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THE PARTY OF LABOR OF ALBANIA IN BATTLE WITH MODERN REVISIONISM

SPEECHES AND ARTICLES

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REJECT THE REVISIONIST THESES OF THE XX CONGRESS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE SOVIET UNION AND THE ANTI-MARXIST STAND OF KHRUSHCHEV'S GROUP! UPHOLD MARXISM-LENINISM

— Speech delivered at the Meeting of 81 Communist and Workers' Parties in Moscow on November 16, 1960

INTRODUCTION

In his speech delivered at the Conference of the 81 communist and workers' parties in Moscow on November 1960, Comrade Enver Hoxha made an all-round analysis of the main problems that were concerning the international communist movement and firmly upheld Marxism-Leninism. This speech is one of the most important phases of the principled fight which the Party of Labor of Albania has waged to expose modern revisionism and consolidate the unity of the international communist and workers' movement.

The battle the Party of Labor of Albania has waged against the revisionist views of the Khrushchevite Soviet leadership began immediately after the XX Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Although this battle was not waged directly and openly at the beginning, the Party of Labor of Albania had made known all its reservations and objections to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. The Party of Labor of Albania tried in every way to avoid publicising its differences with the Communist Party of the Soviet Union lest that would put wea-

pons into the hands of the enemies of communism. On the other hand, it was not yet cognizant of Khrushchev's real intentions, therefore it tried to settle the differences through talks and consultations in a comradely spirit. While maintaining a principled stand, it strove and hoped to make the Soviet leaders realize their mistakes and take the right path.

The real treacherous features of the Soviet revisionists became more and more evident to the Party of Labor of Albania. The more their treachery was revealed, the harsher and more irreconcilable became the battle the Party of Labor of Albania waged against Khrushchevite revisionism in order to expose and crush it completely.

At the June 1960 Bucharest meeting the Party of Labor of Albania came out in the open in defense of Marxist-Leninist principles and cried «Halt!» to the Khrushchevite revisionists who attempted to hatch up a dangerous plot against the Communist Party of China and against the entire international communist movement.

After the Bucharest meeting the Soviet revisionist leaders launched a savage attack against the Party of Labor of Albania in order to force it into line with them and their deeds. Under these conditions, the Party of Labor of Albania became more thoroughly convinced that its principled stand on all the basic issues of the international communist movement should be maintained with the utmost courage and determination. It did this at the 1960 November Conference in Moscow.

In his speech at the Conference, Comrade Enver Hoxha, openly, frankly and with Marxist-Leninist courage, submitted the principled views of the Party of Labor of Albania on the main issues of the international communist movement about which differences had arisen and sharply criticized N. Khrushchev's revisionist group, both for its erroneous anti-Marxist views and actions as well as for its brutal interference in the internal affairs of the Party of Labor of Albania and the savage attacks it had launched against it.

The Party of Labor of Albania launched this absolutely principled criticism against the Soviet leaders in order to safeguard the unity of the international communist movement and the socialist camp, because unity cannot be preserved without exposing faults and alien manifestations, without condemning them forthrightly and without correcting them on Marxist-Leninist lines.

At the Moscow meeting, the Khrushchevites did their utmost to refute the criticism against their revisionist views and divisive acts. Their attempt was in vain.

Following the determined and principled stand of the Party of Labor of Albania on all the problems that were preoccupying the international communist movement, and after the speech of the Chinese delegation, the representatives of all the participating parties at the meeting were obliged to express their attitude one way or the other. Faced with this situation, the revisionists tried to draw the attention of the participants at the meet-

ing away from principled issues and to turn the meeting into a platform of vicious attacks against the Party of Labor of Albania and the Communist Party of China. But this attempt also met with failure. The principled, internationalist stand of the Party of Labor of Albania in defense of Marxism-Leninism and the unity of the international communist movement was seconded by the Communist Party of China and by the delegations of a number of other parties. The Khrushchevite revisionists were obliged to back down.

Comrade Enver Hoxha's speech was a major contribution to the successful outcome of the Moscow Conference. Thanks to the determined battle waged by the Communist Party of China, by the Party of Labor of Albania and by some other parties, the Moscow Conference approved the Declaration. Included in the Declaration were certain incorrect conclusions and erroneous theses. On these assessments and theses, the Party of Labor of Albania entertained quite contrary views which it had also expressed openly at the Conference. The delegation of the Party of Labor of Albania signed the Declaration considering its content correct in general. While making concessions on partial matters for the sake of unity, the Party of Labor of Albania made no concessions whatsoever on the main issues which were connected with the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism.

The Party of Labor of Albania was of the opinion that unity in the international communist movement could be established if every party car-

ried out the Declaration in good faith, and that the differences could be settled only by observing the norms governing the relations between Marxist-Leninist parties without making public these differences to the enemies of socialism. This is why the Party of Labor of Albania refrained from publishing Comrade Enver Hoxha's speech at the Moscow Conference at that time, but persisted in carrying out the Declaration which was approved there.

Comrade Enver Hoxha's speech at the Moscow Conference clearly shows that from that time onward, the Party of Labor of Albania would wage an open battle against bourgeois and revisionist ideology. Nevertheless, this battle had not yet assumed that breadth and depth which it assumed later as a logical consequence of the embitterment of the struggle between Marxism-Leninism and modern revisionism and of the degeneration of the Soviet revisionist leaders into a gang of renegades from and traitors to socialism. The whole document bears the seal of the time and circumstances under •which it came to being. It is published without modification.

Dear Comrades!

This Conference of the Communist and Workers' Parties is of historic importance to the international communist movement, for it makes a detailed analysis of the international political situation, drawing up a balance sