefully supervise and demand complete respect for our socialist law, without the slightest laxity, just as they have done up to now.

Comrades,

The strengthening of the organizational and leading work of our Party is a permanent task incumbent on everybody: on every communist, on every cadre, on every party organization and forum. Therefore, we must make every effort to raise the level of its work even higher, to strengthen and steel the monolithic unity of its ranks around the Central Committee and the unity of the masses around the Party more and more, in order to raise its glory to ever greater eminence.

V

THE STRUGGLE IN THE IDEOLOGICAL FRONT AND THE TASKS OF THE PARTY

Comrades,

The successful performance of the tasks of the socialist construction is directly connected with the ideological-political work of the Party, with the Marxist-Leninist education of the communists and the masses, with the creative and faithful applica-

tion of the principles of our triumphant ideology, Marxism-Leninism.

Our Party has always devoted great attention to the education of the communists and the masses with the ideas of Marxism-Leninism, because Marxism-Leninism is the compass which guides the Party in all its activity. It gives people the possibility to know the laws of development of society, to have a thorough understanding of events and to act correctly in any situation. Therefore, the study and the assimilation of Marxism-Leninism is indispensable, not just for a limited circle of cadres of the Party apparatus, but for all the communists, all the cadres, whether they are party members or not, in the most varied sectors of the economy, art or culture, the Army or education.

Our Party has always been aware that any weakening of the party ideology, any underestimation of it, as the great Lenin says, inevitably brings about the strengthening of bourgeois ideology, which constitutes a serious danger to the future of socialism itself. Therefore, the Party has always considered ideological-political work as one of the most important sectors of its activity.

In the period since the 3rd Congress, a series of successes have been achieved in the Party's ideological work. The ideological work has helped achieve results in socialist construction, in the communist education of the masses, in tempering the unity of the Party, as well as in the all-round consolidation of our socialist State and social order.

During these years, good work has been done to carry out the task set by the 3rd Congress of

the Party, that the ideological work should be closely linked with life, should serve the struggle to increase production and raise the wellbeing of the working people.

In the Party's ideological work, study of the classics of Marxism-Leninism, and the history of our Party, the struggle to unmask imperialism, knowledge and study of the tactics and the strategy of the international communist movement, the struggle against modern revisionism, and especially, against Yugoslav revisionism, have occupied an important place. In the struggle to unmask the enemies of socialism, as well as in the daily struggle for the construction of socialism in our country, our people have been tempered ideologically, the political level of the communists and the masses has been raised, and the militant character of the Party's ideological work has been strengthened. During the whole period since the 3rd Congress, our Party has waged a resolute struggle to safeguard the purity of Marxism-Leninism, and in this struggle its unity for putting into practice the general line of the Party has become indestructible...

2. We Must Strengthen Our Work of Propagating the Fundamental Principles of Marxism-Leninism and the Struggle to Preserve Its Purity

Today, a bitter struggle is going on in the world between Marxism-Leninism and the bourgeois ideology and all its manifestations, for the

minds of men. Faced with the magnificent successes of socialism and the spreading of Marxist-Leninist ideas throughout the world, the imperialist bourgeoisie and the exploiting classes, wherever they are, are waging furious propaganda struggle to spread the ideology of anti-communism in every way, committing monstrous distortions of Marxism-Leninism, grossly slandering the socialist order, and falsifying the policy and aims of the communists. In these efforts of the imperialist bourgeoisie, the Right-wing leaders of social-democracy, the revisionists of Marxism and opportunists of various hues are playing a shameful role as the assistants of the bourgeoisie.

Under these conditions, the struggle on the ideological front to protect the purity of the triumphant doctrine of Marxism-Leninism, for a correct and profound explanation of the problems of present-day world development, to propagate the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism and the correct line which the Party of Labour of Albania has pursued and continues to pursue in regard to these problems, assumes special importance.

In order to have a correct understanding of the social phenomena and of the changes that have occurred and are occurring in the world, our Party has always proceeded from the materialist conception of history, the class analysis of the ratio of forces, and from a thorough and objective study of the real situation in the world today. This is the only correct method, the method which Marxism-Leninism teaches and the method which guards one from errors in political activity. Any

departure from this dialectical method leads to metaphysics and idealism, leads to revisionism and opportunism, results in a back-to-front assessment of the different events and situations.

The main characteristic of all opportunists and revisionists, both those of the past and those of the present-day, is precisely the negation of these fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism. This is the source of all their distorted views, all their hostile and dangerous activity in the fields of ideology and practice. The great Lenin has said that at the foundation of all the revisionist views lies the idea of the collaboration of classes with opposing interests. Revising the Marxist theory of classes and the class struggle, the revisionists declare Marxism obsolete, deny its fundamental principles, present all the major problems of our age in a distorted light, give up the ideological and political struggle against the class enemy and capitulate to him. Of course, in order to disguise themselves, because if they came out openly, no one would believe their nonsense, the revisionists try to peddle their views as the last word in «creative» Marxism. But their beautiful phrases can fool no one, much less the communists, the Marxist-Leninists, who when they judge any party or person do not judge them only by their words, by their attire, but chiefly by their deeds, by their work. They judge from the basis of whom these views serve, in the interest of which class are these views. In this matter the Marxist parties and all communists are guided by Lenin's teachings that:

«People always were and always will be the stupid victims of deception and self-deception in politics until they learn to discover the interest of some class behind all moral, religious, political and social phrases, declarations and promises».*

The present-day revisionists deny the chief contradictions of our times, behind which stand definite classes and social force. Consequently, by speculating with allegedly «Marxist» phrases, the revisionists spread dangerous illusions on many important problems of our time. Thus, for example, when they speak of our epoch, they present it as an epoch of general peace and harmony, «in which the capitalist social system in its classical form is a thing of the past», in which it is possible to speak of a «general integration» of the whole world, even of the capitalists themselves, into socialism, and in which such problems as that of the struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, socialism and capitalism, between the forces of liberty and slavery, between democracy and reaction, between the forces of peace and war, have been totally eliminated. And if one thinks according to the revisionist logic, this is quite natural, because according to them, as a result of the change in the ratio of forces in the international arena, capitalism and imperialism have undergone radical changes, they are no longer exploiters or aggressors, nor a source of wars and

* V. I. Lenin, Works, Vol. 19, p. 9 (Alb. ed.).

oppression. Indeed, the revisionist Kardelj even produced theoretical «arguments» to prove that the danger of war, in fact, emanates from the socialist countries, and especially from China and Albania! That is the depth of absurdity to which the enemies of Marxism have descended, that is where their great zeal to serve their masters, the imperialist bourgeoisie, to the maximum, has brought them!

In departing from the class concept of the analysis of the situation and wanting to deceive the masses, the modern revisionists indulge in demagogy when they talk about the policy of peaceful coexistence, or the problems of war and peace. They take a back-to-front view of these problems, through anti-Marxist spectacles. They see the policy of peaceful coexistence, the fundamental principles of which were first formulated by Lenin, as a policy of conciliation with imperialism, for the sake of which any kind of class struggle must be given up, according to the principle, «We must not annoy the rich uncle», who has already been weakened and is going bankrupt anyway. According to the revisionists, the policy of peaceful coexistence extends not just to the relations among countries with differing social systems, but also to relations between classes within the capitalist countries, as well as those between the oppressed peoples and the colonial exploiters. The revisionists preach that no ideological and political struggle should be waged against imperialism to expose the policy of war and aggression. These anti-Marxist concepts, which are completely

contrary to the interests of the working class and socialism, are intended to impose an opportunist policy on the socialist countries and communist parties, a policy of begging permission and gentle handling, a policy of damaging concessions and compromises, making it possible for the enemies of socialism, the imperialists and the reactionary bourgeoisie, to carry out their policy of war and terror, oppression and exploitation more easily. However, the genuine communist parties and socialist countries cannot follow the revisionist concepts and advice but follow the immortal, ever victorious teachings of Marxism-Leninism. Our Party of Labour has struggled, and will continue to struggle in the future, too, against the revisionist views on these matters and will always loyally apply the enlightening teachings of Marxism-Leninism.

In departing from the class stand, the present-day revisionists reject as «obsolete» the principal teachings of Marxism-Leninism about socialist revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat, as an indispensable condition for the transition from capitalism to socialism. The foundation stone of all the opportunist reasoning of the modern revisionists is the thesis that allegedly the modern capitalist state is losing its class character more and more each day, that allegedly it can serve both the bourgeoisie and the proletariat equally well. According to the revisionist logic, the system of bourgeois democracy can serve as «the juridical and political framework of the initial phases of socialist development». Starting out from such

concepts, the Right opportunists absolutize the peaceful road of transition from capitalism to socialism, and indeed, consider it the only possible road. They present this peaceful transition as an evolution, as a simple change in government, in which some people are replaced by other people.

The Marxist-Leninists do not deny the possibility of the peaceful road of transition to socialism, but they do not conceive it in the least as a negation of the class struggle, as simply securing a majority in the bourgeois parliament without smashing the old bourgeois State machinery to its foundations and without replacing it by the organs of the proletarian dictatorship capable of carrying out thorough-going socialist transformations and ready at any moment to resolutely suppress any possible resistance by the bourgeoisie. The Marxist-Leninists are guided in this matter by the immortal teachings of the great Lenin, who says:

«The opportunist gentlemen, including the Kautskyites, as if to make fun of the theory of Marx, «teach» the people as follows: first, the proletariat must win the majority by means of universal suffrage, then on the basis of such a majority vote, must take state power and then on this basis of «consistent» democracy (some call it «pure»), organize socialism.

Whereas we, on the basis of Marx's theory and the experience of the Russian revolution, say:

First, the proletariat should overthrow the bourgeoisie and secure the state power, and then use this state power, i.e. the proletarian dictatorship, as a weapon of this class in order to win the support of the majority of working people».*

On the other hand, the Marxist parties, as is mentioned in the Moscow Declaration of 1960, by no means consider the peaceful road as the only possible form of the transition to socialism. On the contrary, they never for one moment forget that the ruling classes never voluntarily give up power, and all history up till now teaches us this. Therefore the revolutionary Marxist-Leninist parties prepare themselves, at the same time, both for the peaceful road and for the seizure of power by an armed uprising, always keeping their guns loaded and the powder dry, so as not to be caught unawares in case the bourgeoisie uses violence against the working class which has risen in revolution. Lenin's teachings on this matter are clear and precise. He says:

*«An oppressed class, which does not try to learn the use of arms, have arms, this oppressed class is worthy of nothing better than to be treated as a slave»**.*

* V. I. Lenin, Works, vol. 30, p. 294 (Alb. ed.).

** V. I. Lenin, Selected Works, Vol. 2, p. 400 Tirana 1974 (Alb. ed.).

If you prepare yourself well for the armed uprising, you also create favourable conditions for taking power in a peaceful way.

This is the only correct Marxist-Leninist standpoint in such an important and vital matter for the working class and all working people, and this is the standpoint which has always been and is held by our Party. The revisionist theories on «the evolutionary and peaceful transformation» of modern capitalism into socialism are intended to divert the communist and workers' parties from the right revolutionary road, to divert the working masses from the struggle for the overthrow of the bourgeoisie. Their aim is to keep the capitalist order unharmed and perpetuate it.

The opportunist and capitulationist theses of modern revisionists in regard to the State and the socialist construction are also very dangerous and fragrantly in opposition to the teachings of Marxism-Leninism. While repeating the stale arguments that allegedly the socialist state — the dictatorship of the proletariat and democracy, are two things altogether incompatible with each other, accusing the socialist State of «bureaucratic despotism», and manoeuvring with the slogan of so-called «democratization», the present-day revisionists are advocating the «withering-away», the liquidation of the socialist state right now. To the Marxist-Leninist parties it is as clear as daylight that not only the liquidation of the socialist state, but even the smallest weakening of the organs of the dictatorship of the proletariat, its liberalization, at a time when imperialism, which never has

and never will give up its aims and furious efforts to destroy the socialist order, is still in existence, would be suicidal for our socialist countries. The bitter experience of the counter-revolution in Hungary was the clearest confirmation of this.

For Marxist-Leninists there is not and cannot be the slightest doubt about the fact that the socialist state, while being a dictatorship against the overthrown exploiting classes, enemies of the working class and imperialist agents of any type, at the same time ensures the most extensive democracy for the workers, for the people. These things are elementary to the Marxist-Leninist theory. Our Party has always considered the ceaseless perfecting of the socialist State order, the struggle against any kind of manifestation of bureaucracy, as one of its permanent tasks. But it never for one moment forgets that, as long as the danger of imperialist aggression and its subversive activity against our country and the socialist camp exist, it is not by any means permissible, on the pretext of «democratization», to weaken the organs of the proletarian dictatorship in the least. On the contrary, they must always be kept keen-edged and ready to liquidate any possible attempts by the internal and external enemy.

The experience of the construction of socialism in a series of socialist countries has confirmed the correctness of the Marxist-Leninist theory about the existence of a series of universal laws essential to every country which takes the road of socialist development. The successes of our country and every socialist country have been achieved preci-

sely thanks to the correct implementation of these universal laws of socialist construction, while bearing in mind the concrete conditions and the special historical features of each country, as well as the interests of socialism as a whole.

The revisionists of Marxism distort and deny these laws. The socialist state, according to them, must give up its economic organizational functions, because otherwise «bureaucratic» tendencies develop, the State is transformed into a force that stands «above society», etc. In order to escape all these dangers, they preach the decentralization of the management of the economy, the «self-administration of producers». While preaching the steady diminution of the role of the socialist state in the economy, the revisionists take a stand against the very important principle of socialist construction and the socialist State organization — the principle of democratic centralism — and try to replace it with the independence and unfettered development of economic forces, i.e. with petty-bourgeois spontaneity, which leaves the field free for anarchy in production.

Life, practice, has refuted all these modern revisionist views, which serve only the class enemies, seriously damage the cause of socialist construction and create the danger of the restoration of capitalism. Our Party has fought and will fight with determination against all these views, and rigorously adheres to the teachings of Marxism-Leninism on the construction of socialism.

During the past few years, our Party and all the other Marxist-Leninist parties have waged a

successful struggle against the views of modern revisionists, as well as against their disruptive activity in the socialist camp and the international communist movement. But in spite of all the crushing blows and defeats it has received, revisionism has not been routed ideologically, it has not been utterly destroyed. Revisionism, as one of the forms of the influence of bourgeois ideology on the proletariat, as a reflection of bourgeois ideology in theory and practice, remains the main danger in the international communist movement.

A serious danger to the unity of the socialist camp and the international communist movement, the cause of peace and peoples' liberation is the treacherous Titoite revisionist group, which is an aggressive and dangerous detachment of present-day international revisionism, and inveterate agency of imperialism, first of all of US imperialism. Our Party of Labour has always waged a resolute struggle against the inimical views and actions of the Belgrade revisionists, considering this struggle as an indispensable condition for the defence of the interests of our Homeland, the preservation of the purity of Marxism-Leninism, the strengthening of the unity and solidarity of the socialist camp and the international communist movement, for the successful development of the struggle against imperialism and the preservation of peace. It has always considered this struggle as its lofty internationalist duty...

It thinks that an uncompromising, resolute struggle must be waged against revisionism until it is utterly defeated. Any reduction of revolu-

tionary vigilance towards it, any vacillation in this principled struggle, any hesitation in this struggle, under whatever pretext, inevitably leads to the revival and the activization of revisionist tendencies which seriously damage our great cause. Without mercilessly exposing revisionism, and first of all the Belgrade revisionist clique, the exposure of imperialism cannot be carried out properly. Without making a clear-cut line of distinction between revisionist views and Marxism-Leninism, dogmatism and sectarianism cannot be combated successfully from a correct standpoint. The struggle for the complete ideological and political routing of this renegade gang is an internationalist aid for the Yugoslav people themselves.

While resolutely fighting revisionism, as the main danger, our Party has also fought and will fight any manifestation of dogmatism or sectarianism, which is likewise dangerous to the cause of socialism. During all its activity, the Party of Labour of Albania always has and will have this matter in mind, because only in this way can we be guaranteed against any error in our great struggle for socialism and communism.

The most important problems of present-day world development and of the struggle on the ideological front have been dealt with extensively from Marxist-Leninist positions at the two Moscow Meetings of the representatives of Communist and Workers' Parties in 1957 and 1960 and have found their reflection in the historic declarations approved at these Meetings. Our Marxist-Leninist Party

has endorsed these documents. It has struggled with determination to put into practice the correct Marxist-Leninist principles of the 1957 Declaration and to defend them against any distortion. Our Party also stands loyal to the principles of the 1960 Declaration and is fighting courageously in their defence and for their application. The conclusions and the principles of this Declaration are a confirmation of the correct Marxist-Leninist general line, which our Party has faithfully defended and put into practice.

In the communist movement there are no «leading» parties and «led» parties. As is stressed in the Declaration, all parties are equal and independent. They themselves formulate their policy, guided by the principles of Marxism-Leninism and in conformity with the historical conditions of their country. The Marxist parties are linked with each other as parties of one class, of one idea, and of one aim, that is why they give each other mutual fraternal aid in the common struggle for the triumph of the great cause of the proletariat, and exchange the experience accumulated in this struggle.

Our Party of Labour has always fought with the greatest determination for, and has made its contribution to, the strengthening of the unity of the international communist and workers' movement on the steel foundations of Marxism-Leninism. Guided by the principles of proletarian internationalism, it has always been and is aware that the successes and victories of the struggle of the working class and peoples of other countries are part

and parcel of our successes, that the solidarity and the aid of the international working class, the sister parties and fraternal peoples has been and is a very important factor for us in the achievement of our aims. For this purpose, the Central Committee of our Party and all the Albanian communists are grateful to the international communist movement, the working class and the sister parties of the different countries, and assure them that we, on our part, will always remain loyal and in solidarity with them, just as we have done up till now. Our Party will continue to fight, as always, for the further strengthening of the unity of the international communist and workers' movement, for the development of internationalist solidarity and fraternal links with all the sister parties. Honestly and faithfully carrying out its internationalist duties here in Albania, our Party will always hold high the banner of Marxism-Leninism, the banner of victorious socialism.

Comrades,

The Party of Labour of Albania has traversed a difficult, but at the same time heroic road, in the course of which it has grown and become stronger. On this difficult road, in this stern struggle against numerous enemies, it has been tempered, the unity of its ranks has been steeled, the links of the Party with the people have become unbreakable. On this difficult road and in this stern struggle, our Party enlightened by the teachings of Marxism-Leninism and

educated with boundless loyalty to it, worked out its correct general line, gained the maturity to find its bearings correctly even in the most difficult situations, to show courage and determination whenever it has been a question of defending the interests of the Homeland and socialism, and preserving the purity of Marxism-Leninism...

The history of our Party is the history of the struggle against and triumph over the internal and external enemies of our people, the history of the struggle and victory of our Marxist-Leninist Party for the purity of Marxism-Leninism, against internal and external opportunism and revisionism. Every communist and worker of our country must become thoroughly acquainted with this history. The study of the history of the Party should be in the centre of attention of the party propaganda. It must show clearly the difficult heroic and glorious road of the Party, while bringing out the correctness of the line pursued by our Party at every stage of its development, its loyalty to Marxism-Leninism, and its resolute and courageous struggle against the imperialist enemies and their revisionist hirelings.

Our Party has always triumphed and scored great victories in all directions, because it has always stood loyal to the vital interests of the people and has resolutely defended them, because it has always relied on the people, on their strength and creative abilities, because it has established close ties with the people and has united them strongly around its correct line.

The people, the broad working masses, our working class in alliance with the peasantry, comprise that decisive force which carried out the great political and social transformations in our country, that liberated the Homeland, and today, is building socialism. It was the broad masses of the people, workers, the working peasantry, our youth and people's intelligentsia, who waged the glorious National Liberation War. The Party told them that everything, the independence of the Homeland and a better future, was in their hands, and they rose to a man, filled the ranks of the army, and fought heroically. At that time the enemies were quite unable to understand wherein lay the strength of the Party, how it was able to organize the liberation war, to create a powerful army and liberate the country.

Later, when Albania emerged from the war, devastated and impoverished, encircled, or «isolated», as our enemies liked to say, they threatened and sneered at us, asking: What are you going to do now? What will you live on and how will you exist? But the enemies rejoiced too soon. They made their reckoning without the host, without our heroic people, who had taken their destiny into their own hands and had become the masters of their own country. Wisely led by its Party, our people rolled up their sleeves, and within a short time, successfully carried out radical economic-social transformations, overcoming all the difficulties with self-denial and persistence, healed the terrible war wounds, accomplished the reconstruction of the country and prepared the conditions

to begin the large-scale construction of the bases of socialism in our country.

Even friends who have visited Albania or who from afar have followed with interest the achievements of our country, are frequently amazed and ask: How could little Albania stand up to all those tempests, how could she emerge victorious in the unequal fight with the fascist occupiers and traitors, how can she resist the innumerable threats and pressures of the imperialists, chauvinists, and the Belgrade traitor clique, how does she overcome the difficulties and achieve successes one after another in all fields of socialist construction? We reply that the decisive factor for the attainment of all our country's historic victories is the people themselves, their struggle and work, the correct line of the Party of Labour of Albania which knew that it must make the masses conscious and mobilize them in the war for liberation yesterday, and in the struggle for the defence of our independence and the construction of socialism today, the unbreakable links of the people with the Party. We reply that another very important factor is the support, assistance, and the friendship of the fraternal peoples of the socialist countries, the support of all the international proletariat. . .

Our people are brave, industrious, freedom-loving, loyal and progressive. Our Party, educated with the teachings of Marxism-Leninism also embodies in itself these lofty traditions of our people. Let us be sure, comrades, that with such a marvellous people and with our Party, unwaveringly loyal to Marxism-Leninism, and proletarian inter-

nationalism, in close friendship with the fraternal peoples and sister parties of the world, our country will march ahead, always ahead, for there is neither waye nor storm that can frighten it, there is no force in the world which can stop our victorious march to the triumph of socialism and communism. . .

Glory to our heroic people and their Party of Labour, the organizer and leader of all the victories of our people!

Glory to Marxism-Leninism, our triumphant science!

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**SLANDERS AND PRESSURES DO NOT
FRIGHTEN US — WE DO NOT FALL ON
OUR KNEES —**

*From the conversation with the delegation of the
CPSU which participated in the 4th Congress
of the PLAI*

February 20, 1961

COMRADE ENVER HOXHA: We listened with much attention to your words, comrade Pospelov. In regard to the love and loyalty of our Party and people towards the Soviet Union and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, we have shown this in life with deeds. We desire close friendship with the Soviet Union and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union on the Marxist-

1 After the 4th Congress of the PLA, comrade Enver Hoxha received the delegation of the CPSU, with whom he had a conversation at the premises of the Central Committee of the Party. The first to speak was P. Pospelov, candidate of the presidium of the CC of the CPSU and head of the delegation, who

Leninist road. Do not think that we believe that this close friendship will be strengthened through the «holy spirit». We know that this friendship can be realized by implementing the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism correctly and consistently. We have never wished, and do not wish, ill to the Soviet Union. On the contrary, we have loved the Soviet Union and still do. Let him who wants disbelieve these ardent feelings of our people and Party, we march on the road which Marxism-Leninism and our Party teach us.

There are people in the world who speak words of love for the Soviet Union and the Soviet people. But a wise saying of our people goes: «When the basket is full of figs, everybody becomes a friend», whereas we Albanians, love our friends both in good times and in difficult times. If anything bad were to happen to the Soviet

said that the purpose of the request by the Soviet delegation for this meeting was «to talk about some issues which have to do with our comradely mutual relations.» After having said that, true, «a great deal was said at your Congress about strengthening the friendship between the Albanian people and the Soviet people», but that they had information that «the role of the Soviet Union is negated in Albania», «the Soviet specialists are not well treated», and that «offensive things are being said about the Soviet leadership», he committed a series of slanders against the Party of Labour of Albania and its leadership and tried to exert pressure on it.

Union, if a difficult situation is created for it, we shall be among the first to spring to its defence and not the Gomulkas and Co. Nikita Khrushchev has told me that «Gomulka acts like a fascist», while on the other hand Mikoyan has told me that «comrade Gomulka is an outstanding Marxist-Leninist!». Gomulka uttered all those vile slanders addressed to our Party, our delegation and myself personally who were representing our Party at the Moscow Meeting. He said that we must examine the question of Albania within the Warsaw Treaty. You yourself stated here that Gomulka and others like him say many things against the Party of Labour of Albania and its leadership. Information about what he is saying comes to us from many comrades of other parties, but he and everyone else should understand thoroughly that we do not live under the shadow of Gomulka. I say that the words which such people utter, making the accusation that our Party allegedly does not love the Soviet Union, have absolutely no foundation.

It is a fact that we have disagreements with the leadership of the Soviet Union at the present time. This is clear. When the occasion arose we told your our criticism frankly, just as our Party teaches us, just as Lenin has taught us. However the thing is that these criticisms were seen in a distorted way from your side, you took them badly.

At no time has it ever crossed our mind that we are «interfering in the internal affairs of the Soviet leadership as you said.» This is absolutely untrue. The Central Committee of the Communist

Party of the Soviet Union and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union are masters in their own house, therefore we have not interfered and do not interfere in the internal affairs of your Party. But we, likewise, do not allow the Soviet leadership to interfere in the internal affairs of our Party in any way. Every party is master in its own house.

But should these disagreements which exist between our parties be resolved? We think that they absolutely must be resolved, but only in a Marxist-Leninist way. For us there is no other way. This is in the interests of our Party and people, as well as in the interests of the Communist Party and the peoples of the Soviet Union and the whole international communist movement.

We have also held bilateral talks to resolve these disagreements. The last meeting is that held between the representatives of our two parties in Moscow¹. Mikoyan, Kozlov and Andropov were at this meeting from your side.

The instructions which the Central Committee of our Party gave us are that we should march

¹ This refers to the joint talks which were held in Moscow in November 20, 1960, after comrade Enver Hoxha's speech at the meeting of the representatives of the 81 communist and workers' parties. These joint talks were held between the delegation of the PLA which was comprised of comrades Mehmet Shehu and Hysni Kapo, and the delegation of the CPSU. The meeting was held at the request of the Soviet leadership.

ahead, on the Marxist-Leninist road. For us there is no other road. You may have your opinion, but we have our opinion too. Our opinion is that the disagreements which have arisen between our two parties cannot be resolved in one day. It would be deceiving ourselves to think that they can be settled within one day. Therefore we must put our common will to it and resolve the disagreements gradually, in the correct Marxist-Leninist way, in complete equality. This is the way in which they must be overcome.

However, Mikoyan and Kozlov received the comrades of the delegation of the PLA in an unfriendly manner, indeed they went as far as to say to our comrades, «You will see what difficulties will occur in your Party and among your people with this change you are making in your relations with the Soviet Union!». It seems to us that the attitude of the Soviet leaders towards our hand of friendship was wrong and judgement of the issues on their part was, likewise, very wrong. They should have known our Party and people, the line and the feelings of our people and Party, better. The relations between our two countries cannot be treated in the way they treated them.

Let us take the economic aid. In the opinion of Kozlov and Mikoyan the whole problem rested on this. This was apparent especially in the attitude maintained towards our economic delegation that went to the Soviet Union. This delegation was kept hanging about in Moscow for whole months. Our people go to Moscow, wander round

and round and are unable to conclude anything with you because of the attitude you maintain towards them. Do you think we do not understand your contemptuous attitude? Comrade Mehmet [Shehu] was right when he said, a little while ago, that when Yugoslavs come, you conclude the talks within ten days! Likewise, the War Minister of Indonesia went to Moscow, and you immediately gave him large credits for armaments, while little Albania, which is looking down the wolf's mouth, with which you have signed agreements, and which is led by a Marxist party, is neglected.

The Soviet Government also puts in doubt the aid in credits the Soviet Union has granted us for the 3rd Five-year Plan, on which official acts have been signed. Things have reached such a point that the Soviet Government, through an official note, has sought to compel our Party and Government, to send a top level delegation to Moscow to «reconsider» these agreements. Naturally, to our Party and Government, such an attitude on your part is unacceptable, unfriendly, and not right at all.

We have set out all the reasons why we refused to hold this meeting in a very comradely letter to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. But it must be pointed out that, immediately after the Bucharest Meeting, the letters which our Central Committee has sent to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union have all remained unanswered. This is neither fair, friendly, nor correct. You said that you have answered our letters, but we say to

you: Have a look because perhaps they are tucked away in the drawers of your offices, for we have received no reply whatever. Even the simplest rules of relations between parties require that a letter must be answered by letter¹ but, I repeat, we have received no reply from you.

No answer is being given from your side likewise to the letters of our Government about many other problems, particularly about problems of the army, which are linked with the defence of our country and the training of the army, based, of course on the agreements we have with the Soviet Government. We think that on all these issues, the Central Committee of the Communist Party and the Soviet Government should have replied, either positively or negatively, to our Central Committee and Government. We need one-another's assistance and this assistance must have a thoroughly internationalist content.

There are rumours that we Albanians are allegedly not satisfied with the aid the Soviet Union has given us! We have said and continue to say that the Soviet Union has given our people aid. We have never concealed and shall not conceal from our people the assistance the Soviet Union has given and continues to give us. I want to point out also that we consider as valuable and very

1 The Soviet revisionist leadership avoided answering the CC of the PLA by letter because it did not want its official replies to remain in the archives of the PLA.

necessary the aid the Soviet Union has granted us for the 3rd Five-year Plan for the further development of the economy of our country. We need help in the future too, but we do not beg this help. We seek help from anyone only on a Marxist course. I told Nikita Khrushchev to his face that we do not violate principles, that we are even prepared to tighten our belts, but we must live like Marxists. If the Soviet leadership does not want to give us aid, we cannot force it to do so.

The aid of the Soviet Union to our country is important not only from the economic aspect, but also from the political aspect. We want the Soviet leadership to avoid making such a mistake to the detriment of Albania, it should reconsider this matter. Therefore, we ask you once again to transmit our views to Nikita Khrushchev and other Soviet leaders. It is not right that you make it a condition that we must eliminate the political and ideological disagreements first and then you will give us the aid. We have jointly signed the agreement on credits, not just in principle, but we have even detailed it for all the objects. On this basis the Soviet specialists came here, the designs were drawn up, etc. While now you are asking us to go to the Soviet Union to reconsider the agreements once more! Why?

At the Moscow Meeting you used the tactic, in contacts, indeed even in the corridors, of convincing various delegations that, the Albanian leaders do not want to talk with us. Now, too, you are continuing this tactic, but this does not hold water. There is no need to repeat ourselves,

we have told you clearly why we do not come to you. Tell Nikita Khrushchev that our stand remains the same.

Tell Nikita Khrushchev, also, that we are not opposed to top level meetings on any question whatever, with the approval of both sides. But the Soviet Government demands that a high level delegation of our Party and Government should go to Moscow to «reconsider» the question of credits. The question arises: for what credits? These credits have been given us under a protocol signed by both sides by top-level leaders. For this purpose our Central Committee and our Government sent comrade Mehmet [Shehu] and me to Moscow. Later the credits were detailed, it is stated there how they will be used, the times at which they will be given, as well as the projects to be built. Thus, for us, the problem of credits is considered as settled. We have a note of the Soviet Government in writing and there can be no quibble here about what it says. Then why should we go to Moscow? Should we have gone to Moscow before the Congress of the Party just about the credit of 70 million rubles, of which you have notified us officially¹? This was not reasonable. We informed you officially about this, too. We had no agreement about this, therefore we appointed a deputy Prime Minister for talks, while from your side the Minister of Foreign Trade, Patolichev, was appointed. As you told us prior to the Moscow Meeting, he

¹ See the letter to the CC of the CPSU, January 14, 1961, p. 3 of this volume.

was to come to Albania for talks, but he did not come. Then we assigned a deputy Prime Minister to go to Moscow on these matters, but even today you have still not replied to us. We would like to know why have you not given us an answer?

You say many things against us because you base yourselves on the sayings of this one and the other. But if we, too, were to act in this way, then we could bring out whole books. But for the sake of the friendship between our peoples, the gossip to be heard high and low must be checked up carefully and in a friendly spirit, both by us as well as by your side. What have many Soviet people said about our leadership and about me? What have they not said! Many of these people have highly responsible positions in your country too. The criticism our Party makes of the Soviet leadership is thoroughly principled. Enver Hoxha, Mehmet Shehu, and other Albanian leaders never abuse the Soviet Union. Pointing out mistakes and faults of some Soviet leaders does not mean that we are speaking against the Soviet Union. I say this here, we have proved it in practice and we shall prove it whenever it may be necessary. We say without reservation that the Albanians are close and loyal friends of the Soviet Union and for the sake of this friendship we must settle everything in the Marxist-Leninist way, not in any other way. If there are comrades in the Soviet leadership who continue to speak ill of, to slander, our leadership or our Party, they are making a grave mistake.

You say that you have the course set for

you by the Moscow Declaration and the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. We, too, base ourselves on the Declaration of the Moscow Meeting of last year, indeed we implement it consistently; but as far as the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union is concerned, we stated frankly at the Moscow Meeting with which matters we are not in agreement. But, instead of accepting the comradely criticisms we make of you, you make the accusation that we are ruining the friendship with the Soviet Union! It is unnecessary to say what a great and sincere friendship we have had with the Soviet people. It is Soviet cadres and leaders who have dynamited the friendship that existed between us. We stated also at the Moscow Meeting that it was the former ambassador of the USSR to Albania, V. I. Ivanov, in the first place, who ruined the situation. It was he who upset things. Let this be known also to the newly appointed ambassador, Josif Shikin, who has the possibility to exert all his efforts so that together we can improve the abnormal situation that has arisen between our two countries. For our part we shall do everything possible in this direction. We want to believe that the comrade Ambassador, too, will act in this way, because for him, too, it is not only a duty, but also an urgent need, that our relations should constantly improve and the disagreements be gradually eliminated in a Marxist-Leninist way.

Now let us come to some other issues you raised. For our part we do not accept your accusations concerning the Soviet specialists in our

country. You are «surprised» because we «checked up on the drawers of the geologists' desks». I shall explain to you how things stand in this matter which you have also made the subject of a government note. Our people, who exercised control over the preservation of secrecy, did not do this in a demonstrative way, nor with the purpose of humiliating the Soviet specialists. In our State there is a rule established by the Party, according to which controls must be carried out from time to time. You, too, certainly have such a rule, indeed we have taken this experience from you. The aim is that the state and party secrets must be protected. We carry out such checks two or three times a year over all the state and party apparatus. This was a normal control of this type. You know that our people are not angels, but yours are not angels either. However it has been observed that there are some among our people as well as among yours, who leave documents on desks, indeed there have been Soviet comrades who have even hung documents on walls. We are living in encirclement. We have sworn enemies all round us, the Yugoslav revisionists, the Greek monarchofascists, the Italian neo-fascists. We have information that the espionage agents of imperialist states have been activated in Albania. Therefore, our Party and State take the strictest care that secrets are protected. From this check-up carried out in the oil enterprises, a report was sent to the Central Committee, by which it was informed that the comrade in charge of the Soviet oil specialists had been notified in advance about this check-up,

he had been told the purpose for which it was being carried out and had agreed. If you like, we can give you his name.

We have not made an issue of these things but I can tell you something else which has a very much graver character. The Soviet personnel have a plan of work. However, one Soviet geologist, instead of working on the basis of the plan set by the government, was drawing maps of a scale other than those required of him, and when our comrades and his Soviet comrades asked him about this, he replied: «I am working on this map for a Soviet academician!» What are these things? Some specialists have complained to the comrade Ambassador about the check-up we carried out, but have they told him the fact one of the Soviet geologists has declared to our people, «you are trying in vain to keep these documents secret, for they have them both in Leningrad and in Belgrade!»? How does he know that these documents are also in Belgrade, and how have these secrets reached there? Therefore, we shall reply to your note on this question officially.

One day, a Soviet army officer, who is working in our base in Vlora called together our officers and told them that «the statement which Enver Hoxha made about the plot against Albania¹ is a bluff!». We want to take opportunity to

¹ This refers to the counter-revolutionary plot which was being prepared by a secret anti-state organization at the head of which were veteran agents of the Intelligence Service. Their plan was combined also

tell you that this plot is not a bluff, but an exceptionally dangerous thing. Albanian and world opinion will learn about the aims and dangers of this plot. The rulers of Greece and Yugoslavia, together with their agents in Albania, civilian and military, and in collaboration with the US 6th Fleet, organized this plot to attack Albania. But our organs uncovered it and all the plotters are in the hands of our organs of justice and will render account. Now the trial is coming to an end and when this affair is over, we shall, without fail, inform the Soviet ambassador, J. V. Shikin, about it in detail.

As to the question of the naval base in Vlora, I can tell you that for our part there is no problem whatever there now. Indeed even before there has not been any problem from our side. We wish that it will be like this from your side, too. We fully agree that our comrades of the Ministry of Defence and General Andreyev¹ should talk about this matter. You ask that these talks be held in my presence. I am willing to listen not only to a General like Andreyev, Hero of the USSR, but even

with an armed intervention on the part of the Yugoslav revisionists, the Greek monarcho-fascists and the US 6th Fleet in the Mediterranean. As it was proved later, the Soviet revisionist leadership had knowledge of this plot, too, which had calculated to exploit it for its own purposes.

¹ At that time representative of the United Command of the armed forces of the Warsaw Treaty in Albania.

to a rank-and-file Soviet sailor, for we consider the Soviet people as brothers, as friends, as comrades, but I think that my presence is not absolutely necessary. We want harmony with and love for the Soviet men to reign at the naval base, because this base is needed in the interests of our entire socialist camp, and not just for us. We told Nikita Khrushchev this, too.

But I must also say something about the question of the base. You are not in order there with the plan of construction work, armament, and the handing over of objects. All the plans and decisions, that have been taken for the construction work at the base and for the supply of materials, have been suspended by your side. It seems to us that such a question should be reconsidered as quickly as possible on the part of the Soviet Government.

The issue raised here by comrade Pospelov that one of our people has allegedly spoken to the representatives of the Communist Party of Cuba and the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia against the Soviet leadership, is not true. However we shall inquire into it. How is such a thing possible when we have been and are in complete agreement with what Nikita Khrushchev said, that if Cuba is attacked, the Soviet Union will launch missiles against the aggressor to defend Cuba? Therefore we think that this is an invention. Why do I say this? I say this because Barak¹ has come to the 4th Congress

¹ Rudolf Barak, ex-member of the Political Bureau of the CC of the CP of Czechoslovakia, first deputy to

of the PLA with very bad aims and he behaves with contempt towards our Party and our people. Since he is our guest we treat him as a friend and respect him according to our traditions. You, comrade Andropov, may tell him these things, because we shall not tell them him here, but when some meeting of international communism is held, I shall not fail to tell him. Barak should understand clearly that we are not afraid of him.

We observe that Barak is treating the members of the Political Bureau of our Party with contempt. We had thought that, as the representative of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, he should greet our Congress after the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Communist Party of China. But, when a comrade of ours begged him to say when his speech of greeting would be ready, not only did Barak not deign to tell him, but he asked him scornfully: «And who may you be?» Our comrade, towards whom Barak behaved in this way, displayed his modesty and said nothing for he was his guest, but when Barak asked him «And who

the chairman of the Council of Ministers and minister of internal affairs of the Socialist Republic of Czechoslovakia, had come to the 4th Congress of the PLA with hostile intentions. Time confirmed that he was an agent of the imperialists and the Soviet revisionists. In February 1962, the CC of the CP of Czechoslovakia was obliged to relieve him of all his party and state functions, expel him from the party, and arrest him as an enemy and «an embezzler of the country's foreign exchange».

may you be?», although he knew who he was, he could have replied that «I have 15 decorations on my chest which I won in the war against fascism, and I have wounds on my body», and then could have asked him, «But you, who are you?» However our comrade did not do this because he had him as a guest in his home and he respected the customs of our people.

Thus, towards these gestures of Barak, our comrades have maintained the greatest composure. Barak kissed the delegate of the Communist Party of Greece, when comrade Mehmet Shehu, following the decision adopted by the Political Bureau, rightfully described him as he was. Whom did the delegate of the Communist Party of Greece call a provocateur? Mehmet Shehu, the most glorious general of our Army, to whom our Party gave the order to defend the southern borders of Albania against the Greek monarcho-fascists and Van Fleet, who had hurled themselves like wild beasts against the Greek partisans? And the representative of the Communist Party of Greece comes to the Congress of our Party not as a friend, but to say that he does not agree with Enver Hoxha concerning the question of Venizelos, this enemy of Albania, who has been and is for the partitioning of our Homeland. It is not for nothing we say these things; we know only too well who are the Greek monarcho-fascists whom we have for neighbours. Therefore, Barak should not be hasty because we have known them for a long time and much better than he. The father of Sophocles Venizelos, Eleutherios Venizelos, put Southern Albania to the torch, while the re-

presentative of the Communist Party of Greece comes to our Congress and defends them. Then, what is this stand, is it not a provocation?

The Central Committee of our Party told your ambassador in Tirana: if you are loyal to your homeland and your party, you must report to them correctly even something unpleasant. You must hide nothing from the party and the government, otherwise you have followed a policy destructive to your party and homeland. We considered Ivanov as a close friend, but he did not deserve our trust.

I assure you, comrades, in the name of the Central Committee that as far as our side is concerned, we shall strive to strengthen the friendship and love for the peoples of the Soviet Union among our people and in our Party even further. We want the disagreements between our parties and countries to be resolved in time and in a Marxist-Leninist way. We shall struggle to the limit of our possibilities to strengthen our unity. We shall never give either occasion or cause for this unity to be damaged, but will work to make it stronger day by day. We shall defend our views on the basis of the Moscow Declaration, on the basis of Marxism-Leninism, regardless of whether others may think that we are allegedly ignorant of Marxism-Leninism. That is what the Italian comrades, for example, think. When Nikita Khrushchev was in Albania, he said, making allusions against Tito, that it is not true that the Albanian comrades do not know Marxism, indeed even children are Marxists in Albania. Whereas the Italians have told us:

«Read Marx and Lenin!» We tell them that not only do we read our glorious teachers, but we work and fight on the basis of their teachings.

But we are not making an issue of these things. We can play politics, too, but we do not indulge in diplomacy with the Soviet comrades. Whatever we have to say we say it openly. Bear this in mind, comrade Ambassador, between us we shall not use diplomacy, but we shall speak frankly and in a comradely manner.

I shall tell you one thing. Owing to your stand we shall be compelled to reduce our food rations and the firing practice programmes in our Army, but we do not surrender. You saw what the Congress was like and if we take this measure which is imposed on us by you, our soldiers and officers will ask, why has this measure been taken? Then, what must we do — not speak? No, we shall not shut our mouths. We shall tell our men and women that the Soviet leading comrades want to force our Party and Government to their knees, that the Soviet leadership is breaching the signed agreements, acting in a unilateral manner, and refuses to help us, and we shall issue the call: tighten your belts, stand vigilant in defence of the Homeland and the socialist camp, endure it. Our Party and people have a very high level of understanding of these things.

You are gravely mistaken when you say that we deny the role of the Soviet Union. We never have done and do not deny the role of the Soviet Union and the blood shed by the Soviet Army for the liberation of the countries occupied by the

German nazis, including Albania, irrespective of the fact that the Red Army did not come to our country. Do you know who denies the role of the Soviet Union? We entirely disagree with Barak and his ilk who say that the state power in Czechoslovakia was seized without bloodshed, whereas in reality, the sons of the Soviet people shed rivers of blood for the liberation of Czechoslovakia. Hence we are in total disagreement with this view of Barak which was expressed in our Congress. If it were not for the Red Army, which was commanded by J. V. Stalin, Czechoslovakia today would not have Karlovy Vary where we chanced to spend our summer holidays.

Who armed the Czechoslovak workers who came out in boulevards in 1948 and took action against the coup d'état which was being prepared? It pains us deeply when the role of the Soviet Army as the saviour of the peoples is denied and we say this openly. We have said this directly to Nikita Khrushchev and Mikoyan.

There are political and ideological disagreements between us, but we do not interfere in your internal affairs and we likewise allow neither Khrushchev nor anybody else to interfere in our internal affairs. Do not try to split our leadership, as your former ambassador, the representative of the government and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in Albania, has done.

Y. ANDROPOV: At this meeting we are not on equal terms with you. Here you are the leaders of your Party, while we are only a party delegation, thus, people without authority. I say this

because comrade Enver Hoxha spoke to us about a number of questions ranging wider than we had intended. However we shall report these matters to our leadership.

COMRADE MEHMET SHEHU: Do not forget to tell N. Khrushchev what your men have said about comrade Enver Hoxha. What friendship are you talking about, when you subject the delegation of our Party, to espionage processing, when you have put all sorts of listening devices in our embassy in Moscow? You should be the first to show us that you want to strengthen our friendship, but when you commit such unfriendly acts, when you reduce economic aid to our country, when you suspend supplies of armaments to our army, how can you expect an approach from our side?

COMRADE HYSNI KAPO: How do you consider these actions? Why is it that you have not sent many goods, items of machinery, armaments, etc., which should have arrived in Albania 6 months ago? In our economic or military agreements there are time schedules fixed for the deliveries. Then why have these agreements been violated by your side?

COMRADE ENVER HOXHA: If the Soviet leadership understands us correctly and nurtures for our people and our Party that great sincere love which the entire Soviet people and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union have, any disagreement between us will be put right. We made the other issues clear at the Moscow Meeting. There we stated things as they are. You say that we blackened

Khrushchev at that meeting. I say that I criticized him for his mistakes and faults whereas you interpreted our criticism wrongly, as though I was slinging mud at the Soviet Union. We say to you, read my Moscow speech once more with greater care.

I believe we have finished. Please transmit our greetings as well as our views, just as we stated them here, openly and sincerely to all the comrades of your leadership.

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**RADIOGRAM TO THE ALBANIAN DELEGATION
AT THE MEETING OF THE CONSULTATIVE
POLITICAL COMMITTEE OF THE
WARSAW TREATY**

M o s c o w

March 28, 1961, 07:30 AM.

Throw Grechko's letter into the wastepaper basket¹, reply only to those questions which he and the others put forward at the meeting. Therefore your speech must be reconsidered in this light. Don't be the first to speak.

The issue of the base. The Albanian Government does not accept even the slightest change from the existing status quo defined by the official agreements between the two governments. Reject

¹ This refers to a letter by Grechko, at that time commander-in-chief of the Warsaw Treaty armed forces, handed to our delegation one hour before the commencement of the meeting of representatives of the member countries of the Warsaw Treaty, which was held in Moscow on 28-29 March, 1961. In the letter

their slanders and excuses, mention and distribute the memorandum of Mehmet [Shehu] and Andreyev concerning the events in the base. Argue the matter from the political-military aspect, show the exemplary training of our sailors. Link Khrushchev's previous threats and blackmail on this issue and say that the Albanian Government does not accept Marshal Grechko's theses, for they are not in order. Point out that any decision they may take in the direction of dismantling the base and failure to supply it with armaments according to the agreements and contracts, weakens the defence of the socialist camp and Albania and makes them completely responsible. As a conclusion, say on behalf of the Party and the Government, that we do not accept and shall vote against any decision that might be taken against the status quo in the base and the non-observance of the agreements between the SU and the PRA.

Keep us informed. Stand at the height of our Party.

E n v e r

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it was demanded that the Government of the PRA must give up the naval base at Vlora and all its territory must pass under the control of the Soviet Government, that the armed forces of the Albanian navy must be withdrawn from this territory, while all the warships, auxiliary ships etc., must be handed over to Soviet crews.

**THE SUBMARINES OF THE VLORA BASE ARE
OURS, BUT WE SHALL FIGHT EVEN
WITHOUT THEM**

*Contribution to the discussion at the meeting of the
Political Bureau of the CC of the PLA¹*

April 1, 1961

I fully agree with the view of all the comrades of the Political Bureau on these very important questions. I also fully agree with the work done by our delegation which took part in the meeting of the Consultative Political Committee of the member countries of the Warsaw Treaty, which has loyally defended the line of the Party.

From now on we must resist our opponents even more strongly, be more wary in relations with them, and carefully preserve the principles of Marxism-Leninism. I say this, because, as we see more clearly day by day, we have to do with

¹ This meeting discussed the report presented by our Party and Government delegation which took part in the meeting of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Treaty, which was held in Moscow on March 28-29, 1961.

opportunist, revisionist leaderships, enemies of Marxism-Leninism, which are also at the heads of of the member countries of the Warsaw Treaty, About this we have been and remain convinced, and there is not the slightest trace of doubt.

It must be understood that not only has the Soviet revisionist leadership set out on a hostile road, but this meeting of the Warsaw Treaty has been a concrete action of its betrayal over which it was exposed at the Moscow Meeting. The pressures exerted on us at the meeting of the Warsaw Treaty, are a response to our heroic and Marxist-Leninist stand in defence of Marxism-Leninism, and at the same time, a response to the 4th Congress of our Party and its correct line. All the traitors, whom the 4th Congress of our Party terrifies, maintain such attitudes.

Other meetings will be held in the future, too, but again we shall triumph. We know that the Soviet revisionists and their followers are fighting to discredit our Party, and making efforts to split its leadership; they will set to work in order to continue their plots with all their means, with a view to overthrowing the leadership of our Party, to liquidating the Party, and they even exert military pressures to occupy Albania. Thus, they are enemies, from the enemy nothing good should be expected. . .

In this situation, as long as the Soviets are there, the Vlora military base is a very serious menace to us, that is for the occupation of Albania, for the elimination of the independence of our country. All that the comrades said is true, for

there is a great possibility that the Soviet leadership will dismantle the Vlora base and not hand the ships over to us, for such is Khrushchev's line. It brings grist to the mill of US imperialism. But by leaving the base, they will lose and we shall win.

Khrushchev also has other base plans against our country. Such people as Ulbricht¹ want to frighten us, when they say that «the military base of Vlora is of very great importance to Albania», but, in the present conditions, this base is of no importance to our defence. On the contrary, Nikita Khrushchev can use it like the «nail of Nasredin»² and throw in whole army divisions, creating great dangers for our country. Therefore, as all the comrades of the Political Bureau said, I, too, agree that we should liquidate the Vlora military base as it is today, while demanding that we should keep all the warships. If the ships are left with us as we want, it will be good, if the opposite is the case the submarines are useless to us. We shall fight even without them. If we have the ships, too, in case of attack by the enemies, we shall wreak havoc. But the main war will not be waged on the

1 W. Ulbricht, at that time first secretary of the CC of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany.

2 «The nail of Nasredin», a popular saying denoting such a situation when someone strives through trickery to ensure the right of ownership over something small on the territory of somebody else with a view to using it as a pretext to violate the legitimate rights of the person to whom the entire territory belongs.

sea. This is what I think about the issue of the base. But we should not forget that the Soviet revisionists may remain at the Vlora base, with a view to concocting some other provocative act and having their people there. Therefore we must manoeuvre. Whatever situation may arise, that is, whether the Soviets stay or leave the base, we, for our part, absolutely must avoid the incidents and provocations which they may create.

I do not want to enter into details, but I want to stress that we must think seriously about our military preparation and armament. You, comrades of the army, prepare all the variants of defence in conditions of encirclement and with these arms which we have. Thus, we should proceed from the principle that we shall no longer have arms, ammunition, or clothing for our army from the Soviet Union. Therefore, we should set to work right now and take measures so that we ensure some of these needs of our army ourselves, and seek some others from our friends.

These are some political, military and economic questions which we must bear in mind.¹ We must be on our toes, maintain close contact with the people, sharpen our vigilance, foresee that, in one form or another, the plots will be repeated, the provocations against our country will increase, and the enemy pressures against us will be stepped up.

1 In this contribution to the discussion comrade Enver Hoxha dealt also with some political and economic problems arising from the difficult situation the Soviet revisionists would create for our country.

But we shall cope with every situation, because the Central Committee, the Political Bureau and the whole Party are firmly united and, although we have many powerful enemies, we have also many friends, in the first place great China, the countries of people's democracy of Asia, as well as the peoples of all the socialist countries and the communists of the whole world.

It is true that our imperialist and revisionist enemies can do many things, but it is also true that they cannot act immediately. First they must prepare the ground against us in the political, ideological field, must slander and slander and then undertake actions. But we must see clearly how the situations are developing, for if we see them differently from what they are, then the measures for the defence of the Homeland and the Party cannot be realized with that intensity and strength of organization, and cannot be at that political level, which is required. Our Party and people have withstood great tests in which they have immeasurably tempered themselves and are in a position to understand these situations correctly, even with their minor nuances.

In conclusion, we must respond to the attitude of the Soviet leadership at the latest meeting of the Warsaw Treaty with a letter, then we should think about replying to the other parties which follow it, over everything that has been done against us, over hostile attitudes and tactics against the Party of Labour and our People's Republic. Naturally, in this direction we must be cautious, we must avoid putting weapons into the hands of our

enemies to be used against us, but the weapons should be in our hands. See how these traitors to Marxism have been put in exceptionally difficult positions by a small Party like ours and are committing acts that logical people could not do; with these actions they are precipitating events.

But here it is not only the question of Albania, but the question of the whole of international communism. Although many communists in the world are not aware of or some have not yet understood these events, there are also many communists who have understood them. The group of Nikita Khrushchev and Co. know how rotten their situation is. They still blame Stalin for the difficulties they are meeting. But the Soviet people do not believe that these difficulties are a consequence of Stalin's «mistakes».

To the fight against this dangerous group of traitors to Marxism-Leninism we too, are making our contribution. We are on a correct course, therefore with each day that passes we are steadily winning, while things are going badly for the Khrushchev group and finally they will lose, but this still needs time.

We should insist on and continually stress the issue of unity in the Party and the people, for this is vital. We should bear in mind that Khrushchev and his group will do every sort of dirty thing and will act even against the best people of our Party. Therefore, we should close our ranks because thus the revisionists will certainly break their heads. We should take measures and must not neglect any question whatever.

The heroism of our people is great, but we should always keep the situation in mind. This year we secured 70,000 tons of grain more than last year, but we must work on the supposition that we could experience another bad year. China will certainly help us, but the Soviet revisionists and their followers like the great plotters that they are, may act with cunning to hinder the way of the Chinese ships and to prevent wheat reaching us. Therefore we should make the people aware that if we come upon bad days, up to war, they must tighten their belts and eat rationed bread, must be determined to eat as much as there is and live on it. Such a preparation of the people is essential. Every one must be clear about the situation we are passing through. We have a difficult struggle ahead of us, therefore we must economize everywhere.

The Soviet revisionists, those enemies of Marxism-Leninism, will hinder the others from learning what is going on in Albania and how our people are fighting. They will strive to raise barriers to stop us reaching the opinion of the sister parties. Look, our Ambassador in Moscow informed us yesterday that they had summoned him and told him that they had found out that comrade Enver Hoxha's report to the 4th Congress of the Party was being distributed outside the regulations, by the men of the Albanian Embassy in Moscow, to individual Soviet persons, while this could be done by «Mezhdunarodnaya Knjiga»*. «I don't understand», replied Nesti [Nase] «such a practice has

* International Book (Russian in the original).

not been followed up till now either in regard to us or in regard to the other representations, therefore why should this differentiation be made over the documents of our Party?».

... Even if the political circumstances and our determined struggle compel them to lie low for a moment and give us, let us say, some tractors, we must not think that they have made the change, but at the same time we must be vigilant.

Do we, then, agree to do a letter?

All the comrades of the Political Bureau expressed themselves unanimously that this letter should be done.¹ Then it was decided to inform the members of the Central Committee of the PLA as well as the first secretaries of the regional party committees about this question.

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¹ This letter was sent on April 5th, 1961, to the governments of the member countries of the Warsaw Treaty, and for information, to all the governments of the other socialist countries. There, the accusations levelled at the meeting of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Treaty, held during 28-29th March 1961, to the effect that Albania had allegedly «excluded itself from the Treaty», that the recent counter-revolutionary plot uncovered there was allegedly a bluff, etc., were refuted with convincing arguments. In this letter the request for allowing a «commission to verify the files of the process» as well as the decision taken at the meeting on the Vlora base were turned down with contempt as an interference in the internal affairs of the PRA.

**ON THE INTERNATIONAL SITUATION AND ON
THE RELATIONS OF THE PLA WITH THE CPSU
AND THE COMMUNIST AND WORKERS'
PARTIES OF THE SOCIALIST
COUNTRIES OF EUROPE**

*From the information at the 2nd Plenum of the CC
of the PLA*

July 1, 1961

Due to the anti-Marxist attitude of the Soviet leadership, and its followers towards our Party and our country, our relations with them and the countries of people's democracy of Europe have worsened. I am not going to go right back to the beginning on these issues for you already know about them. The Marxist-Leninist stand of our Party ruined the plans and tactics of Khrushchev and his followers. . .

The problem is that the revisionist activity of the Khrushchev group has brought great harm to international communism and the socialist camp because now neither ideological unity, nor political unity exists in our ranks. This is clear. It is known

that a series of parties are now in open opposition to the revisionist line of the Khrushchev group and the leaders of the countries of people's democracy of Europe and of some communist parties of Western countries. This lack of unity greatly interests imperialism, which has worked ceaselessly for this, to weaken the unity of the socialist camp and the international communist and workers' movement.

The Marxist-Leninist parties consider the question of unity as a matter of exceptional importance. But there are two diametrically opposed courses for the defence of unity: the first is to defend it in words and on the other hand sabotage it in deeds, whereas the other course is to defend unity with all one's strength on the Marxist-Leninist course and, despite the major political and ideological contradictions that exist among our parties, to avoid giving imperialism any weapon to fight us with and deepen this lack of unity, this split, even further. For the first course, for the destruction of unity the Khrushchev group are working with might and main, fully conscious of what they are about.

Let us take the issue of the PR of China, which is of exceptional importance to the camp of socialism. China has colossal military, political and ideological potential, but the Khrushchev group continue to ignore this colossal potential in the international field. Not only that, but every effort is being made, openly or secretly, to discredit and push China aside in the international arena.

The Soviet leadership is carrying out an unprincipled struggle, a fierce anti-Marxist struggle,

against our country and our Party. And this has its own reasons.

These reasons are based on the fact that the line of our Party, its correct tactics in the circumstances and conditions of our country (taking into consideration the hostile encirclement, the continual plots against us, the defence potential of our country) are exceptionally damaging to them. Therefore, the Nikita Khrushchev group and the leadership of the countries of people's democracy of Europe and of the Communist Parties of France and Italy that follow them, have organized a common tactic, and this is clear from the attitudes they maintain towards us. The aim is to cut off Albania and discredit the Albanian leadership. But the blockade against our country is not restricted just to the propaganda aspect, because in regard to this aspect to a large degree nobody believes them. Their slogans are already known: «The Albanian leadership is in an anti-Soviet, sectarian, dogmatic position», etc.

But it is not only this aspect. Seeing the danger which the correct policy of our Party and State constitutes for them, they have also imposed a military blockade on Albania. To legalize this, they convened the meeting of the Consultative Political Committee of the Warsaw Treaty, the results of which you know. The aim of this meeting, organized by the Khrushchev group, was to strike a blow at the Party of Labor of Albania and the Albanian people, to shake the broad masses of our Party and people with the threat of withdrawing the naval base at Vlora, and as a consequence, to

cause alarm in the Party and the Albanian public that great danger from imperialism is being created for Albania and that the Albanian leadership are to blame for this.

To achieve this, they violated any norm, agreement and treaty. They strove to give this meeting the appearance of a normal meeting, because the agenda envisaged the re-examination of the military situation and the armaments of our armies. For this, the approaches had been made through the general staffs of the armies of the member countries, and naturally, of our staff, too. Such negotiations are made by them intermittently; regular approaches as between allies which have common tasks on their shoulders against a common enemy, are not made, but they send 5 officers to give the impression of allegedly talking about armaments, and when meetings are held Khrushchev says they have all the missiles they want which they turn out like sausages.

The military potential of the Soviet Union is known, but we criticize their procedures and methods of work as members of the Warsaw Treaty. And in fact, nothing was said at the plenary meeting of the Treaty in March this year, about what has been and what will be done for the strengthening of our armies, as had been announced in advance, but the aim of the meeting was to attack Albania, with the same procedures as were used in Bucharest against China.

Late one night, before the meeting was held, Marshal Grechko sent a letter to our delegation, in

which he made those same threats and demands which were put forward later by Khrushchev and his friends at the meeting. Grechko deliberately handed over the letter very late, so that we would not have time to reply to it. But it did not work out as they intended.

If the meeting had developed as had been announced, all the participants would have acted as our delegation did, discussing those problems about which our countries had been informed, on the basis of the agenda, and which are so important and of such concern for the fate of the socialist countries and world peace. The delegations of the countries taking part in this meeting, beginning with Khrushchev and the others in turn, merely launched attacks against our leadership and our country, and you know about this.

This was a threat made to our Party and country and which was rejected, for it has no political, ideological, moral, juridical, military or other basis; the right is completely on our side. But they took absolutely no heed and here their savagery was displayed.

Naturally we defended our rights and we showed them their place, but the other aspect should not be forgotten — the great harm which the Khrushchev group and their friends did to the joint defence of the socialist camp. It is a fact that with the withdrawal of the Vlora base its defence power is weakened. Khrushchev demonstratively ordered the withdrawal of the submarines and auxiliary ships which were at the Vlora base. The whole world heard about this, London saw the So-

viet warships returning from Vlora to the Baltic Sea on film and television.

Thus, fully aware of what they are doing, the Khrushchev group have weakened the defence of the socialist camp and of our country. You know what the reasons for this stand were. All the charges that the people of this group had trumped up against our country are vile slanders without foundation.

Comrade Mehmet summed up their pretended «facts» in a letter and then summoned the representative of the United Command of the Warsaw Treaty in our country, asked him what he had to say, and after he had spoken, comrade Mehmet gave him our reply in writing. This was followed by the visit comrade Mehmet made to the naval base of Vlora, in March 1961, where he addressed the forces there and made many problems clear.

The failure to send the armaments at the set time, as well as the failure to complete the base, warned us of the measures and attitudes which would be maintained against us by the Soviet leadership and which were crowned at the March meeting of the Warsaw Treaty.

At the March meeting they also raised the question of the plot¹ which, to them, was allegedly a bluff, specially hatched up and prepared by us, therefore, in their opinion, a commission should have been created to examine the truth of the facts.

Why did they present such a view? There are

¹ See note on p. 155 of this volume.

two things here: either they are collaborators with this plot or they are defending imperialism, the Yugoslav revisionists, and the Greek monarchofascists. We have no doubt about this, for it is not the first time that these people have defended the enemies of our Party and our people. They have raised this to a system; a thing which means to be very heavily compromised, and this plot is truly a great exposure of the policy of Khrushchev and his cronies. That is why they maintain such an attitude.

About the trial of the Albanian traitors and spies which took place in Tirana in the month of May, the Khrushchev group and their followers have maintained total silence. To maintain complete silence towards such hostile activity, which is neither the first nor the last to be hatched up by the imperialists, the Yugoslav revisionists and the Greek monarchofascists, against Albania and the cause of socialism, means to defend them, to take their side. They have been fearful about the holding of this trial.

But let us dwell on the issue of the withdrawal of the Vlora naval base. How correct our political, moral, military and juridical stand has been on this issue, and how base and hostile the attitude and tactics of the Soviet side.

They have adopted base revolting attitudes on so many occasions that they cannot be counted. But at these delicate moments, the group of our officers in the base, in a masterly and intelligent manner, have defended the Party against the plotters, provocateurs and chauvinists who degraded the feel-

ings of the Soviet sailors to such an extent that if you see a reel of film that has been taken there, you will note in what a grave situation the ships, means, etc., were left, and you will immediately ask the question: who has lived in that place, is it possible for Soviet men to have knocked holes in the reservoirs, to have smashed the beds, the windows of the buildings where they lived and worked, etc. They made efforts to take everything away, down to the last bolts, but they were unable to attain their aim. We took a hard stand, properly defended our rights, and responded to the attacks and provocations with aplomb, whereas they lost their heads. The ships stayed put. We gave them only the ships in which the Soviet personnel served, not that those they took are theirs. We allowed them those they took because we did not want to make the situation even more acute, since this was what they wanted.

Those who served at the base were inspired with enmity against our country, they were people politically and ideologically degenerate. We had never thought that the senior Soviet officer would sink so low as to put aside for himself the telephone, the motor of the automobile, to put the fan and other things in his personal suitcase, in order to take them to the Soviet Union!

The stand of our sailors and officers who were studying and continue to study in the Soviet Union presents quite the opposite picture. Together with our ambassador, they have maintained an heroic stand in defence of the line of the Party and its correctness. Like communists they have stood up

to many anti-socialist actions carried out by the Soviet revisionists since the arrest of our naval students and officers right up to their expulsion from the Soviet Union.

The same stand is being maintained also towards our sailors in Sevastopol. Two destroyers have been sent there for repair, and they want to keep them from us. We shall not go to war over them, but it is a matter of their attitude. When the Soviet sailors were here, we permitted the representatives of the Soviet command, the Soviet ambassador and up to Novikov¹, to go to the Vlora base where they organized plots and provocations behind our backs, whereas in the Soviet Union, they do not allow the representative of our Command, under the United Command of the Warsaw Treaty, to go and withdraw our crews from the ships in an organized way.

But why do the Soviets maintain such a stand? It is obvious, because they are afraid of the truth. The Soviet leadership has done and is doing these things to discredit our Party and our leadership. But in fact the opposite has occurred.

Now we may say that order and calm have been established in the naval base of Vlora. Our naval means are now in full readiness. We shall also set up the naval school there with teachers who have graduated from the academies. Thus, we shall continue to strengthen our navy and coastal defence and we may say that even from the ma-

¹ K. I. Novikov, at that time concillor at the Embassy of the USSR in Tirana.

terial aspect, we are more secure than previously.

The Khrushchevite revisionists have taken the issue of the naval base of Vlora as a pretext for further measures later, to get us out of the Warsaw Treaty. As a matter of fact, from Khrushchev to Zhivkov, they have launched the slogan that «you are putting yourselves outside the Warsaw Treaty», that «you are to blame for ruining the Vlora base because you did not implement the decision of the Consultative Political Committee of the Warsaw Treaty», etc. They did not think that there were other correct solutions for the maintenance of the base. Their action was a conspiracy, they were seeking to find people to fight the Albanian Party, Government and people.

The military aid to us from the Soviet Union has come to an end. It is known that the economic aid, as well as the military aid since the Bucharest Meeting, and indeed even earlier, has still not been given us. I shall not speak about the healthy political and ideological spirit, or about the exceptionally great enthusiasm existing in our army. You know this, but we can tell the Central Committee that even from the economic aspect, the aspect of armaments and military preparedness, the situation in the army is better than at any other time, that all measures have been taken so that the military potential, armaments and other essential requirements of the army will be increased many-fold. Thus, in this direction too, the Soviet leadership and those following them have failed.

They failed in their evil aim of intimidating and shaking Albanian public opinion with the

withdrawal of the submarines, they failed in their thought that our army would be left with its finger in its mouth, without supplies, that its armaments would become obsolete, the spare parts for its weapons would run out etc. This is how things stand on military questions.

In the economic field you know their aim, to cut off any aid to Albania. They cut off their credits to us, withdrew their specialists, and they are trying as hard as they can to narrow the sphere of their trade relations with us. And they have put this into practice in a cunning way. In all their letters, particularly in the letters of the CC of the CPSU, Czechoslovakia, Germany and Hungary, now it is finally said openly that they will build their relations with Albania only on reciprocal bases. They do not have the courage to say to us frankly that they have cut off the credits they granted us, which in fact they have cut off.

But their great economic pressures failed, too. The Central Committee of our Party has it clear that our five-year plan is financially secure and will be realized. Whoever wants to keep his word, let him give the aid he has promised Albania on the former conditions, on the basis of the agreements. But we think that such a thing will not be done, we must have no illusion, because it is a fact that the leaderships of the parties of the socialist countries of Europe have violated every norm and they will continue on this course. We have a basis on which we can rely for the realization of our plans.

The question of the specialists has been even

more scandalous. Having knowledge of their sly, humiliating and slanderous tactics, during all these actions towards our country, we have been growing more and more firmly convinced that we are faced with a group of Trotskyites among the worst history has known. On the one hand they told us that the oil specialists must be withdrawn from Albania, by order of the Soviet Government and, on the other hand, they told the oil manager that the oil specialists were to leave Albania by order of our Minister of Industry. Such things are monstrous, but there are many others like this.

On questions of trade it must be said that contrary to all practice, they have refused to sign long-term trade agreements with us for the years 1961-1965, while they are implementing such agreements even with the capitalist countries. The Soviet side has cut off credits to us. This is how the trade relations stand with these countries.

Cultural relations, too, are not going smoothly due to their fault. In this field, too, we have changed nothing.

On political issues, likewise we maintain a correct stand, which enrages them. Our press and radio continue to write and speak about the economic, cultural and other development of the Soviet Union and the countries of people's democracy, while on their part all the agreements have been breached. In the Soviet Union they have banned the publication of the magazine «New Albania» in Russian and Arabic because it allegedly contains «dogmatic» materials and we are harming the Arabs with our «dogmatic» line!

The cultural agreements signed with us are being violated. This fact is enough to indicate the reality. They did not accept our folk song and dance ensemble who went to China, Vietnam and Korea where they were a great success. We had sought that our ensemble go to the Soviet Union, too, on the basis of the agreement signed together, and the request was made at the beginning of the month of May. But now the Soviet side replies to us that it will not receive them, on the excuse that the request was late in reaching them. It is obvious where this attitude has its roots. The Soviet side is afraid that our ensemble will have success, that there will be applause from the audience for friendship and protests over the vile things which are said against Albania. Many Soviet people have read the report of the Central Committee delivered at the 4th Congress of the Party and in it they have read that none of us has thrown mud at the Soviet Union.

Hence, the Soviet leaders are very much afraid of our correct cultural policy, too. The Bulgarian leadership, also, has ordered the removal of Albanian songs from the programmes of Radio Sofia. At the international festival of our countries which was held in Rumania, in the concert programme arranged, the Albanian song of the nightingale was to have been sung. This song tells of the course followed by our people under the leadership of the Party, etc. The jury and artists received this song with a great enthusiasm; however, when it came time for the concert, it was not presented and they justified this with the illness of the conductor. As

we heard later, the concert was not put on because of the Albanian song which was on the programme. This is what happens in the Soviet Union, Bulgaria, Rumania, etc., whereas in Mongolia there was allegedly no hotel to receive the members of our ensemble. These people are afraid to have relations with us, because they are not in order, and these things convince us still more of the correctness of the course of our Party.

Our students in the Soviet Union are waging an heroic fight to defend the line of the Party. At the University, in the institutes of Moscow, and in all parts of the Soviet Union where they are studying, they have made things clear in the minds of Soviet people, because the leadership there feeds people with lies, therefore only among our people can they find the truth and the right and thus they manage to draw some conclusions. Here it must be pointed out that our ambassador in the Soviet Union has known how to keep our students well informed. Our ambassadors in the countries of people's democracy have acted in this way, too. Almost all our ambassadors have shown themselves up to the mark of the important duties with which the Party has charged them, true communists, revolutionary diplomats.

The comrades who were studying at the Higher School of the CPSU, who were living, day and night, in struggle with the distortions of the Marxist-Leninist theory, with the efforts to introduce the revisionist and Trotskyite theories into that school, have done especially good work. From the comrades of the first course to those of the third

course, they have resolutely waged an exceptionally great struggle in defence of our Party and Marxism-Leninism. This has been of very great importance because in the Party School there are cadres from all parts of the Soviet Union and the countries of people's democracy.

The situation there now is that many of those who have had discussions with our comrades are fully with us. Our comrades who are living in the Soviet Union, are seeing what situations the Khrushchev group have created for the Soviet communists. You are well acquainted with the measures that the Soviet leadership has taken to conceal the failures in agriculture. Here, too, Khrushchev's narodnik policy failed because of violations of the Leninist teachings on the problems of agriculture, violation of the principles of J. V. Stalin which not even a cannon can shift, and which are reflected also in his last work, «Economic problems of socialism in the Soviet Union». Read this work once again, comrades, and you will see where Khrushchev's failing policy is leading.

This line has created great economic difficulties in the Soviet Union. For weeks and months on end meat, salami and other products are not easy to find. The black market is on the upsurge at a time when Khrushchev has launched the slogan of the construction of communist society. We regret the liberalism which is apparent in the Soviet Union, which leads to the breakdown of morality, to the creation of great confusion, to the corruption of the youth. All this is the result of the opportunist and revisionist policy of the Khrushchev clique.

In the Soviet Union things are happening which are unbelievable, but facts are facts.

How are our relations with the other countries of people's democracy?

Up to date our relations with Poland have not undergone any change. Gomulka is a second Tito, he slanders us as much as you please. The Poles maintain only trade relations.

The Czechoslovak leadership is behaving in an exceptionally dirty manner. This revisionist leadership is equipped with a markedly petty-bourgeois commercial spirit which makes it still more dangerous. They are dealers, they fight to the limit for money. They display this spirit in politics, too. They direct abuse against the leadership of our Party and defend Khrushchev and reconcile themselves with him against our country.

Even towards Albania's friends in Czechoslovakia the Czechoslovak leadership maintains a vicious attitude. You know that some time ago, the wife of a veteran Czechoslovak communist, a friend of Albania, a collaborator and close comrade of Klement Gottwald, one of the founders of the CP of Czechoslovakia, came to visit Albania. But when she arrived in Tirana this communist wife of the outstanding Czechoslovak patriot, after a few days of stay here, was reproached and pressure was exerted on her to leave Albania as soon as possible. When she returned to Czechoslovakia they raised the question of why she came to Albania in her party branch and now attacks against her have begun over her stand in favour of our country and our people.

The German leadership, as you know, continues its course of provocations. Apart from the blatant provocation in connection with the publication of Walter Ulbricht's speech, to which we replied with a correct letter, they have given orders to their press not to say a single word about our country. If you read the letter of a certain Willi Stof¹ you will understand immediately that he is truly a fascist. With that letter he shows that he is a collaborator in the plot of the US 6th Fleet, in collaboration with the Yugoslav revisionists and the Greek monarcho-fascists, when he accuses us, Albanians, of provoking Yugoslavia, Greece, and the United States of America. This is the sort of people they are.

Up till recently the Hungarian leadership maintained an attitude somewhat different from the others, which made one think that the Hungarian leadership had drawn profound lessons from the past. It also gave us 15 million rubles in aid. We sought permission from them to announce this act in the press and received an affirmative answer. However, about a week ago the Hungarian leadership sent us a letter signed by Janos Kadar, accusing us of being rabidly anti-Soviet. The letter stresses that we allegedly published the news about the granting of the aid by the Hungarian leadership in order to drive wedges between the Soviet Union and Hungary. Thus, they oblige us to deny

¹ W. Stof, at that time vice-chairman of the Council of Ministers and minister of People's Defence of the German DR.

their aid. We thank them, as is proper, for this aid, whereas they want us to keep quiet about it with the aim that later they can attack us as ungrateful.

Kadar has sent us this letter, without doubt, because the Soviet leadership has tweaked his ear for having granted us the aid, as it did with the Bulgarian leadership which was asked to explain why it had made a gift of the bust of George Dimitrov to the Albanians. Kadar and the Central Committee of the Workers' Party of Hungary take the conspirators under their protection and affirm that they are their people. Fine, for us there is no better document to prove that Kadar is a collaborator of the plotters, agents of the imperialists. Even the Yugoslav revisionists, who have been direct collaborators in this plot against the PRA, strive to deny such a thing, whereas Kadar describes the plotters who are our political opponents, as alleged Marxists and makes the accusation against us that their execution was unjust!

The Bulgarian leadership with Zhivkov at the head has adopted the same position as the others. They, too, have placed the blockade on our country. The editors of the newspaper «Trud», however, published the news about the Tirana trial, describing its decision as a just verdict against traitors to the Albanian people, agents of the Yugoslav revisionists. Tito made an immediate protest to the Bulgarian leadership and that same day Theodor Zhivkov called a meeting of the political bureau of the CC of the CP of Bulgaria, which decided to sack the president and the responsible secre-

taries of the Central Council of the Trade Unions of Bulgaria.

Thus, it is understood that all the leaderships of the socialist countries of Europe, with Khrushchev at the head, have taken a joint decision in favour of an anti-socialist and anti-Albanian stand towards our Party and our country.

What has been our stand in the face of these situations? We have tried to and have kept cool, we have defended our correct line, and have not wavered. However we do not accept what they say about us, but give them the reply they deserve. As they write to us, so we write to them, but while they resort to slander, we reason in the correct Marxist-Leninist way, and in this way we refute their calumnies.

This is the spirit and character of the letter we are going to send to the Central Committee of the CPSU in reply to Kosygin's letter about all the problems that have been raised there, about the political, ideological, economic and military behaviour and attitudes they have maintained and continue to maintain towards the Albanian Party and people. In this letter we also express our view as to how these matters should be corrected.

Likewise, the attitude of the embassies of the socialist countries of Europe in our country is also to be pointed out. The stand of the officials of these embassies reflects the stand of their leaders. These have been turned into embassies for observation, attack, and diversion against our Party and people. Therefore, our stand towards them must

be very reserved. We are not in the least afraid of meetings with them, only the comrades must be vigilant, give them the reply they deserve in case they try provocation in these meetings, and expose the provocateurs and the provocations. When they came to us for meetings at the time of truly friendly relations, we talked with them as friends, as brothers, but now over their provocations they must be put in their place. Now we shall behave as they behave towards us.

We should be vigilant towards the movements and contacts of these people with the «brides» who are in our country. Some of our comrades have married, and we have nothing against those Soviet girls or girls of other countries who stay on a correct Marxist-Leninist road, whereas those who defend Khrushchev should be shown the road they came from. Therefore, it should be made clear to their Albanian husbands, party members or non-party, that the Party and the Homeland come first and then the wife, that the most important thing is to defend the Party and the Homeland, and that the family and the children of everyone, without exception, must defend them. This is clear. If the foreign wife of some comrade, party or non-party, maintains a friendly attitude towards our people and Party, if she does not carry out propaganda for the Khrushchev line, if she makes no provocations, etc., let her march forward together with our people, but if she acts otherwise, if she conspires to the detriment of our Party and country and her husband shuts his eyes, then let him take the responsibility upon himself because

the Party will take measures against her and against him who closes his eyes.

Our general line has been and is correct. Our consistent attitude is a great pain in the neck to Khrushchev and Co. But that doesn't worry us. In the future, too, we shall march resolutely on our Marxist-Leninist course. On the questions of international policy we shall proceed, as always, on the basis of Marxism-Leninism, on the basis of the correct line of our Party.

The situation requires that the editors of our newspapers should conduct an intelligent policy. In their work they must always proceed from the positions of our Party. The main thing is that the correct Marxist-Leninist views must be defended, but at the same time we must be severe on splitters and deviators. We should come down on those who attack us with the aim of weakening us and must be vigilant to defend our unity, the ranks of our Party and people.

To be vigilant does not mean to gather negative facts about people and finally number them off one by one. This is not vigilance. We must help people who during their life and activity make mistakes or display symptoms of lack of ideological or political understanding. We must make efforts so that they understand correctly where their mistakes are and mobilize themselves to implement the line and directives of the Party. Therefore we must think well about the treatment of people who are ours but who make mistakes; they must be given timely help so that they do not

reach the point where they fall into grave errors and become incorrigible.

Thus, the Party should work with wisdom and vigilance and should not forget that apart from us, the enemy, too, is at work striving to drive wedges among people. In this sense we must be vigilant. However it is a fact that in general the treatment of people who make mistakes, on the part of the Party, the organs of Justice and State Security, has been on a Marxist-Leninist course. Maturity and great tenderness has been shown for our people, and a lofty revolutionary and stern class spirit towards incorrigible people, enemies of the Party and the State who have entered into secret or open collaboration with the imperialists, the revisionists, the Greek monarcho-fascists, or the Italian neo-fascists. Our Party, the organs of State Security, and the people have displayed this correct Marxist-Leninist stand. Therefore we should keep this spirit alive. We should strengthen the love and great confidence among the people for the men of the Party, the army, the security service. This great love and confidence has been created in our country for these people.

I receive many letters from the people and I read them each day, every morning, before I begin work. In recent days I have read the letter of a citizen who says frankly that he had been in political opposition with the Party, had no confidence in it, considering it as sold out to foreigners, a blind lackey of the Soviets. «But, when I heard all these things», he writes, «and saw the heroic Marxist-Leninist stand of the Party, how it reso-

lutely defends the cause of justice, how it defends the Homeland and the people, as well as the cause of socialism, I pledged to be loyal to the Party to the end». See what a great transformation the work of the Party has made in the head of this man!

The recent trial¹ in particular has made an exceptionally great impression on our people. It has aroused a deep-going hatred against the traitors and spies, against the imperialists and revisionists, and an unexampled enthusiasm and patriotism among our working masses. The danger of the uncovered conspiracy which failed, was very great. On this occasion we must also point out the skill, determination and watchfulness of our comrades of the Ministry of Internal Affairs who discovered the hostile activity of these bandits in time, seized very important facts and documents, acted with great caution, without being hasty, according to the instructions of the Political Bureau of the CC, but also without allowing the issue to be endangered. This work has meant that we have escaped the great danger and upset the plans of the imperialists and of US imperialism in particular.

Thus, the trial has been of great importance, and because it has been of such importance, because dark plans towards our Party and people have been discovered, Khrushchev and his lackeys are so enraged that they commit such absurdities as to go to the extent of defending the spies

1 Of the conspirators.

and traitors. But let them defend them, the facts are very obstinate. Let Gomulka say that these things have been fabricated, but he should take care that his name, too, does not come out some day in any trial.

We shall continue, and we are confident that we shall continue with this spirit, the realization of our plans. The revisionists can do nothing to us. We are strong and we are not alone.

It should be known that there are socialist countries and communist parties which appreciate our correct stand. After all, millions of genuine communists throughout the world are fighting on this course.

The Central Committee will be kept constantly informed of the further development of the situation. It is important that we inform the whole Party too. Now the Political Bureau has taken a decision to send a letter to all the basic organizations of the Party, in which the situation developed since the sending of the first letter will be explained. This measure has great importance, for our strength resides in the Party. The Party must be clear so that, when the occasion arises it will be able to explain the situation to the people. Naturally we are not going to hold meetings with the people, but these matters must be made known to them, we must explain our problems to them. The people should know the issues in the spirit of our Party. After all, these issues are known to London, why should our people not know them. All the materials of the Moscow Meeting have fallen into the hands of the British who may have got them in

Bulgaria, Poland, Hungary or elsewhere. The speech we delivered in Moscow is being commented on bit by bit in newspapers there and the public is reading it.

After the text of the letter which the Political Bureau of the CC of the PLA had prepared for the CC of the CPSU, was read and approved, comrade Enver Hoxha concluded:

Since this matter for the second item on the agenda of this Plenum is done jointly with the Government, I propose that the letter, which was read and approved here, should be addressed not only to the CC of the CPSU, but also to the Soviet Government and be sent for their information to the central committees of the parties and governments of all socialist countries¹.

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¹ This proposal was unanimously approved. The letter has been published also in «Principal Documents of the PLA», Vol. 4, p. 25, Tirana 1970 (Alb. ed.).

**LETTER ADDRESSED TO THE CENTRAL
COMMITTEES OF THE COMMUNIST AND
WORKERS' PARTIES OF THE WARSAW
TREATY MEMBER COUNTRIES¹**

September 6, 1961

The Plenum of the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania, meeting on September 5-6, 1961, after having carefully examined the letter which the first secretaries of the Central Committees of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, the Socialist United Party of Germany, the United Workers' Party of Poland, the Communist Party of Bulgaria, the Socialist Workers' Party of Hungary, the Workers' Party of Rumania, sent to the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania on August 3, 1961 from the meeting of the representatives of the communist and workers'

¹ This letter has been addressed to the central committees of the CPSU, the CP of Czechoslovakia, the SUP of Germany, the UWP of Poland, the CP of Bulgaria, the SWP of Hungary and the WP of Rumania.

parties of the Warsaw Treaty member countries, through the secretariat of this meeting, sends you the following reply:

From the above mentioned letter, as well as from the delegation of the Party of Labour of Albania who went to Moscow to take part in this meeting, we learned with indignation about the impermissible, profoundly unfriendly attitude, without precedent in the history of the international communist movement, which was maintained there by the authors of the said letter towards the Party of Labour of Albania. In recent times, beginning with the Bucharest Meeting of June 1960, the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, N. S. Khrushchev, and the first secretaries of some communist and workers' parties of socialist countries participants in the Warsaw Treaty, have made a custom of the anti-Marxist practice of placing the Party of Labour of Albania in positions of inequality, discredit and discrimination. This dangerous practice reached its culmination at the meeting of August 3, 1961, where, under the pretext that the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania, comrade Enver Hoxha, was not taking part in the meeting personally, even the most elementary norm of relations between the communist and workers' parties were brutally violated, and the delegation of the Party of Labour of Albania was ousted from the meeting by means of an arbitrary decision. The Plenum of the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania considers this act, unheard of in relations

among Marxist-Leninist sister parties, as brutal interference in the internal affairs of our Party, as a blatant violation of the principles of consultation, equality, and independence of the communist and workers' parties, which have been clearly defined in the Moscow Declaration of the 81 communist and workers' parties. The undertaking of such an action towards a sister party, such as the Party of Labour of Albania, clearly demonstrates that its authors are deliberately going further and further down the road of exacerbation of relations with the Party of Labour of Albania and the Government of the People's Republic of Albania, that they have entered a road from which there is no return, which heavily damages the supreme interests of the unity of the socialist camp and the international communist movement, the interests of the Warsaw Treaty, a course which can bring joy only to our common enemies.

In its letter of July 22, 1961, addressed to W. Ulbricht, the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania had explained that it was not possible for the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania, comrade Enver Hoxha, to take part personally in the meeting of August 3, 1961. The pretext contained in the letter of August 3, addressed to the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania, alleging that the delegation appointed by the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania for that meeting, which was headed by a member of the Political Bureau and secretary of the Central Committee, with that composition was not

«competent» to take part in the discussion of the problems concerning the preparations for the conclusion of the peace treaty with Germany, is entirely without foundation and in contravention of the Leninist organizational rules.

In the communist and workers' parties the Leninist principle of collective leadership exists. And our Party of Labour rigorously respects this principle. Consequently, if it is impossible to send its First Secretary, the Central Committee of any communist and workers' party, hence also the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania, has the full right on any occasion and for any meeting, to appoint another fully empowered representative, who will be authorized to present the view of his Party and assume full obligations and responsibilities on its behalf for the decisions taken collectively as a result of equal, comradely consultations. For the same reason it must be pointed out that neither N. S. Khrushchev nor W. Ulbricht nor any one else is in a position, and neither is up to them, to determine whether the delegation appointed by the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania to represent our Party at the August 3 meeting was or was not «competent». This is an internal question of our Party and, in conformity with the well known principles of the independence of every communist and workers' party, only the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania, as the supreme collective leading organ of the Party, has the right to decide which delegation or leader of the Party

will represent it at this or that meeting of sister parties.

In its letter of July 22, 1961, the Central Committee of our Party declared with the greatest clarity that its delegation, headed by comrade Ramiz Alia, had full power and authority from the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania to represent the Party of Labour of Albania with the most complete competence at the meeting of August 3, 1961, in connection with the German problem which was on the agenda. Therefore we consider the decision of the first secretaries of the central committees of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, the Socialist United Party of Germany, the United Workers' Party of Poland, the Communist Party of Bulgaria, the Socialist Workers' Party of Hungary and the Workers' Party of Rumania, not to allow the delegation of the Party of Labour of Albania to take part in the said meeting, as unlawful, as unprecedented interference in the internal affairs of the Party of Labour of Albania. Likewise, the accusations made against the Party of Labour of Albania with regard to comrade Enver Hoxha's non-participation in the meeting of the Consultative Political Committee of the Warsaw Treaty in March this year, are also interference in our internal affairs.

We also reject the baseless accusation made in the August 3 letter, addressed to the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania, which alleges that the leadership of the Party of Labour of Albania ignores the collective opinion

of the sister communist and workers' parties and that allegedly for this reason, in November 1960, the comrades Enver Hoxha and Mehmet Shehu «walked out of» the Meeting of the representatives of the 81 communist and workers' parties «in a demonstrative fashion». It is well known that the Party of Labour of Albania, just as all the other sister parties participating in the Meeting of November 1960, signed the joint Declaration which was adopted there. The Party of Labour of Albania has consistently implemented and continues to implement the Declaration of the 81 communist and workers' parties of the year 1960, just as it has implemented and continues to implement the 1957 Declaration of the Moscow Meeting. Then where is this «ignoring of the collective opinion of the sister parties»? Those who have been and are brutally violating the principles of the Declaration concerning the relations among the communist and workers' parties and among the socialist countries ignore the collective opinion of the sister parties; the first secretaries of the central committees of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, the Socialist United Party of Germany, the United Workers' Party of Poland, the Communist Party of Bulgaria, the Socialist Workers' Party of Hungary and the Workers' Party of Rumania, who maintain arrogant and unfriendly attitudes towards the Party of Labour of Albania and the People's Republic of Albania, as is proved by the stand they maintained towards the delegation of the Party of Labour of Albania at the meeting of August 3, 1961,

ignore it. As to the departure of the comrades Enver Hoxha and Mehmet Shehu from the final sessions of the November 1960 Meeting, it is well known that this was done because they had to be present in their Homeland for the national day celebrations of November 28 and 29. Moreover they left when the general discussion at the Moscow Meeting had come to an end, when the only business still going on was with the commission for the preparation of the text of the Declaration, on which the overwhelming majority of the participating parties, including the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, the Socialist United Party of Germany, the United Workers' Party of Poland, etc., were not represented by the heads of their delegations. Besides this, many sister parties at the November 1960 Meeting were not represented by their principal leaders, while some days before the departure of the comrades Enver Hoxha and Mehmet Shehu, comrade A. Novotny left this meeting, but despite this nobody has even thought of making accusations against these parties, and particularly comrade Novotny, over this thing, and this is right. Why then, is a different attitude maintained in the case of the Party of Labour of Albania? Is this not a gross violation of the principle of equality, a blatantly discriminatory attitude towards the Party of Labour of Albania?

From this it is clear that all those things contained in the letter addressed to the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania, and which were said at the meeting of August 3, 1961,

against the Party of Labour of Albania and its leadership, are nothing but pretexts invented to justify the impermissible discriminatory attitudes towards the Party of Labour of Albania, to deny it the right to take part in the meeting and to present its correct viewpoint there concerning the German issue. By their unjust decision the first secretaries of the central committees of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, the Socialist United Party of Germany, the United Workers' Party of Poland, the Communist Party of Bulgaria, the Socialist Workers' Party of Hungary and the Workers' Party of Rumania, committed an unprecedented crime: they denied to the Party of Labour of Albania which has always loyally defended and continues to defend the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, and to the allied and fraternal Albanian people, a member of the Warsaw Treaty, their lawful right to have their say with regard to the just solution of the German problem; they trampled underfoot every Leninist law and principle governing the relations among sister parties and socialist countries.

Apparently, in order to hide this crime from the world, to conceal the injustice done to the Party of Labour of Albania, at the end of the proceedings of the meeting of August 3, 1961, an announcement was given to the press, in which the reality is falsified, by implying that the delegation of the Party of Labour of Albania also, took part in this meeting. But however these actions may be justified and concealed, it remains a bitter and

undeniable fact that they are seriously harming the unity of the socialist camp and the international communist movement, and their authors are thus taking upon themselves a grave responsibility before the peoples and history.

And that is not all. In continuation of their condemnable actions towards the Party of Labour of Albania, they unscrupulously violated every Leninist norm of relations among sister communist and workers' parties: they did not even inform the Central Committee of our Party about the development of the proceedings of the meeting of August 3-5, 1961, and the measures adopted there. Up to date neither the decisions taken at this meeting nor its minutes have been sent to the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania. Such an action towards a sister party cannot be described otherwise than as a dishonest and entirely unjustifiable effort to exclude the Party of Labour of Albania in fact from effective participation in the discussion and solution of the major problems which are concerning the international communist and workers' movement, the socialist camp and the Warsaw Treaty, today, such for example as the German problem.

But they went even further. As it emerges from the decision of the Council of Ministers of the German Democratic Republic of August 12, 1961, concerning the measures for the strengthening of the control on the border with West Berlin, apart from the August 3, 1961 meeting of the representatives of the communist and workers' parties of the Warsaw Treaty member countries, at which

the Party of Labour of Albania was unlawfully prohibited from participation, a meeting of the Consultative Political Committee of the Warsaw Treaty has been held, too. Not only were the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania and the Government of the People's Republic of Albania not invited to take part in this meeting, but they were not even informed of the holding of such a meeting. The Central Committee of our Party considers this a blatant violation of the legal rights of the People's Republic of Albania, which is a worthy and equal member of the Warsaw Treaty. The organizers of this unprecedented act, which has the aim of putting the People's Republic of Albania effectively outside the Warsaw Treaty, took upon themselves a heavy responsibility as underminers of the unity of the Warsaw Treaty and the socialist camp. With profound regret we are obliged to observe that this is not the first time that some leaders of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, with N. S. Khrushchev at the head, and some leaders of the communist and workers' parties of the socialist countries of Europe, in the relations with the Party of Labour of Albania and the People's Republic of Albania have violated the agreements existing between our parties and countries in a flagrant manner. The Plenum of the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania most resolutely protests for these unlawful and profoundly anti-Marxist actions, which bring great harm to our common cause.

The letter, which the first secretaries of the central committees of the Communist Party of the

Soviet Union, the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, the Socialist United Party of Germany, the United Workers' Party of Poland, the Communist Party of Bulgaria, the Socialist Workers' Party of Hungary and the Workers' Party of Rumania addressed to the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania, contains a series of attacks, false arguments, and the basest inventions against the Party of Labour of Albania and its leaders, that cannot be left without the reply they deserve from the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania.

The leaders of the Party of Labour of Albania are accused of allegedly being afraid to take upon themselves the responsibility for the settlement of so complicated a question as the German question. The Party of Labour of Albania and the Albanian Government, the Albanian leaders have never been and are not afraid of their responsibility as allies and members of the Warsaw Treaty in any situation. Although a small country, encircled all round by savage enemies, without a common border with the other socialist countries, the People's Republic of Albania has stood like a granite rock on the Adriatic coast, has successfully coped with the countless plots, provocations, and blackmail of the imperialists and their tools, and has carried out its obligations as a socialist country and member of the Warsaw Treaty to the letter.

The stand of our Party and Government on the German question is known to the whole world. It is contained in many official documents that have

been published in the press. The Party of Labour of Albania and the Government of the People's Republic of Albania have always resolutely supported the efforts of the Soviet Union and the German Democratic Republic for a peaceful solution of the German question. The view of our Party and Government has been and still is that the conclusion of a peace treaty with Germany and the settlement on this basis of the problem of West Berlin too, are indispensable measures, long overdue, and in the interests of the People's Republic of Albania, the German Democratic Republic, the other socialist countries, in the interests of peace and security in Europe. We have been and are for the earliest possible solution of these problems, because any dragging out of them is to the advantage only of our enemies. You all have the speech that the delegation of our Party was to have delivered at the August 3 meeting, which it sent on August 3, to the delegations of all the communist and workers' parties participating in this meeting. It shows that our delegation was authorized to declare, on behalf of the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania and the Government of the People's Republic of Albania, that «in any situation and at any moment of danger we shall fight to the end beside the Soviet Union and the other fraternal countries, regardless of any sacrifice, on any occasion and as always we shall be in solidarity to the end and shall do our duty honourably». This has been and is the view of the Party of Labour of Albania and the Government of the People's Republic of Albania,

irrespective of the ideological disagreements which exist between our parties.

Who, in fact, is afraid of the responsibility for the solution of the German issue — we who have been and are for the earliest possible settlement of it, or those who have retreated on this issue and dragged it on until today? N. S. Khrushchev himself publicly declared, in November 1958, that after six months the realizations of measures for the liquidation of the occupation regime in West Berlin and for its transformation into a free, demilitarized city would begin. But six months went by, another two years has gone by, and the situation in West Berlin is still what it was. There is another fact, too, which we cannot fail to mention here. Only a few months ago, at the March 1961 meeting of the Consultative Political Committee of the Warsaw Treaty, Nikita S. Khrushchev reproached the Party of Labour of Albania because it allegedly pursues an incautious and hard-line policy in connection with the German question, while four months later the Party of Labour of Albania is accused of being afraid, that it seeks to avoid the responsibilities stemming from the solution of the German question, etc., etc. Are these declarations not a little surprising? Is it not clear that some leaders of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and some leaders of the communist and workers' parties of the socialist countries of Europe who support them in their efforts to smear the Party of Labour of Albania, to distort its correct policy, resort to all sorts of arguments, be they invented or borrowed from the arsenal of the enemies of

the People's Republic of Albania and the socialist camp, be they even contradictory to one another? But the sun cannot be hidden by a sieve. The stand of the Party of Labour and the Government of the People's Republic of Albania is clear to everybody. The various calumnies and accusations, wherever they may come from, cannot deceive anybody, apart from the naive and those who want to be deceived.

To us it is astonishing and monstrous, how such slanders can be emitted from the mouths of the leaders of some socialist countries and communist parties against another socialist country such as Albania and a Marxist-Leninist party such as the Party of Labour of Albania, that they are allegedly «striving to prepare the ground for rapprochement with those who oppose the peaceful settlement of the German problem». The Plenum of the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania firmly and indignantly rejects this base insinuation and considers it a grave insult to our Party and people, who have fought heroically against fascism and nazism, who have proved themselves many times over in the struggle against imperialism and its tools, who have unflinchingly resisted every threat and provocation by the enemies of socialism, who have mercilessly exposed all those who, deviating from class positions, have sunk into the slime of opportunism and preached conciliation with our enemies. It appears that since their false accusations of sectarianism and extremism against the Party of Labour of Albania did not work and could not deceive anyone, now they

are trying to spread all sorts of inventions that the Party of Labour of Albania is seeking rapprochement with the enemies of peace and socialism. But, faced with the correct and consistent Marxist-Leninist stand of our Party, a stand which is so widely known that we do not take the pains to document it in this letter, these new accusations, too, will suffer the same fate as the previous ones — they will fail ignominiously. Those who accuse and slander the Party of Labour of Albania and its leadership are unable to bring forward even one fact that could prove what they say, whereas we are in a position to bring out many documented facts which clearly show their vacillations from the positions of Marxism-Leninism and the struggle against imperialism. We have never had illusions about our enemies, we have not embraced and kissed them, we have never flattered them or patted them on the back, and neither have we ever kowtowed to them. Our Party and Government have always maintained a resolute and principled Marxist-Leninist stand towards the enemies of peace and socialism, have sternly and constantly unmasked imperialism and its policy of war and aggression. They have been irreconcilable towards the class enemies. The efforts to cast aspersions on the Party of Labour of Albania and the Government of the People's Republic of Albania, on the entire Albanian people, are disgraceful attempts which will never be successful. They are refuted both by the entire history of the Party of Labour of Albania, as well as by life and present-day reality itself.

The authors of the above mentioned letter of August 3, 1961, are trying their utmost in every way to find any sort of pretext for further anti-Marxist and not in the least friendly actions against the Albanian people, their Party and Government. The accusations made against us that allegedly the People's Republic of Albania does not carry out its commitments as a member of the Warsaw Treaty, that it does not inform the United Command about the state of the Albanian Army, that it pursues a line which is in opposition to the interests of the other Warsaw Treaty member countries and to the principles of proletarian internationalism, are inventions from start to finish. In fact we have carried out all the existing agreements, all the duties with which we have been charged by the United Command of the Warsaw Treaty Armed Forces to the letter. We have carried out all its orders and instructions about military training and all the measures envisaged in the joint plans of the Warsaw Treaty armies. Regularly every year and every six months, at the times set and with all the details we have notified the United Command of the Warsaw Treaty about the moral-political and material-technical situation, the combat and technical-operational readiness of our army. Such, for example, are the latest reports given verbally and in writing to the commander-in-chief of the United forces of the Warsaw Treaty, Marshal A. A. Grechko, in October 1960, and on March 27, 1961. It is not we, but precisely the United Command and the Soviet Government that have not carried out their obliga-

tions towards the army of a Warsaw Treaty member country, such as the People's Republic of Albania. Immediately after the Bucharest Meeting, the Soviet Government cut off all the military supplies in food and clothing, technical equipment, armaments and other means for the Albanian Army, thus, unilaterally and without any warning violating all the previously signed agreements, such as, for instance, the agreement concluded between the Government of the Soviet Union and the Government of the People's Republic of Albania on September 28, 1949, the protocol of February 26, 1959, the protocol of February 3, 1960, etc., including also the flagrant violations by the Soviet side of the agreements of the years 1957 and 1959 regarding the naval base of Vlora. Completely contrary to the common interests of the defence of the socialist camp, the Soviet leaders and all those leaders of the communist and workers' parties of the socialist countries of Europe who approved their proposal, liquidated the naval base of Vlora, thus taking, upon themselves a grave historical responsibility, not only before the Albanian people, but also before all the other peoples of the socialist camp. The plan of principal measures of the United Command of the Warsaw Treaty, about the operational and combat training of the Albanian Army for the 1961 educational year, has not been carried out. It has been violated without any reason or warning. The United Command has categorically cut off the dispatch of military literature to Albania and does not give the Command of the Albanian Army any information whatever

about what is going on in the armies of other Warsaw Treaty member countries. Despite the repeated requests of the Albanian authorities, made in the report sent to Marshal Grechko on March 27, 1961, at the meeting of the Consultative Political Committee of the Warsaw Treaty in March this year, and on other occasions, that the Command of the Albanian Army should know what are its duties and the armies with which our army would act together in case of war, at last in the initial stage after it begins, up till now no answer has been given and no measure has been taken, so that the Albanian Army still does not know its duties in the context of the joint strategic and operational plan of the Warsaw Treaty armies. The request of the Albanian side, presented in the above mentioned report of March 27, 1961, that, in the context of the reciprocal exchange of experience, the Albanian Army too, should take part in joint exercises to the extent and with the composition that are judged reasonable, has likewise remained without an answer.

From what has been said above, it clearly emerges that the Party of Labour of Albania and the People's Republic of Albania have always fulfilled their obligations in a correct manner, both towards the other Warsaw Treaty member countries, and towards the United Command. Whereas, on the contrary, the leaders of the other Warsaw Treaty member countries and the United Command have not fulfilled their duties towards the People's Republic of Albania and the Albanian Ar-

my, towards a socialist country, and member of the Warsaw Treaty.

The same thing can be said, also, with regard to the political activity of the Government of the People's Republic of Albania. In its entire practice, the Government of the People's Republic of Albania has regularly informed the other Warsaw Treaty member countries about all the important issues of foreign policy, through their diplomatic representatives in Tirana, for whom it has provided all facilities for the exercise of their activity. The accusations made against the leadership of our Party and Government in this direction, too, are sheer inventions which are made with the purpose of making our relations even worse.

But all these unjust actions, baseless accusations and slanders against the Party of Labour of Albania and the People's Republic of Albania, will never attain their aim, they will never be able to turn the People's Republic of Albania from the rigorous and consistent carrying out of its internationalist duties as a socialist state and worthy member of the Warsaw Treaty. The Plenum of the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania once again declares that, despite the obstacles and difficulties being created for us every day, with our means and possibilities, we shall keep our Armed Forces in full readiness in order to perform honourably and with precision our duty as an ally for the defence of the interests of the socialist camp in this region, and as far as we are concerned, we shall keep the United Command of the Warsaw Treaty and all the socialist countries

informed. At the same time, we demand and shall demand that the United Command and the governments of the socialist countries, members of the Warsaw Treaty, too, fulfil to the letter their obligations towards the People's Republic of Albania and its army, as an equal member of the Warsaw Treaty. The Party of Labour of Albania thinks that the reciprocal obligations of all the Warsaw Treaty members must be carried out to the letter and by everybody, without any discrimination.

In the August 3 letter, addressed to the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania, it is stated that the Party of Labour of Albania «considers the carrying out of its obligations which stem from the Warsaw Treaty as a heavy burden», etc. The ridiculous position in which the authors of these declarations have placed themselves is really deplorable. How could a small country like Albania, which is building socialism in the conditions of the capitalist savage encirclement, under the continuous pressure of the conspiracies, provocations, and threats of the imperialists, the Greek monarcho-fascists, and the Yugoslav revisionists, find it a burden to be in the Warsaw Treaty? Who could be more interested in the Warsaw Treaty than the small Albanian people, who are living and working right in the wolf's mouth? Therefore, the Plenum of the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania indignantly rejects both the conclusion contained in the August 3 letter, according to which the Albanian leaders allegedly «consider the carrying out of the obligations stemming

from the Warsaw Treaty a heavy burden», as well as the formula repeated in many documents aimed at the Central Committee of the PLA that, allegedly, «the Party of Labour of Albania and the Albanian Government have placed themselves outside the Warsaw Treaty». The objective at which the authors of such calumnies aim is more than clear, but, irrespective of this, the Plenum of the Central Committee of the PLA declares that the People's Republic of Albania has been and is a worthy member of the Warsaw Treaty, which has honourably upheld and upholds all the responsibilities stemming from this membership.

The accusations that allegedly the Party of Labour of Albania and its leaders are disrupting the unity of the Warsaw Treaty countries and the socialist camp, by their actions are lies and are made with dark purposes, as a cover for the unfriendly activity which has been carried on against our Party and people by the leaders of some communist and workers' parties of the socialist countries of Europe for some time. It is precisely this activity, and not the attitudes of the Party of Labour of Albania, which is undermining the unity and solidarity of the countries of the Warsaw Treaty and the socialist camp. Despite the injustices done to them, despite all the slanders and many kinds of pressures and difficulties which are being created for them, at no time have the Party of Labour of Albania and its leaders given any cause for our unity to be weakened. On the contrary they have fought and are fighting to strengthen it, — they have not provided and do not provide the

enemies with any weapon whatever with which to attack our unity. It is precisely certain leaders of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, with N. S. Khrushchev at the head, and of the other communist and workers' parties of the socialist countries of Europe, headed by A. Novotny, W. Ulbricht, W. Gomulka, T. Zhivkov, J. Kadar and G. Gheorghiu-Dej, who, by their actions against the Party of Labour of Albania and the Albanian people, actions which are becoming more publicly known day by day, are providing our common enemies with weapons to attack both our unity in general, and the People's Republic of Albania. It is they who deliberately carried over the ideological disagreements between our parties to the field of relations between our socialist states, by imposing the economic, political and military blockade on the People's Republic of Albania. It is they who from the discussion of these problems through party channels, launched into public discussion of them as W. Ulbricht did in his notorious statement after the Moscow Meeting of the 81 communist and workers' parties, or as the leadership of the Communist Party of Bulgaria has done in its own party. It is they, who, instead of working, as the Moscow Declaration says, to gradually eliminate the disagreements that existed and the negative phenomena that had been observed in the relations between our parties, preferred another course: the course of the further exacerbation, the course of pressures, the one greater than the other, the course of unprincipled attacks and countless provocations against the Party of Labour of Alba-

nia and the People's Republic of Albania. It is precisely they who are weakening and undermining the unity and solidarity of the socialist camp and the Warsaw Treaty, with the unprecedented decision they took at the August 3 meeting to deprive the plenipotentiary delegation of the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania of the legal right to take part in the meeting and express the view of our Party about so important a problem as the German problem, and precisely at a very delicate moment of the international situation, when it is more necessary than ever that we are united to a man facing the US and other imperialists who are threatening us with war. Hence, it is not the Party of Labour of Albania, but certain Soviet leaders, with N. S. Khrushchev at the head, and leaders of other socialist countries of Europe who, with their anti-Marxist and by no means friendly actions, are weakening and undermining the unity of the socialist camp, the international communist movement, and the Warsaw Treaty countries, thus pleasing only the enemies of peace and socialism...

Why then is the leadership of our Party being slandered so zealously? What purposes do the authors of the monstrous charges and attacks against it aim to achieve? Their purpose is poorly disguised, because everything is more than clear: they do not like the present leadership of the Party of Labour of Albania and they are striving in every way to bring it down. But let them be sure that they will be quite unable to achieve this aim, just as neither

the imperialists, nor the Yugoslav revisionists have achieved it and never will.

The Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania has declared more than once, and we repeat in this letter too, that the fact that the Soviet leaders and those of the other socialist countries of Europe are pursuing a completely erroneous political course in their relations with the Party of Labour of Albania and the People's Republic of Albania, a course which brings harm, not only to the Albanian people and the construction of socialism in Albania, but also to the interests of the socialist camp itself and the Warsaw Treaty, to our unity, which is more than essential, particularly at present, worries and saddens us greatly. They have taken the dangerous course of deliberately exacerbating and complicating our disagreements and they are going further down this road. Our Party of Labour has said and we repeat that if there are some who think that in this way, through pressures and unjust actions, through blockades and economic, political or military restrictions our Party can be conquered, that views with which it does not agree can be imposed on it, they are gravely mistaken. Therefore the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania repeats once again the call made in its letter of July 6, 1961, addressed to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, to give up unfriendly actions towards and pressures on the Party of Labour of Albania and the People's Republic of Albania, the conscious exacerbation of our relations, anything that only

creates artificial obstacles to the strengthening of our unity and friendship. This and this alone, is the way to the resolution of disagreements and strengthening of our unity.

But we observe with profound regret that their hot-headedness and arrogant attitude towards the Party of Labour of Albania, which by no means conform to the principles of proletarian internationalism, hinder N. S. Khrushchev and the leaders of other socialist countries of Europe from carefully weighing up our proposals in our letter of July 6, which indicate the only correct way to resolve our disagreements. Instead of correcting their wrong attitudes towards the Party of Labour of Albania and undertaking real steps to improve our relations and strengthen our unity, they make a show of strength against a small fraternal people, such as the Albanian people, by means of blockades, blackmail and economic, political, and military pressures. But it is known that the argument of strength is a sign of weakness, it cannot change lies into truth nor replace principles. We remain unshaken, because we have an invincible strength, the strength of the truth, the strength of principle, the strength of Marxism-Leninism. Proceeding from their distorted positions, the Soviet leaders and those of other socialist countries of Europe who support them in their unprincipled fight against the Party of Labour of Albania and the Albanian people, may take any decision against the Party of Labour of Albania and the People's Republic of Albania, against the Al-

banian people, but any such decision will be wrong and will not achieve its aim.

In the future, too, the Party of Labour of Albania and the Government of the People's Republic of Albania will honourably carry out their duties as a Marxist-Leninist Party and a socialist country just as they have done up to now. This has been our line. This will be our line in the future, too.

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

Enver Hoxha

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WE MUST GIVE THE OPEN ATTACKS OF THE SOVIET REVISIONISTS THE REPLY THEY DESERVE

*Contribution to the discussion at the meeting of the
Political Bureau of the CC of the PLA¹*

October 20, 1961

As you know comrades, the Soviet revisionists have attacked us openly. They have continued their attacks against us.

Up till now we have maintained a correct, Marxist-Leninist attitude towards the Soviet leadership, not bringing out the differences we have with it before world public opinion. But, Khrushchev has publicly attacked us and denounced us over these differences, thus violating the Leninist norms of relations among the parties, as well as

¹ At this meeting the Political Bureau discussed the future attitude towards the Soviet revisionist leadership which publicly attacked the PLA and its leadership from the tribune of the 22th Congress of the CPSU on October 17, 1961.

the decisions of the 1960 Moscow Meeting. Now we find ourselves faced with open attacks of conspirators, about which the entire world public has heard. It is our right to reply to these revisionist attacks. For our Party, the stage of holding back, the stage in which we had made proposals for the resolution of the problems, is over. Therefore we must give their attacks the reply they deserve. If the comrades agree, I propose that we should make a statement¹ in the name of the Central Committee of the Party, and publish it in the press in which we point out our attitude to this situation.

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

The statement was an immediate, resolute and courageous reply to the vicious anti-Marxist and anti-Albanian attacks which N. Khrushchev and his lackeys made publicly on the PLA at the 22nd Congress of the CPSU. It stressed that in face of the organized attack by N. Khrushchev, the PLA «with facts and documents, will make public to the entire communist and workers' movement as well as the whole of international public opinion how the truth stands about relations between the Party of Labour of Albania and the leadership of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, which side is right and denounce the anti-Marxist and anti-Albanian activities of N. Khrushchev and his group» (The statement is included also in «Principal Documents of the PLA», Vol. 4, pp. 153-155, Tirana 1970 (Alb. ed.).

It is known that the conspiracy was concocted by N. Khrushchev in Bucharest. This conspiracy, carried out by him and his henchmen against the interests of the world communist and workers' movement, is still going on: now the Soviet revisionists are attacking us within and outside their own country. In such conditions the Party of Labour of Albania must be defended, therefore whichever of the other parties wants to defend our Party let it do so, for in this way it defends Marxism-Leninism.

After the draft-statement is read out, and is discussed with the comrades of the Political Bureau expressing their unanimous support, comrade Enver Hoxha continues:

Khrushchev is trying to mobilize all international communism against our Party, but we, too, have the right to act similarly to expose Khrushchev and Soviet revisionism. Khrushchev knows to make his calculations, but we know that we can count on our Party and people, and that the Soviet peoples themselves, the revolutionary Soviet communists, the Chinese people and communists, the peoples and genuine communists in the whole world are with us.

The fact is that to come out alone against Khrushchev and his followers is not easy, but we shall do this because the truth must be defended, the Party must be defended, Marxism-Leninism must be defended. We know that all sorts of slanders will be spread against us, but we shall stick courageously to our correct Marxist-Leninist course. With the revolutionary stand we

maintain, we defend our Party, the freedom and independence of our Homeland, the Albanian people and their victories. But the Party of Labour of Albania deems it its internationalist duty to fight in defence of Marxism-Leninism and the international communist movement. We must tell the Party and the people that this struggle will be protracted and difficult but we have not flinched from struggles and difficulties and never shall, and the victory will be ours, the victory of Marxism-Leninism.

There are two courses of action in the struggle against the Soviet revisionists: the one is to write articles and the other it to publish the documents of our Party. We shall write articles too, however it seems to me that the publication of the documents is the better variant, but this must be done from the beginning, from the first documents, so that every one will have a complete idea of how the events have developed. Therefore, we must begin the publication of our documents and, if not today, tomorrow, publish them all in the press...¹

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¹ Initially, some of these documents were published in the pamphlet «The Truth about Albanian-Soviet Relations», which has been translated in a number of foreign languages.

**THE ANTI-MARXIST AND ANTI-ALBANIAN
ACTIVITY OF THE MODERN REVISIONISTS
MUST BE PATIENTLY EXPOSED AND
COMBATED ON THE BASIS
OF PRINCIPLES**

Letter to all district party committees

November 1, 1961

Dear comrades,

The Central Committee observes with satisfaction that in connection with the recent events, the district party committees are properly on top of the situation and are doing a good job in making things clear to the Party and the masses of the people.

The Party and the people everywhere have correctly understood the aim of N. Khrushchev's open attack on our Party and country and have approved the statement of the Central Committee on this question. This emerges clearly also from the many telegrams which have come and are still coming to the Central Committee from all

parts of Albania. As a result of the correct, principled, and resolute stand of the Party, and the good work of the party organizations to make things clear to the masses, we have closed our ranks more firmly, and the unity of the Party and the links of the people with the Party have been strengthened. The Central Committee instructs you to continue this work in the future, too, to strengthen the Party and extend your work with the masses, for it is here that our strength lies.

At the same time, the Central Committee considers it reasonable to draw your attention to some matters which, in the present conditions, have great importance for the Party and should orientate you in your daily work:

1) The political work of the Party in these moments must be greatly stepped up, extended, to include the broadest masses, and be convincing, concrete, and clear. Its aim should be the unmasking of the anti-Marxist and anti-Albanian activity of N. Khrushchev, to expose his intentions against Marxist-Leninism, against the socialist camp and the international communist movement, against our friendship with the peoples of the Soviet Union and against our Party and country. His revisionist theses must be exposed, and his anti-Marxist methods must be exposed, too.

But at the same time the Party must not for one moment neglect the tasks confronting it in the field of the economy for the fulfilment of the plan. The situation created and all the political work of the Party must serve to bring about a still greater mobilization at work, both in industry,

construction, transport, etc., for the best possible fulfilment of the plans, and in agriculture, in order to complete the sowing quickly and in the best possible conditions, to provide the Homeland with more grain, cotton, sugar-beet, etc. Hence, the result of all the work of the Party should be evident in two directions: in the approval of the line of the Party and the strengthening of the unity of the people with the Party, and in the all-round mobilization at work for the fulfilment of the State plan, both in the field of the economy, and in that of education and culture.

2) While unmasking the anti-Marxist activity of N. Khrushchev and those who follow him, we must always bear in mind the general line of our Party, we must not permit, in the heat of the moment, any violation of the stand of the Party on the main issues of its policy.

a) We must always aim the main blow against imperialism, and especially against US imperialism. Imperialism has been, is, and will remain the main enemy. This must be clear not only to you and the mass of the Party, but also to the entire people. Thus, in the political meetings and talks with the people this question must not be forgotten, but on the contrary, it must be brought out in a clear and understandable way. Naturally, you understand that firmly unmasking imperialism helps sharpen the vigilance of the masses, and at the same time helps expose revisionism and Khrushchev himself, because, just as imperialism cannot be fought without fighting revisionism, revisionism

cannot be fought successfully without fighting imperialism first of all.

b) The struggle for the complete exposure of Yugoslav revisionism, which has been and still is a real danger to our country, must continue. Therefore in the struggle against modern revisionism we must continue to aim heavy blows against Yugoslav revisionism, to denounce the theses of the Titoites, to reveal their splitting role, to speak about the vital necessity of this struggle until they are completely exposed. You understand, also, that by strongly exposing Yugoslav revisionism, the close ally of Khrushchevite revisionism, we are also exposing N. Khrushchev himself.

We must be clear that in these moments, when our Party is engaging in a prolonged and difficult struggle against revisionism and N. Khrushchev, we should not give enemies of the Party any pretext to present the question as if allegedly our Party is no longer speaking out against imperialism or Yugoslav revisionism. Such a thing would help the Khrushchev group to fight our Party, to slander it.

c) We should always make a distinction between the renegade Khrushchev and his followers and the Soviet peoples and genuine communists; in no way must the hostile stand adopted by Khrushchev and the struggle he is waging against our Party be confused with the friendship and respect we cherish for the Soviet peoples and the Bolshevik Party of Lenin and Stalin. This is an essential question of the general line of our Party. You must not forget that the external enemies, the

imperialists, the Yugoslav revisionists, the revisionist Khrushchev and those who follow him, as well as the enemy elements within the country, including their agents, have an interest in this, may even perpetrate provocations in this direction and want to push us into such a mistake. But this will never happen and must never happen on any occasion. The Party and the masses of our people must be clear, must understand this thing correctly, must act with full conviction to preserve the friendship with the Soviet peoples, for this is the line of our Party and this is what the general interest of the international communist movement requires. This is not a tactic, but has been and is fundamental to the entire general line of our Marxist-Leninist Party. In every situation, in every storm and tempest, our people and Party have been and are loyal friends of the peoples of the Soviet Union, who carried out the first socialist revolution in the world, who helped us in the liberation of our Homeland. It is the aim of the traitor to Marxism-Leninism, N. Khrushchev, and his group to damage and sabotage our friendship with the Soviet peoples, to violate our trust in the peoples and the communists of the Soviet Union, but we shall never fall into this trap of the enemies of Marxism-Leninism.

d) the work of the internationalist education of the Party and the masses should go on as before and be reinforced. Thus we must speak about the unity of the socialist countries, the unity of the international communist and workers' movement, friendship with the peoples of the other social-

ist countries, about the struggle of the communist and workers' parties of the entire world. We must not forget that the enemies of socialism, the imperialists, the Yugoslav revisionists, and the renegade Khrushchev with those who follow him, would like to divert us from the position of internationalism. But this will never happen, either. The defence of and respect for the principle of proletarian internationalism have been, are and will continue to be one of the main tasks of our Party. The struggle against Khrushchev's revisionism itself is a lofty expression of our Marxist-Leninist Party's internationalism.

Bearing in mind that now, at various meetings, conferences and talks with the people, in the press and everywhere, the traitorous activity of N. Khrushchev is being denounced openly, the carrying out of these instructions assumes special importance. The Central Committee is convinced that in the future the party organizations and all the communists will show themselves to be up to the mark in carrying out their tasks, just as they have done up till now.

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

Enver Hoxha

Works, Vol. 22

TWENTY YEARS OF REVOLUTIONARY LIFE AND STRUGGLE

*From the speech delivered at the festive meeting
commemorating the 20th anniversary of the founding
of the PLA*

November 7, 1961

Comrades,

The founding of the Party of Labour of Albania took place at one of the most critical moments in the history of the small, long-suffering, but heroic, Albanian people. Black clouds were hovering over our Homeland, Albania, at that time. After the dark period of Zog's feudo-bourgeois regime, still more savage and more dangerous enemies — the fascist invaders rushed against our oppressed and exploited, hungry, massacred and betrayed people, but unbent like our high mountains. Fascist slavery endangered the very existence of our nation. A danger of death was menacing at that time all the freedom-loving peoples of the world: Hitlerite Germany, encouraged and incited by the

capitulating policy of the great imperialist powers, after having subjugated many countries of Europe through fire and sword, rushed like a wild beast against the homeland of socialism -- the Soviet Union.

In those difficult days for our long-suffering people and Homeland, in the profound darkness covering the country, a glowing spark arose, which kindled the unquenched fire of the liberation struggle, that wiped away invaders and traitors like a storm, our Party was born.

The Communist Party of Albania was created by the Albanian communists, it was born as a result and as a crowning of the up to that time struggle of the working class of our country, of the liberation movement and efforts of the Albanian people. Precisely the workers' and communist movement, existing in our country since prior to the fascist occupation, although not much developed and formed, is the basis on which our Party was founded.

The thoroughly anti-popular and capitulating policy of the satrap regime of Zog, which had immeasurably increased the poverty and sufferings of the people, which barbarously suppressed everything progressive and which had sold out the country to foreigners, the fascist occupation later, which robbed us of our freedom, independence and sovereignty endangering the very existence of our people as a nation, all these things had increased the dissatisfaction of the broad people's masses to the maximum and had created a thoroughly revolutionary situation in our country. The people

wanted bread, wanted land, they wanted to enjoy the elementary rights of man, they wanted freedom for their Homeland. But the people lacked leadership. In these conditions, the sound communists, who belonged to the communist groups of that time, left aside the quarrels and narrow interests of the groups and began an active and determined activity for the creation of the Communist Party of Albania.

The entry of the Soviet Union in the armed struggle against fascism was another powerful impulse which speeded up the creation of our Party. The perfidious attack of the Hitlerite hordes against the Soviet Union, the homeland of socialism, the friend and supporter of all the oppressed and exploited and of all the peoples, was a dagger in the heart for every communist, for the international working class, for the entire progressive mankind. But, at the same time, the entry of the powerful Soviet Union in the war opened to our people, as well as to all the people enslaved by fascism, the reliable perspective of liberation from fascist slavery.

Our Party was born as a Marxist-Leninist party and was set up according to the Leninist principles of building the party. From the beginning it made Marxism-Leninism, the triumphant ideas of the great October Socialist Revolution, as its banner, it was guided by them and defended them always with loyalty, never making concessions in principles. The cadres of our Party had not graduated from higher schools and universities, nor were they office philosophers, but in fight with the merciless

tides of life, in hardships and struggle with the enemies of the Party and people, for the liberation of the Homeland and the construction of socialism, they were convinced of the correctness and life-giving strength of the teachings of Marxism-Leninism, they mastered these teachings, were moulded with them and became capable of implementing them in the concrete historical conditions of our Homeland, and of working out a correct political line at any moment and under any circumstance.

Our Party was born as a party of the struggle for the vital interests of the working class and all the working people, for the national interests of our people. It emerged from the ranks of the working people, it grew and tempered itself with the people, it shared sufferings and joys with them, it threw itself into fire and flames with the people and for the people, being always in the front ranks of the struggle, it found strength and support with the people at the most difficult moments. It inherited and developed further the best traditions of our heroic people: valiance, courage and undaunted persistence in the struggle to reach the objective and overcome the difficulties, hatred for the enemies, firm loyalty towards, and respect for, the true friends, honesty and love for the right. From their very experience, from life itself and facts, our people were convinced that they have in the Party of Labour their leader loyal to the end, capable of successfully leading them from victory to victory towards the bright future, the undaunted defender of their interests. Therefore, they are united with the Party as one, and there is no

force and intrigue on earth that can break this steel-like unity. Because it has always had inscribed on its banner the vital interests of the people, our Party has been able to maintain always a correct general line even in the most complicated circumstances, because it has always been linked with the masses like flesh to bone, it has been able to cope with the most rabid storms and attacks of the enemies.

Our Party was born as a fighting detachment of the international communist movement. It has always marched parallel with the world communist movement and the socialist camp, as their worthy member, in the common struggle against fascism and for the construction of socialism and communism, for peace and the peoples' freedom, carrying out its internationalist duties honourably at any time and in any situation.

Founded on these sound bases, our Party outlined from the beginning a clear program which, like a beacon-light, opened the perspective and became a banner of struggle for our people: uninterrupted and uncompromising struggle against the fascist invaders and local traitors, the gathering and organization of the people in a general armed uprising, with a view to achieving the complete liberation of the country and barring the way to any imperialist domination in Albania; the destruction to its foundations of the old anti-popular state power of the fascist invader and the exploiting classes, the setting up of the national liberation councils as the embryo of the people's state power and the establishment of the regime of people's demo-

cracy in our Homeland; the carrying out after the Liberation of the country of the great social and economic transformations in the interest of the people and the holding of general elections to the Constituent Assembly, which would decide on the form of the regime. Such was the immediate program of our Party, the program of the anti-imperialist, anti-feudal and democratic revolution, which was based on the teachings of Marxism-Leninism, at the same time taking into account the concrete historical conditions and features of our country.

As a Marxist-Leninist party, as a revolutionary party of the working class, our Party had in its ultimate program the embarkment of Albania on the road of socialism, the building of the socialist and communist society in our Homeland.

But it was clear to our Party that there did not exist any unsurmountable gap between these two programs, that they were not divided by some wall, that they constituted two links of a single chain, which complemented one another. Enlightened by the Leninist teachings on the transformation of the democratic revolution into socialist revolution, our Party had always a clear perspective, it did not forget for a single moment that the decisive victory of our people, with the working class and its communist Party at the head in the National Liberation War, was the indispensable condition for the further achievements of our people, for their embarkment upon the road of socialism.

With such a correct Marxist-Leninist line, the Party guided reliably and led the National Libe-

ration War of our people to victory, resolutely and unwaveringly manoeuvring from correct positions in any circumstance, however complicated it may have been.

The call of the Party for armed and uncompromising struggle against the occupiers and traitors was met with a great patriotic and revolutionary drive by the entire Albanian people: the heroic working class of our country, which although small in number became the worthy leader of the people's revolution; the labouring peasantry, thirsty of land and freedom, the faithful and powerful ally of the working class; the patriotic and progressive intelligentsia, which fought for our freedom and national culture; our glorious youth with their fiery hearts, who, not sparing even their lives, dedicated all their youthful passion and energies to the sacred cause of the liberation and the realization of the centuries-old dream of our long-suffering people for a happy life; the valiant women of Albania, who took off the yashmak resolutely and threw off fanaticism and took up arms to fight arm-in-arm with the men for the freedom of their Homeland and for their own rights; all the honest people, patriots and anti-fascists, who placed the lofty interests of the Homeland above their individual interests. All these great people's forces, under the leadership of the Party, united in the National Liberation Anti-fascist Front. This front did not constitute a union of the gentry of the country nor a coalition of various political parties, but a direct organization of the broad labouring and patriotic masses themselves under the

leadership of a single party, the Communist Party of Albania, which expressed the vital interests of the labouring people. At the foundation of this broad people's front was the alliance of the working class with the peasantry under the leadership of the working class, an alliance which constituted the social basis of the political army of the people's revolution in our country.

Under the leadership of the Party, the liberation struggle in our country broke out with an uncontrollable drive and turned into an armed general uprising of the entire people. Just like a small snowball which, rolling downhill, grows little by little and turns into a powerful avalanche, which wipes away furiously everything it runs against, and shakes mountains and plains like an earthquake, so from the first partisan guerrillas and units, which at the beginning were small in number, but being increased day by day with the best sons and daughters of the people, the powerful partisan National Liberation Army was created, which in 1944 counted over 70,000 fighters organized into brigades, divisions and army corps. It was a truly people's army, which was born from the fold of the people and fought for the people. The people brought it up with new blood, they fed and clothed it, maintained and supported it unreservedly in the difficult struggle against the Italian and German fascist invaders and local traitors. With the militant slogans of the Party «Freedom is not donated, but won with struggle and blood» and «Death to fascism — Freedom to the people!», our partisan army fought with an un-

matched heroism, it inscribed with its blood new glorious pages in the history of our warrior and freedom-loving people. On the 29th of November 1944, our valiant partisans liberated completely our Homeland from the invaders and traitors. Tens of thousands of martyrs, communists and non-party patriots, laid down their lives in this sacred and glorious war, with their pure blood they paved the way for our people to march ahead towards the happy life, socialism and communism. Let us honour, comrades, their memory which will live in centuries shining with glory!

The Communist Party of Albania stood always unshakable on the front ranks of the National Liberation War of our people, never allowing compromises in principles and vacillations in the face of the enemy. The communists were always in the most dangerous place, inspiring by their example all the fighters for freedom. Many of the leaders and best sons of the Party heroically fell while on duty.

Along with the undaunted struggle against the Italian and German fascist invaders, the Party carried out a major work to expose before the entire people the betrayal of the exploiting classes, the feudals and big bourgeoisie and their organizations «Balli Kombëtar» and «Legaliteti» which had placed themselves at the service of the invaders, as well as the efforts of the Anglo-American imperialists to disrupt and hinder the National Liberation War of our people. Remaining loyal to its clear Marxist-Leninist program, the Party never allowed that the traitorous organizations, which

had no fired a single shot against fascism deceive the people, occupy different positions in the state power after the liberation of the country.

Thanks to the correct class stand of our Party, to its determined tactics, with the Liberation of the country the whole state power passed over completely, from the beginning, into the hands of the working class in alliance with all the labouring and patriotic masses of the country, into the hands of a single party, the Communist Party of Albania. This was the fundamental condition which allowed our country to embark without delay upon the course of the socialist development.

The Liberation of the country and the establishment of the people's power laid down other great and difficult tasks before our Party and people, to carry the people's revolution through to the end, to reconstruct the war-ravaged country and carry it forward on the road of the socialist construction.

Within a very short historical period of about 17 years, our country, under the wise leadership of the Party, liquidated the profound backwardness it had inherited from the past and was transformed from an entirely backward agrarian country, almost without industry and with a primitive agriculture, into an agrarian-industrial country. Whole branches of industry were created, such as the textile, timber-processing, food and mechanical engineering industries; the oil and useful minerals extracting and processing industries assumed a broad development, etc.

During the 1st Five-year Plan (1951-1955) about

150 important industrial and social-cultural objects were set up, over 250 more were set up during the 2nd Five-year Plan (1956-1960). Before our eyes, where there used to be plains, denuded hills or swamps, tens upon tens of wonderful projects were erected which our people is proud of today.

The Albanian people, formerly oppressed and ignorant, who always looked at other countries with envy, who expected everything from Europe, from the water glass and up to the petroleum, at present, with their own people's state power and under the leadership of the Party, are creating a new life with their own hands. The total industrial production in our country has increased 25 times in comparison with the pre-war period. That which was produced by the existing industry of the country during the entire year 1938, is now produced by our new socialist industry only in 15 days. In the Fier district alone, which is mainly an agricultural district, industrial production is today about 1.6 times larger than the total industrial production of the whole of Albania in 1938.

Our Party has been guided in the socialist industrialization by the Marxist-Leninist principle of the development of the means of production at more rapid rates, therefore importance has been attached to the development, in the first place, of heavy industry, particularly mining industry, the development of the power base of the country, etc. But taking into account the features of our small country, with limited possibilities of manpower and material and financial means, which made impossible the setting up of all the branches of heavy

industry, as well as the urgent needs of our people for consumer goods, various branches of food and light industry have also been developed along with heavy industry.

The great successes achieved in the industrialization of the country, constitute a big historic step in the construction of socialism and a sound basis for the further and more rapid development of our Homeland on the road of the complete construction of the socialist society.

The socialist transformation of our countryside, too, ended with success in general lines. On such important and delicate question of socialist construction, our Party has been consistently guided by the teachings of Lenin. It pursued with determination the course of voluntary uniting of the individual peasant economies into agricultural cooperatives, as well as of the organization of the big agricultural enterprises.

When conditions were ripe, the Party gave the guide-line at the Plenum of the Central Committee in December 1955 and, later on, at the 3rd Congress in May 1956, to speed up the rates of the collectivization of agriculture. As the 4th Congress of the Party ascertained, the decision of the 3rd Congress was carried out ahead of schedule. At the beginning of 1961 our country counted about 1,500 agricultural cooperatives which, together with the agricultural enterprises, occupied over 86 per cent of the Republic's sown areas. The collectivization of agriculture in our country had its own distinctive features: It took place in the conditions of the existence of private property over land, but

which the peasant owner could not sell, purchase, or pawn it; it was carried out almost without intermediate forms of cooperation, passing over directly from the small private economy to the agricultural artel of the socialist type; it was carried out by creating, along with the process of cooperation, the material-technical base of the big collective production.

Parallel with the collectivization of agriculture, our Party and the people's state power, with the active participation of the labouring peasantry of our country, have carried out a colossal work for the development of the productive forces in the countryside. Whole regions of our Homeland, where formerly mosquitoes and malaria had established their poisonous reign, have become today fertile and healthy areas.

The Party has shown particular concern to the mechanization of agriculture. In the areas which can be cultivated by tractors about 85 per cent of ploughing, 49 per cent of sowing, 36 per cent of harvesting, 64 per cent of threshing and other work are carried out with mechanized means. Our state has powerfully assisted the labouring peasantry to develop the productive forces and set up the economy. During the 2nd Five-year Plan alone, it has given them an agrarian credit of over 4 billion leks.

Thanks to the collectivization of agriculture, the important measures of the Party and the people's state power for the development of the productive forces in the countryside, as well as thanks to the selfless work of the labouring peasantry of

the country, good successes have been achieved in the increase of agricultural and livestock products. With the 3rd Five-year Plan the agriculture of our country enters the stage of development at still more rapid rates, through the rapid increase of the yields of agricultural crops, of the transition from extensive agriculture to intensive agriculture.

On the basis of the continual increase of industrial and agricultural production, of the increase of the economic potential of the country, the living standard of our people has kept rising unceasingly, a thing which constitutes the aim of socialist construction and the supreme law of the entire activity of our Party of Labour. Unemployment, deep-going poverty and misery, the menace of hunger, the heavy work of a slave for the daily bread, the badly dressed and barefooted children, the ruined huts, the chronic diseases and other horrors, which characterized our country in a not distant past and which accompanied the working man step by step throughout his life, from his cradle to his grave, have now remained as a bitter past in the memory of our people. Now unemployment has been eliminated for ever, our working people enjoy the right to work, to a paid annual leave, disability and seniority at work pensions, free of charge medical service and education. Cast a glance around on our cities and villages and you will see that they have been transformed into construction sites, where tens upon tens of new dwelling houses are being erected every day for the people. During 1960 alone our State has spent in the city of Tirana for the construction of blocks of flats about two

times more means than there were spent in 1938 throughout Albania for all kinds of construction work. Electric light is being introduced in our countryside smoked by the pine-wood and oil lamp. In the 1951-1960 decade the peasants have built up with their own means about 47,000 new houses, without calculating here the construction work carried out in the countryside by the State and the agricultural cooperatives. The price reductions are also a vivid testimony to the increase of the well-being of the working people. From 1950 to 1960, 9 price reductions have been effected one after another in our country, from which the population has an annual profit of over 7 billion and 900 million leks.

A deep-going socialist revolution is being carried out in our country. Albania, which not long ago was considered as the most backward country in Europe, where over 80 per cent of the population was illiterate, has radically changed. Knowledge took the place of ignorance, light of darkness. One out of five persons attends school. Art and culture are becoming the property of the people with every passing day. The opera, cinematography, a wide network of hearths of culture, reading homes, have been created. The State University of Tirana and other institutes of higher learning, being attended by more than 9,000 students, have been set up for the first time. A wide stratum of the people's intelligentsia, loyal to the great cause of socialism and communism, has been created and is growing day by day.

As you know, the historic 4th Congress of our

Party, which held its proceedings in February this year, arrived at the conclusion that the construction of the economic base of socialism has been successfully accomplished in our country. As a result, the exploiting classes have been liquidated as a class, and the exploitation of man by man has been wiped out.

Today there exist in our country only two friendly classes — the working class and the cooperativist peasantry, as well as the stratum of the people's intelligentsia, which, under the leadership of the working class and its Party of Labour, have the state power in their hands and carry the socialist construction of the country forward.

Now our country is embarking on a new stage of the socialist construction — the stage of the complete construction of the socialist society. The main link for the complete construction of socialism in our country is the complete construction of the material-technical base of socialism. The first steps towards its creation have been taken during the two previous five-year plans, while the 3rd Five-year Plan will be an important step forward on the road of the complete construction of the material-technical base of socialism. During this five-year period over 400 big industrial and social-cultural projects will be set up and put into operation completely or partially.

The 3rd Five-year Plan opens great prospects also in the field of agriculture, the raising of the material well-being of the people, the further development of the cultural revolution, as well as in all fields of the social life of the country.

... The satisfactory results achieved by our working people, mobilized to carry out in practice the historic decisions of the 4th Congress of the Party and in honour of the 20th anniversary of the founding of the Party, are a sound guarantee for the fulfilment of the 1961 plan ahead of schedule. They are a clear indication of our people's determination to march forward unwaveringly on the road indicated to them by the Party, making light of difficulties and obstacles which the imperialists and various revisionists are trying to raise on their way. Glory to our heroic people!

Bearing in mind that our country is under the conditions of the capitalist and revisionist encirclement, the Party has taught our heroic people to keep their vigilance always sharp, build socialism holding the pick in one hand and the rifle in the other and not dropping the latter from their hand as long as imperialism and its tools will exist in the world. Our Party has continually borne in mind the question of the defence of the freedom and independence of our country. It has always devoted a special concern to the constant strengthening of the defensive might of the country, the continual raising of the fighting capacity and preparedness of our People's Army, of the State Security and Border forces. We can joyfully inform our people that our glorious armed forces are in a position and full fighting preparedness to defend the People's Republic of Albania successfully and give the rebuff to any enemy who would dare touch the sacred borders of our beloved socialist Homeland.

Dear comrades,

Such is in general lines the course our glorious Party has traversed during the 20 years of its existence, such are the historic victories our people have achieved under the wise leadership of the Party.

We owe these victories above all to the heroic struggle and efforts of our people, their ardent patriotism, their unshakable determination, their creative abilities and talent. This has been and remains the decisive factor of the liberation of our country and the construction of the socialist and communist society in our country.

We owe these victories to the leadership of the Party of Labour of Albania, which, at all stages and moments, has had a correct general line. Life itself, practice, show that this is a Marxist-Leninist line, fully responding to the vital interests of the Albanian people, as well as to the common interests of the international communist movement, of our great cause of the revolution and socialism, of the freedom of the peoples and peace.

Our Party has always preserved its Marxist-Leninist line crystal-pure, it has defended it in fierce struggle with various enemies and deviationists, from Anastas Lula and Sadik Premte, Ymer Dishnica and Sejfulla Malëshova down to Koçi Xoxe, Tuk Jakova and Bedri Spahiu, Liri Gega and Liri Belishova, etc., who have sought to divert the Party from its correct course. But our Party remained always unshakable like a granite rock. In this struggle it preserved and strength-

ened further day by day the ideological and organizational unity of its ranks, on the basis of Marxism-Leninism, as one of the most important factors of our victories, of the strength and invincibility of our Party in the face of any enemy. We shall preserve this unity like the apple of the eye and shall strengthen it ever more.

Convinced by their very experience of the correctness of the line of our Party, our people have backed up and supported the Party unreservedly, at all moments and in all circumstances, they have united around it in an unbreakable monolithic unity. In this unity resides the unshakable strength of our Party and people, the sound guarantee of all the past, present and future victories of the people. This unity is the heaviest blow against all the enemies of our Party and people, the imperialists and revisionists of all hues. We, Party and people, will preserve this unity like the apple of the eye and will strengthen it unceasingly day by day.

The great historic victories our people have achieved in the struggle, for the liberation of the country and for the construction of socialism in a free, independent and sovereign Albania, are due also to the internationalist aid and support which the Soviet Union, the People's Republic of China and the other socialist countries have given and still give to our country. The Party and the Albanian people will be grateful to them for ever for this generous aid. This aid is a wonderful expression of the friendship binding our people with the glorious peoples of the Soviet Union, with the

great Chinese people and with all the peoples of the other socialist countries.

Dear comrades,

We are celebrating the 20th glorious anniversary of our Party in new international conditions very favourable to the forces of peace, democracy and socialism. Twenty years ago, when the Communist Party of Albania was founded, the world was ruled by the capitalist system — a system of oppression and savage exploitation of peoples. The Soviet Union, the first country of victorious socialism, was at that time encircled on all sides by capitalist countries. Whole continents were suffering under the colonial yoke of imperialism. The most reactionary forces of bourgeoisie, the fascist and militarist states, incited by the most aggressive circles of international imperialism, had unleashed the Second World War, they had put under their yoke whole nations and, like wild beasts, they were rushing against the offspring of the great October Socialist Revolution — the Soviet Union.

Today, after 20 years, great radical changes have taken place in the world. Owing to the great Patriotic War of the Soviet peoples, in the first place, there was achieved the historic victory over fascism. New states broke away from the capitalist system and embarked on the road of socialism. The People's Revolution triumphed in China; this is the greatest historic event after the October Socialist Revolution.

The irresistible development of socialism and the upsurge of the national liberation struggle of the peoples inevitably led to the collapse of the colonial slavery system of imperialism. Forty-two new states, with a total population of more than 1 billion and 200 million, have won freedom and national independence. While after the First World War the countries enslaved and controlled by imperialism made up more than 77 per cent of the territory of the world and accounted for about 70 per cent of the world population, now such countries occupy only over 10 per cent of the area and account for about 3 per cent of the world population. The dissolution of the colonial system of imperialism is another event of great international importance.

As a result of these changes, the sphere of domination of imperialism has been greatly narrowed, its general crisis has further deepened, all its internal and external class and national contradictions have sharpened. Today imperialism is no more the only and all-powerful ruler in the world. It can no more lord over it. Its laws do not operate everywhere in the world.

Such is the reality of our days and this reality convincingly shows that the balance of forces in the world today has changed to the advantage of socialism and to the detriment of imperialism. The forces of socialism, the forces of national liberation, peace and democracy are superior to the forces of imperialism, colonialism, war and reaction. All these things have created in the world a new situation, very favourable conditions to car-

ry out even more successfully the struggle against imperialism, for peace and for the accomplishment of the socialist, national liberation, democratic and people's revolutions.

The Party of Labour of Albania recognizes and understands the deep changes that have taken place in the world, the new conditions and phenomena that have arisen. But we reject all and every attempt being made by the present-day revisionists who, under the slogans of the «creative interpretation of Marxism in the new conditions», are spreading their false and opportunistic viewpoints; they are seeking to sell them as a «further development of Marxism», and they hasten to stigmatize as dogmatist, sectarian and adventurer anyone who goes on record against such viewpoints. This is a known tactic. There is nothing new, nothing original in this. All the revisionists and opportunists beginning with Bernstein and ending with Tito, under the guise of the «changes in the situation» and of the «new phenomena», have denied the basic principles of Marxism. As V. I. Lenin used to say, by always masking themselves under the slogan of the fight against dogmatism, using the catch-word «dogmatist», they have risen against Marxism.

From the changes that have occurred in the world, there must be drawn correct, revolutionary, Marxist-Leninist conclusions, there must be drawn such conclusions as not to create reformist and pacifist illusions and weaken the struggle against imperialism, but to strengthen ever more this just struggle; there must be drawn such conclusions

as not to alienate the peoples from the cause of revolution, but bring them ever closer to it, not divert them from the struggle for their national liberation, but raise this struggle to an ever higher level.

Let us take the problem of war and peace. Does it mean that the change in the balance of forces to the advantage of socialism has brought about also a change in the nature of imperialism, that imperialism has been tied up hands and feet, that it is unable to do anything, to unleash wars and undertake various aggressive actions? Such a conclusion is not only erroneous, but also very harmful. The underestimation of the forces of the enemy and the overestimation of our own forces weakens our vigilance and pushes us into dangerous adventures, just as the underestimation of our own forces and the overestimation of the forces of the enemy leads to unprincipled concessions, to mistakes and opportunist attitudes. Proceeding from the real balance of forces in the world today, our Party has pointed out and continues to point out that in the question of war and peace both eventualities must be considered and we must be prepared for both, for war being prevented, as well as for it being unleashed on the part of the imperialists. Our deep conviction that at the present time a world war and other aggressive wars which imperialism unleashes can be prevented is by no means based on the «good intentions» of the chieftains of imperialism, but on the economic, political and military power of the socialist countries, on the unity and struggle of the inter-

national working class, on the resolute efforts of the people of the whole world against the imperialist war-mongers, on the unity and compactness of all the peace-loving forces.

During all the years of the existence of the people's power, the Government of the People's Republic of Albania has resolutely and consistently pursued a foreign policy which has fully met the interests of our people and Homeland, the interests of the defence of freedom and national independence, as well as the interests of the whole camp of socialism and of the cause of peace and progress of human society. The foundation of the foreign policy of the Party of Labour of Albania has always been and remains to be: constant strengthening of the relations of friendship, fraternal cooperation and mutual support and assistance with the socialist countries, support for the national liberation, anti-imperialist and anti colonial struggle of the oppressed peoples and nations, as well as for the revolutionary struggle of the working people in the capitalist countries; efforts to secure relations of peaceful coexistence of the People's Republic of Albania with the capitalist countries, especially with the neighbouring countries; efforts for the preservation and strengthening of peace in the world, especially in the Balkan and Adriatic area; exposure of the policy of war and aggression pursued by the imperialist powers headed by the United States of America and their partners and tools round our country, such as the Italian imperialists, the Greek monarcho-fascists and the Yugoslav revisionists.

In the foreign policy our Party and Government have always marched arm-in-arm with the other socialist countries in their efforts for the preservation and strengthening of the world peace. They have always approved and energetically supported the general line of the foreign policy of the Soviet Union and all the other socialist countries for the settlement of the most important international problems. And this foreign policy of the People's Republic of Albania has always met the full approval of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, which have always considered it as a correct policy, to the advantage of our common cause.

But of late, N. Khrushchev and Co. turned their coat and are accusing us at times of being «adventurists and war-mongers» and at times of a «rapprochement» with imperialism. Those who are accusing us, besides slanders and inventions, have no argument, not a single fact to prove that the foreign policy of the People's Republic of Albania has changed. Nothing has changed in our foreign policy. Our attitude also has not changed either as regards the questions of war and peace, or as regards the struggle against imperialism, or the relations with the other states and especially our neighbours.

Twenty years of revolutionary life and struggle of the Party of Labour of Albania reject all these base slanders and inventions which have caused a profound indignation to, and have irritated our people who have heroically fought and continue to fight against imperialism and its hench-

men. Those who accuse and slander the Party of Labour of Albania and its leadership are unable to adduce even a single fact that could prove their allegations, while we are in a position to present many documented facts clearly showing their estrangement from the positions of Marxism-Leninism and of the struggle against imperialism. We have never cherished illusions about our enemies, we have not embraced and kissed them, we have not flattered them and we have not caressed them, we have never bowed to them. Our Party and State have always maintained a firm, principled, Marxist-Leninist stand towards the enemies of peace and socialism; they have sharply and constantly exposed the imperialists, whether US or British, French or Italian, and their policy of war and aggression; they have been irreconcilable with the class enemies. Our Party and State have sympathized with, and have energetically and unreservedly supported the just cause of, the peoples who have risen in struggle against imperialism. They have rendered all their support to the fraternal Algerian, Cuban, Congolese, Laotian and other peoples in their heroic struggle against imperialism, resolutely condemning all the aggressive attempts of imperialism.

For all this «good» which our Party has done to imperialism during these 20 years, it has been rewarded by it and its tools with a fierce and relentless fight which they have carried out against the People's Republic of Albania through continuous plots and provocations, through diversion, blackmail and successive slanders.

They accuse us of being afraid of imperialism, of being afraid to assume responsibility for the settlement of important international questions.

The question arises: Who fears indeed, who is afraid of the responsibility for the settlement of the German issue, who is dragging it on? We that have stood and continue to stand for its earliest possible solution, or our accusers who have backed out on this question and have dragged it on from year to year?

Or let us take the disarmament problem. It is a matter of common knowledge that our Government has supported the proposal for disarmament, because as long as the arms exist and the armaments race is being conducted, as long as disarmament is not effected, there is no security for peace. But we are aware that disarmament is a difficult problem. To force its solution upon the imperialists, great efforts must be made as well as resolute and uncompromising struggle must be waged by the socialist countries and all the peace-loving forces. But, N. Khrushchev, instead of pursuing such a correct path, is seeking to disarm a socialist country such as the People's Republic of Albania, which is encircled on all parts by enemies. By weakening the defensive might of the People's Republic of Albania he damaged, not only the interests of our country, but also those of the entire camp of socialism. And all this is done at a time when the US 6th fleet is roaming about like a monster in the Mediterranean, when US rocket bases have

been established in Greece and Italy, when the NATO forces are feverishly continuing their armaments race, when the imperialists and revenge-seekers of West Germany are rattling the sabre and seriously endangering the world peace. N. Khrushchev should by no means have gone to such lengths as to openly incite the imperialists and various reactionaries against a socialist country such as the People's Republic of Albania. However, the defence of the Albanian borders is fully ensured.

In conditions when there exist in the world states with different social systems, the only just principle to govern the relations between them is the principle of peaceful coexistence, a principle outlined by Lenin and implemented also by Stalin. Our Party of Labour has always thought and thinks that the policy of peaceful coexistence meets the vital interests of all the peoples, both of the socialist and capitalist countries: it meets the aim of the further strengthening of the positions of socialism and world peace. Therefore, it is in favour of the relations of our socialist state with the other non-socialist states.

It is absurd to accuse our Party and socialist state of allegedly standing against peaceful coexistence. This slander is refuted by the entire practical activity of our state in the field of foreign policy. We are not opposed to the principle of peaceful coexistence, but we do not agree with some opportunist viewpoints of N. Khrushchev and his followers who consider the peaceful coexistence as the general line of foreign policy of the socialist countries, as the main road to the victory of so-

cialism on a world scale, who for the sake of peaceful coexistence renounce the struggle for the exposure of imperialism, who extinguish almost completely the ideological and political struggle against the Yugoslav revisionism under the pretext that in some foreign policy issues Yugoslavia supports the Soviet proposals. Such an interpretation of peaceful coexistence is erroneous and anti-Marxist because it leads to the denial of the class struggle. The correct implementation of the policy of peaceful coexistence, implying also the exposure of imperialism and its policy of war and aggression, must promote the development of the struggle of the working class of the capitalist countries, as well as the national liberation movement in the colonial and dependent countries. On their part, the successes of the revolutionary class and national liberation struggle, by narrowing and weakening the positions of imperialism, promote the cause of peace and peaceful coexistence. The communist parties in the capitalist countries, parallel with the struggle to force the policy of peaceful coexistence on the bourgeois governments of their countries, are waging at the same time the class struggle for the overthrow of the bourgeois power, for the transition to socialism according to the specific conditions of each country.

As regards the forms of transition to socialism, N. Khrushchev badly complicated this question, too, at the 20th Congress of the CP of the SU and later. He almost raised to absolute the peaceful way of the seizure of power by the working class, and thus the illusion was created that

allegedly the working class and its communist party would be able to take power in their hands only by securing a parliamentary majority. Such theses were approved only by the revisionists and various opportunists who used them to justify their anti-Marxist viewpoints. We, the Albanian communists, have never been and are not apriori opposed to the peaceful way. But the teachings of Marxism-Leninism, the historical experience and the reality of the present days teach us that, to secure the victory of the cause of socialism, the working class and its party must prepare themselves simultaneously for both eventualities — the peaceful way and the non-peaceful one. To take one's bearings only from the peaceful way to secure the victory of the cause of socialism it means to embark on a erroneous path. Only by getting well prepared for the non-peaceful way, the chances grow also for the peaceful way.

This is how we understand the peaceful co-existence and its connection with the class struggle. This is how we understand and implement the policy of peaceful coexistence with the other non-socialist states, and in the first place with our neighbours.

It is strange that Nikita Khrushchev and his followers demand from us that we should put into effect the peaceful coexistence with our Greek neighbours. They accuse us of not marching along the same road with them as regards the proposals for the disarmament of the Balkan countries, they accuse us of not making efforts «for a Balkan understanding»; they join the chorus of the Yugoslav

revisionists and the Greek monarcho-fascists that we are allegedly the «war-mongers of the Balkans», at a time when Greece continues to consider itself in a «state of war» with Albania, when it advances territorial claims towards our country and is plotting to attack Albania. The charges of our critics are groundless, for no reasonable man can think that little Albania, does not stand for peace and disarmament.

How much monarcho-fascist Greece disarmed and to what extent the hopes of those believing in such a thing were realized, this is a matter of common knowledge, it is shown by life, but that we should avoid criticizing Nikita Khrushchev (and this criticism was made by us in a comradely way) when he gives hopes to Sophocles Venizelos for an «autonomy of South Albania», this would be a treason on our part. Nikita Khrushchev did not like our just criticism. This is the least evil. But he turned our criticism into a counter-charge, accusing us of allegedly slandering the Soviet Union. This, of course, is machiavellian. But later the devil showed again his horns. At the time when the Americans, Greeks and Turks were carrying out large-scale military manoeuvres around the borders of Albania and Bulgaria, N. Khrushchev, in his statement to the «New York Times» reporter, Sultzberger, on September 10, 1961, textually said: «You (Americans) have established bases also in Greece and you are threatening from there our ally Bulgaria». Has not perhaps monarcho-fascist Greece installed rockets also against Albania? How long is it that Nikita Khrushchev has decided that Al-

bania should be no more an ally of the Soviet Union? This is monstrous. Are these unimportant questions? Is it permissible to the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Prime Minister of the Soviet Union, even if he and socialist Albania were at daggers drawn, to openly tell the Greek reaction that socialist Albania is no more an ally of the Soviet Union and inform president Kennedy that the «relations between the Soviet Union and Albania have deteriorated»?

It is we, therefore, according to some, that view things as «sectarian nationalists», while others, who speculate on the interest of our people, are «Marxists». Tomorrow, these very same critics may hold us responsible also for the losses in election of the Greek progressive party — EDA. Do perhaps these self-styled Marxists think that we should hand the keys of our country to the Greek monarcho-fascists so that their line of «peaceful coexistence» may win or the seizure of power in Greece «in a peaceful and parliamentary way» may be achieved? No, they should not expect this from us. These self-styled Marxists should not forget that the Party of Labour of Albania and the Albanian people have shown their great internationalism by saving tens of thousands of heroes of the Greek people and of the Greek Communist Party who, we are certain, do not spit the horse after having crossed the river.

Such is the foreign policy that has been pursued by our Party and our Government. Such are our viewpoints about the problems of the present-

day world development. It is precisely for these attitudes and these viewpoints that we are criticized, it is for this that N. Khrushchev attacked us at the 22nd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. In this way, he first, unilaterally, made public our disputes, providing weapons to the enemy and assuming there a heavy historic responsibility as a splitter of the unity of the international communist movement and of the socialist camp. Our Party of Labour has never publicly expressed our differences: it has dwelt on them only at party meetings, but now that N. Khrushchev made them public, our Party, too, is obliged to state openly its viewpoints.

N. Khrushchev, accusing our Party in his speeches at the 22nd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, said that the Albanian-Soviet relations were spoiled for the fault of the Albanian leaders. It is well known that the 20 years of revolutionary activity of our Party are 20 years of a tremendous work for the promotion of friendship between the Albanian people and the Soviet peoples, for the establishment of closer fraternal ties between the People's Republic of Albania and the Soviet Union. Twenty years of the activity of our Party are 20 years of sincere faithfulness, of great fraternal love of our Party for Lenin's great Party which has always been for us a source of inspiration and experience, from which we have learned how to work and strive for the good of our people, for the cause of socialism and communism. Twenty years of the activity of our Party have been years of a fraternal internationalist aid to the Albanian

people, which our Party and Government have rightly utilized for the economic development of our country, for the upbuilding of socialism in Albania, for the improvement of the living standards of the Albanian people.

In such conditions it is absurd and incredible to everyone to allege that it is the Albanian leaders who «without any reason» and «with an amazing quickness» have changed their attitude towards the Soviet Union, towards the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Incredible is also the monstrous slander that the Albanian leaders have allegedly linked themselves to imperialism and have allegedly sold themselves to it «for 30 pieces of silver». Such «discoveries» may be believed by those who are fond of tales and detective novels, but by no serious man, for every honest person who knows somewhat the twenty-years old history of our Party, cannot fail to see that such a slander is not justified by any stand of our Party, by any action of its leaders. The Party of Labour of Albania, during its entire revolutionary path, has always fought and continues to fight with determination against imperialism and its agents; never in the past, at present and in the future has it stretched, is stretching or will stretch its hand to anybody for pittance, and less so to imperialism and its allies. It has received and receives from its friends and brothers of the socialist countries not alms, but only internationalist aids in credit and it will continue to receive in the future, too, only from those socialist countries which will desire to offer to it such an aid. We ask for alms from

nobody. If N. Khrushchev and his followers, for one reason or another, do not like to help us, they are expecting us in vain to address ourselves to the imperialists and their allies for «alms». Our people have friends and comrades in the socialist countries who have not abandoned and will not abandon them. But, regardless of this, we tell N. Khrushchev that the Albanian people and their Party of Labour will live even on grass, if need be, but they will never sell themselves «for 30 pieces of silver», for they prefer to die standing and with honour rather than live with shame and knelt down.

Why then did the Soviet-Albanian relations deteriorate? This is clear and well-known to N. Khrushchev himself and to the international communist movement. Khrushchev knows the cause, for he himself is the culprit. We shall say only this: that the June 1960 Bucharest Meeting was the starting point.

Differences had existed between our Party of Labour and the Soviet leadership even prior to June 1960 on some questions of ideological and political nature; however they have not exerted any negative influence on the relations between our two socialist states, between our two Marxist-Leninist parties.

The Party of Labour of Albania has always declared, and declares now, too, that the experience of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union has been a great help on our road for the building of the socialist society. However, for example as regards some special theses of principle of the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet

Union, our Party has not been and is not of the same opinion with the Soviet leadership, just as it is not also at present as regards many theses of the 22nd Congress or of the new program of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union approved by the 22nd Congress. Is not our Party entitled to this? Is this not consistent with the teachings of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism? Can this be considered as an anti-Soviet attitude, as they are trying to accuse us?

The Soviet leaders consider as «anti-Marxist», «dogmatist», «sectarian», and «opposed to proletarian internationalism», etc., any party that is not of the same opinion with them as regards those theses of principle which were raised at the 20th Congress. Moreover, the former member of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, E. Furtseva, went to such lengths as to declare from the rostrum of the 22nd Congress that «how can call themselves communists those persons who do not accept the decisions of the 20th Congress of our Party?» That is, according to some Soviet leaders, the criterion of loyalty towards Marxism-Leninism, towards communism and proletarian internationalism, is allegedly the attitude towards the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Can such a logic be Marxist? If all the communist and workers' parties in the world would adopt the new criteria invented by Furtseva, then only the disagreement, let us say, with many revisionist theses of the 8th Congress of the Italian Communist

Party would throw into misfortune millions of communists in the world and difficulties would be created for them, for they would not know to what address they should hand their party cards.

According to the Leninist principles governing the relations between Marxist parties, however important the congress of a party may be, however great and authoritative the party of a country may be, the decisions of its congress are binding only for its members. In the international communist movement all the parties — the Moscow Declaration points out — are equal and independent, they work out their policies proceeding from the specific conditions of their countries and guiding themselves by the principles of Marxism-Leninism. The attempt to make the decisions of the congress of a party as international norms binding for all the parties is a crude violation of the principles of equality and independence of the Marxist-Leninist parties; it is in open contrast with proletarian internationalism. Therefore, it is not our Party, but the Soviet leadership, headed by N. Khrushchev, that has deviated from the positions of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, seeking to force its course upon the other parties, demanding from them to renounce their own viewpoints and obey and submit to them.

Whether our Party stands or not on the positions of Marxism-Leninism, this is by no means determined by its critical attitude towards some theses expressed by the leaders of some fraternal parties, nor by the subjective evaluation that may be made of its line and activity by N. Khrushchev

and his followers. The criterion of truth is life, practice; therefore the individuals and the various parties should be judged by the facts, by their practical activity. The path traversed by the Party of Labour of Albania, the line it has pursued right from its founding, its 20-year old revolutionary activity, are the most convincing facts attesting to its firm loyalty towards Marxism-Leninism, towards the vital interests of the Albanian people, towards the great cause of socialism and communism as well as towards the cause of world peace.

Our Party of Labour has made its special remarks about many theses of principle of the 20th Congress and about some stands of the Soviet leaders, with which it has not agreed, through normal party channels, observing thereby all the jointly established principles governing the relations between the fraternal parties. As regards our remarks relating to the foreign policy and the problems of the present-day world development, we mentioned them above. Let us now see another important problem about which we have held and continue to hold opinions different from those of the Soviet leaders. The question is about the attitude towards J. V. Stalin and his work.

According to the views of our Party, N. Khrushchev had to uncrown first J. V. Stalin and his work in order to forward his opportunist theses to the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and spread them later. He did this by his special report delivered at the 20th Congress «On the cult of the individual and its consequences». Our Party has not agreed and does not

agree with the criticism against Stalin, as it was effected at the 20th Congress and later.

N. Khrushchev, slandering our Party at the 22nd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, and crudely interfering with our domestic affairs, said that the «Albanian leaders are against the criticism of Stalin's cult of the individual», because the methods of the cult of the individual are allegedly thriving in our Party, that terror and injustice are allegedly reigning in Albania. We shall not stop here to reject these slanders, but the fact that their author has fallen so low as to mobilize the public opinion against our Party using such «arguments» borrowed from the most rabid enemies of socialism and communism, shows his dark aims. It is evident that by linking at the 22nd Congress his unsubstantiated attacks on the Party of Labour of Albania with his «fight against Stalin's cult and the anti-party group», N. Khrushchev aimed at showing the «analogy» between the alleged «Albanian Stalinism» and the «epoch of the Stalinist crimes» in the Soviet Union, in order to create in this way the «atmosphere» he needed at the Congress and in the world public opinion to make his slanders more credible.

The Party of Labour of Albania has always taken and continues to take account of the teachings of Marxism-Leninism concerning the role of the masses, classes, party and leaders. It has always considered and continues to consider the manifestation of the cult of the individual as a phenomenon alien to Marxism-Leninism, harmful to a communist and workers' party. Our Party has

not hesitated, when the case has been, to criticize while still in embryo the various manifestations of this kind among its ranks, as it did at its 3rd Congress. Likewise, our Party, when the case has been, has boldly fought and has nipped in the bud any violation of the revolutionary legality, any abuse of the state power by anybody, as it did at its 1st Congress. Everybody knows what was the fate of the enemy of the Party and people Koci Xoxe and company, who, before the year 1948, incited by the Yugoslav revisionists and abusing the trust given to them by the people and the Party, violated the state laws in order to dig the grave to many party and state cadres.

There does not exist in our Party either the sickness of the cult of the individual or the violation of the socialist legality. But at the same time, while guarding itself against the manifestations of the cult of the individual, our Party, in a correct Marxist-Leninist way, nourishes love and respect for its leaders, strictly observing the socialist legality, our Party and our people's power are severe towards the enemies of our People's Republic, towards all those who seek to bury the historic victories of our people.

The Party of Labour of Albania, therefore, has been and is opposed to the criticism done to J. V. Stalin at the 20th Congress and which was repeated also at the 22nd Congress for some other reasons of principle.

According to the viewpoint of our Party, J. V. Stalin, in his entire theoretical and practical activity, has been and remains one of the most

distinguished leaders and personalities not only of the Soviet Union and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, but also of the international communist and workers' movement, one of the most ardent defenders and greatest theoreticians of Marxism-Leninism. His great historic merit lies in the fact that for many years in succession he had been a loyal disciple and determined comrade-in-arms of V. I. Lenin in the struggle for the overthrow of czarism and the triumph of the great October Socialist Revolution; while following Lenin's death, heading the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, he faithfully defended Leninism against the rabid attacks by the Trotskyites, Bukharinites, Zinovievites and other enemies and routed them ideologically and politically. J. V. Stalin, as the main leader of the party, made a great contribution to the successful direction of the construction of socialism in the Soviet Union and the Great Patriotic War of the Soviet Union against fascism; he further developed Marxism-Leninism in a series of important questions of the Soviet socialist society and the construction of socialism and communism; he made a valuable contribution to the consolidation of the socialist camp and the international communist movement, as well as to the exposure of modern revisionism in the person of Tito and his revisionist traitorous group. By thus appraising J. V. Stalin's activity, there is no doubt that some errors he may have committed during the last years of his life were partial and they cannot serve as a criterion to make a general evaluation of J. V. Stalin's person and his activity. In the general eva-

uation of J. V. Stalin's activity, in the foreground stand his great merits: his fight for the defence of Leninism, his struggle for the construction of socialism in the Soviet Union, his struggle for the creation and consolidation of the socialist camp, for the strengthening of the unity of the international communist and workers' movement, his consistent fight against imperialism, his policy for the defence of peace and the peaceful coexistence. They constitute his main characteristic features as a leader and as a communist. Such has been and remains the firm position of the Party of Labour of Albania relating to the evaluation of J. V. Stalin's work.

N. Khrushchev's wrong position in his criticism against J. V. Stalin lies in the fact that,

a) he unilaterally and tendentiously exaggerated beyond measure J. V. Stalin's mistakes, going even to such lengths as to make base slanders against him. Stalin was presented by him almost as an «enemy» of the Soviet Union and communism; he was characterized as «brutal», «capricious», as a «despot», «murderer», «blood-thirsty» and «criminal» towards the party cadres and the loyal and tested revolutionaries, and as a «dupe» of the imperialists and fascists, as a man who committed great «follies», both in practice and theoretical questions, who did not «understand» of what was being done in the Soviet Union, who manifested a «lack of respect towards Lenin's memory», and many other charges of this kind. The detached statements made at the 20th Congress and after it, to the effect that Stalin remains a

distinguished Marxist-Leninist, etc., are entirely formal and were made to mitigate the bad impression and the lawful anger aroused in the communists of the whole world by these accusations against Stalin. In fact, neither at the 20th Congress nor up today has the leadership of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and its propaganda made any positive appraisal of J. V. Stalin's theoretical legacy to show his positive sides and his contribution to the defence and further development of Marxism-Leninism. This inhumane attitude reached its climax at the 22nd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, where not only were repeated the accusations of the 20th Congress, this time publicly, but there was adopted also special decision to remove J. V. Stalin's embalmed body from the mausoleum. Unable to reject Stalin by arguments of principle in the field of theoretical activity and creativeness Khrushchev, in order to fight Stalin, introduces the question into the police and espionage field, and he took measures also for the liquidation of Stalin's corpse. How much hypocritically sound, following all these actions, N. Khrushchev's words pronounced in January 1957 to the effect that «when it was the question of the revolution, of the defence of the interests of the class of the proletariat, in the revolutionary struggle against our class enemies, Stalin defended bravely and irreconcilably the cause of Marxism-Leninism», that «in the main and fundamental thing — and the main and fundamental thing for the Marxist-Leninists is the defence of working class interests, of the cause of socialism,

the fight against the enemies of Marxism-Leninism — in this main and fundamental thing, as it is said, pray god every communist be able to fight as Stalin fought»!

b) N. Khrushchev, at the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, and the Soviet propaganda following that congress, unilaterally treated the question of the fight against the cult of the individual throwing into oblivion the Leninist doctrine about the relations among the masses, classes, parties and leaders. The great Lenin, especially in his book of genius «Leftism — infantile sickness in communism», forcefully pointed out the indispensability of the creation, in every Marxist party, of a group of leaders, more or less permanent, composed of the most authoritative, most influential and most experienced persons. Without such a stable leadership the struggle of the working class and its communist party cannot be crowned with success. In contrast with these clear teachings of Lenin, at the 20th Congress, under the pretext of the fight against the cult of the individual, the alleged «mass democracy» was counterpoised to the role of the revolutionary leaders.

N. Khrushchev and his group used for their own anti-Marxist aims — and this is becoming ever more clear — the alleged «principled criticism» against Stalin's cult of the individual. How he used it and for what purposes he is acting in the internal plan (in the Soviet Union and in the Communist Party of the Soviet Union) this is not our business, this may be judged only by the Commun-

ist Party of the Soviet Union. Despite this, we can but note that in fact N. Khrushchev, dealing with the «crimes» that have been committed in Stalin's epoch, with the «murders of the innocent people», with the «elimination of thousands of cadres» through «false» court trials, with the regime of «terror» which is described with an unbridled enthusiasm, in the darkest colours, making all these things known to the international public opinion, is rendering a very bad service to the Soviet Union, pleasing only the imperialists and all the enemies of communism.

N. Khrushchev has accused the leadership of our Party of the just criticism made at party meeting, towards some unlawful actions with regard to our country, alleging that the Albanian leaders «throw mud at the Soviet Union». But how should we call this same unbridled zeal of his to darken a whole glorious epoch, the epoch of the construction of socialism in the Soviet Union, to discredit before the eyes of the whole world the glory of the Soviet Union, presenting it as the country where terror and murders have allegedly reigned, just as the whole reactionary bourgeois press has propagandized and is propagandizing? Is it not he himself that, by his actions, is discrediting the Soviet Union? Is he not gravely offending the heroism of the Soviet peoples who, in struggle with internal and external enemies, in struggle with countless difficulties and obstacles, under the leadership of their Communist Party which was led by Stalin, laid the foundations of the socialist and communist society in the Soviet Union, when he

proposes that there should be erected in Moscow a memorial to the «victims» of the cult of the individual? Someone calls such actions a «bold self-criticism». Let them think more deeply about how much good and how many evils has this kind of «bold self-criticism» brought to the Soviet Union and the communist movement!

N. Khrushchev, speaking of the «iniquities» and «victims of the period of the cult of the individual», declaring the various court trials as framed-up, regardless of the fact that in all that struggle there might have been made also some mistakes, appears to be consistent with his anti-Marxist concepts about imperialism and its servitors. Indeed, he rendered a service to imperialism, for he presents it as not dangerous to the countries which are building up socialism; he is weakening the vigilance of the peoples in their struggle against the espionage network of imperialism which has acted and is fiercely acting against the socialist camp. N. Khrushchev adopted his tactics of silence also towards the plot organized by the Yugoslav revisionists, the Greek monarcho-fascists and the US 6th fleet, a plot which was exposed in our country a few months ago. Moreover, after having recommended this tactics also to some other fraternal parties, he spread the slogan that the plot was an invention, that the participants in this plot were «patriots and honest fighters», whom later, at the 22nd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, in his concluding speech, he openly took them under his protection. While not long ago N. Khrush-

chev, formally, accused the Albanian leaders of being connected with the imperialist espionage. Therefore, according to his logic, it follows that he who fights against imperialism, he who fights against its agents, he who fights for the defence of the freedom and independence of the socialist homeland, is an «agent of imperialism». And conversely, he who rises against the people's power and the Party, he who places himself at the service of the enemies of socialism, is a «martyr», a «good patriot», he is taken under protection by the leader of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, to such persons there will be erected memorials also.

The question of the fight against Stalin's cult has been used by N. Khrushchev to uncrown Leninism, to prepare the ground to revise Marxism-Leninism and spread his opportunist views in the most important questions of the present-day world development and the international communist movement. This action and the tactics of his are neither new nor original. In fact, in his fight against Leninism Trotsky, too, used the same tactics.

«... Trotsky in his writing», J. V. Stalin says, «makes one more (one more!) attempt to prepare the conditions for the substitution of Trotskyism for Leninism. Trotsky has to discredit, 'at all costs', the Party, its cadres that carried out the uprising with a view to passing from the discredit of the Party to the discredit of Leninism. While he needs the discredit of Leninism to smuggle in Trotskyism as the 'only' 'proletarian' ideology

*(don't take it for a joke!). All this is certainly (yes, certainly!), done under the banner of Leninism, so that the procedure of this smuggling should be carried out 'without any damage at all'»**

N. Khrushchev used Stalin's question to strike on the healthy Marxist-Leninist elements in the leaderships of the communist and workers' parties of the different countries, to scare, and in case of resistance, also to liquidate only one who would dare to object, to reduce to silence the other parties and various leaders who would not support the revisionist views, his course. The question of the cult of the individual, in short, was used as a bugbear to exercise pressure on the other parties and to liquidate the leaders who were not to the liking of N. Khrushchev. These aims which, but recently, were concealed by him, covering them with a «principled» and «Marxist» phraseology, were openly stated at the 22nd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. If we take account of the fact that at the same time Khrushchev, as we mentioned above, takes under protection and considers as «patriots» anti-party elements and agents of imperialism, participants in the plot organized by the imperialists against the People's Republic of Albania, then clearly emerges N. Khrushchev's «principled» fight against the cult of the individual in Albania, his great concern! He is seeking to liquidate the pre-

* J. V. Stalin, Works, Vol. 6, p. 361 (Alb. ed.).

sent-day leaders of our Party and place in their stead anti-party elements and plotters, agents of imperialism.

That N. Khrushchev, under the pretext of the fight against the cult of the individual, is seeking to uncrown Leninism in order to pave the way to revisionism, is known also by the fact that he is by no means concerned with the just and principled Marxist-Leninist fight against the cult of the individual. For, if such were the case, irrespective of his demagogical words, he could not have helped noticing that at present in the Soviet Union manifestations of the cult of the individual are appearing with every passing day, and even in more open and exalting forms for his own person. Thus, one can hardly find an issue of the Soviet illustrated reviews in which one will not find pictures of N. Khrushchev; the pages of the Soviet press are full of quotations from his speeches, he is the only one to speak in all parts and about all questions; a whole film is devoted to his life, and other films to his visits to various countries of the world; numerous praises are made to him in various speeches and writings attributing to him personally the greatest successes of the Soviet people in the field of the development of industry, science and technology. Great, feverish efforts are being exerted to present Khrushchev not only as a «great military strategist», but also almost as an «architect» of the victory over fascism in the Second World War.

Where does then lie N. Khrushchev's respect for principles in the fight against the manifesta-

tions of the cult of the individual which he so noisily advertizes in his unprincipled fight against the other fraternal parties and their leaders?

This is why, comrades, our Party has not agreed and does not agree with the Soviet leadership in the question of their criticism towards Stalin.

Our Party of Labour has not agreed and does not agree with the Soviet leadership also as regards the questions of the attitude towards the present-day revisionism, and especially towards the traitorous clique of the Yugoslav revisionists. N. Khrushchev and his group used Stalin's issue and the issue of the cult of the individual also to prepare the ground for the complete rehabilitation of the Tito's revisionist and traitorous clique, to present it as a «victim» of Stalin's errors, encouraging there by the revisionist renegades, wherever they are, to begin their activity against Marxism-Leninism under the demagogical slogans of «anti-Stalinism», etc.

It is known that the Yugoslav revisionist clique was publicly condemned both by the known letters of the Central Committee of the Communist Party (Bolshevik) of the Soviet Union, signed by J. V. Stalin and V. M. Molotov, and by the June 1948 Resolution of the Information Bureau of some communist and workers' parties, «Concerning the situation in the Communist Party of Yugoslavia», which was later supported by all the communist and workers' parties of the world. Later on, in November 1949, a second resolution of the Information Bureau was issued stating that the Tito clique had finally degenerated into an espionage

centre of imperialism, that it had liquidated the gains of the revolution in Yugoslavia, that it had diverted Yugoslavia from the road to socialism and the socialist camp and placed it on the economic and political dependence of imperialism, that the Tito clique waged a broad-scale activity of espionage and plots against the various socialist countries, that it supported in different forms the imperialist policy of war and aggression, etc.

The viewpoint of the Party of Labour of Albania has been and remains that the conclusions, of Stalin and the Information Bureau in connection with the Yugoslav renegade revisionist clique, have been and remain correct. These conclusions have been borne out and are being borne out both by the Yugoslav reality at that time and the later and present-day events. The Yugoslav revisionists became the centre of diversion and plots in the service of imperialism against the countries of the socialist camp. Under their direction was working in Albania Koçi Xoxe's gang, which aimed at destroying the Party of Labour and at liquidating the people's power. From Yugoslavia were illegally smuggled in the socialist countries hundreds of agents and provocateurs, spies and diversionists, whose duty was terror, sabotage, hatching up of plots against socialism in these countries. Tito's revisionist clique has more and more openly since 1948 and on, placed itself at the service of US imperialism, with which it is linked with the millions and billions of dollars in the form of US economic and military credits to Yugoslavia, with which it is linked by the participation in the

«Balkan Pact», which is nothing else but an appendage to the Atlantic Pact, with which it is linked by the policy of diversion and plots against the socialist countries and the national liberation movement of the newly liberated peoples or of those still suffering under the clutches of colonialism.

Until 1955, all the communist and workers' parties were unanimous in condemning the Yugoslav revisionist leadership and were waging a firm and principled ideological-political struggle against it. However, precisely at that time N. Khrushchev announced that towards Yugoslavia and its leaders had allegedly been done a great injustice, that «under the influence of the agent Beria» groundless charges had been levelled against them, that in the Yugoslav issue, too, J. V. Stalin had allegedly made a serious mistake. And immediately he took the initiative, went to Belgrade, where he called Tito «dear comrade», threw to the waste basket one-sidedly the resolutions of the Information Bureau and loudly announced that «Yugoslavia is a socialist country» and that the «Yugoslav leaders, although they have some waverings, are in general Marxist-Leninists».

What does the experience, what does the life show? The experience and practice before and after the year 1955 show that in the assessment of the Yugoslav question Stalin and the Information Bureau were right, because their assessment rested on objective facts, on the teachings of Marxism-Leninism. Experience and practice, on the other hand, show that in their stand towards the Yugoslav revisionist clique

N. Khrushchev and those who follow him are not right, because their actions are based on subjective viewpoints and are contrary to the teachings of Marxism-Leninism, contrary to the objective reality.

Let us refer to facts. What have been the results of the efforts to rehabilitate the Tito clique? The Yugoslav revisionist leaders have given up neither their anti-Marxist viewpoints nor their hostile activity against the socialist camp and the fraternal communist and workers' parties. The most obvious result brought about by N. Khrushchev's efforts was the fact that after 1955, possibilities were created for the Yugoslav revisionists to act more freely against the world communist movement and the countries of the socialist camp under the guise of the «persecuted comrade», exploiting in this direction even the patronage of the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. The rehabilitation of the Yugoslav revisionists brought with it also the rehabilitation of all their agents and companions in some fraternal parties where, under the mask of «correcting the mistakes», a true campaign started against the sound cadres of the Party and an activation of all the anti-party elements. This happened in some communist and workers' parties of the socialist countries in Europe, as well as in some parties of the capitalist countries. The most typical in this direction are the events of Hungary, where the activation of the revisionist elements, headed by Imre Nagy, who had the active support and instigation of the

Yugoslav revisionists, led up to the outbreak of the counter-revolution, which put in danger the very existence of Hungary as a state of people's democracy.

In spite of this, N. Khrushchev continuously, with great confidence in Tito and his companions, pursued insistently the policy of rapprochement, flatteries and caresses with the Yugoslav revisionists. The events of Hungary show still more clearly this stand. When the counter-revolution started in Hungary, it was clear to everybody that in these events a base role was being played also by the Yugoslav revisionists. This was seen in their influence in the counter-revolutionary discussions of the «Petoefi» club, this was seen during the counter-revolutionary uprising and the enthusiasm expressed by the Yugoslav revisionists at that time, but it was still more clearly seen also in the fact that the traitor Imre Nagy, after the smashing of the counter-revolution, found asylum at the Yugoslav embassy in Budapest. Instead of mercilessly unmasking the Belgrade renegades as direct inspirers of the counter-revolutionary coup in Hungary, N. Khrushchev tried in every way to mitigate their responsibility, to minimize it and, finally, to eliminate it entirely. The former ambassador of the Soviet Union at that time in Albania, L. I. Krylov, communicated to the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania the letter that N. Khrushchev had sent on November 9, 1956 to J. B. Tito. In this letter, among other things, Khrushchev wrote to Tito the following:

«The Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union has examined your last letter. We consider it possible to agree with your viewpoints that no special importance should be given now to the question whether the Yugoslav embassy in Budapest has acted correctly or not by giving asylum to Imre Nagy and his companions. We are noting with satisfaction that since the Brioni talks you have been in full agreement with our stand towards comrade Janos Kadar, as a distinguished personality with revolutionary authority in Hungary, capable in these difficult moments and conditions to head the new revolutionary government... You were fully satisfied with the fact that the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, since the summer of this year, in connection with the departure of Rakosi, was trying that comrade Kadar should become first secretary of the Central Committee of the Workers' Party of Hungary.

Any comment in connection with this letter is superfluous. This letter shows very clearly that the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union trampling underfoot any regulation determining the relations between the fraternal parties, has gone so far as to interfere even in an issue of so importance and of a markedly internal party character, as is the appointment in the place of the first secretary of a fraternal party of this or that person. It shows also very clearly that N. Khrushchev has been long since in full agreement with J. B. Tito, that he has deemed it reasonable that

for everything, even for the «appointment» of the first secretary of another party, to consult J. B. Tito, the very inspirer and organizer of the counter-revolution in Hungary.

From this it is clearly understood and is entirely logical why N. Khrushchev tried to see the question of the Yugoslav intervention in the Hungarian events closed: because two things cannot be done simultaneously, both to consult Tito and to expose Tito.

After Tito's notorious speech in Pula in November 1956, the struggle of the communist and workers' parties against Yugoslav revisionism was enlivened and the Yugoslav leaders were criticized for their stand. But the traitorous Tito group not only did not make any self-criticism or any positive step towards the communist movement, but in 1958 it considered it convenient to formulate and sum up its revisionist ideas in the Program of the League of Yugoslav Communists, which was published as a counterweight to the Moscow Declaration of the communist and workers' parties of November 1957. It seemed already, as if there was no more room even for the least illusion, because Tito and his group had openly written in their program what they were hiding for years under demagogical pseudo-Marxist and pseudo-socialist slogans. But what did happen? At the beginning, N. Khrushchev, who felt himself embarrassed before the public opinion and the international communist movement, although half-heartedly, took a stand towards the Yugoslav revisionists. But this did not last long.

With a wonderful nimbleness and contrary to the most elementary logic he, at the 5th Congress of the Socialist United Party of Germany in July 1958, gave the orientation not to speak of the Yugoslav revisionists, by saying: «In our struggle for the common questions we should not devote to the Yugoslav revisionists more attention than they deserve. They want that their value should be raised, that people should think that they are the centre of the world... We will not help in fanning the passions, in aggravating the relations. Even, in the situation created in our relations with the League of Yugoslav Communists, it will be useful to retain a spark of hope, to seek acceptable forms for some questions».

He stressed this also during his visit in Albania in May 1959. At the same time, again started to circulate more and more often the word on «comrade Tito», propaganda started again that «Yugoslavia is a socialist state», that between the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia «there exists mutual understanding on many problems of the foreign policy».

It is appropriate to recall that V. I. Lenin in his time has waged an irreconcilable fight not only against opportunism, but also against those who preached the «unity» with the opportunists.

The revisionist group of the Yugoslav leaders, being left unmolested in their treacherous, anti-socialist and plotting work, continued with a greater intensity their activity, both to split the communist movement and to undermine the national liberation and anti-imperialist movement of the

peoples fighting for freedom, or that have just won their national freedom. With every passing day the Yugoslav revisionists show themselves enemies of communism and of the peoples' freedom. Precisely because the revisionist clique of Belgrade is such, the representatives of 81 fraternal communist and workers' parties resolutely condemned in the 1960 Moscow Declaration the Yugoslav revisionist leaders. As it is known the Declaration stresses that the Yugoslav leaders, having betrayed Marxism-Leninism, detached their country from the socialist camp, put it under the dependence of the so-called «aid» of the US and other imperialists and in this way created the danger of losing the revolutionary gains reached with the heroic struggle of the Yugoslav people; that the Yugoslav revisionists are carrying out an undermining activity against the socialist camp and the international communist movement, that under the pretext of the policy of non-alignment they conduct an activity which brings harm to the question of the unity of all the peace-loving forces and states. Finally the Declaration stresses the need for a continuous struggle to expose fully the group of the Yugoslav leaders.

However, after November 1960, in the majority of occasions, these correct theses of the Declaration were thrown into oblivion by the Soviet leadership. More than that, as if to encourage Tito's revisionist clique, to «appease» its resentment, Soviet leaders saw it reasonable to make warm official statements to the address of

the Yugoslav «comrades». Thus, only a few days after the issuing of the Declaration of the 81 fraternal parties, the member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party and Foreign Minister of the Soviet Union A. Gromyko, at the Supreme Soviet of the Soviet Union, on December 23rd, 1960, stated that in some fundamental things the foreign policy of the Soviet Union is fully compatible with the foreign policy of Yugoslavia. While N. Khrushchev himself, in an interview to the observer of the «New York Times», Sultzberger, published by «Pravda» on September 10, 1961, stated: «Of course, we consider Yugoslavia a socialist country». Is such a statement not contrary to the Declaration of the 81 fraternal communist and workers' parties of the world? Should it not be thought that the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union with this statement was aiming at «appeasing» the resentment of the Yugoslav revisionist leaders and at making to them publicly known that what is written in the Moscow Declaration, or also in some other document of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, is formal, while his viewpoints are other?

Why is such a thing happening? Why is with such a persistence being held such a benevolent stand towards a gang of renegades of Marxism-Leninism, submerged head and feet in the scum of revisionism and of treachery and, at the same time, are being rabidly attacked the communist and workers' parties which have always stood loyal to the revolutionary doctrine of Marxism-Leninism and the cause of socialism?

The Party of Labour of Albania could not and cannot agree with such an opportunistic stand towards a clique of renegades. In the struggle against modern revisionism, especially against the revisionist clique of Belgrade, the Party of Labour of Albania has taken and always takes into consideration the valuable teachings of great Lenin, who stressed powerfully that opportunism constitutes a serious danger for the very existence of the socialist order.

These important teachings of Lenin were all the more understandable for our Party, because it had proved on its back what does Yugoslav revisionism mean, not only in theory but also in practice. Because, in fact, the clique of Belgrade has never renounced, either before 1948 or after 1955, the plots and diversion against the People's Republic of Albania and the Party of Labour of Albania, but, on the contrary, has increased them. Therefore, the struggle of the Party of Labour of Albania against the Yugoslav revisionism was an important internationalist task of our Party, as a Marxist-Leninist party, and at the same time its sacred duty to defend our socialist Homeland against the aims and the plots of the Yugoslav revisionists. Some of the Soviet leaders did not like this stand of the Party of Labour of Albania, because it was contrary to and constituted a hinderance for their schemes of rapprochement and embrace with the Titoite clique. The slogans started circulating that the «Albanians are hot-blooded», «they view things narrowly and conduct the struggle against the Yugoslav leaders

from the positions of nationalism», that the «Albanians want to capture the banner of anti-revisionism» and that «they are increasing the value of Tito's clique» etc., etc. But our Party did not waver from its principled positions and continued consistently and uncompromisingly the struggle against the Yugoslav revisionists. This stand of our Party has never been to the liking of N. Khrushchev and is one of the reasons explaining his so fierce a stand against the Party of Labour of Albania and its leadership.

The stand of N. Khrushchev's group towards Yugoslav revisionism, in fact, is not a stand different only from that of the Party of Labour of Albania, but from that of the international communist and workers' movement, expressed in the Moscow Declarations of 1957 and 1960, where revisionism is described as the main danger in the international communist and workers' movement, and Yugoslav revisionism as underminer of the socialist camp and the forces of peace. Thus, it is obvious that the Soviet leadership is trying to mitigate the struggle against opportunism and revisionism in the communist movement. Here lies also the source of all the attempts to distort, by all sorts of manipulations, the clear thesis of the two Moscow Declarations on revisionism as the main danger in the communist and workers' movement and to bring to the foreground the struggle against dogmatism. For our Party it has become clearer with every passing day that by accepting by words the need of fighting against revisionism and not doing it in fact, N. Khrush-

chev and those who follow him, under the pretext of the struggle against dogmatism, are fighting against Marxism-Leninism, are making efforts to reject the fundamental theses of the revolutionary doctrine of the proletariat precisely as Tito tried to do earlier and as have tried to do in the past the opportunists and revisionists of various brands.

What were the consequences of the spreading of the various opportunistic viewpoints, of the unprincipled struggle against J. V. Stalin and the policy of reconciliation with the Titoite treacherous revisionist clique, persistently pursued by N. Khrushchev and his group? Although they raise to the skies, with a great noise, the «wonderful consequences» allegedly brought about by the «criticism of the cult of the individual of J. V. Stalin» and the «normalization of relations with Yugoslavia», although they present the question as if with the 20th Congress a new era started in the development and further strengthening of the world communist movement, the facts speak entirely to the contrary. These distorted viewpoints and actions became a banner in the hands of the opportunist and revisionist elements in many countries to launch their revisionist attacks against the Marxist-Leninist parties. This happened in the Communist Parties of the United States of America, of Denmark, of the Netherlands, of Italy, of France, of Great Britain, etc. Under the influence of the opportunist viewpoints presented by N. Khrushchev to the 20th Congress, revisionism was revived

and assumed a large dissemination in many communist and workers' parties, becoming an extremely serious danger for the entire international communist movement. Precisely under the slogans of the struggle against the «Stalinist despotism», borrowed from the «secret» report: «On the cult of the individual and its consequences», which, «strange enough», fell into the hands of the reactionary circles of the West and was reproduced by them in tons, the imperialist reaction and the modern revisionists, especially the Belgrade revisionist renegades, enemies of socialism, organized the counter-revolutionary actions against the socialist order in Poland and the counter-revolutionary coup in Hungary. Precisely under the protection of these opportunist theses, of the attacks against Stalin and the appeasing attitudes of N. Khrushchev with the Yugoslav revisionists, Tito's renegade gang was enlivened still more, it was given free hand to develop broadly its undermining activity against the socialist camp and the international communist movement.

For us it is very clear that such a conclusion is not acceptable either to N. Khrushchev, or to his followers. But it is logical to raise the question: Why precisely after the 20th Congress were immediately enlivened the renegades and the revisionists in the ranks of the communist and workers' parties of the different countries, the Yugoslav revisionist clique raised again its head and all of them together launched a frontal attack against Marxism-Leninism? Why, let us say, the

theses of the 19th or the 18th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union did not become their banner? There is only one explanation here: because many theses which were set at the 20th Congress were of an opportunistic nature, therefore they constituted the ideological food for the renegades and the revisionists in their struggle against Marxism-Leninism; because the stands towards Stalin were anti-Marxist, therefore they were utilized so successfully by the enemies of Marxism and socialism for their aims.

These bitter consequences were felt in Albania, too. In our country, the opportunist elements of the Tuk Jakova and Bedri Spahiu type, as well as many other elements expelled from the Party for anti-party activity were activated and with the direct instigation of the Yugoslav revisionists, organized the plot at the Party Conference for the city of Tirana in April 1956. It is known that a major role in this plot was played by the traitor Panajot Plaku, an old agent of the Yugoslav espionage, to whom, after he fled from Albania to Yugoslavia, N. Khrushchev proposed ever since 1957 to be given political asylum to him in the Soviet Union. The slogans of these traitors were demagogical slogans of «liberalization and democratization of the proletarian dictatorship», of «normalization of relations with Yugoslavia», of «rehabilitation of Koçi Xoxe and other anti-party elements condemned earlier», etc. It is significant the fact that, precisely at that time, in April-May 1956, the Soviet leadership, through M. Suslov and P. Pospyelov tried to persuade

our Party to rehabilitate the traitor Koçi Xoxe, an enemy of the Party and the Albanian people, an agent of the revisionist clique of Belgrade, shot for his hostile activity which was aimed at liquidating the Party and the people's power and at turning Albania into the seventh republic of Titoite Yugoslavia.

N. Khrushchev's anti-Marxist stand on the above-mentioned questions caused thus a great damage to our common cause, of socialism and communism. However, the international communist and workers' movement managed to cope successfully with the onslaught of the revisionist renegades. Marxism-Leninism is the banner of victory, therefore its enemies, the revisionists and the opportunists, have failed and will always fail shamefully.

From the above said it follows clearly that the nature of our disagreements has been entirely ideological and political, that our Party has not agreed with the opportunist viewpoints and actions of N. Khrushchev as concerns some vital questions of the present-day world development and the international communist and workers' movement, viewpoints which are contrary to the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism and constitute a serious violation of the 1957 and 1960 Declarations of the communist and workers' parties. But the existence of these wrong viewpoints among the Soviet leaders is only half of the evil. The greatest evil is that they try to impose at any condition their opportunistic concepts on all the communist and workers' par-

ties, not stopping for this purpose even before the pressure, blackmail and the most brutal attacks against those parties and their leaders that do not agree with the revisionist theses of N. Khrushchev, that oppose them and resolutely defend Marxism-Leninism. Here lies the greatest evil, here lies also the cause that relations between our country and the Soviet leadership have become tense. Seeing that his multifarious attempts to kneel down the Party of Labour of Albania and to impose on it his anti-Marxist viewpoints have failed in face of the firm Marxist-Leninist stand of our Party and wanting to justify before his party and before the international communist movement his impermissible, hostile activity against the Party of Labour of Albania and the People's Republic of Albania, N. Khrushchev has gone over to wild and public slanders like those he and other Soviet leaders made at the 22nd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

The fact that he chose the rostrum of the 22nd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union to carry out the «trial» against our Party, the fact that he deceived the representatives of some communist parties to express themselves uncomradely against our Party in their greetings to the Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, throws light on his putschist methods, on his tactics of surprise, on the onesided imposing of his desire upon the international communist and workers' movement,

on the non-observance of the fundamental principles governing the relations between the communist and workers' parties of the world, which have been established jointly and have been outlined in the Moscow Declarations.

To examine the activity of a communist and workers' party, to express the viewpoint whether it stands on correct positions or not, can judge only an international forum, an international meeting of the communist and workers' parties, after hearing in detail the arguments of that party. But N. Khrushchev feared to ask the convocation of such a meeting, because he was convinced that he would not succeed in condemning our Party of Labour. For this reason he did not invite to the 22nd Congress our Party also, because its word would bring to the fore once more the truth on the Albanian-Soviet relations, would expose again his anti-Marxist viewpoints and activity, would reject all his entirely unfounded slanders and charges.

The method used by the First Secretary of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union to attack onesidedly our Party is known in the international communist and workers' movement. He applied this tactics at Bucharest, too, where with false and onesided charges he tried to kneel down Marxist-Leninist parties and to compromise by means of a quick, unpondered and hasty pronouncement their representatives, but despite his efforts, he did not succeed. On the contrary, N. Khrushchev was forced to agree to the holding of the Moscow Meeting in November 1960, where

correct debates were conducted, where it was clearly seen that his viewpoints did not meet with the enthusiastic support of the participants, and this is expressed also in the very documents approved by the representatives of 81 parties and which N. Khrushchev is brutally violating in all his activity. Therefore, he, in order to attack our Party, resorted to his putschist methods, utilizing for this purpose the 22nd Congress.

In this way, N. Khrushchev has effectively sabotaged any future international meeting also, because by attacking onesidedly and publicly our Party, he has put the Party of Labour of Albania on conditions of inequality.

At the 22nd Congress, N. Khrushchev, and his followers charged our Party that it allegedly, with its actions, is «disrupting the unity, is splitting the socialist camp and the international communist movement». One must have lost any feeling of responsibility or seriousness to say such a thing. Who is in reality undermining our unity, the Party of Labour of Albania or the leadership of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union headed by N. Khrushchev? Our Party, which has always abided by the principles that our disagreements should be solved through the party way, or the Soviet leadership, which has trampled underfoot these principles and has embarked upon the anti-Marxist path of pressure, blackmail and is openly calling for counter-revolution in socialist Albania? The Party of Labour of Albania has never spoken publicly about our differences, it has only through the party way and

at party meetings, openly and courageously criticized the wrong viewpoints and actions of the Soviet leaders, while N. Khrushchev was the first to speak publicly from the rostrum of the 22nd Congress not only about the existence of our differences but also to vomit gall, to slander at full daylight against our Party and people's power, presenting it as a «regime of terror, where right and left there are prisons and firing squads», using the language of Rankovich, who has said that «in Albania there reign the barbed wire and the frontier guard boot». Our Party stands for the unity, for its further strengthening, but for a sound, steel-like unity, not for an anaemic and sick unity. Precisely because it stands for the steel-like unity of the international communist and workers' movement and the socialist camp, it has courageously and through the party way criticized N. Khrushchev's anti-Marxist manifestations and actions, which weaken this unity.

We greatly regret the fact that some leaders of the communist parties joined with N. Khrushchev's wrong viewpoints. We don't want to seek the causes which forced them to take this stand (we understand very well the difficult position in which they have found themselves), but can their onesided position be called correct, a priori, when the majority of the representatives of these parties have no knowledge of the development of relations between our Party and the Soviet leadership? It is correct to take this or that stand, when one hears only the arguments of one side, while the other side has been depri-

ved of the right to state its own viewpoint? Or in the communist movement should be established new principles, according to which the big one must be heard, the little one not, the big is right, while the little is always wrong? According to our opinion, such a reasoning is not at all correct and is not compatible with the Leninist norms of relations between the parties. Such a stand does not help the strengthening of the unity of the international communist and workers' movement, the strengthening of the socialist camp, but weakens it and will later create great troubles.

In spite of this at the 22nd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, N. Khrushchev was not supported by all the representatives of the communist and workers' parties. Out of the 80 foreign delegations which attended the proceedings of the Congress and spoke or sent by writing their greetings, 34 representatives of the fraternal parties did not join the N. Khrushchev's slanders and charges against our Party, they did not speak about the disagreements existing between the Party of Labour of Albania and the Soviet leadership. Surely, many of them may have their remarks as concerns the work of the Party of Labour of Albania, but at the 22nd Congress, which was the congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, of a definite party, they did not consider it appropriate to speak about a question which concerns the entire international communist movement, taking thus a correct Marxist-Leninist stand. We must say also that even the mass of the home delegates to

the 22nd Congress did not express themselves about the Soviet-Albanian disagreements, they did not speak against our Party, they did not support N. Khrushchev in his attacks and slanders against the Party of Labour of Albania. Out of 88 delegates who took part in discussions in the congress, only 14 spoke against our Party. They all were members of the Soviet leadership.

Our Party of Labour thanks for their principled and correct stand both the representatives of the communist and workers' parties who did not support N. Khrushchev in his onesided attacks against our Party and the delegates of the glorious Communist Party of Lenin, who, preserving the bolshevik traditions and the Leninist principles of objective judgements of any question, did not support N. Khrushchev in this anti-Marxist act.

From the rostrum of the 22nd Congress, among the numerous slandering charges, the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union spoke also of the allegedly lack of democracy in our Party, of the allegedly violations of the Leninist norms in its inner life. This, of course, is an open interference in the internal affairs of our Party, but despite this we can say to these «defenders» of democracy: Look better your business, for not in the Party of Labour of Albania, but in your parties there are many scandalous examples of the violation of the most elementary rules of democracy. Dmitri Polyansky, on attacking the «anti-party» group, surely, refrained himself from telling in detail all

the backstage he and his companions had organized at the time of the plenary session of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in summer 1957. Polyansky has hidden this from the congress, but he has told this a «friend» of theirs, who then reported it to our Party in detail,

Let us take another example. When the Tirana tribunal gave the deserved verdict against the agents of US imperialism, of Yugoslavia and Greece, Teme Sejko and company, out of the whole press of the European countries of people's democracy, only the newspaper «Trud», the organ of the Bulgarian working class, reported correctly this trial. But immediately, within the day, by the most «democratic» methods, it was announced that the president and the secretaries in charge of the Central Council of the Bulgarian Trade Unions had been dismissed from their posts. And this was because the Yugoslav Government, on the same day, lodged a serious protest with the Bulgarian Government in connection with the report given on the Tirana trial by this newspaper.

Finally, about those who speak of internal democracy and of the observance of the party norms. We are referring here especially to Palmiro Togliatti. Does he consider regular, democratic his action at the 22nd Congress when he spoke and condemned our Party? He did not know before what has happened and how the relations between our Party and the Soviet leadership have developed. At least our Party has not given

the Italian Communist Party any material. Its Central Committee had not adopted before any decision by which to denounce our Party and thus to authorize its representatives to condemn it. At least we do not know of any such fact. Then of what democracy are speaking these leaders who scandalize themselves, without cause for the fate of a person and who, when it is the question of the fate of a party, of 50,000 communists and an entire people, make offending statements without any responsibility and in flagrant contradiction with the elementary rules not only of the party democracy, but also of the simple logic and human conscience? Palmiro Togliatti threw at us the Roman «anathema», by charging us that we are splitting the unity of the international communist movement. On what did Togliatti rely when he a few years ago attacked publicly the Soviet socialist system and preached polycentrism and the zones of influence in the international communist movement? He has not and will not have any fact against us, but with his own anti-Marxist theses he has greatly served the Yugoslav revisionists. Nevertheless, strangely enough, nobody rose against Togliatti's revisionist viewpoints.

N. Khrushchev, who speaks so much of democratic methods, patience and internationalism, has resorted against our Party to the most anti-Marxist methods, methods which are entirely alien to the relations between the socialist countries. In order to subdue the Party of Labour of Albania, to prevent it from having its own

viewpoint, to impose on it his anti-Marxist viewpoints, he and his followers have not stopped before any measure, not only as concerns the relations between our parties, but also as concerns relations between our socialist states. Today we do not want to enter into detail and to dwell long on these questions, because there are many facts and countless documents, which illustrate objectively these, but will mention that, as a result of the adoption of anti-Marxist methods by the Soviet leadership for the settlement of existing disagreements, as a result of the consecutive pressure both in the economic and the political and military fields, the relations between our country and the Soviet Union have been greatly aggravated. This process has started since the second half of the last year, that is after the Bucharest Meeting. Since then, N. Khrushchev, instead of agreeing to settle patiently the ideological and political disagreements existing between our Party and the Soviet leadership, made them public and extended them to the state relations also.

In his anti-Marxist and hostile activity towards the Albanian people N. Khrushchev has been followed also by some leaders of the socialist countries of Europe. They are all together doing their utmost to isolate Albania economically, politically and militarily, by creating around it a «sanitary cordon». N. Khrushchev forgets that in the century of the triumph of Leninism there can be no «cordon» to isolate a people and a party which are firmly fighting for the triumph of so-

cialism and of communism, there can be no «cordon», regardless of how organized and strong it may be, to resist to the Marxist-Leninist truth. Any «cordon» will be smashed and its organizers will shamefully fail.

The First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party and Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Soviet Union did not confine himself to this. Seeing that all his pressure, blockades and blackmail did not bring the result he desired, could not kneel down our Party and people, from the rostrum of the 22nd Congress he made an open call for the overthrowing by means of a counter-revolutionary coup the leadership of the Party of Labour of Albania, for the liquidation of our Party, something which he reserves himself to do even when it is the question of the governments of the capitalist countries, because he considers it an interference in their internal affairs. He said: «To put an end to the cult of the individual means for Shehu, Hoxha and others to give up in essence the commanding posts in the party and the state. But they do not want to do this. We are convinced that the time will come when the Albanian communists, when the Albanian people will have their say, and then the Albanian leaders will have to give account for the damage they have caused to their country, to their people, to the cause of the building of socialism in Albania». The Albanian people and the Albanian communists gave the reply to N. Khrushchev by means of hundreds

and thousands of telegrams and letters, a part of which has been published by our press.

Our Party and people have heard continuously for 17 years in succession calls for the overthrow of our people's power, for the liquidation of our Party and its leadership. They have heard and are hearing them every year from the USA State Department, from the US, British and other imperialists, from Franco's «Nationalist Spain» radio, from the revisionist traitors of Belgrade, from the Greek monarcho-fascists, etc. These have even hatched up plots to achieve their aims. We have heard now such calls also from Nikita Khrushchev, who in fact is joining them in the hostile activity against the Albanian people and its Party of Labour. On what have the imperialists and their tools relied in their activity against the people's power and the Party in our country? Their forces have been the scum of our society, the degenerate and anti-party elements, the people sold out to the foreign imperialist intelligence services, whom our people recall only with a feeling of deep hatred, contempt and scorn. These will be also the reserves of Nikita Khrushchev. And it can not be otherwise. The whole our people, old and young, all the honest and patriotic people of our homeland, party and non-party people, have rallied today more than ever around our glorious Party and its correct Marxist-Leninist line, which expresses the vital interests of our people and meets the common interests of our great cause, socialism and communism. In the face of the steel-like

unity of our Party and people, in the face of this invincible force, will shamefully fail the hostile actions and the brutal interferences of Nikita Khrushchev, as have failed earlier and will always fail the entire hostile activity and all the plots of the imperialists, the Yugoslav revisionists, the Greek monarcho-fascists and other enemies of the Albanian people, its Party of Labour and the People's Republic of Albania.

At the 22nd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, N. Khrushchev accused our Party and its leadership of anti-Sovietism, considering any remark and criticism towards his anti-Marxist viewpoints and actions, made in party meetings and according to Leninist rules, an attack against the Soviet Union and the Soviet peoples. This is a monstrous slander and distortion.

Who does indeed defend the Soviet Union and its prestige: Nikita Khrushchev, who with his unprincipled attacks and slanders against J. V. Stalin has discredited the glorious Soviet Union, presenting it like a country where the fiercest terror has reigned, the same as in the Hitlerite Germany, or the Party of Labour of Albania that has defended and is defending the Soviet Union from the fierce attacks of the imperialist and revisionist propaganda, which Nikita Khrushchev has provided with weapons? Who does defend the Soviet Union and its prestige: Nikita Khrushchev who with his anti-Marxist actions, attacks, pressure and blockades against the People's Republic of Albania is providing with

weapons the imperialists to stain before the world public opinion the Soviet Union and its Communist Party, or the Party of Labour of Albania, which has shown and is showing that his anti-Marxist actions have nothing in common with the principles and the internationalist traditions of the Soviet Union and the great Party of Lenin?

Our Party heard with patience what was said at the 22nd Congress in its address. We, too, are saying our own viewpoint concerning these questions. The Party of Labour of Albania, with calm and pure conscience, appeals to the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, appeals to the new Central Committee elected by the 22nd Congress to judge with Leninist equity, with objectivity and calmness not onesidedly, on the situation created in the relations between our two parties and our two countries. Our Party has always been ready, for the sake of the unity of the communist movement and the socialist camp, of the interests of our countries, to settle the existing disagreements. But it has always been and is of the opinion that these questions should be solved correctly and only in a Marxist-Leninist way, in the conditions of equality and not of pressure and dictate.

Our Party and people, regardless of the attacks, slanders and the hostile actions directed against them, will guard untouched in their hearts the pure feelings of friendship with the fraternal peoples of the Soviet Union. Our Party has taught us to love the Soviet Union, the great homeland of Lenin and Stalin, both in good and bad times.

Comrades,

The entire 20-year old life and activity of our Party, as well as the facts of the present-day reality show clearly that our Party has always had a correct general line, that in connection with the present-day important questions preoccupying the international communist movement, particularly in connection with the question of the Albanian-Soviet relations, it stands on correct Marxist-Leninist and internationalist positions.

Deeply convinced that they stand for the truth, our people and Party, united like a single body, with a calm and pure conscience and a firm determination, will in the future too, follow unswervingly their correct path. And in this path they will win...

With this confidence we are celebrating the 44th anniversary of the great October Socialist Revolution and the great holiday of the 20th anniversary of the founding of our glorious Party. With this confidence, with the revolutionary banner of the victorious Leninism, with the unfurled banner of our heroic Party, we, the Albanian communists, together with our entire patriotic and fighting people, shall march forward with sure steps towards new victories, for the glory of Marxism-Leninism, for the glory of communism, for the glory of our socialist homeland!

Glory to victorious Marxism-Leninism, the banner of the victories of our Party and people!

Long live the 44th anniversary of the great
October Socialist Revolution!

Long live the 20th anniversary of the Party
of Labour of Albania!

Long live our heroic and indomitable people!
Glory to the Party of Labour of Albania!

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THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT IN ALBANIA IS ALIVE, VIGILANT AND ACTIVE

*From the speech to the cadres of the district
of Gjirokastra*

November 15, 1961

As you know, there are difficulties concerning the course of international events, particularly in regard to political and ideological relations among the communist and workers' parties, which influence the general international situation and that of the socialist camp. The disagreements that have arisen and are developing in the ranks of the communist and workers' movement, are a result of the hostile revisionist activity of N. Khrushchev and his group that have emerged at the head of the CPSU. This group is bringing very great harm to the cause of the revolution and socialism, not only in the Soviet Union, but in the whole world. Therefore, every effort must be made to cure and eradicate this dangerous disease in the healthy body of the communist and workers' movement.

From the time it came to power the Khrushchev group, gave signs that it was attacking Marxism-Leninism. These signs were not so obvious at first. Khrushchev and his cronies had known how to disguise themselves well as long as Stalin was alive. But after his death and up to the 20th Congress of the CPSU the signs began to become more obvious.

It must be said that after the death of J. V. Stalin, from the information we had and from what we could see, the Soviet leadership was making grave mistakes in line, and was flagrantly violating the principles of Marxism-Leninism. Such a situation was created that the opportunist and revisionist elements, through intrigues, were able to seize the key positions in the leadership of the Soviet party and state. The group around N. Khrushchev knew how to manoeuvre and seize the leadership of the party and the Soviet state. We do not know concretely how the events developed, but the conclusion can be quite easily reached that Khrushchev exploited the situation created, setting the leaders against one another in order to weaken their unity, in the first place in the presidium of the CC of CPSU. It is a fact which we know, too, that after J. V. Stalin's death, when we went to the Soviet Union, we heard from the mouth of Khrushchev himself talking to us before the other comrades of the presidium, that «there are differences between us, there are even disagreements on various problems, but that is all right, because such a situation is bound to arise». When he was speaking in this

way the others nodded their heads. This shows that there were frictions in the Soviet leadership before the 20th Congress, but behind them were hidden the intrigues of Khrushchev who managed, in allegedly democratic ways, to liquidate his opponents and to carry on with the realization of his own anti-Marxist aims.

N. Khrushchev came to power, not only by violating every Leninist organizational norm, but by acting in a brutal way just as at the time of czarist putsches. Once, Polyanski said that «at a regular meeting of the presidium of the Central Committee the majority defeated the views and stand of N. Khrushchev who did not know what to say before the comrades who asked him to render account. Faced with their facts and arguments he became demoralized and surrendered. The presidium took the decision that N. Khrushchev should be relieved of the functions of first secretary of the CC of the CP and head of the Soviet Government and become Minister of Agriculture, because that was what he was fitted for, a specialist in kukuruza*, But we were informed from inside of what was happening to Khrushchev in the presidium, therefore I and some other comrades, who were in Moscow, surrounded the Kremlin with tanks and soldiers and gave the order that not even a fly should move from the Kremlin. On the other hand we sent aeroplanes to all parts to gather up the members of the plenum of the CPSU. Then we went into the Kremlin and

* Maize (Russian).

demanded admission to the meeting. Voroshilov came out and asked us what we wanted. When we told him that we wanted to get into the meeting, he flatly refused. When we showed him our strength he asked: 'What are these things that are being done?' But we warned him: 'Watch your words, otherwise we shall arrest you. Thus we got into the meeting and changed the situation». The words of this putschist are sufficient to show how the plot of the usurpation of the party leadership by N. Khrushchev was organized. N. Khrushchev can say what he likes about his «respect» for Leninist norms he has violated them himself, not only when he came to power, but continually.

The 20th Congress marked the beginning of a blatantly hostile work in the CPSU and the international communist movement. Khrushchev had to conceal his activity with Marxist phrases, as is the custom of the revisionists. Under this guise he undertook the fight against Leninism. Weeds cannot thrive in clean soil for which continuous care is shown. First Khrushchev had to dethrone Leninism and the work of J. V. Stalin.

At the 20th Congress of the CPSU N. Khrushchev presented a series of «new» theses which were allegedly a «creative development of the Marxist-Leninist theory.» Although they were dressed up in the cloak of Marxism-Leninism, even at that time to our Party these theses smelled of revisionism. With a view to having these theses adopted, not only by the CPSU, but by the entire international communist movement, Khrushchev also

delivered a «secret» report, «On the cult of the individual and its consequences», which was directed against Stalin and his work. Towards the end of the proceedings of the congress, copies of this «secret» report were given to the first secretaries of the parties who had gone to Moscow to greet the 20th Congress and it was recommended that it should be read quickly with the assistance of their interpreters. But the fact is that this «secret» report also fell into the hands of the secret agencies of imperialism, was printed in large numbers and distributed throughout the entire world. Such a thing was to the benefit of N. Khrushchev and his cronies. Thus, the question of the «cult of the individual of Stalin» became an international question.

Our Party did not and does not agree with the way Stalin and his work were dealt with at this congress. Neither did we agree with a number of Khrushchev's performances and attitudes in international policy. At that time we still did not examine many of these performances and attitudes as thoroughly as we do today, but since the 20th Congress we saw a rather marked tendency in Khrushchev for conciliation with opportunist elements.

N. Khrushchev began to take some arbitrary measures such as the reconsideration of the decision of the Comintern about the Polish and Hungarian Communist Parties, about the rehabilitation of Bela Kun, etc., which he dished up to us. Thus, on the one hand he came out with a report against Stalin, on the other hand he also came out

against the Comintern. All these actions of his were carried out hastily, within a few days, holding one meeting here, another meeting there, to condemn the Greek CP, to rehabilitate the Polish CP, etc.

The «secret» report against Stalin not only disturbed our Party, but it began to make us suspicious about all the issues Khrushchev was raising, which he needed in order to blacken the entire revolutionary activity of Stalin. But the facts show that Stalin himself was against the cult of the individual and had often criticized it, while correctly assessing the role of the masses in history and of the Party of the proletariat.

In raising the question of the cult of Stalin Khrushchev had two internal and external aims, but their objective was the same: to blacken everything that the CPSU with Stalin at the head, had created, consolidated, and defended, that is the construction of socialism. By raising the question of the cult of the individual, N. Khrushchev tried, on the one hand to cast a black veil over the Soviet Union and obscure the period of the construction of socialism there, on the other hand, under the pretext of the «cult of the individual», to liquidate the sound leaders of other communist and workers' parties. Thus, after the 20th Congress of the CPSU, with the exception of the communist and workers' parties of Asia and our Party, in all the other parties, particularly in those of the countries of people's democracy of Europe, all the previous leaderships were liquidated and people allegedly not infected with the diseases of

the cult of the individual were placed at their head. Of the former leaders some died, some were eliminated. Many leaders of the international communist movement, such as Gottwald, Bieruth, Kolarov, Zapotocki died. In Poland people who had been imprisoned but had allegedly been guiltless, were placed in the leadership. In Czechoslovakia people from the base who allegedly were not infected by the cult of the individual, were placed at the head, while those who were in the leadership are being demoted further and further. In Hungary, after all these disturbances people who had allegedly been unjustly imprisoned were placed in the leadership, whereas in Bulgaria the old leadership was eliminated and replaced by new elements who «guaranteed the implementation of the new Marxist-Leninist course» and were «free of any hangover of dogmatism», etc. The course which N. Khrushchev began to pursue had great repercussions for all the parties, many of which suffered severe upheavals. In Europe, only in Albania Khrushchev did not succeed, therefore he decided to bide his time with Albania, and prepare the mines little by little to blow up its leadership.

Our Party understands how harmful the cult of the individual is, therefore it has not allowed manifestations of it. But our Party and people also know how to respect their loyal leaders. But this is just what Khrushchev and Tito do not like. They want to present the respect of our Party for its leaders as the «cult of the individual» so that people suitable to their hostile, anti-Marxist

and anti-Albanian work will come to the leadership. At these moments, when our Party is fighting with determination against revisionism, to defend Marxism-Leninism, the manifestations of the people are an expression of their ardent love for our glorious Party, which we are defending with might and main from the danger which is threatening not only it, but the entire international communist movement.

The revisionist line of N. Khrushchev about the question of Stalin had no success. Although not all the parties understood his aims, they did not accept the anti-Marxist attack against Stalin disguised as an attack on the cult of the individual. But there were also parties which were shocked by this attack. Thus, for instance, the French CP did not accept Khrushchev's theses about «the cult of Stalin.» Indeed at that time Maurice Thorez sent a party delegation to Moscow and declared to Khrushchev that «the French CP does not agree with the treatment of Stalin». Even last year when he came to our country Thorez maintained the same attitude, that Stalin is one of the greatest Marxists whereas now Maurice Thorez has turned his coat, and taken the revisionist course.

One of the main acts of N. Khrushchev, as soon as he came to power, was to exonerate the Yugoslav revisionists. According to him J. V. Stalin, as in all the other affairs, had allegedly committed another grave mistake in that he had allegedly unjustly persecuted and condemned the Yugoslav leaders. This step which N. Khrushchev

took gave political strength to the doubts and conviction of our Party that his group is heading for the abyss, that it is an opportunist revisionist group. Therefore, we realized it was our duty to be vigilant, and we were not mistaken. To achieve his anti-Marxist aims, N. Khrushchev used a number of forms, one of which was the so-called consultation with others. He pretended to ask, but this was only as a matter of form. Thus, before he went to Yugoslavia in 1955, he asked us what we thought about the steps that should be taken to approach «comrade» Tito. We replied that we did not agree with his going to Tito. There was a resolution of the Information Bureau of the communist and workers' parties on this issue, there were Stalin's well-known letters which condemned the revisionist Tito group. Therefore, in order to say whether or not Stalin was right on the Yugoslav issue, the Information Bureau should be called together to examine the issue and unilateral action should not be taken. However, at the time when Khrushchev was to go to Yugoslavia the Information Bureau had been dissolved. Therefore in these conditions a meeting should have been called of those parties which had been its members to which a delegation of our Party should have been invited, and then it could be decided what should be done with the Yugoslav leadership. But N. Khrushchev did not take any notice of the view of our Party. He went to Belgrade and you all know what was done there. Tito and his cronies emerged innocent and allegedly they had been persecuted unjustly. Thus, they began their acti-

vity legally. This was another blow that Khrushchev and Co. struck at Marxism-Leninism.

Apparently, the Yugoslav issue was of great importance to N. Khrushchev. Khrushchev has declared that «Beria tried to come to terms with Rankovich». We know nothing about this, because this is their internal affair, but one thing we do know, that Khrushchev himself has met Tito and Rankovich and they must be in agreement also with regard to the issues which were raised at the 20th Congress of the CPSU. We know what Khrushchev and Tito are, and we are also well aware what Rankovich is, a man of conspiracies, intrigues. Khrushchev's aim is that the Tito clique must not be presented as traitors to socialism. On the contrary, he wants Tito and Co. to be called Marxist-Leninists, irrespective of the fact that he seriously criticized Bulganin when he was prime minister, because he declared at a dinner party that, «Tito is a great Leninist». And Bulganin did this because he had heard many good words about Tito from Khrushchev's own mouth. However, in order to disguise himself, Khrushchev told us that Bulganin had made a great mistake in applying the term «Leninist» to Tito and, for appearance's sake, he condemned Bulganin, who was obliged to make self-criticism.

Hence, according to N. Khrushchev, Tito, this disrupter of socialist countries and communist and workers' parties, who since 1948 has lived on US dollars, had to be rehabilitated. Khrushchev's efforts to rehabilitate Tito, his kind words addressed to the Belgrade revisionists encourage them to

strut like fighting cocks and carry out actions so blatantly anti-Marxist that even Khrushchev and his followers have frequently been placed in difficult positions, particularly with the organization of the counter-revolution in Hungary, and with Tito's declarations that they should advance on his road in order to establish a new course in the countries of people's democracy. However, the counter-revolution in Hungary exposed the Yugoslav revisionist clique, Tito and N. Khrushchev likewise, because he had made an agreement with the Titoites about changing the situation and the previous leadership in Hungary. And if N. Khrushchev gave the order that the Soviet army, which left thousands of dead in Budapest, should assist the Hungarian people, he was compelled to do this by the circumstances that had arisen. N. Khrushchev would have left the counter-revolution in Hungary under the auspices of the Yugoslav revisionists, and Imre Nagy and other Yugoslav agents would have remained in power there, but the situation got out of hand.

After the Party Conference of Tirana and on the eve of the Hungarian counter-revolution, a delegation of our Party, which was to go to the 8th Congress of the CP of China, passed through Budapest and Moscow. I, too, was included in this delegation. The comrades of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Workers' Party of Hungary invited us to a dinner and on this occasion a conversation took place between us. They told us about the disturbances which

were taking place in the «Petoefi» club. When we asked, "why don't you take measures against elements who make trouble?», they answered that «These are forms which democracy allows» and asked, «What would you do if such things happened in Albania?». Then we told them how we acted with the anti-party and traitor elements at the Tirana Conference and we suggested to them that, «If you want to save the situation, we think that you, too, must act in the same way». «But we are unable to act in this way», they said, «because here there are even members of the CC who have gone to dinner with Imre Nagy, to congratulate him on his birthday». We expressed our opposition to such an attitude and on this occasion we gave them some comradely advice: «Call a meeting of the plenum and take party measures. In this way you will strengthen the situation. This is how we acted against enemies and this is what revolutionary Marxism teaches us. You may do whatever you see fit in your own home,» we told them, «but since you asked us, we expressed our view».

In the middle of all this talk a member of the Political Bureau as if to divert the conversation, asked us whether we would like to go to the stadium to see a football match; but we replied that, «Our delegation will leave for Moscow». Finally they told us that in recent times Hungary had been visited by about 20,000 tourists, even with their own cars. We told them, «Be careful, because there are spies among them». «But we earn great amounts of foreign exchange from

them», they said. And as it came out, under the cloak of «tourists'» cars, the imperialists were sending in rifles and machin-guns for the counter-revolution through Austria and the Hungarian leaders were not awake to it.

The whole course of events confirms that Khrushchev had come to terms with the Tito clique, because when we went to Moscow we told Suslov about what was happening in Hungary, that the situation there was not good, that Imre Nagy was moving, etc. «You are mistaken», Suslov replied, «Nagy is not a bad man». We objected there and then and told Suslov that, «We do not agree with the assessment you are making of Nagy». And we added that when Nagy was prime minister, he was in favour of the integration of the kulaks in agricultural cooperatives. «You are wrong, you are wrong,» Suslov repeated, and took from his drawer Nagy's «fresh self-criticism». Despite this we told Suslov, «Imre Nagy is a traitor». Time showed that we were right. Later it came out what Nagy really was.

The counter-revolution in Hungary was mainly the work of the Yugoslav revisionists, whose aim was that Hungary should break away from the socialist camp. We mentioned our arguments at the Moscow Meeting but Khrushchev went red with anger and held his head in his hands. Likewise, we mentioned documents in the speech delivered on the occasion of the 20th anniversary of the PLA. Sometimes the situation compelled Khrushchev to say something against Tito, to avoid exposing himself. When the

«fight» against Tito was eased up by Khrushchev, then he advised us, too, to be conciliatory with Tito. Khrushchev's followers did whatever he told them and did not dare speak up. On these occasions Tito attacked again, and Khrushchev was again compelled to take a stand, as he did at the 7th Congress of the CP of Bulgaria, where he described Tito as a «Trojan Horse». At the break, after the speech delivered by Khrushchev, he told the comrades: «There, despite all I said against the Yugoslavs comrade Enver is still not satisfied». Naturally, we were surprised when Khrushchev spoke in this way, but we did not trust him and he was well aware of this.

Once when I met Vyshinsky and we were talking about the Yugoslav issue, he told me: «You, comrade Enver, are still young, but it is important to expose the bad egg patiently, at the proper time, so he will be stripped absolutely bare. This is the heaviest punishment he can be given. If the people understand what a bad egg he is you may shoot him or leave him as you wish, he is already shot dead».

As is known, at the 7th Congress of the League of Yugoslav Communists the Titoites announced their revisionist program. As a result of the indignation caused in the entire international communist movement, Khrushchev and Co. were compelled to take a stand. However, shortly after the announcement of the program, Khrushchev began to tell us that we should shut up, be quiet about them, because allegedly there was still a spark of hope about correcting the Yugoslav «com-

rades», «brothers», etc., etc. From our side the fight against revisionism was being waged more and more sternly. This fight against Yugoslav revisionism was becoming a great danger to Khrushchev because he had no success at all in setting us on the road of conciliation with it. The question of Yugoslav revisionism was becoming a very acute problem also for the entire world communist movement. There were communist and workers' parties which wavered to the right and to the left. The French CP stopped the fight against the Belgrade clique to the extent that it was discredited before the French working people. At one time it was doing well. When the program of the League of Yugoslav Communists was proclaimed, the French CP again intensified the fight against the Tito clique, whereas now it is keeping silent, it listened to Khrushchev and ceased its fight against the Belgrade revisionists. We told Khrushchev that on this issue we must go straight ahead, without hesitation, on a Marxist-Leninist course, but he continued his work. He is incorrigible.

N. Khrushchev's policy is hostile not only because he aims to change the course of the CPSU, but because he has a great international plan. He launched the slogans of the «defence of peace» and «total and general disarmament», the slogan of «peaceful coexistence among states with different social systems, as a general line of the foreign policy of the socialist states», the slogan that «the USSR will go to communism at the same time as and together with all the other countries

of the socialist camp». By hiding behind these high-sounding slogans, Khrushchev has tried to conceal his activity which is disastrous to the Soviet Union, the socialist camp and the world communist movement.

During the working out of these issues in practice and in life, the objections of our Party, of the CP of China, etc., to Khrushchev's opportunist and revisionist line cropped up continually. These objections steadily increased. Under the disguise of allegedly Marxist slogans Khrushchev was working in favour of imperialism. The imperialists have taken full advantage of the weak points of the revisionist policy of Khrushchev and have continued to arm themselves. This does not mean that we should stop their arming by means of war, as Khrushchev says about us. That is a slander. Neither our Party nor the CP of China have ever had such views, but we say that the efforts of imperialism to arm itself and launch war will be prevented by arousing the peoples, for the cause of peace is preserved and strengthened if the peoples take it in their own hands and carry it through to the end.

After the 20th Congress of the CPSU many communist and workers' parties of the world, deceived by Khrushchev's opportunist line, relaxed and fell asleep. The widespread view was that «since we are strong, there is nothing the imperialists can do to us», hence it was propagated far and wide that «there will be no more war». Thus the strength of imperialism was underrated. With his well-disguised formulas and for effect among

the masses of the people Khrushchev said that «now we can hold imperialism in check», that «its nature has changed, today», that «it is not so aggressive, not because it does not want to be, but because we are so strong, that it is quite unable to do anything to us and will do what we tell it», and other such nonsense.

In his clowning, Khrushchev even went so far as to say such things as «I don't know wine like Stalin, but I have politics at my fingertips». Remember what a powerful world movement was there in Stalin's time, such as the movement of the peace partisans, the great movement of the international working class, what heroism the people displayed in the capitalist countries, when they lay down on the tracks before the trains filled with armaments which were being sent by the imperialists to oppress the colonial peoples in Vietnam and elsewhere, a thing which weakened the war of the colonialists. Remember the mass actions of parties and peoples against capital, the big strikes, the powerful demonstrations, etc., for the exposure of the imperialists, the prohibition of nuclear weapons, etc. All these actions which were carried out in Stalin's time have now died away because the «politician» Khrushchev brought to the fore «the settlement of problems through talks». Therefore Khrushchev goes rushing around like a tourist to spread his ideas allegedly for peace, but which in fact are poison for the peoples.

Khrushchev began to speak about «the peaceful road of transition to socialism», about the seizure of state power by the working class «in

the parliamentary way». According to him, the proletariat, in this or that country, by means of general elections, will secure a stable majority in parliament, through which it will realize radical social reforms and allegedly embark on the road of socialism. These views of the modern revisionists are a continuation of the preachings of their predecessors Bernstein, Kautsky, etc., who likewise, negating violent revolution, expressed themselves for «peaceful transition» by means of reforms, by means of the bourgeois parliament. Lenin came out strongly against these revisionist views saying:

*«Only the scoundrels or fools could think that the proletariat must first win the majority in the voting carried out under the oppression of the bourgeoisie, under the oppression of the wage slavery and only then seize state power. This is the acme of small-mindedness or hypocrisy, this is a substitution of elections under the old regime, under the old state power, for the class struggle and revolution».**

Khrushchev's theses in regard to the roads of transition to socialism had to do with whether or not the proletariat in capitalist countries and in colonial and dependent countries should seize state power, whether or not it would rise in revolution to take power, whether or not the peoples

* V. I. Lenin, Works, Vol. 30, p. 48 (Alb. ed.).

would rise to stop the imperialists launching a new war. To follow Khrushchev's course would mean to give up the course of the October Revolution, which he described as «correct only for those historical conditions»! Therefore, all the opportunist and revisionist elements among the ranks of the communist and workers' parties supported Khrushchev's thesis, which he developed at the 20th Congress of the CPSU, on the peaceful road of transition to socialism. As a consequence, a period of tranquillity was created in the capitalist countries, the revolutionary drive of the communists fell away. The revolutionary road, the road of seizing state power through violence, was rejected. This, then, is the great harm Khrushchev's revisionist thesis on the seizure of state power in a peaceful way did: it disarmed the communist and workers' parties and the workers' revolutionary movement in the capitalist countries. In short, Khrushchev strove to impose the view that the struggle for the seizure of state power must be rejected, by preaching the parliamentary road, for the purpose of extinguishing the strike movement and the revolutionary drive of the communist parties in the capitalist countries.

Our Party has a correct concept and attitude concerning the roads of transition to socialism. We conceive this question in a Marxist way. The principal thesis which our Party upholds is that violent revolution constitutes a general law of the proletarian revolution. Lenin defines the duty of the revolutionaries in this direction, when he says:

«The need to educate the masses systematically with this idea and precisely with this idea of the violent revolution, is the basis of the whole doctrine of Marx and Engels».*

While emphasizing the road of violent revolution, we do not negate the road of peaceful transition to socialism, but we conceive this in the way the classical teachers of Marxism-Leninism have treated it, as a very limited possibility, which is met *extremely rarely*, in quite special historical conditions and circumstances. The fact that so far history knows no case in which any country has passed over to socialism in a peaceful way testifies to this. The bourgeoisie does not voluntarily surrender its state power to the proletariat. The proletariat would agree to take power in a peaceful way, but this does not mean that it should await this day unarmed facing the bourgeoisie armed to the teeth. On the contrary, the proletariat must be armed, prepared for the violent revolution even if, in the specific historical conditions of some country, it can take power in a peaceful way. The peaceful way itself cannot be conceived otherwise. In the present conditions, when imperialism has increased its efforts to keep the peoples under oppression, when it is committing more acts of aggression, carrying on the armaments race, as never before, maintaining a huge military and police apparatus, increasing its military budget, moving towards reaction in all fields of life, etc.,

* V. I. Lenin. Works, Vol. 25, p. 473 (Alb. ed.).

to advertise the peaceful road means to give up the revolution, to betray it.

Khrushchev's other thesis about «total general disarmament» also serves to turn the people away from revolution. This thesis brings grist to the mill of imperialism, for it disarms the peoples in the face of armed imperialism.

It is clear to us that imperialism is the source of war, that as long as imperialism exists the danger of war exists, too. But what do the revisionists say? The revisionists say that weapons, the armaments race, are the source of war. Therefore, according to them, so that there will be no war, arms must be eliminated! Proceeding from this erroneous view, they come out with the slogan of «total general disarmament». However, in the conditions of imperialism, the slogan of «total general disarmament», so zealously advocated by Khrushchev, is a major deception for the peoples. On this question, we must be guided by Lenin's teaching, according to which:

«As long as there are oppressed and exploited people in the world, we must demand no disarmament, but the general arming of the people. Only that will fully ensure freedom. Only that will fully conquer reaction. Only if this transformation is carried out, will millions of working people, and not just a handful of exploiters, really enjoy freedom».*

* V. I. Lenin, Works, Vol. 10, p. 48 (Alb. ed.)

We are for disarmament, but we do not do this without imperialism being disarmed. Imperialism, however, does not lay down its arms. If imperialism were to disarm itself, it would no longer be imperialism. We are armed and imperialism undertakes acts of aggression and organizes conspiracies, but if we disarm ourselves, imagine what it will do. Therefore, in these circumstances, how can we disarm ourselves? In no way!

Since we uphold this correct view, the revisionists accuse us of being war-mongers! Why? Which country have we threatened? On the contrary, others have threatened us and have tried to invade us. We have always fought and fight to defend our homeland. And for this we need arms, that is why we have armed not only our army, but our entire people, and we keep our powder dry, our eyes and ears open. Our slogan is to build socialism, holding the pick in one hand and the rifle in the other...

At the Meeting of the 81 parties in Moscow Khrushchev tried to have the question of peaceful coexistence between countries with different social systems put forward in his revisionist platform. He tried to avoid any word about the struggle of the oppressed and colonial peoples, or about the struggle of the proletariat against the capitalists, and especially against the new colonialists, the US imperialists. Indeed for some time, the Soviet press did not mention US imperialism, but German imperialism. This was his principal aim. Khrushchev also needed this kind of coexistence to quell the national liberation struggle of colonial

and dependent countries. Hence, these slogans were launched by N. Khrushchev in a planned way and with a purpose, therefore, in exposing their reactionary essence, our Party has demonstrated its revolutionary position by proceeding from the teachings of Marxism-Leninism on these issues.

As to the foreign policy of N. Khrushchev, all his efforts, trips and speeches yielded no result whatever. None of the proposals of the Soviet Union hindered US imperialism, or its satellites, indeed even Bonn's Germany, from arming themselves to the teeth. Not one of the most urgent international problems is being solved. The question arises: Why is this the case when the leadership of the Soviet Union is allegedly pursuing a correct line? According to the theses of the 20th Congress of the CPSU, which are allegedly Marxist-Leninist, we should have had results in foreign policy, we should have imposed our views on imperialists. The truth is that the theses of the 20th Congress are neither Marxist-Leninist nor mobilizing; on the contrary, they are demobilizing. In every case our Party has indicated to Khrushchev the weaknesses and the negative content of his theses, but he took no heed at all of our remarks. He thought, «I shall settle things with the Albanians my way». But he was gravely mistaken. His misfortunes came from an unexpected direction.

In his internal policy, particularly in matters of agriculture, the negative consequences of N. Khrushchev's revisionist work are becoming obvious. The fact is that in the USSR there are shortages of foodstuffs like butter, sugar, sausage, eggs,

etc. This situation in the field of agriculture is a result of the anti-Marxist economic policy of Khrushchev, who formerly called himself a «specialist in agriculture», while now he poses as a «specialist in everything», even as the «father» of missiles. Khrushchev combated the «cult of Stalin» in order to set up the cult of himself.

The main cause that the results in agriculture in the URRS are not good lies in Khrushchev's anti-Marxist line. We need only mention the measures for the «reorganization of agriculture» which went so far as to transfer the MTS from state property to the group property of the collective farm, which is a lower form of property than the socialist property of the entire people. This has brought great harm to Soviet agriculture. This means turning back the clock in the development of agriculture. On the question of the MTS, Khrushchev did the opposite of what Stalin writes in his work «Economic Problems of Socialism in the USSR». This book deals with important questions of the building of socialism. It also speaks of problems of the development of agriculture, about the MTS, which must always be in the hands of the state, etc., theses which are completely correct, but which Khrushchev blackened and violated, while building up another political, economic line which is thoroughly anti-Marxist.

Khrushchev raised a great clamour about the question of opening up new land. These lands, however, have not given the profitability that Khrushchev boasted about. In the Soviet Union, there are areas which give high yields of grain, cotton, etc.,

because they are irrigated with up-to-date technique, while this is not the case in the new lands. Khrushchev's words about abundance from these lands are just so much noise on his part, empty boasts and promises. Khrushchev declared that the Soviet Union had built up reserves in wheat, but when we asked him to assist us, because we were without bread, he did not do so. On the contrary, he said «we are in difficulty ourselves». True, there is difficulty over bread in the present-day Soviet Union, but they had enough grain to supply us; nevertheless, they did not give it to us, because they wanted to bring us to our knees. We see clearly that we must struggle with all our might to ensure the production of grain ourselves at home, and the day will come when we shall realize this.

After having spoken about the development of the Bucharest Meeting and about the Marxist-Leninist stand of the PLA there, comrade Enver Hoxha continued:

The Moscow Meeting has its own history. Before this meeting took place, for 18 to 20 days on end the Chinese comrades, our comrades, and the comrades of other six parties struggled and worked 10-12 hours a day to amend the Soviet draft-declaration, which was a revisionist document from start to finish. Finally, this document, which Khrushchev aimed to make into a platform, on the basis of which the whole international communist movement should proceed, was rejected.

Since his plan had not succeeded at Bucharest, Khrushchev intended with the draft-declaration prepared for the Moscow Meeting, to tie the international communist movement hand and foot and to accuse those who would not accept this as splitters of the socialist camp. But our Party was prepared to fight this plan. The comrades we sent to the drafting commission before the Moscow Meeting had everything clear.

A fierce struggle was waged in this commission. No paragraph was allowed to pass without being discussed and without comment. And our struggle was crowned with success. The Soviet delegates were often obliged to accept our proposals in the commission. But the next day, apparently, after receiving a dressing down from Khrushchev they would demand that admendment be made in what the commission had approved.

Although our opponents constituted the majority and we were the minority, they were obliged to accept many theses in the way we and the Chinese comrades proposed them. The only fundamental issue with which we did not agree, but on which we were obliged to make a concession for the sake of unity, is the mention of the 20th Congress in the Declaration. But our Party made its assessment of the 20th Congress in the speech delivered at the Moscow Meeting.

Secret microphones had been placed in the house where they received us, but we had an apparatus which detected where their apparatuses were placed. Having been put under surveillance, we left the house which they put at our disposal and

went to stay in our embassy. At the time we were leaving, a young man of the Soviet security organs told our comrades that «comrades Enver Hoxha and Mehmet Shehu did very well to leave, because our crowd have some dirty work afoot». But when we went to the embassy we discovered that it had been «bugged» too. At the meeting we had with Khrushchev we slapped it right in his face about the means and methods they had used against us. We pointed out the depths to which they had sunk in putting the pressure on us. When we said that the «Vlora base is ours and will remain ours», and that «we respect you and you must respect us», Khrushchev replied, «This is how McMillan wanted to speak to me». Immediately we got up and went away.

Before our speech was delivered at the Moscow Meeting, they put many other forms of pressure on us. Khrushchev had told the Chinese delegates that «we shall treat the Albanians as we do the Yugoslavs» whereas the truth is that he is on the best of terms with the Yugoslavs. Then he added: «It is true we lost Albania, but what you've won is nothing much». At the Moscow Meeting we denounced this view and told Khrushchev that Albania is not a commodity to be traded. These were some of the efforts of Khrushchev and his followers who had the idea that there was nothing for it but to bring Albania to its knees or to weaken it, and, if it did not surrender, then to take the final decision.

After the Moscow Meeting, Khrushchev intensified his hostile activity towards our country.

Thus, he began to take measures for the liquidation of the naval base of Vlora, created to ensure the defence of Albania and the socialist camp. We had signed an agreement, according to which all the ships to be stationed there would, in the course of time, be handed over to us, and from the time of their coming into our waters they would be the property of the Albanian state. However, during the proceedings of the Moscow Meeting, Khrushchev said that the «submarines are ours, therefore we shall withdraw them». We replied: «You have no right to take any ship at all, because on the basis of the agreement they are the property of the Albanian people». We told him also that they had no right whatever to dismantle the base in a unilateral way, because the ships are the property of the Albanian state and Albania and the socialist camp are defended with them. He thought that by exerting pressure on us through the liquidation of the base, we would raise our hands, but he does not know the Albanians well!

He found his «major reason» for the liquidation of the base: allegedly the Albanians were ill-treating the Soviet sailors, making life impossible for them, because, while checking a bus on the road to Pashaliman, a policeman had asked to see the identity cards of three Soviet women who were on board and this was allegedly a great insult. And he had this «other reason», too: the children, of Dukat had quarrelled with some Soviet children, and this was allegedly another «incident». The Soviet leaders have used these things in their documents as «arguments» to prove that life had

been made impossible for Soviet personnel in Albania. For these reasons, according to them, the «Vlora base should be handed over to the Soviets and the command should be Soviet». This means that we Albanians would accept restrictions on our own land and when we wanted to go to Vlora we would have to seek permission from the command of the Soviet navy. In a word, a Soviet garrison would be in command in Vlora. But how could such a thing be permitted? This could not even be thought of, let alone permitted!

Khrushchev had in mind to repeat the manoeuvre of the Yugoslav revisionists who sought to introduce their army divisions into Albania, allegedly to defend us from any attack by the Greek monarcho-fascists. Our Party rejected such anti-Marxist demands. It told Khrushchev that such demands are by no means proper, and retorted that our men are quite capable of handling the warships and defending the Adriatic shores, the interests of the homeland and the socialist camp. Vlora and the region around it is Albanian, and will remain Albanian as long as it exists. Your charges about life being made intolerable for the Soviet sailors in Vlora are absolutely without foundation and we reject them with contempt.

Our Party and Government had long been expecting that Khrushchev and Co. would arrive at such a point. As to the naval means in the hands of our crews, they remained and did not move from their berths, and to avoid opening up any conflict we allowed those ships which were handled by Soviet crews, to leave, although legally they

were ours, and we were prepared to take them over and have them in full readiness, and not as Khrushchev's emissaries had left them. On account of this correct stand they called us «pirates», because we kept the ships which were in the hands of our sailors.

Over economic problems Khrushchev thought that we would not know where to turn to and would submit to him. «Come to Moscow», he said, «so that we can reconsider what we have decided». But why should we go to Moscow, since the agreements had been concluded and signed by both sides? In fact, Khrushchev wanted comrade Mehmet and me to go to Moscow to agree to whatever he told us and then issue some communique to suit his taste. To defend the honour and line of our Party, we replied to Khrushchev that we had no reason to go to Moscow over problems on which agreements have been signed, therefore all those things you are doing are pressures to humiliate the Albanian people and their Party of Labour. But it is not the habit of Marxist-Leninist parties to submit. Since we refused to go to Moscow, they suspended the credits, being aware that in this way they were sabotaging our economy. However, our plans were not hindered, they were realized, indeed they are being overfulfilled. The People's Republic of China has provided us with sufficient credits.

When he saw that even with the suspension of credits and supplies he did not succeed in making us submit, Khrushchev then ordered the withdrawal of the Soviet specialists from Albania. How

shameless the Soviet revisionists have shown themselves! We wanted the Soviet specialists to stay on, and on this we have the letters we sent to the Soviet leadership, but they took no heed of our request and spread the slander that it was we who expelled them. The time will come when our letters will be published and those who trust N. Khrushchev will be convinced what a dirty revisionist he is. He and his henchmen are the sort, who «murder you at night and weep over you in daylight», as our people say.

N. Khrushchev also cut off the bursaries of our students who were studying in Soviet higher schools. He has established a complete blockade of Albania. Not a word about Albania is written in the Soviet press, nor in the press of the countries of people's democracy of Europe. Whereas our newspapers write about the Soviet Union or the other socialist countries. We are carrying out a correct policy. Naturally, we also write about problems which are hurting the Soviet Union and the international communist movement, i.e. we expose the actions of the revisionist Khrushchevite group. This attitude infuriates the revisionists.

Khrushchev and Co. probably think that through the measures they have taken they will oblige us to pursue another line, to fall on our knees, and to hitch ourselves to their revisionist chariot. This is how they think themselves, because they are revisionists. We speak of our love for the Soviet people and Soviet communists, but at the same time we cannot sit back and not expose Khrushchev and his cronies. This we do on

the basis of the Marxist-Leninist principles and with documents, whereas Khrushchev and his crowd can only slander us.

Because they were convinced that our Party not only was not yielding, but on the contrary was sticking to its Marxist-Leninist course, that the Albanian people did not remain without bread, but are successfully fulfilling and overfulfilling this year's plan. Khrushchev and Co. decided to attack us openly at the 22nd Congress of the CPSU. They were aware of the discredit they would suffer in the eyes of the Soviet people and the international communist movement with this action, but they could not do otherwise, because from day to day the situation was becoming more serious for N. Khrushchev with his revisionist theories being continually exposed.

The main item on the agenda for the 22nd Congress of the CPSU was the discussion and approval of the program for the construction of communism in the Soviet Union. But under the disguise of this program, Khrushchev advanced many of his revisionist theses, putting them forward there to be approved by the congress.

Khrushchev's plan envisaged that the 22nd Congress should once again discuss the question of the cult of the individual. With this question Khrushchev linked the Party of Labour of Albania, which has allegedly not grasped the importance of the consequences of the cult of the individual. He had to hit his opponent hard in order to intimidate the other parties, to avoid their deviation from the Khrushchev course. Thus Khrush-

chev intended to kill two birds with one stone: to condemn Albania and to intimidate the others by saying: Do you see what I did to Albania? I shall do the same thing to you; hence, either come with us or you will suffer for it like the PLA. Likewise Khrushchev threatened the communist and workers' parties which have begun to wake up to where the truth stands and to resist him.

Thus, instead of becoming a tribune for the problems of the construction of communism, the 22nd Congress was turned into a tribune against the cult of the individual and «the anti-party group», from which the hatred of the revisionists for the PLA erupted. These three issues were made the objective of the fight of Khrushchev and his followers. It became so scandalous that the newspapers «Pravda», «Humanité» and «Unità» began to point out to the bourgeois press that it was forgetting to speak of the program of building communism, and was dealing only with the issues of the «cult of the individual», the «anti-party group» and Albania. Thus, the Khrushchev group themselves saw that they had deviated greatly but the international bourgeoisie, for its own interests seized on it and exploited it properly, poured petrol on the flames and was overjoyed that it had brought Khrushchev on to its own course.

This was the plan N. Khrushchev had at the 22nd Congress. He knew that with the raising of these three issues there would be some reaction. He did not invite a delegation from our Party to this Congress, because he was going to make ac-

cusations against us there and he could envisage two possibilities: either our delegation would walk out of the congress in protest, or it would be patient and then demand to express its own view. Both these possibilities were dangerous for Khrushchev, therefore he did not invite us. What he had to do, he did at the congress of his own party and he was afraid to propose a new meeting of the parties, for he saw what he suffered in Moscow last year. His aim was to mobilize all the communist and workers' parties against us, and indirectly also against the CP of China, and ensure as many followers as possible, to sing the «praises» of the theses of the 22nd Congress and the draft-program of the CPSU, hence to achieve what he was unable to achieve at the Bucharest Meeting and later at the Moscow Meeting. But this did not work for him either.

At the 22nd Congress the representative of the CP of China rose and described Khrushchev's attacks on our Party as anti-Marxist. This was a very heavy blow for Khrushchev and his followers. With his speech, the representative of the CP of China gave Khrushchev to understand that his actions were anti-Marxist and served only the enemies of socialism. The statement of the CC of the PLA and the articles of «Zëri i popullit» about the attacks of the Soviet revisionists against the PLA at their 22nd Congress, have been published in the Chinese press, indeed on the front page. Since the beginning of the 22nd Congress of the CPSU, up to two pages of the newspaper «Zhenminzhibao» have been full of materials about Al-

bania and her successes. When the 20th anniversary of our Party was celebrated, the Chinese press announced that «comrade Enver Hoxha has delivered a very important speech», and a few days later, they published it in their own language. Apart from this, they sent us a message of congratulations on the 20th anniversary of the founding of our Party, with full appreciation of the correct course of our Party. In this way, the CP of China told Khrushchev that it does not agree at all with the stand he maintains towards the PLA.

Our Party is young, but tempered in struggles. It did not make the disagreements public as Khrushchev and his followers did. Thus, very shortly after the Moscow Meeting, Walter Ulbricht publicly accused our Party of being «sectarian» and «dogmatic» with the aim of goading us into making an international issue of this so that the ground would be prepared for what he wanted. But we said nothing, we only sent a letter to the CC of the SUP of Germany, in which we refuted Ulbricht's dirty attacks. Later Togliatti attacked us, but we did not even write a letter to him. We add that there are views in the leadership of the CP of Italy that not only the CPSU, but every other party has the right to denounce the policy of another party. There are many communists in this party who are with «Stalin's line», as they say. There is opposition in the ranks of the CC, but the speeches published in the newspaper «Unità» are arranged to show the alleged unity of the Party, which in reality does not exist. And there can be no unity, for these are very great

issues. Khrushchev has opened up a great gulf into which he will fall himself. Every day that passes what he has done is being exposed. The correct stand of our Party, the CP of China and the other Marxist-Leninist parties will expose it. Therefore, his revisionist activity will become more and more pronounced and the communists and peoples of the world will see more clearly what this group is, where it is leading the communist movement, and whom its policy serves.

With its correct stand, our Party, however small it may be, has more and more won the support and respect of the revolutionary communists in the world, who, wherever they are, are reflecting because they see that what the PLA says is coming true both in foreign policy and in internal policy. Whereas Khrushchev is failing, irrespective of his revisionist defence counsels.

Tito delivered a speech in Shkup recently. He spoke about the 22nd Congress of the CPSU and Albania. «We have carefully followed the proceedings of the 22nd Congress», he said, «and have read the things that involve us; we saw that we were attacked, but we took this calmly». Tito speaks like this because the criticism towards him was gentle. Khrushchev himself has said that he has warned Tito against getting angry when he is obliged to criticize him somewhat. Therefore Tito could not fail to take these «attacks», «calmly». He said: «We do not know when these attacks will cease. Nevertheless,» Tito added, «we have also seen in the proceedings of the 22nd Congress a positive course, which has begun to be effectively reflec-

ted in the further development, not only of the USSR, but also of the other socialist countries. Therefore, the 22nd Congress of the CPSU is of major importance to the further advance towards a truly democratic progressive development, not only in the USSR, but also in other countries of the world. I cannot speak of the further prospects of the development of communism, this is a matter for study, but I can say only that we welcome a course such as that which started at the 22nd Congress».

After the 22nd Congress Theodor Zhivkov appeared on Moscow television and brazenly declared that all the communist and workers' parties, being unanimously with the CPSU, fiercely attacked the Party of Labour of Albania, and its deviations. Whereas Tito, in his Shkup speech, said: «I do not want to go into the matter of whether or not disagreements have existed or exist between the USSR and the PR of China, but it is clear that nobody will be reconciled to the opinion that China's attitude is positive and that we should return to the course they want. This would greatly harm not only the USSR, but also all the other socialist countries and indeed the whole rapid development of socialism in the world». With this Tito means that he agrees with Khrushchev.

«The PLA», said Tito in Shkup, «represents the views of the CP of China in this part of Europe and does not tell the truth about us. The speech delivered by Enver Hoxha on the occasion of the 20th anniversary of the founding of the Party is full of slanders against Yugoslavia and the tales about the danger threatening from us are inven-

tions. In a word, it has a content such as to make one think about it and ask: Does it constitute some provocation against our country, for we know that a similar thing was done in Stalins' time when provocations were prepared against us. Therefore we think that the Albanian leaders constitute a great danger to peace in this area of the world, because through Enver Hoxha and Mehmet Shehu a new hotbed of the danger of war is created. We think, he continued, that some of the attacks of the Albanian leaders are aimed at the comrades in Moscow, Khrushchev and others, and some refer to us. But we shall be vigilant and shall not allow any country, even Albania, to take matters so far that peace in the Balkans would be endangered. We wish the Albanian people well, we have nothing against them, we have wanted neither to enslave nor to unite Albania by force. We want the shedding of the blood of innocent people in Albania to cease. We shall never extend our hand to such leaders as Enver Hoxha and Mehmet Shehu, and shall never reconcile ourselves with those, whose hands are stained with the blood of the finest sons of the Albanian people, such as Koçi Xoxe and others who have assisted them to create the Albanian CP»!

Apparently, Tito and Khrushchev, as the cronies they are, think that the time has come to lay their cards on the table. What Khrushchev says, like these things that Tito said in Shkup, show that both of them pursue the same course.

But naturally, comrades, this struggle which we are waging against the revisionists, is neither

easy nor short. We must not have illusions that Khrushchevism has been destroyed with what we have done. The struggle will be a protracted one, but it will develop constantly in our favour, in favour of socialism.

Our Party is armed to bring this struggle to a victorious conclusion and it is convinced that it is in the right. After all we are not alone; those who are with us make up the overwhelming majority of the communists. Nevertheless, we must always be vigilant, preserve the unity of the Party like the apple of the eye, for the arrows have been aimed against our Party. It is a great honour for our Party which is defending not only the freedom and independence of our homeland, but also the great cause of Marxism-Leninism, gloriously and with self-sacrifice.

However our Party does not become conceited. Our Party is young, but it has waged an uninterrupted Marxist-Leninist struggle over 20 years, which has tempered it and made it invincible. Our Party has created a real and steel-like unity, which is apparent at any time in all parts of the homeland. What enthusiasm, what strong unity there is in our entire Party from the base to the top! What steel-like unity there is between the communists and the people! The more difficult the moments the stronger the people-Party unity become. This shows the people's approval of the correct line of our Party, this shows how correctly the Party has worked, for the education of the masses, who have tested in practice the correctness

of its line in every sector, therefore they give their Party their unreserved support.

Khrushchev knows this, that is why he tried to split the unity of our Party through Liri Belishova and Koço Tashko, but couldn't. However, we should not think that he will lay down his arms. Khrushchev will try by every means to attack the unity of our Party, but he will suffer defeat as always. Our enemies, all of them but especially these we have round about us, will carry on their provocations as always. Therefore, with patience and heroism we must guard our unity and the purity of Marxism-Leninism with the greatest care, by making this clear to people. But when there are people who do not want to correct themselves, we must put them in their place. The dictatorship of the proletariat is alive, vigilant, and active. What Khrushchev says about there being «no dictatorship in the USSR, that in our country it is not necessary to condemn people and throw them into jail», is nonsense. Then why did he raise the question of Stalin after his death? He did this because nobody forgets Stalin, he led the Soviet Union for 30 years after Lenin's death.

An Albanian was travelling by train in Azerbaijan. An old man asked him and when he learned that he was Albanian, he told him: «We love you very much, and you are doing very well that you are with Stalin. He was a great man.» Another Soviet citizen nearby chipped and said: «Yes, that's so, but Stalin also made mistakes». «But I am an old Bolshevik», the old man went on, «and I know Stalin better than you». The conversation

became heated and the old man said: «Listen, you Albanian, the machine-gun opened up in the streets of Baku when they wanted to remove the monument to Stalin, because the people came out and demonstrated in opposition, thus Khrushchev's men cleared off with their tails between their legs».

The question of Stalin and his work is not a minor matter. It attracts many people, who become opponents of Khrushchev, and he attacks them when he discovers them, therefore let him say as much as he likes about there being no dictatorship and no political prisoners in the USSR. To us it is clear: true, there is no dictatorship of the proletariat in the Soviet Union, but there is a fascist dictatorship which jails the bolsheviks and honest people and releases the counter-revolutionaries.

The situation dictates that in our country the dictatorship of the proletariat must be strengthened further. It must act against those who try to rise against the unity of the Party with the people and against the interests of our homeland and socialism. Therefore vigilance must remain a first-rate duty for us. The Party must always be ready and place itself at the head of the people in carrying out the political, ideological and economic tasks, for the defence of the homeland and the purity of Marxism-Leninism. We should more and more strengthen the confidence of the people in the Party, in the just cause the Party defends. We are not alone. Together with our Party, the

CP of China and other parties are marching with determination on this course.

In conclusion, I like to express the opinion of the Central Committee that the party organization of your district is one of the best organizations, with valiant and one hundred percent resolute communists, undaunted fighters, and I have the conviction that at the head of the working people it will successfully realize the economic tasks as well as any task concerning the defence of the Party and the people, the defence of the borders and freedom of the homeland.

I wish you, comrades, success in your work wherever you are.

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AN ACT OF UNPRECEDENTED HOSTILITY AGAINST THE PRA AND THE ALBANIAN PEOPLE¹

December 10, 1961

On the urge of N. Khrushchev, the Soviet Government decided to withdraw the entire personnel of the Soviet Embassy from Tirana and demanded the departure of the entire personnel of the Albanian Embassy from Moscow. This act of unprecedented hostility against socialist Albania and the Albanian people is an action unheard-of in the history of the relations among socialist countries, a heavy blow against the unity of the socialist camp and the international communist and workers' movement. Such an act is an insult to the feelings of the profound fraternal friendship which the Soviet communists and the Soviet peoples nurture

¹ This material has been published in the form of an editorial in the newspaper «Zëri i popullit» under the title: «An Unprecedented Act in the Relations among Socialist Countries».

for our Party and people, and rightly revolts every Albanian and every honest person in the world. By taking this action, N. Khrushchev gladdens only the enemies and gives them weapons to discredit the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the Soviet state and their traditional policy of friendship among the peoples. This shows the level of enmity which N. Khrushchev has reached in his hostile feelings towards the PLA, the PRA and the Albanian people, who have been and are loyal friends of the Soviet Union.

The twenty years of the activity of the PLA and the 17 years of the existence of the PRA are the clearest evidence of feelings of friendship and boundless love for the CPSU and the peoples of the Soviet Union. The friendship of our people for the Soviet Union has been forged by the PLA in the flames of the war for freedom, national independence, the building of socialism. It has been consecrated with the blood of the valiant sons of the Soviet peoples and the Albanian partisans fallen in the common struggle against the common enemies. The PLA has educated its members and all the working people of the country in the spirit of boundless love and unshakable loyalty towards the Communist Party of Lenin and Stalin and the Soviet peoples. The PLA and the Albanian people have considered and continue to consider the friendship with the Soviet Union, its internationalist support and aid, as the important external factor for the liberation of the country, the construction of socialism and the defence of freedom and national independence, and for this they have

been and are grateful. The relations of the PRA with the Soviet Union have always been more than exemplary, and there have never been black clouds between our two countries. In the interests of our common course the Government of the PRA has supported and backed up the foreign policy of the Soviet Union, its proposals and steps for the solution of the important international questions in the interest of peace and the security of the peoples, with all its strength. The Albanian-Soviet friendship is not a result of some diplomatic combination, but a profound people's friendship, which has its source in our common course of socialism and communism, in our common interests and aims, in the struggle against imperialism, in the ideology of Marxism-Leninism and the lofty principles of proletarian internationalism.

It is astounding and inconceivable to any honest person how N. Khrushchev could go so far as to sever even state diplomatic relations with a small friendly and brother country, with a socialist country, which is fighting undauntedly, in the conditions of the capitalist and revisionist encirclement, which is holding aloft the banner of socialism on the shores of the Adriatic, which at every moment and in all circumstances has demonstrated its boundless loyalty towards the great homeland of Lenin with deeds. This attitude towards socialist Albania cannot fail to cause astonishment, at a time when N. Khrushchev is so loudly advocating the policy of rapprochement and collaboration with all states, even with the most reactionary ones, which are carrying on a consis-

tently hostile policy against the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, at a time when N. Khrushchev is extending his hand and striving to create close ties even with the most reactionary multi-millionaires, with various princes and kings, not to mention the rapprochement and embracing with the Yugoslav revisionists and the cordial greetings and congratulations he sends to the Pope of Rome. From these facts not only every communist, but every honest person in the world will be convinced of the degree of hostility of N. Khrushchev's act against the PRA, and they will see whom this act serves in reality.

As a pretext for the withdrawal of the entire personnel of the Soviet Embassy from Tirana, N. Khrushchev found that allegedly the Albanian Government is carrying out a hostile campaign against the Soviet Union and exacerbating the relations between the two countries, hindering the normal activity of the Soviet ambassador in Tirana, and creating an intolerable situation for the Soviet diplomats, etc. All these «serious» causes which drove N. Khrushchev to such an action are without foundation from start to finish, they are slanders and inventions which are refuted by the real state of affairs. Anyone who has the slightest acquaintance with the press and the reality in our country sees that in it there is no word, no expression, not even the slightest trace of hostility towards the Soviet Union. On the contrary, it is N. Khrushchev and his followers who invent slanders and tales in order to sow enmity and hatred against our people. Proceeding on this course, a

few days ago, it was alleged in an article of the newspaper «Pravda» dated December 2, 1961, written by Y. Andropov, that an editorial of the newspaper «Zëri i popullit» published on the eve of the 22nd Congress of the CPSU wrote that the Albanian leaders «would not develop their relations with the Soviet Union from now on except on the basis of the principles of peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems». This is a falsification and distortion of the truth. Such a thing has never been said, in any issue, article or editorial of «Zëri i popullit» or any other Albanian newspaper. These are the fabrications on which N. Khrushchev bases his «arguments». What hypocrisy! He hurls at us the false accusation that we are allegedly for relations of peaceful coexistence with the Soviet Union and he is very angry about this, whereas he himself in fact goes very much further even than his own fabrications to the point of closing the Soviet Embassy in Tirana and ousting the personnel of the Albanian Embassy from Moscow, an action which has nothing in common with the internationalist principles of relations among fraternal socialist countries, nor even with the principles of peaceful coexistence, about which he makes so great a fuss.

As to the pretext that allegedly an intolerable situation has been created in Albania for the Soviet diplomats and the normal activity of the ambassador, such a slander is not even worthy of rejection. N. Khrushchev and his group, like the Soviet diplomats themselves, know very well that, in reality, the conditions created for them to carry

out their activity in Albania surpass the usually accepted norms, that the Soviet ambassador, for whose work great obstacles have allegedly been created, particularly in recent times, has been in Moscow, and not in Albania, since August 19, 1961. It is truly astonishing that Ambassador Shikin has noted, from Moscow, the obstacles created for him in Albania recently!

N. Khrushchev's pretext that allegedly the Government of the PRA has violated the norms of international law by requiring the reduction of the personnel of the Soviet Embassy in Tirana cannot stand either. Why did the Government of the PRA demand that the personnel of the two embassies should be placed on a basis of reciprocity? It is known that since the Bucharest Meeting of June 1960, N. Khrushchev has systematically and deliberately pursued the policy of pressures and blackmail, with a view to bringing the PLA and the Albanian people to their knees and subjugating them. Violating the previously signed agreements, he suspended all the credits that the Soviet Union had accorded our country, withdrew all the Soviet specialists from Albania, almost completely suspended our trade relations on a clearing basis, cut off the bursaries of all the Albanian civilian and military students who were studying in the Soviet Union, cancelled all the plans of cultural and technico-scientific collaboration between the two countries, established the strict blockade of silence and political isolation towards the PRA and the Albanian people, violated the agreements in the field of military relations,

in a word, established the «cordon sanitaire» around the People's Republic of Albania. And after all this, is the demand of the Government of the PRA that the personnel of the two embassies should be put on a basis of reciprocity from the numerical viewpoint not completely justifiable and fair? In these conditions what would about 80 people of the Soviet Embassy in Tirana do, when the sphere of their activity has been reduced to the limit, taking into account the unilateral restrictive economic, cultural, and political measures adopted by N. Khrushchev towards the PRA?

The real cause, which drove N. Khrushchev to this extreme act is not the trumped up accusations he takes as a pretext. The real cause must be sought in the revisionist views of N. Khrushchev and in his anti-Marxist efforts to impose them on the other parties by any means. Beginning from the Bucharest meeting, and particularly after the Moscow meeting of the 81 communist and worker's parties, at which the PLA openly expressed its opinion and courageously criticized the opportunist views and the anti-Marxist actions of N. Khrushchev in a principled way, in retaliation for this and with a view to silencing our Party, to subjugating it and giving a lesson to anyone that would dare to oppose him, N. Khrushchev extended the ideological disagreements to the field of state relations and began to behave with the PRA as towards an enemy country. After having systematically carried out, one after another, the economic blockade, the blockade of silence and political isolation, etc., in order to force our Party

to its knees, at the 22nd Congress he went so far as to publicly level the basest slanders and accusations at the Party of Labour of Albania and its leaders and make a blatantly counter-revolutionary call for the overthrow of the leadership of the Albanian Party and state, thus brutally interfering in the internal affairs of a sovereign socialist country which is a friend and ally. And after having failed in all these attempts and being unable to attain his aim, he committed this further hostile act against the PR of Albania by cutting off diplomatic relations. The closing down of the Soviet Embassy in Tirana and the demand for the withdrawal of the entire personnel of the Albanian Embassy from Moscow is a logical conclusion to the anti-Marxist and anti-Albanian course which N. Khrushchev has been following for some time now towards the PLA, the PRA and the Albanian people. But by this unprecedented act of hostility N. Khrushchev further exposes himself, not only before the Albanian people and the Soviet people, but also before the entire international communist and workers' movement, before world public opinion.

This act, unprecedented in the relations among socialist countries, sheds light on the anti-Marxist concepts of N. Khrushchev about the equality and independence of communist parties and socialist states, be they small or big, about their indisputable right to have their own viewpoint and express it freely. On the lips of N. Khrushchev, the Leninist principles of equality, independence and non-interference in the internal affairs of one an-

other are nothing but deception, for in fact the PLA needed only express its viewpoint on a number of questions of the present-day developments in the world and the international communist movement, in opposition to N. Khrushchev's revisionist concepts, and all the stones rained upon it and all methods were used, up to those which the imperialists and the other most reactionary forces have used and continue to use.

What does N. Khrushchev reckon to achieve with this new hostile act against the PRA? Pursuing the same course and the same aims as before, with this act, too, he aims to intimidate and subjugate the PLA, to shift it from its revolutionary Marxist-Leninist positions, to shake the confidence of our people in the PLA and its leadership, to upset the feelings of friendship of the Albanian people towards the Soviet Union, to undermine the friendship and love of the Soviet people for the PLA, the PRA and the Albanian people, to create new difficulties on the road to the building of socialism in Albania. Undoubtedly, N. Khrushchev goes even further in his reckoning. On the international plane he aims to threaten and warn any other party and country that would dare to oppose his views and actions, which are doing great harm to the cause of Marxism-Leninism and socialism.

But Khrushchev is trying in vain. He will never attain these aims. The Albanian people are linked with their Party like flesh to bone, because from the experience of life itself they have become convinced of the wise leadership of the PLA, its correct line, its boundless loyalty to the cause of

the people and socialism, its policy of sincere friendship with the Soviet Union. Under the leadership of the PLA the Albanian people have reaped historic victories in the course of these twenty years: they liberated the country from the fascist invaders and established the people's state power, reconstructed the war-ravaged country, liquidated centuries-old backwardness and achieved great successes in the construction of the socialist society, defeated every provocation and conspiracy of the imperialists and other enemies of our people, and defended the freedom and independence of our homeland. Today the unity of our people and Party, tempered in struggle and work, is stronger than ever. There is no intrigue and pressure, conspiracy and blackmail that can damage this steel-like unity. In the face of it, all the efforts of the imperialist enemies and modern revisionists will fail ignominiously as they have done so far.

The attacks, slanders and hostile actions of N. Khrushchev, including his latest act, will not affect the pure feelings of friendship our people nurture for the fraternal Soviet peoples, for the genuine Soviet communists...

The Albanian people and the PLA will march resolutely on their right road of the construction of socialism and the defence of the homeland. The temporary difficulties will not stop us. We are sure of our future. The targets of the 3rd Five-year Plan will be fulfilled and overfulfilled, irrespective of the obstacles which N. Khrushchev and his followers are trying to put in our way. Socialist Albania will live unbowed and will prosper with

every passing day. A reliable guarantee for this is the patriotism and the revolutionary spirit of our people, the correct leadership of the PLA and the great internationalist aid of our friends, the international solidarity of the working people.

The Albanian people and the PLA know no fear. They are not afraid of the pressures and blackmail of N. Khrushchev and his cronies. Just as it has done heretofore, the People's Republic of Albania, as a socialist country, will have at the foundation of its foreign policy its efforts for the strengthening of the friendship and fraternal collaboration with the socialist countries, on the basis of the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. In the future, too, our Party and Government will unwaveringly continue their determined, principled struggle to expose the war-mongering and aggressive plans and actions of US-led imperialism, will fight modern revisionism, and will always keep their revolutionary vigilance at a high level. Our Party and Government will consistently pursue their policy of peaceful coexistence among countries with different political and social systems, will fight for the relaxation of tension in the relations among states, and will make their contribution to the peaceful solution of the problems which exercise the minds of the peace-loving peoples. As before, our Party and people will unreservedly support the sacred struggle of the peoples for their national and social liberation.

Utterly disgusted, the Albanian Party and people protest with deep indignation against the new

act of unprecedented hostility by N. Khrushchev against the People's Republic of Albania. They are deeply convinced that they are on a correct course, and that the Soviet peoples and communists are with them against this act, which will prove fatal, not to us but to the Khrushchev group itself.

Our Party is fighting for a great cause, for the truth of Marxism-Leninism, to preserve and strengthen the sound unity of the socialist camp and the international communist movement against modern revisionism, against the opportunist, revisionist distortions and disruptive actions of N. Khrushchev, for the triumph of our common cause of socialism, peace, and the freedom of the peoples. On this course, marching shoulder to shoulder with the sister Marxist-Leninist parties and the fraternal peoples of the socialist countries, as well as with all the revolutionary forces of the world, our Party and people will score complete victory over the imperialist and revisionist enemies. Marxism-Leninism cannot be vanquished. Socialism and communism will triumph!

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Works, Vol. 22

**THE LINE OF OUR PARTY IS A CORRECT,
REVOLUTIONARY LINE, IN CONFORMITY
WITH THE TEACHINGS OF
MARXISM-LENINISM**

Letter to All Party Basic Organizations

May 9, 1962

Only six months have elapsed since N. Khrushchev made his open attack on our Party, the unity of the socialist camp and the international communist movement, at the 22nd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. But these six months have been sufficient to prove to the entire world the falsity of N. Khrushchev's accusations and slanders against our Party, to prove the correctness of the line of our Party and its principled Marxist-Leninist stand in the struggle against modern revisionism.

The just, principled struggle of our Party against the Khrushchev group, its valiant and resolute stand in face of the fiercest pressure and provocations from N. Khrushchev and his group,

the cool-headedness and wisdom of our heroic Party and people have enhanced the authority of our Party in the eyes of the communists of the whole world, in the eyes of the different nations and progressive people. This is best seen in hundreds of letters of solidarity which the Central Committee of our Party has received and continues to receive from the communists of different countries. The communists of the world and the international public are seeing ever more clearly that the Party of Labour of Albania is defending the principles of Marxism-Leninism, while, with his opportunist policy and his anti-Marxist activities, N. Khrushchev is damaging the interests of the communist movement, damaging the struggle of the peoples for freedom, democracy and socialism.

The development of the international situation up to date has provided many proofs that it is the Party of Labour of Albania and the other Marxist-Leninist parties that have taken a principled stand that are right in their evaluations, and not the modern revisionists, the group of Khrushchev and his followers. The communists and the peoples of the world are seeing clearly how N. Khrushchev's illusions about «Kennedy's desires for peace», his hopes of changing the aggressive nature of imperialism are collapsing. It is becoming ever more clear that N. Khrushchev's opportunist policy, a policy of concessions and flattery to the imperialists, of instability and constant vacillations not only resolves nothing, but, on the contrary, is to the advantage of imperialism. In fact, what results have been attained up till now? None at all. The

issue of the peace treaty with Germany and the question of West Berlin are deadlocked. So is the question of disarmament. Indeed, while talks on disarmament were going on in Geneva, the Kennedy government resumed its nuclear tests in the atmosphere. The national liberation movement of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America has gained new momentum. In complete opposition to the illusions N. Khrushchev is trying to create among the oppressed peoples about awaiting their liberation from a resolution of the United Nations Organization, or from complete and general disarmament, the peoples have taken up arms. After seven years of sacrifice, through bloodshed and struggle, the Algerian people imposed a cease-fire on French imperialism and won their right to independence; the peoples of the Congo, Laos, and South Vietnam are fighting arms in hand. Everywhere, on all the fundamental questions of the development of the international situation, it is clearly apparent that our Party is right, that its line is in conformity with the teachings of Leninism, hence it is a revolutionary line, while N. Khrushchev, with his revisionist, anti-Marxist line to the detriment of the interests of the peoples, is wrong.

The just struggle of principle of our Party against the Khrushchev group, its heroic resistance to his attacks and pressure, as well as the development of international events, not in the direction which the revisionists want, but in the opposite direction, have further strengthened the positions of revolutionary Marxism-Leninism in

the ranks of the international communist and workers' movement. Not only the Party of Labour of Albania and the Communist Party of China, but also many other parties are resolutely defending the correct Marxist-Leninist positions. The line followed by N. Khrushchev against our Party has been publicly criticized, also, by the Communist Party of New Zealand and many other parties.

Neither is N. Khrushchev finding the support he needs even among his loyal allies in the ranks of the parties of the socialist countries of Europe. This is clearly seen in their stand towards our Party and our country.

How is it explained?

First, it is connected with the wise tactics pursued by our Party of Labour. Our Party has been and is convinced that the leaderships of the parties of the European socialist countries take Khrushchev's position. But, as is known, our struggle has been concentrated on the exposure of N. Khrushchev and his followers. This correct tactical differentiation placed the leaderships of the parties of the European socialist countries in a difficult position, since they did not find any formal pretext to undertake actions similar to those of N. Khrushchev against our country. It must be said that in order to create such a pretext they have committed many provocations against our Party, especially through intensive oral and written propaganda, through their official organs. But our Party has always manoeuvred coolheadedly and wisely.

Second, the fact that the leaderships of the

European socialist countries did not follow N. Khrushchev in all his measures against our Party and country also expresses the existence of contradictions among them, which is quite logical, because there can never be unity and mutual trust among opportunists and revisionists.

As a conclusion, we may say that the just, principled struggle of our Party against the Khrushchev group, the consistent Marxist-Leninist stand of the Communist Party of China and the other parties as well as the development of events in the world contrary to the wishes of the revisionists have placed N. Khrushchev and his followers in a difficult position. They are realizing that the ground is slipping from under their feet, that their anti-Marxist-Leninist features are being exposed. But it is clear that N. Khrushchev is not giving up his opportunist course and his aims against the unity of the socialist camp and the international communist movement. That is why he is trying to manoeuvre, to change his tactics in order to attain the same objectives by other means. Khrushchev's change of tactics is also connected with the strong pressure being exerted by a number of fraternal communist and workers' parties of different countries, who want to find ways for the re-establishment of Marxist-Leninist unity in the ranks of the international communist movement and the socialist camp.

Recently, several communist and workers' parties have sent letters to the CC of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the CC of the Communist Party of China, and the Central Committee of

the Party of Labour of Albania. In these letters they express their deep concern about the undesirable situation created in the socialist camp and the international communist movement following Khrushchev's publicizing of our disagreements at the 22nd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, and make an appeal for finding ways to re-establish unity, on the basis of the principles defined in the 1960 Moscow Declaration. In order to settle the existing differences they propose a meeting of the representatives of the three parties — the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the Communist Party of China, and the Party of Labour of Albania, or a meeting of the representatives of the communist and workers' parties of the socialist countries, or, eventually, a meeting of the representatives of all the communist and workers' parties of the world.

The Central Committee of our Party has sent the leadership of these parties the appropriate answers. In its reply, the Central Committee of our Party points out that it understands the concern of these parties about the situation created in the relations between our Party and country and the Khrushchev group, and that it highly appreciates their efforts for settling the differences and strengthening the unity of the socialist countries and the international communist movement.

The Central Committee of our Party points out also that it has constantly striven and proposed that the differences with the Soviet leadership should be resolved on a Marxist-Leninist basis, in conditions of complete equality and independence,

in the spirit of comradely consultations. There is clear and detailed evidence of this in the correspondence between the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania and the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Unfortunately, however, the Khrushchev group paid no heed to our proposals. It went on ever more brutally with its anti-Marxist activity aimed at the worsening of the relations between our two parties and countries to the maximum. It went to such lengths as to attack our Party publicly, from the rostrum of the 22nd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, in fact to break off diplomatic relations with our country, and to launch a frenzied anti-Marxist campaign against the Party of Labour of Albania, utilizing the vilest slanders of the reactionary bourgeois press as «arguments».

N. Khrushchev tried to exploit the initiative taken by those parties for his own hostile purposes. In February this year, the CC of the CPSU addressed a letter to the CC of the CP of China. In the letter of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, apart from utterly hypocritical words about unity, attempts are made to drive wedges between fraternal parties which stand resolutely for Marxist-Leninist principles, concretely, between the Communist Party of China and the Party of Labour of Albania, to set aside and isolate our Party, as if the issue of the relations with the Party of Labour of Albania and the People's Republic of Albania were a separate problem, which allegedly is not connected

with the question of the unity of the socialist camp and the international communist movement.

It should be noted that, in the letter of the Soviet leadership, terms such as «we should look forward, not backward», «we should consider what unites us and not what divides us», etc., etc., are used. The comrades will recall that N. Khrushchev has always used such terms whenever he has been seeking agreement and rapprochement with the US imperialists or the Titoite revisionist clique. From this it can be inferred that N. Khrushchev is not in the least concerned about the Marxist-Leninist unity of the socialist camp but is only indulging in demagoguery.

This is the essence of the above letter of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. In April this year, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China sent its reply to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

After acquainting itself with the content of the letters of the CC of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the CC of the Communist Party of China, the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania found it reasonable to express its opinion once again on the differences in the ranks of the socialist camp and the communist movement, and on the state of relations between our Party and country and the present Soviet leadership. To this end, in April this year, the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania sent the Central Committee of the Com-

munist Party of China a letter in which our Party's view on these questions was expressed.

In its letter, the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania observes with satisfaction that both our Party and the Communist Party of China proceed from the same basic principles — from the teachings of Marxism-Leninism — in defining their line and views on all questions facing the international communist and workers' movement. Among other things, the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania stresses that:

«The unity of the socialist camp and the international communist and workers' movement has been and is being gravely harmed by the anti-Marxist views and activity of the Khrushchev group that has departed from the fundamental teachings of Marxism-Leninism and has violated and is still brutally violating the principles of the 1957 and 1960 Moscow Declarations, both in regard to the main questions of present-day world developments and in regard to the relations which should exist among socialist countries and Marxist-Leninist parties, and this is only to the advantage of our common enemy — imperialism».

The letter brings out many facts and arguments which prove that the views of N. Khrushchev and his group, as well as his disruptive anti-Marxist activities, are opportunist and revisionist.

«The actions of N. Khrushchev and his group», says the letter, «are the deliberate actions of a revisionist who sees the danger of his exposure in the correct and principled line and stand of the

parties which stand firm on the revolutionary Marxist-Leninist principles, and therefore, is striving by every means to subdue them, to impose his own anti-Marxist line on them, to discredit and isolate them».

«The anti-Marxist and hostile stand of the group of N. Khrushchev towards the Party of Labour of Albania and the People's Republic of Albania», points out the letter of the Central Committee of our Party, «is neither an isolated nor fortuitous action, but a logical consequence of his whole anti-Marxist line, it is one of the steps in the context of his activity aimed at splitting and subduing the socialist camp and the entire international communist and workers' movement, in order to impose his revisionist line on them, a clear expression of the methods he uses to further his aims. N. Khrushchev thought that the Party of Labour of Albania, as the party of a small socialist country, was the link which could be broken most easily, the most suitable target for his attacks because, by attacking and subduing it, he would be able to attack, intimidate and subdue the others, to impose his revisionist line on them».

In its letter, the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania stressed that it is in complete accord with the opinion of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China that, for an agreement on unity to be reached, first of all, the grave situation in Soviet-Albanian relations created on the initiative of N. Khrushchev must be cleared up. The letter says: «The Central

Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania holds that an indispensable condition for achieving Marxist-Leninist unity in our movement and its further strengthening is the rigorous implementation of the principles of independence, equality and comradely consultations in the relations among the fraternal communist and workers' parties. Therefore, it is absolutely essential that the course of violation of these principles by the Khrushchev group must be resolutely stopped, and the anti-Marxist actions and methods it uses in order to impose its revisionist line on the entire international communist and workers' movement, which leads to the further deepening of the split among the forces of socialism, must be condemned in a resolute and principled way. The first step and the touchstone to prove that N. Khrushchev and his group genuinely reject these anti-Marxist methods and activities would be admission on his part of his grave mistakes in regard to the Party of Labour of Albania and the People's Republic of Albania, which have been subjected to savage public attacks by N. Khrushchev. If N. Khrushchev does not honestly and publicly admit his grave mistakes towards our Party and our country, as well as towards other fraternal parties, this means that he is not sincerely for unity but is only manoeuvring with words about unity, that he is trying to gain time, seeking a respite, dictated by the failures his policy is suffering, and secretly trying to prepare fresh attacks on unity; this means that he intends to persist in his anti-Marxist course of violating the principles of inde-

pendence and equality in the relations among the communist and workers' parties and the socialist countries, thus making any comradely and equal consultation among fraternal parties impossible.

Apart from this, with his political and economic pressure and blackmail and, especially, his savage slanderous attacks on the Party of Labour of Albania and its leadership, with his breaking off of diplomatic relations with Albania and his public appeals for the overthrow of the Albanian leadership, N. Khrushchev has, in fact, posed unacceptable preconditions for negotiations with our Party, and has put our Party in conditions of inequality. Without the elimination of these preconditions there cannot be any kind of comradely consultations, based on the principles of independence and complete equality, which have been clearly defined in the 1960 Declaration of the communist and workers' parties, while without comradely consultations, without strictly adhering to the principles of independence and equality among the fraternal parties, no kind of unity is possible».

In its letter, the Central Committee of our Party stresses that it is fully confident that the other fraternal parties, too, even those parties which are not yet clear, will understand this correctly. «Speaking of the course which should be followed to prepare the ground for the elimination of differences in the socialist camp and for the normalization of Albanian-Soviet relations, this is not a matter of satisfying 'our national

pride' but of restoring and defending the Leninist principles in the relations among fraternal parties and socialist countries. Failure to condemn the anti-Marxist methods and actions of N. Khrushchev, which have been expressed in the most open and brutal manner in his stand towards the Party of Labour of Albania and the People's Republic of Albania, not only gives no guarantee that they will not be repeated in the future towards some other fraternal party or socialist country, but, on the contrary, encourages him to proceed further on his dangerous course, to cause still greater damage to our unity».

This, in general outline, is the content of the letter which the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania addressed to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China in April this year, in which our Party's stand in connection with the question of unity is clearly expressed.

Dear comrades,

Our Party has always been and always will be for the unity of the international communist movement. It has fought with determination and in a principled manner for the strengthening of this unity on the sound basis of Marxism-Leninism. Proceeding from this principled position, our Party has always stood loyal to the common line of the international communist movement and has resolutely put this line into practice. In its rela-

tions with the sister parties and fraternal socialist countries our Party has always rigorously upheld the principles of proletarian internationalism, equality and independence, of non-interference in each other's internal affairs and of fraternal mutual aid and support, of reaching unity by means of comradely consultations.

As a resolute fighter for unity, the Party of Labour of Albania has been, is, and always will be, for the preservation and strengthening of unity in the international communist movement. Our Party has fought and is fighting not for any kind of unity in the socialist camp and in the international communist movement, but for a sound unity, based on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, for a unity in struggle against imperialism and the renegades from Marxism-Leninism, the modern revisionists. The struggle for unity and the struggle against the splitters of unity, the modern revisionists, cannot be separated. Only such a Marxist-Leninist unity can be the truly effective and durable unity which the international communist movement needs. Precisely because it has upheld and upholds such a principled stand on the question of unity, our Party has been savagely attacked by the enemies of Marxism-Leninism and of our unity — N. Khrushchev and his supporters.

The ground is slipping from under the feet of N. Khrushchev and his group. N. Khrushchev is seeing the danger of his complete exposure, therefore he is striving to come out with the banner

of «unity», to manoeuvre with words about «unity», in order to gain time, to gain a kind of reprieve, to deceive the communist and workers' parties, and prepare fresh attacks on unity. This tactic of N. Khrushchev's is especially dangerous now, when the problem of unity is seriously worrying the parties and the communists the world over. In these conditions, it is all the more necessary for the parties which stand resolutely on sound Marxist-Leninist positions to take the banner of the unity of the international communist movement into their own hands, to take the initiative in this direction, and thus expose the tactical manoeuvres of N. Khrushchev. It should be borne in mind that N. Khrushchev is not yet fully exposed in the communist movement as a splitter of the socialist camp and the communist movement and as an anti-Marxist.

Of course, the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania thinks that the Khrushchev group will not admit its mistakes, that it will not make self-criticism. We are already well acquainted with the revisionists. We have seen what the Tito clique is, and we know that they never, under any circumstances, made self-criticism, or gave up their anti-Marxist course. We know the Khrushchev group, too, and we are convinced that it will try to take the opportunity to make its revisionist activity more refined, to increase its efforts, both against our Party and against the socialist camp and the international communist movement, in other forms.

The Central Committee requires that the party organizations and all the communists understand the stand of our Party in connection with the issue of unity in the present situation correctly, that they combat illusions that may be created from the fact that, for the time being¹, our press will not speak out against N. Khrushchev, etc. On the other hand, the party organizations should further step up their word of mouth propaganda, through conferences, lectures and talks with the masses of the people, to expose the revisionist views and activities of the Khrushchev group. It must be thoroughly understood that the line of the Party remains unchanged, remains what it has been, therefore it should be well publicized among the masses. On this question, you will have the aid of our press, which will write more about the various problems, presenting our line in all its aspects.

As always, the Central Committee is informing all the members of our Party about the situation created in recent times in the international

¹ Complying with the wish of some communist and workers' parties, the CC of the PLA agreed to cease for a time public criticism against N. Khrushchev and his revisionist group in the press and radio. However, the PLA went on with the exposure of this anti-Marxist group among the people, because it was firmly convinced that it had gone far down the road of treason and that it would continue on this road in the future, too.

communist and workers' movement. Therefore, this letter should be discussed and analyzed in all the party basic organizations by 30th May, 1962.

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

Enver Hoxha

Works, Vol. 23

**OUR INTELLIGENTSIA IS RAISED AND
DEVELOPED IN THE BOSOM OF THE PEOPLE**

*From the speech at the meeting with the representatives
of the intelligentsia of the capital¹*

October 25, 1962

Dear comrades,

First of all, allow me to extend the greetings of the Central Committee of the Party to you, the intellectuals of our country, and in particular, to the intellectuals of the capital, who are a powerful and militant detachment of our glorious people's intelligentsia, an important support for our Party of Labour and the people's power. Personally, I am very happy to be among you, my old and new

¹ On the invitation of the Rectorate of the University of Tirana on October 25, 1962, comrade Enver Hoxha had a meeting with the teaching staff, the scientific workers and the students of the University and higher institutes of the capital and other representatives of the intelligentsia.

comrades, co-fighters for the attainment of the great ideals of socialism and communism...

There is no more legitimate joy and pride than to see that the Party has brought up thousands of loyal and capable cadres, who spare nothing, neither their sweat, nor their blood, if need be, for the people and the Homeland, for socialism and communism.

It is understandable that this situation of our intelligentsia is a result and reflection of the great revolutionary transformations that have taken place in our country. It reflects very well the development, the results, and the triumphant march of our cultural revolution.

Yes, comrades, in our country, a revolution, unprecedented in the history of our people, was carried out, a magnificent revolution, which put an end to the feudal-bourgeois and fascist regimes and overthrew their economic and social order. The creation of the state of people's democracy, the nationalization of industry, the banks, etc., the socialist industrialization, the collectivization of agriculture, are links in the chain of the socialist revolution, which consolidated the new state power and the social economic order of the working masses, the socialist society. However, this was an all-embracing revolution and for it to be complete, it could not fail to penetrate all the pores of our life, to affect all fields of it, to be a unified combination of the different sectors of human activity. Precisely for this reason, right from the start, our Party, guided by the teachings of Marxism-Leninism, gave the signal to carry out

the cultural revolution, too, as an integral part of the socialist revolution. You remember quite well how we set about it, by conducting the struggle against illiteracy among the partisan ranks and, after Liberation, extending it to the most remote corners of our Homeland. Do you recall the hero of Maxim Gorky's story, the peasant Danko, a son of the people, who tore his heart from his chest and raised it high to illuminate his people's way through the darkness and led them out into light? Just like him, the people's teacher, Ndreç Ndue Gjoka from Mirdita, went from cottage to cottage and made his blood into light, in order to open the eyes of the sons and daughters of his people. Without the social-economic transformations we could not have carried out and continued the cultural revolution, but, on the other hand, without this revolution we could not have carried these transformations through to the end and gone further ahead in the socialist construction. One aspect of the development of the cultural revolution is precisely the creation and development of our people's intelligentsia.

All of you know Stalin's slogan, «cadres decide everything»¹. This does not negate in the least

¹ J. V. Stalin put this slogan forward under definite circumstances, in order to solve the great tasks in industry, agriculture, transport and the army, for the successful fulfilment of the 2nd Five-year Plan in the 30s.

Hence, the slogan, «cadres decide everything», is

the primary and exclusively decisive role of the masses in the development of society, for in the final analysis the role of cadres assumes the above significance when they express the aspirations of the masses and when they rely on the practical activity of the masses in their work.

Therefore, each class creates its own intelligentsia. The working class does this, too. And it does this not for the sake of tradition, but because this is one of the fundamental tasks and conditions in order to carry out the political, economic and cultural revolution. Our Party was clear about this problem right from the start, therefore it went about it correctly. Of course, we rejected the

not a principle, nor a strategic slogan, but a tactical slogan.

Here is what Stalin says in connection with this question:

... «In the past we used to say that 'technique decides everything'. This slogan helped us to overcome the technical dearth and create a very broad technical basis in all branches of activity, to provide our people with first-rate equipment. This is a very good thing. But it is not at all sufficient. To set equipment in motion and utilize it thoroughly requires people who must master the equipment, skilled cadres who can handle and utilize this equipment according to all the rules of the art... If in our marvellous plants and factories, in our sovkhoses and kolkhoses, in our transport, in our Red Army there were sufficient numbers of cadres able to handle this equipment our country would

opportunistic Trotskyite theories that we must «first train the cadres and then act», and we trained the cadres, our intelligentsia, in the heat of the revolution, in the course of work, parallel with the solution of more pressing problems. Once few in number, our intelligentsia gradually grew, and like an avalanche, carried our cultural revolution ever further forward. And the efforts of our working class to create its own intelligentsia, our wonderful intelligentsia, were not in vain.

We have a new intelligentsia, entirely new in its composition, in its world outlook, and in its age...

You, comrades, know that during these eighteen years, for our Party and people the road has not been strewn with roses. On the contrary, it has been full of obstacles and difficulties which had to be overcome. From the past we inherited poverty and backwardness in all fields of life, the war left us colossal devastation and damage, the internal and external enemies hatched up all sorts of plots and sabotage against us, while our march

have achieved an effect three or four times greater than it has today. That is why, today, we have to put the stress on the people, the cadres, the working people who master the equipment. That is why the old slogan, 'technique decides everything', which represents a period already passed when we had dearth in technique, should be replaced today with a new slogan, the slogan, 'cadres decide everything'. This is the main thing today»,
J. V. Stalin, Works, Vol. 14, pp. 7-8 (Alb. ed.).

forward itself was accompanied with the difficulties of growth.

All these things called for principled and persistent struggle, blood and sweat, required great sacrifices from the Party and the people. In the first years after Liberation, our people had to tighten their belts, to drive tunnels with their bare hands, since there were no other means, to lay and relay the rails of the railways, since the Yugoslav technicians sabotaged them and we had no technicians of our own, they had to foil the Greek provocations of August 2, 1949, and hundreds of other provocations and plots organized by external enemies, to battle and wipe out the bands of diversionists smuggled into the country from all sides, they had to build combines, to drain marshes, to break in new land, to adopt new techniques, to cultivate new crops, they had to set up industry and collectivize agriculture, to build the economic base of socialism. And they did all these things. Their efforts were not in vain. But while we were short of food and the people had to battle against difficulties, diversionists, etc., the Party did not forget schools, cinemas, theatres, libraries and museums, but on the contrary struggled to set up more of them, sent every one it could of the sons and daughters of the people to do higher studies in the Soviet Union and other countries. Our working class and the peasantry deprived themselves of food for all these things but they did not allow the intelligentsia to go short of anything and created the most favourable conditions possible for its creative work and life.

And what came out of all this? As a result of the Marxist-Leninist line and the farsighted work of the Party, our cultural revolution was successfully accomplished, assisting the whole development of the country, a large army of cadres was created — today the new Albania has not 380, but 6,000 cadres of higher training, not about 2,000 but 21,600 cadres of medium training, besides 95,000 qualified workers. At one time, out of every 18 citizens only one had any hope of getting any schooling, whereas today, one out of every 5 people is going to school. I make no mention of the university, the institutes of higher learning, the Opera and Ballet Theatre, etc., which you know about. Today we say to our friends and our enemies: wait just eight years, and you will see that by 1970 we shall nearly treble the number of higher cadres, reaching the figure of 16,500, will nearly double the cadre of medium training, reaching the figure of 40,600, and nearly double the number of skilled workers, reaching the figure of 175,000. These conclusions and decisions of the recent Plenum of the Central Committee of the Party are not empty words, comrades, but precise facts and calculations which life is confirming and will confirm in the future.

Hence, we Albanian communists and patriots know how to create and how to dream. But our dreams are noble and realistic. In the past Naim

and Sami Frashëri, Çajupi¹ and Migjeni² dreamed of seeing Albania as a «first lady», with a «university»; they burned themselves out to attain this. But the tyrants prevented them from seeing their dreams materialized in life. However, our brave partisans and all the patriots of the new Albania, with their Party of Labour at the head, armed with the immortal science of Marxism-Leninism, not only took over the dreams of their forbears, but they spun even bolder dreams, and with their blood and sweat, made them a reality. And this is what we shall do in the future, too.

We Must Study and Have All the Possibilities to Do More for the Development of Science and Technology

However, comrades, the truth is that we should do still more in the direction of the development of cadres, of mastering science, and the scientific uplift of our country. In this field, the world has made great advances. However, we are living in this world, and what is more, we are building socialism and tomorrow will be building communism. For this we need, among other things, cadres, technology and science. As is known, science has surged ahead with an impulse unprecedented in the history of mankind, and wonderful results have been achieved. The great scholars of various epochs and nationalities, of different

1 Poets and thinkers of the Albanian National Renaissance.

2 Albanian revolutionary poet of the Thirties.

schools and views, have brought mankind incalculable blessings, have opened up, some more and some less, such paths to knowledge that today electricity has become the motor of our new world. All applied science today is based on electricity and we may well say that the greater part of the activity of the daily life of mankind develops and works under the symbols of the force of Volta, Ampère and other scientists who, so to say, «brought it up on the bottle», and now it has become a colossal force, which has given birth to another colossal force, atomic energy, one of the greatest discoveries of all times. The development of science is the work not just of a few geniuses, who have shone like brilliant stars through the history of mankind and whose studies and inventions are the foundation of the ever ascending development of science, but also of those thousands and tens of thousands of various working people from all parts of the world, who have dreamed, studied, and put into practice, who have made the various combinations and have managed to create the endless chain of modern science.

During the history of mankind, the development of science in general, or of certain sciences in particular, has been hampered for a time by catastrophes or powerful obscurantist trends. You know the great catastrophe the Roman Empire was to science, in particular to that of the Greco-Alexandrian period, when scientific development was brilliant with the names of Archimedes, Euclid and others. The obscurantism of the Middle Ages

strangled science for a long period, weighing on it like a heavy tomb stone on which were engraved the dictatorship of Aristotle and the name of St. Thomas of Aquin, to whom the Bible, Aristotle and magic were science. The aggressors during the First World War and, especially, the Hitlerite fascist aggressors during the Second World War dealt science heavy blows and revived mysticism, as occurs in times of crises, when pyres of books are burned in city squares.

We must recall these lessons of history, because in our times, too, US imperialism, the Bonn revanchists and their allies are on the prowl, torch in hand, or, more precisely, with atomic bombs in their hands, to set the world ablaze and use this colossal development of knowledge and science to the detriment of the people and of the moral and material wealth they have created. We must stay the hand which these criminals have raised against mankind and civilization. Wherever they are, wherever they live and work, the men of science must be vigilant and united, and fight to ensure that the fruits of their creative thinking, of their daily work and experience are not used to the detriment of mankind. Science has had and should have a universal character, and not only should its development not be the monopoly of certain individuals, of a handful of powerful states, or a few big concerns, but it should be put entirely at the service of mankind, at the service of peace, and not at the service of war and the exploitation of people.

To science we owe achievements of inestimable value to mankind, to science we owe the liberation of the spirit and mind from superstition. Every step forward taken by science, through struggle and efforts, both collective and individual, drives one step back that dark and irrational mysticism, which in the course of history, and even today, in the epoch of electricity, of Marxism-Leninism and of atomic energy, comes forward and opposes reason. There is no greater absurdity and nothing more anti-scientific than to think that science is an isolated epiphenomenon, as some Western so-called «scholars» or lackeys to the Vatican do.

The epoch we are living in is the epoch of the triumph of socialism, the epoch of the glorious ideology of the new society, Marxism-Leninism, which put the values created by man generation after generation in their proper place and armed the men of its epoch with a powerful and unerring weapon that makes the different branches of science advance with such great impetus.

We are a small country, with marked backwardness in the scientific field, we do not have the material possibilities of many other countries of the world. From our dark past we have not inherited a galaxy of scientists of great traditions who could leave the imprint of their genius and their tradition on universities and faculties, or on the practical development of their experience in the field of industry, agriculture, medicine, physics, chemistry, etc. Like everything else in our country, the development of science is new. In this

respect everything is just beginning, but on a good course, on the right course, and we are seeing the fruit of it. Our country today is covered with schools, we have our University and our higher institutes, our laboratories, our factories, our mines, our state farms and agricultural cooperatives, and along with all these, we have trained cadres, still young, still with no great knowledge or extensive experience, but full of determination and energy, a reliable basis for the brilliant future of science in our country. In some branches of science, such as that of linguistics and literature, we have produced distinguished men and scientists of international stature, like Sami Frashëri, Naim Frashëri and others, whose work is well-known; we have produced men of great merit, like professor Refat Frashëri, known all over the world in the thirties for his medical studies and works, especially in bacteriology, and we have specialists of our time who have worked or are still working and striving today, with scientific methods and attaining brilliant results, like professors Aleksandër Xhuvani and Kostaq Cipo... Our economists, philosophers, jurists, and specialists in other fields are making studies of great value to our country and our new society.

It is a special pleasure also to see that we have distinguished doctors, old and young... who have not only dedicated all their energies to the protection and improvement of the health of our people and the training of hundreds of new cadres, but, with their exact diagnoses and their complicated operations, are proving that they do

not lag behind their distinguished colleagues of other countries.

We have mathematicians, physicists, chemists and others, who have embarked on serious studies of a high scientific level,... who will advance science in our country.

These cadres are capable, and they have given proof of this, of discussing important scientific questions at international scientific meetings and forums, and of attracting the serious attention of foreign scientists for the richness of the scientific exposition of their theses...

Excuse me for speaking about this at such length, but I am not doing this to make a few of our intellectuals and specialists conceited, a danger which does not exist, since they are capable and modest people, nor to say that science in Albania has made great progress, so that we come out of this meeting satisfied, with the idea that we have achieved everything. No, on the contrary, I am saying those things to make it very plain that we are backward, very backward, but also to stress that our cadres have advanced and that great perspectives have been opened up to them, that even greater possibilities have been and will be created for a still greater development of science in our country in the future.

Conceit and self-satisfaction are two evils which we must combat, because they hinder our progress in the domain we are speaking about, but «excessive modesty» also, — with this I mean that there may be people who say, more or less, «We

are a small nation, trailing along behind, science has long been advanced in the other countries of the world, others have invented everything», etc., etc., — is not correct, either, since it gives birth to pessimism, hinders the widening of knowledge and the development of intellect, holds people back and prevents them from making the necessary efforts to advance.

Now we may speak with pride of the noble features which distinguish our cadres, and all our intelligentsia, today, characteristics which must be developed and strengthened in the future, too. First, we have an intelligentsia of a high political and ideological level, a patriotic and revolutionary intelligentsia, capable of coping with any situation and always being up to the level required to handle the national and international tasks facing our Party and people. Second, we have a talented intelligentsia capable of solving the most difficult tasks of the socialist construction, the most complicated problems in the economic, social, educational, and cultural fields. Third, we have an intelligentsia linked closely with the people, which is raised and developed in the bosom of the people, which is nurtured by the people's genius, and which fights for the good of its people. All this is borne out by life, all this constitutes our objective reality, on which our Party bases itself in its judgements and actions.

Of course, Nikita Khrushchev and his group could not agree with this evaluation. As you know, he has always underrated the capabilities and

creative possibilities of our people, which are expressed, among other things, in the inventions and rationalizations by our working people, of which we are proud. You know, too, that N. Khrushchev and his followers have more than once declared that, allegedly, it was they who created our intelligentia. But such statements cannot hurt us. In regard to the inventions, rationalizations, proposals and the unprecedented upsurge in this direction, which burst out with particular force following the attacks on our Party and the exposure of N. Khrushchev's betrayal to Marxism-Leninism, in regard to this, we are proud of it, and have every right to be proud of it, of course without becoming swelled-headed about it and resting on our laurels. We are proud, not because we have made and are making unprecedented inventions of world importance, but because our cadres, fighting in the difficult conditions of the capitalist encirclement and revisionist blockades, are making colossal efforts in providing the people with what they need. These efforts are very important, since they strengthen the People's Republic of Albania, which has risen heroically against this sworn enemy of the socialist camp and the international communist and workers' movement — the modern revisionism of the Khrushchev-Tito group and Co. Besides, it is not only we who are making inventions which others have made earlier, nor is it precluded that we may make our contribution to the development of world science.

It should not be forgotten that the experi-

ments of Oersted and Ampère seemed like amusing games and that is how they were described in their time, but they contained the germ of modern electronics. Recall the contempt of the so-called realists for Rutherford's laboratory experiments through which atomic energy was discovered, recall the deductions about astronautics of Tsiolkovsky, a teacher in a remote village, which were considered dreams à la Jules Verne, but thanks to which the secrets of the cosmos are being attacked and discovered today. The facts show that many great inventions which have revolutionized science have been made by ordinary working people. If we investigate, even as dilettanti, the history of a number of scientific problems, which are now very much the «in thing», from Lumière's invention to that of the worker Zenobe Gramme, the development of photography, cinema, television, etc., we will see that, in the course of work in industry, in the factories, various engineers have invented astonishing things. The same thing may happen with us, too.

As regards the other claim of Khrushchev and company that they allegedly trained our cadres, that is not true at all. Our cadres who studied in the Soviet Union did not go to Khrushchev's private estate, but to the great Homeland of the October Revolution, where they knew how — and we are proud of this, too — to absorb the great culture of the glorious Soviet peoples, the immortal teachings of Lenin and Stalin, which, with great ability, they are putting at the service of the Homeland and the cause of socialism in ge-

neral, they rejected with disgust and fought manfully against the hostile views of this revisionist and his followers. Indeed, when Khrushchev got control of things, as you know, far from helping our students and cadres, he closed the doors of the higher schools and scientific institutions to them, just as he did in all other fields.

That, briefly, is how things stand with the development of world science, with its difficult path, its present vicissitudes and our possibilities. The work of our intelligentsia for the development of science, culture, and the economy of the country is glorious. That is how the Party and the people evaluate it. However, as I said above, this should not make us rest on our laurels. Our cadres should see their results closely linked with the essential need to strengthen our Homeland more and more from every point of view. Therefore, they must always have the feeling of commitment to the struggle to attain new and still greater results, in conformity with the needs of carrying socialist construction further forward.

The Training and Qualification of Cadres — an Important Task

Proceeding from these needs, our various institutions and cadres must undoubtedly concentrate their main attention on the two principal aspects of one great problem, the problem of cadres, on the training and the further qualification of cadres, on increasing their numbers and their

quality, as well as on perfecting them. Thus, whereas formerly, we considered the question mainly from the quantitative aspect of increasing the numbers of cadres, without neglecting the problem of their quality, as we had to ensure an indispensable minimum of them as quickly as possible, at the present stage we should consider both sides of the problem, increasing our concern for quality during the training of a cadre and laying particular stress on his further qualification and improvement after his training.

What does the Party require of the cadres of the capital, and our intelligentsia in general? That they should take up these two fundamental problems today, more seriously than ever before:

First concerning the question of the training of cadres, they should keep it in mind that the preparation of specialists of higher schooling depends on their work, not to mention the great role they play, also, in training lower and middle cadres, when they work as teachers or specialists in production. The objectives which the Party has set will not be achieved easily, but they can and will be achieved. The teaching staff of the University and the other institutes of higher learning must make all-round efforts to further improve their work in order to train specialists of higher learning well. This is the key to success in all our work. Such a thing would lead to the reduction and, eventually, to the elimination of shortcomings which are created during the training of cadres, for it is a fact that not all our pedagogical-scientific workers have a sound theoretical and practical

training, the scientific level of their lectures is not yet up to the mark, etc. Doubtless, this is due also to objective reasons, such as the newness of our higher schools, the limited experience of the majority of our teaching staff, and the inadequate material-laboratory base. However, these difficulties must be overcome, through their tireless efforts and work. Likewise, it is necessary to devote special attention to the teaching departments so as to raise to a higher level their leading role in solving organizational and methodological problems, in giving aid to the young cadres, in encouraging the students to do independent work. It is especially important for the best possible training of specialists that, through their diplomas, the students should work on concrete themes and that practice in production should be very well organized. Since I mentioned practice, I want to stress that it should not be underrated, without, however, going to the other extreme, of engaging in practice at the expense of theory; the future specialists needs the two, both theory and practice. Therefore, the proper proportioning of subjects must be looked into, both where such a thing has not been done and where the need for a reexamination of it is felt.

The question of improving the teaching-pedagogical work, which I emphasized above, presents itself, not only in training higher cadres, but also in training middle and lower cadres. Both this and other questions should be examined and solved with initiative and efforts in the concrete sphere of the activity of each cadre or institution.

But it is evident that the students, the young people themselves, will play a primary role in the training of cadres. Therefore, I address myself especially to our wonderful studious youth, calling upon them to embrace science zealously — science in general, mathematics in particular — not just for the reasons I mentioned, but also because science, mathematics, dear young men and women, has its own romance, its own poetry, its ever youthful drive, so closely linked with the younger generation.

Now that I am speaking with such enthusiasm about science, especially mathematics, perhaps the youth may laugh, as I myself laughed when I was young, for I must admit, comrades, that I did not like mathematics very much and I believe that the lessons in mathematics in the secondary school gave me a few grey hairs. But the truth is that mathematics has its own great poetry, it is passionate, and is not so «unmanageable» as may be thought. Ask the teachers of mathematics, ask the physicists and chemists, the teachers and your fellow-students in these branches. They will convince you better than I. They will attract you to these branches, will enthuse you, and they should enthuse you.

But someone may ask: «Comrade Enver, you yourself said that you were not fond of mathematics, whereas now you are almost waxing poetic over it». I am going to tell you, my young comrades, that it was the Party that taught me, that the struggle, the work with which the Party has charged me, show me day by day the great

role played by mathematics. The present development of natural sciences is ever more firmly based on high level mathematics. Today not only are physics, chemistry, astronomy, the atom, etc., closely linked with mathematics, but it must be said that an exact science is more perfect when it is expressed completely in mathematical form. We have all heard of the amazing electronic computers. The wonderful brain of Inodi¹ did not imagine such a thing. Others came after him and created the mathematical «brain» machine. Hence, am I not right in saying, dear young comrades, that mathematics is a marvellous science, and if I were able to return to your age, if I were back at school with the mind and capacity you have today, I would take up mathematics.

Therefore, the young men and women of our country should study the sciences *en masse* and in an organized way, in a scientifically organized way, and study them not superficially but thoroughly. The University of Tirana must become the centre for this, but every other possibility existing in our country should be exploited, too. Apart from this, you should be familiar with the discoveries and studies of foreign scholars, and should strengthen your contacts with the academies and universities of other countries.

Nikita Khrushchev, who is a revisionist and has anti-scientific views, tries to present the development of science in the Soviet Union as a triumph of the period since he came to power. He

¹ Italian calculator (1867-1950).

and his followers strive to obscure the continuous efforts over forty-five years of Soviet science and the Soviet scientists, who toiled, laid the foundations, created, in the conditions of scientific socialism, who worked and created under the guidance of Marxism-Leninism, enlightened by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, by Lenin and Stalin, who with their genius illuminated the path they traversed.

Khrushchev hinders the true friends of the Soviet Union from drawing upon the great benefits of Soviet science, but he is generous towards his revisionist friends and the scientists of the capitalist countries.

Could it be imagined that in the present epoch of the rapid progress of science, the atom, the conquest of outer space, the triumph of socialism, a group of individuals would be found at the head of the first socialist state who would close the doors of schools, universities and science to the sons and daughters of socialist Albania, to the sons and daughters of a small, heroic, and education-loving people? The anti-Marxist renegade group of Nikita Khrushchev and those who follow him are perpetrating such a scandalous action! Not even in the countries where the bourgeoisie rules has such a thing occurred!

Only chauvinists, obscurantists, megalomaniacs, those who despise the peoples and the masses, those who are alien to the great cause of the proletariat, can act in this way and think that the small nations, small peoples, have no place in the brilliant sun of science, that they are destined to

live under the shadow of the «mighty», tailing along behind the «mighty», that knowledge and ability find room for development only in the «heads and nature of the chosen elite», among a few big, powerful nations and states.

However, even at its peak, the savagest clerical reaction of the Vatican was quite unable to check the advance of science and knowledge. The piles of blazing faggots did not stop Giordano Bruno from raising his voice for the truth, did not stop Keppler from developing his brilliant theory, nor stop Galileo Galilei from saying, «Despite that, it moves». Then, how can the brakes be put on science and knowledge today, to prevent others, including us, from mastering and developing them?

Let me remind you of what the feudal Fejzi Alizoti¹ said about knowledge, education, as being a privilege of the wealthy classes only. But the revolution in our country eliminated any trace of the Fejzis and brilliantly proved the opposite of what they predicted. However, the Fejzi Alizotis have not been wiped out everywhere. They revive wherever the seed of revisionism germinates and these other Fejzi Alizotis, as empty-headed as he was, turn up again just as strong, just as sa-

¹ Sounding the alarm about «the danger of over-production of intellectuals», which allegedly came from the three general secondary schools that existed in the whole of Albania, in 1935 Fejzi Alizoti declared in parliament, «I am convinced that this money we spend on schooling is wasted».

vage, but decked out in different clothes and spinning words of rare demagogy.

Thus, nothing will stop our studious youth from absorbing knowledge, science with great eagerness, from becoming masters of their own fate, masters of their own Homeland, and making their modest contribution to world science.

Second, this refers to the uplift of the existing intelligentsia and the enhancement of its role in the socialist construction, further qualification should be the continuous preoccupation of all our cadres. The solution of the task of training cadres, of which we spoke above, is also largely dependent on this:

We must look at the problem realistically, as it is, and solve it in a Marxist-Leninist way. The further development of our country, the construction of socialism and communism in Albania, as everywhere else, is linked with the development of science. Therefore, it becomes our task to study the sciences, to gain as much as possible from advanced world experience.

Our cadres should assimilate world science with the greatest eagerness. Of course, in this world science, there is some rubbish, but it is for this reason, too, that our Party has armed our scientists, old and young, with the weapon of Marxism-Leninism, to cleanse it of that rubbish. When I say that we should go all out to study, especially science, I am addressing the teachers and pedagogues, pupils and students, doctors and engineers, agronomists and musicians, in short, everyone.

The teachers, pedagogues, doctors, etc., should understand the decisive role of study, of improving themselves. From the university teachers to the agronomists in the fields, the engineers of all categories, all of them should not only study, should not only apply, but should also invent and rationalize.

Comrades, every one who graduates from the higher school and becomes a specialist in a certain branch quite rightly feels a great satisfaction over the fact that he has passed an important stage of his life. This is what happened with us, this is what happens today, and will happen in the future, too, with others. Yesterday, you were a pupil or student, today you become a cadre, a pedagogue or a manager. But when you start your independent life working in your sector, and encounter the most different problems, — many of which are new and unknown to you, but which it is up to you to solve, when you come across general problems which are worrying the entire people, of questions outside your profession but necessary to you, when you are associated with cadres of other sectors — in all these cases, along with the fact that you are a cadre, the teacher of others, you feel that you do not know everything, that you always need to learn something more, something new. Everyone feels this, all the time. Therefore, while being a cadre, one is, at the same time, a pupil, a pupil all one's life. Thus a double obligation emerges: for oneself and for others, for society. In order to be able to give, you must be constantly absorbing something more than what you

have, you must acquire general and vocational culture, which are boundless, just as life with all its problems and aspects is boundless.

What is the way out? I repeat, the main thing, undoubtedly, is continual study. However, we often hear cadres complain or justify themselves: we are up to our necks in our day to day work and have no time for study. It is true, comrades, that our cadres in general are very heavily burdened, that there is a heavier load of daily work on their shoulders than the cadres of developed countries have to carry, or that our future cadres will have. It is our lot to have to carry somewhat more, to fight in a more difficult but more glorious period, when the path is being opened to our people's march towards the highest peaks of science and towards communism. This struggle tempers people, the cadres. Therefore, we can and must cope with this burden too — continuous study, which in the final analysis will lighten the overall burden of work...

What Must We Study?

After all this has been said, the question arises: In what direction should we aim our studies? It seems to me that the matter is not so simple that it can be answered in a few words: wherever the need is greatest. Since we are a country which is developing later than many other countries and our needs are many, those engaged in studies, the research workers and our scientists

are expected to have their say in all fields. But this is impossible, in the first place because our forces, whether in men or in means, are so few.

In regard to concrete sciences, the technical and natural sciences, this is clearer and easier to define. Our country has set out on the road of rapid development to create the material and technical basis of socialism, the industrialization of the country, intensification of agriculture. The development of mines, the electrification of the country, the extension of construction, the creation of the different branches of industry, such as the engineering, chemical, light and food processing and other industries, the development of agriculture such as all types of grain, industrial crops, livestock farming, etc., not only require more engineers, agronomists, technicians and qualified workers, but raise before us a series of important problems which have to be solved, if we do not want our development held up. Hence, it seems to me that the overall theme of studies, of the research and scientific work is already defined, it should be concentrated on the solution of problems raised by our socialist construction. I do not believe that anyone could imagine that we will be dealing with the problems of the outer space, the quantum theory, cybernetics or automation just now. It is quite right to say that we shall concentrate mainly on those problems the solution of which will open the way to the further development of industry, agriculture, construction, the exploitation of mines and the country's energy sources, etc. I do not believe, either, that anyone could imagine that in

this initial stage we shall engage only in matters of an historical character, for example the development of artisan production in the past, how the roads and bridges were built formerly, etc. This is not because that these studies are not valuable and we do not need them, but because there are many other problems worrying us today, for example, how can this or that raw material be used for industrial products, how can we build the roads and bridges better, more quickly and cheaply today, etc. But does this mean that we have to take up only problems of immediate practical importance? Such a narrow concept is not correct, either. If we say that we are going to engage mainly in the solution of those problems raised by our socialist construction, we mean not only the problems with which we are concerned today, but also those of the perspective, concerning the future development of our country. Therefore, we must work today for today, and we must work today for tomorrow and the day after tomorrow.

As you know, the Central Committee and the 4th Congress of the Party have approved extensive plans of scientific research work for the University of Tirana and for the Agricultural Institute which envisage studies and projects of major value to our country. To this end, a great number of specialists of different sectors have been and will be drawn into carrying out these plans. Thus, the creative thinking of our intelligentsia will be further developed, it will reach a higher professional level, and the people will see the fruits of its

creative work. The fundamental task of this prospective plan is that, without slowing the rate of development of the social sciences, the natural and technical sciences must be developed more rapidly, so as to study and to exploit to the maximum the rich natural resources of our country. This plan constitutes a broad field of studies, research, and work as demanding as it is glorious. Such, for example, is the chemical and physical study of the valuable minerals of our country, the exploration, discovery and practical exploitation of new deposits of oil, natural gas, phosphorites, clays, silicates, metallurgical minerals, etc., the cataloguing and valuation of the useful plants and flora of Albania, the geophysical study of our country, standardization of buildings and reinforced concrete structures, the study of the hydro-power resources of rivers, of dermatomycosis and brucellosis, and the defining of measures to restrict or eliminate them, etc.

I am convinced that it is clear to everyone that these problems are now so numerous that nobody could imagine that only a small group of scientific cadres of the University or our best technicians should be engaged in solving them. I want to stress that all our cadres, from the most highly qualified scientific cadres to the specialists employed in the departments today, the engineers and technicians of the enterprises themselves, the agronomists and middle technicians and qualified production workers, should be engaged in this work. Their coordination, the collaboration of different scientists on those problems, which are link-

ed with more than one science, are of colossal importance for these studies.

Apart from this, there is another thing that should be kept in mind, that we have not only the university, the higher institutes, as big and important scientific centres, but also our industry, mines, transport, agriculture where engineers and qualified workers work in factories, fields and laboratories, and create marvellous things which enrich science. Today, especially, there is such enthusiasm at work that simple people cannot sleep at night as they strive to penetrate the secrets of technology and science to push production forward. The finest proof of this is the results of people's consultations, where more than 10,500 proposals were made, of which 7,000 worth 500 million leks were given preliminary approval. One hundred and fifty of these proposals are for the setting up of new factories, departments, and workshops, while thousands of others are for the production in the country of numerous items of machinery, equipment, spare parts, etc. which are imported from abroad. Here the cadres can and should find great support and an inexhaustible source of inspiration for their work and creations.

Let us deal concretely with one of the most important fields of the economy, in which a considerable part of our specialists have been concentrated and which is occupying a great deal of the attention of our Party and Government right now. I am referring to agriculture. You know that the 4th Congress of the Party set the task of passing from an extensive to an intensive agriculture. This

task was not set arbitrarily, but following a thorough scientific study of our conditions and needs on the road of socialist construction. However, you understand that to do such a thing is not easy, it is not just a matter of words. Here science and high level agrotechnics play a primary role, because in order to raise productivity, scientific solutions to a series of problems are required and a number of measures must be applied in practice. Such, for example, are the correct distribution and rotation of agricultural crops, taking into account the zones, the soil and the previous crops, the study and application of deep ploughing according to soil types and crops, the increase and correct use of fertilizers, the struggle against excess moisture, erosion and draught, irrigation, reproduction of the varieties of seeds best suited to the various regions, sowing at the optimal time and ensuring the optimal number of plants per hectare, cultivation methods, the fight against plant pests, diseases and weeds, and the organization of harvesting, threshing and storing of crops without waste. But these are not simple things, these are science. I have not begun to speak about the internal reserves in agriculture which should be exploited, about the struggle which should be waged to get 2 or 3 crops per year from the land, etc.

We shall concentrate our attention, in the first place, on grain and industrial crops, without neglecting the others. Grain is the people's food, industrial crops are the food of industry. We rejected Tito's prattle about planting only sunflower in our country, because he would bring us wheat from

Voyvodina. Likewise, we rejected Khrushchev's «advice» to plant only fruit-trees and grape vines, because he would supply us with wheat from the production of the newly broken in land, since in his words, «the mice in the Soviet Union eat as much as we want», although when our people were in need he refused to give us wheat. To carry out these tasks we should concentrate our attention mainly on the districts of Fier, Lushnja, Durrës, and Korça, and then of Shkodra, Elbasan, and Berat, which are the granary of Albania, without neglecting the other districts.

Is it possible to carry out these tasks without the participation of all our agricultural specialists, starting with those already engaged in the solution of a series of important scientific problems, down to the agronomists and the agricultural technicians in the village? There is no doubt that to solve the present and future problems, both in agriculture and livestock farming, the participation of all is required.

In the field of social sciences, also, many studies must be carried out. Themes of an historical character certainly have special importance, because, in fact, many questions have been left unstudied, or have been distorted in the past. The themes in connection with the people's revolution and the socialist transformations in our country, in which theoretical generalizations of value not only to us but also to others can be made, should attract our attention. We must also take up many other questions concerning the road our country has traversed during this period. But it would not

be right if we were to tend towards historical themes only and avoid current themes, the problems of socialist construction today and the future problems, which await solution. To explain correctly what has been done, how the Party has solved a series of problems, for example, how the collectivization of agriculture was carried out in our country, is a useful thing, but to show how the problems facing us today for the economic and organizational consolidation of agricultural cooperatives will be solved, for example, how the perfecting of the socialist relations in our countryside will be done, is another very useful practical thing which yields concrete results for the progress of our cooperativist system. Many such examples could be presented about the ways to the further industrialization of the country, our technical progress, the role of the Party, our school and social organizations in the education of the new man, etc. As you see, a great deal of work is opening to our economists, philosophers, pedagogues and others in these directions.

But it must be said that studies on the current and future problems present greater difficulties, because to explain the phenomena, which are occurring day by day before our eyes, to understand the tendencies of their development and to draw correct conclusions for the future, at a time when you do not have all the facts and documents at your disposal, as you might have about events that occurred five, twenty or fifty years ago, is much more difficult. However, should this be an excuse to avoid dealing with these themes? The

new stage, which our country has now entered, the stage of complete construction of socialist society, raises before us important problems which must be studied, for instance: the ways of creating the material-technical base of socialism, the ways to the industrialization of our country and changing agriculture from extensive into intensive agriculture, the general laws and special features of the socialist construction at this new stage, the state and the development of socialist democracy, etc., etc. In this way, we shall ensure that the different studies in the field of social sciences serve our socialist construction better.

In connection with the social sciences, I would like to say something about a field of very great current importance, about Albanology. Within the framework of the celebration of the 50th anniversary of independence and the 18th anniversary of the liberation of the country, the Conference of Albanologists, to which a great number of Albanologists from the socialist and capitalist countries have been invited, will be held in Tirana. Our scientists, who are also the organizers of this meeting, will submit the main reports and a number of scientific papers there. In this way they will provide the foreign guests with the results of their work, and this will help them in their further work, and naturally, the foreign Albanologists will give our Albanologists the results of their work. It is of great importance that now our scientists are not trailing behind, but are leading the science of Albanology, that now our people have it mainly in their own hand, as they have all

the other sciences in our country. This has been achieved thanks to their studies and untiring work.

However, comrades, much still remains to be done in this field. Thus, the philological and historical sciences have a series of great and important problems to solve. The ethnogenesis of the Albanian people is a problem as important as it is complex, for the study of which the activation and collaboration of numerous scientific workers is required. The problems of the Albanian nationality and nation, as well as the great movements of our century require more profound studies. In the field of the material culture of our people, the scientific research work on the early Albanian culture, early and late Medieval art, and the special features of the styles and schools of the traditional architecture, should be extended and deepened. Another important problem is that of the scientific synthesis of all the ethnographic material in connection with the compilation of the ethnographic atlas. In order that Albanian linguistics, through its studies, can assist in the great problem of the normalization of the Albanian literary language, the work started on compiling the Albanian scientific grammar, the medium standard dictionary of our language must be carried further, while deeper studies must be carried out in the field of dialectology and the dialectologic atlas compiled.

Comrades, I have mentioned here only a few of the main problems, but there are many others. Thus, the attention and creative work of our ca-

dres should be concentrated on the study and solution of them.

The Cadres of Every Speciality Should Know Marxist-Leninist Science and Study It Ceaselessly

For this work to yield the maximum fruit, it is essential that cadres of every speciality, whether economists or historians, engineers or agronomists, geologists, doctors or writers and artists, must know the basic science, the Marxist-Leninist science, and study it constantly. This is necessary, because Marxist-Leninist philosophy gives them truly scientific knowledge on the general laws of the development of nature, of society, and thought. All sciences have to do with nature, society, and thought, therefore mastery of the general laws of their development helps studies in every field of science, gives the scientist, the writer, or any other specialist the key required to study and explain the various phenomena in nature or society correctly. How could our specialists of socialist society, or, more concretely, our historians, for example, interpret facts and documents correctly, draw correct conclusions from them, without a profound knowledge of the general laws of the development of society, the social formations, the economic development of the country at a given period, the combination of the interests of different classes, etc., which they have learned, to a certain degree, since they were in school? The same can be said of the economist. As you know, physics,

chemistry and the other concrete sciences have their special laws, the study of which constitutes the objective of these sciences, but the world in its entirety, our universe, matter as a philosophical notion, have their own general laws of development. Matter has neither beginning nor end, it is eternal, and all the physical, chemical and other processes are nothing but processes of the development of the matter. Therefore, from this it can be seen that to be able to study the physical and chemical processes of various bodies or materials, it is indispensable that our scientist, engineer, agronomist, etc. should have a correct and profound knowledge of the world in its entirety. I could carry on about how necessary it is for the writer, or the artist to know the laws of the evolution of thought, the psychological processes of man, the role of the material conditions of life in forming ideas of the characters they create in their works. That is why our Party quite rightly insists that everyone, without exception, must work tirelessly to master Marxism-Leninism and to study individually, or in the forms organized by the Party.

There are ignoramuses and reactionaries in the world who say that we communists want to attribute to Marxism-Leninism even the works of those ancient and modern scientists who knew or know nothing about Marxism-Leninism, who are not Marxists, and some of whom are even opponents of it. This is by no means true. It is not a matter of appropriating this or that scientist, born in this or that country, the son of this or

that people. But it is a fact that neither Descartes nor Pavlov, neither the Jansenist Pascal, nor the scientist Bogomolets, nor the thousands of other distinguished scientists of every epoch are known to mankind not because they went to church and prayed to God, but for their rational, progressive, materialistic, anti-clerical, and anti-mystical works. In some directions, their method has been dialectical in general, though not in its pure form, as Marxism-Leninism provides it for us. The Marxist-Leninist doctrine is the acme of materialist science and the development of society, it is the synthesis of the previous development of philosophy and the creative thought of mankind in general — the synthesis of everything rational and progressive which, in all epochs and in various forms, has fought against superstition, magic, mysticism, ignorance and the moral and material oppression of the people; now this doctrine has become the torch which lights the way for the peoples towards socialism and communism. Therefore today, when there is such a complete science as Marxism-Leninism, that gives us the correct materialist understanding of the world and the best scientific method, the Marxist dialectical method, it is inexcusable for our scientists and specialists to fail to use it in the interest of studies in all fields. Nobody should feel ashamed to start the study of even the most elementary notions of Marxism-Leninism, or when he is ignorant on this or that problem, to consult a specialist, even though he may be younger in age. For the cause of the Party and the peo-

ple everyone of us is ready to «swallow his pride» on such matters.

We said that, at the same time, Marxism-Leninism gives us the most scientific method of studying and knowing the world about us — the Marxist dialectical method. You know that adherence to correct scientific criteria in the study and solution of various problems, the working-out of a correct methodology are of great importance to success in every field of the creative activity of our cadres of different specialities. This question has always preoccupied those engaged in scientific work, and experience had proved the superiority of the dialectical method a long time before Marx and Engels. But the great merit of Marx and Engels, and later, of Lenin and Stalin lies in the fact that they gave us the most complete dialectical method, the only scientific method — materialist dialectics — and the finest example of the use of it in the study of the phenomena of nature and society.

I do not intend to speak here in detail about the Marxist dialectical method. But what I want to stress is that mastering of this method is indispensable to the rapid progress of our new science. I want to stress, also, that to master it is not an easy thing, it is not sufficient to know its general laws by rote, but it must guide you and become a method of work in your study, in all practical activity, in scientific work, in a word, always and everywhere. There can be no ready-made recipes on this matter. Indeed it must be said that prescriptions, schemes, and «norms» decided in ad-

vance do great harm, as they have done in fact. Recently we have had occasion to discuss certain questions of the history of our Party, or generally, of studies on history with some comrades who have been, or are engaged in this work. The schematization in matters of the history of our Party manifests itself especially when we cling to certain stereotyped schemes and forms in regard to the strategy, tactics and the stages of the development, etc. of our revolution. But revolutions, comrades, are not carried out on the basis of given norms, schemes, and forms, hence the history of our people's revolution cannot be written on such a basis. This is a superficial, and not a scientific, treatment of things, a departure from objective reality. Carefully study the facts and events, the various documents and phenomena, analyse them on the basis of the Marxist dialectical method, and you will see that our Party has applied the teachings of Lenin and of the great October Socialist Revolution in a creative way, in the concrete conditions of our country.

Or let us take, for example, the problems of the history of our country in general. It is known that world outlook and method play an important role in the analysis and interpretation of historical facts, but when we take into account that the foreigners who dealt with the history of Albania up till the Liberation of the country were influenced by the interests of their own imperialist or chauvinist countries, it becomes plain that our historiography cannot remain a slave to certain «norms» established by foreign or local bourgeois

historians. Unfortunately, sometimes it happens that some of our people cannot easily break free from the established «norms» in their different studies, and are influenced by or lean towards foreign «authorities».

In regard to the social sciences, it is essential that analysis and correct interpretation of facts be made in the light of Marxism-Leninism, and if, in this light, some of the «norms» have to be thrown overboard, there is no cause for hesitation, regardless of whether someone may be surprised and purse his lips disapprovingly. We firmly adhere to the principle that history is not written as it may please this person or that, but on the basis of documents, facts, events, etc. But these data must be interpreted correctly, and the only correct interpretation of them is that based on historical materialism. The bourgeois historians level the accusation against us that this is tendentious interpretation and claim that they are allegedly «neutral». This is their never-ending refrain, but let them warble and let us get on with our work. We proceed from the premise that, in order to arrive at correct conclusions, everything must be viewed with a critical eye, in the scientific meaning of this term, that dogmas and schemes must be combated, that priority must be given to the main thing, without underestimating things of secondary importance, that the accumulation of facts is not an aim in itself, but must be accompanied by analysis, making a correct interpretation of the influence of various factors (e.g. internal and external factors), the cause of the

action and its objective must be defined correctly, and so on.

Whereas in regard to the concrete sciences, while closely following the great development of these sciences in the world, we should study those problems which the development of our economy and technology raises before us. The rapid advance of our country on the road of socialism, as we saw above, sets before our specialists many problems, which we do not always find solved by others. It should be clear that we ourselves, and not the foreigners, must take up these matters and solve these problems. Of course, it is not necessary for us to travel the long road traversed by others all over again, but neither should we imagine that we shall find everything ready made, that we only have to open the books. Thus the road of science is not an easy one, it is difficult and requires work and persistence..

Another important problem is to ensure the supply and use of technical and scientific literature. We are taking measures on this matter to ensure as many books of this kind as possible. But there are such books even now. The cadres themselves have them, the National Library, the University Library and the libraries of ministries and districts have them. But, as far as I am informed, they are not used to the proper extent or are used very little. Hence it is necessary that they be taken and read. Undoubtedly, language is an obstacle to this, because our possibilities of translating and publishing foreign technical-scientific literature are still limited. Therefore, every specialist should

strive to master at least one or two of the main foreign languages in order to be able to make proper use of the books and magazines in foreign languages. But, on the other hand, efforts should be made to extend the range of publications of our Albanian scientific literature by publishing works by our authors, as well as through the enlargement, and especially, the improvement of scientific bulletins, which should cover a more studied and richer variety of problems.

Of special importance for the qualification of the cadres is a better organization of post-graduate studies and of other forms, such as seminars, scientific sessions, etc. This will open the way to their becoming real scientists. As you know, some work has been done in this direction already, but it is insufficient. We have 37 people who have completed post-graduate studies and 91 others who are working to this end. On the other hand, our cadres with scientific titles and higher degrees total only above 100. So, in comparison with our needs, we are not well placed. The question is, comrades, that as many cadres as possible must be drawn into this work, that the desire and determination to advance, to continue their work persistently and patiently, so that, step by step, they scale the peaks of science, must be cultivated in them.

In this, too, we must rely mainly on our own forces, since, as you know, the possibility of sending our cadres for specialization to the Soviet Union or the other socialist countries of Europe has been

taken from us, or greatly limited. In order to develop this work further, post-graduate studies should be more highly valued. Importance must be given to the selection and definition of the themes of their dissertations, in conformity with the overall plans of scientific work, as well as with the problems of production, so as to put an end to a certain spontaneity observed in this field.

Apart from this, intensive scientific activity should be carried out in university departments and elsewhere, in close collaboration with the respective ministries, seminars, informative and scientific sessions should be organized better and more often, at which, through serious papers and free discussions, without arbitrary interpretations and without rejecting the new theses a priori by means of political epithets, the sound things should be brought out, experience summed up, and the cadres kept informed about the new development in science and technology and the results of international congresses and conferences.

Here, comrades, I wanted to stress two things: On the one hand, along with discussions organized for this purpose, efforts should be made to create an atmosphere conducive to the exchange of opinions and thrashing out of problems among the cadres in their daily life, in their free time, so that they may gain the greatest possible benefit wherever they are. On the other hand, all this must not get mixed up with personal or professional quarrels, which sometimes occur among specialists, and which always, and especially to-

day, bring no benefit at all, but on the contrary, only do harm.

Likewise, we should organize and extend the practice of appointing assistants to our more experienced and distinguished scientists, in order to help the latter in their work and research, as well as for the assistants to specialize and gain the maximum possible benefit themselves. For example, this would be very beneficial to the young doctors that have just graduated from the university: they need to practice for a time under the specialists and in the main centres, and then go to work independently, wherever they are needed. It is self-evident that such a thing should be organized with the young cadres of the other specialities, too. At the same time, we must also think about setting up specialized scientific institutes, as well as about the organization of other forms that may assist in the qualification of the cadres, such as technical and scientific bureaus in enterprises, technical and scientific councils on a district basis for groups of various specialists, etc. In this way, gradually a broad base of scientific cadres will be created in our country, and this is necessary for the perspective development, too, because in this way we shall be able to create the necessary conditions to have our own academy of sciences in the not too-distant future¹.

¹ The Academy of Sciences of the PSR of Albania was founded in 1972.

Ties with the People Are the Main Source of Inspiration, the Principal Support for Great Deeds

All these things I have spoken of, comrades, may help the intellectuals to remain, as always, up to the mark in their duties towards the people and the Homeland. And, as you know, the objective is the people, a high level of wellbeing for them. However, such a thing can never be attained if the cadres withdraw into their shell, valuing only their own thinking, dedicating themselves solely to their profession and anything connected with it, while paying no heed to what is going on around them, and divorcing themselves from the people. The ties with the people from whom we have emerged and for whom we fight, who are the producers of all moral and material values, are the main source of inspiration, the main support for great works, for joy and happiness. We should always keep this in mind. Our people do not need misanthropes and egoists, however capable they may be. They need men who appreciate the people's genius, active, optimistic men who are with them at every moment, who share weal and woe with them, help them overcome difficulties, who sweat alongside them. The people cannot abide those who sit on the sidelines and give themselves airs.

Therefore, it is necessary that the specialists always maintain the closest possible ties with the people, with the heroic working class, with our cooperativist peasantry. This is of two-fold im-

portance: on the one hand, the specialists become acquainted with production and the people of production, learn from their experience, and link theory with practice; on the other hand, they teach the working people in the course of work, give them theory and their professional knowledge. What difficulties those who underrate practice, the experience of the masses and prefer their personal comfort make for themselves when they try to get a «pleasant» job somewhere in town or in the capital and avoid the mine or the countryside, where men and women of colossal experience over many years work and fight! Is this right? Of course not. And not only because the needs of the people are not fulfilled as they should be, but also because from personal ease you are in danger of falling into apathy, stagnation of thought and scientific activity, whereas for the development of scientific activity, the countryside and the mine present a very rich and lively terrain.

On the other hand, it is necessary that the cadres engage in social work and teach the masses that general culture which the Party and the people have given them, because our knowledge is, first of all, the property of the whole people. Hence, we should not avoid social work, as certain people do, under the pretext that they are allegedly up to their necks in work. There is not and could not be any greater and more important work than work among the people.

Another indispensable condition, if we are to carry out our tasks successfully and really merit

the lofty title of people's intellectual, is the struggle to raise our political and ideological level to the maximum.

In fact, we have an intelligentsia which in general is of a fairly high political and ideological level. This has found its expression not only in the active participation of the intelligentsia in the construction of socialism, but also in its principled and consistent stand and active participation in the struggle of the Party in the political and ideological field. Let us refer, for example, to the stand of the intellectuals on the question of the principled struggle of our Party against the modern revisionism of the Khrushchev-Tito group, their unwavering determination in support of the Party in the most difficult political moments. There is no intellectual who has not felt proud of the honesty and unexampled courage with which our Party has defended Marxism-Leninism and the interests of its people from the intrigues and plots of the group of Tito, Khrushchev and their followers, irrespective of the fact that we are a small people who are living, fighting and triumphing encircled by enemies. In our country there are no intellectuals who have not fought, together with the Party, to ward off and defeat the poisoned arrows of the imperialists and their tools, the modern revisionists.

Despite that, however, we should not be satisfied with what we have attained, because the political and ideological problems are the central ones today, and consequently we consider the question of continuously raising his ideo-political

level as the number one task for every person in our country.

Recently, the imperialists and the revisionists have begun a fresh assault on Marxism-Leninism and are trying to refute or distort it. This, of course, is nothing new. How many times have the bourgeois ideologists proclaimed its «defeat»? How many times have the revisionists wanted to «correct» it? But more than a hundred years have passed from the time the Communist Manifesto was published, — during this time stern battles have been waged with the anti-communists of every hue; various traitors and renegades deserted the ranks of the revolutionaries — nevertheless the ideas of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin live on and will do so through the centuries. The period we are passing through is one of the most heroic: the most rabid colonialist and imperialist reactionaries, treacherous social-democracy and the revisionist renegades are carrying out feverish activity to undermine Marxism-Leninism but the victory will go to revolutionary Marxism-Leninism. There is no force in the world which can stop the advance of society.

We Should Be as Well Prepared as Possible to Fight Imperialism and Revisionism in All Fields

Today the revisionists are playing a special role, therefore the struggle for their complete ideological and political exposure and defeat is a task of first rate importance for us. The revisionists

are attacking Marxism-Leninism from all sides, both in connection with the revolutionary strategy and tactics and in the fields of philosophy, political economy, etc., affecting the theoretical and methodological bases of other sciences, especially the social sciences, in one way or another. Therefore, our scholars, researchers and scientists, including the writers and artists, must be capable of sorting the wheat from the tares, of distinguishing revisionism from Marxism-Leninism, must always do so very carefully, and must be as well-trained as possible to fight revisionism in all fields.

It is characteristic of the revisionists that they do not come out openly on the attack against Marxism-Leninism, but, under the pretext of the «new conditions», they oppose particular theses of it and try to find «arguments» in support of their revisionist theses.

Another characteristic of the present-day revisionists is that they direct their blows mainly at those questions where their demagogy might more easily cover their treachery, such as their attempt, proceeding from the change of the ratio of forces in the international arena, to refute the entire theory of the revolution, etc., while not hesitating to touch other fields of theory and the revolutionary practice as well.

Revisionism has now become so unrestrained in its headlong rush to disaster and so shameless that it does not hesitate to attack even dialectical and historical materialism, the Marxist economic

theory, historical sciences, Marxist aesthetics, etc. The trend is clear: everything is being done to go out from materialism to idealism and from dialectics to metaphysics, to substitute evolution for the revolution, peaceful economic competition for the class struggle, to reject socialist realism in literature and the arts, and to open the road to decadent trends. Last year in France, some philosophers, members of the French Communist Party, began to raise doubts about a series of fundamental questions of dialectical and historical materialism. Discussing the object of Marxist philosophy, some of them, — these were the most far-gone revisionists, drew the conclusion that, since cognition has reached a stage in which the real knowledge has been developed by the individual sciences, Marxist philosophy should confine itself to the study of the theory of thought and its laws. You understand where this leads, it aims to reduce Marxist philosophy from a science which studies the general laws of the development of nature, society and human thought, to a science which studies only the latter. From this it is not difficult to go on to what has always been the aim of the bourgeois and revisionist ideologists: to deny that Marxism-Leninism is capable of studying and providing a scientific explanation of the development of nature and society, to the negation of Marxism-Leninism itself.

Discussions of this type are taking place in the Italian Communist Party, too. In particular, the theses published in connection with the 10th

Congress of this party, which is to be held in December, this year, are another code of modern revisionism, in which it is stated almost openly that many questions of Marxism-Leninism should be re-examined, since they are not correct. What is more, it must be emphasized that it is N. Khrushchev and his bankrupt «theorists» who define the directions and set the tone for these and other assaults against Marxism-Leninism. After all, what was the meeting of the so-called Marxist theorists on economic questions, convened in Moscow some time ago to discuss present-day capitalism? What were the conclusions reached by these «theorists»? They proclaimed, as a great discovery of our times, that present-day capitalism is not what it was before, that this or that thesis pronounced by Marx and Lenin in the past is not true, that life is proving the opposite or something else, etc., etc. Whatever they said or did not say, their whole aim was to «substantiate» the revisionist theses of N. Khrushchev theoretically.

This is how things stand. They are turning the facts upside down, striving with might and main to revise Marxism-Leninism. Therefore it is necessary that you, under the wise leadership of our Party, must engage yourselves even more powerfully in the struggle against these revisionist «theories», these monstrosities of our time, that you recognise the enemy, know what he is doing, and fight him mercilessly...

Better times are ahead of us. Let us create them together with our work, with the strength

of our arms and power of our minds, and let our people today and the coming generations enjoy them!

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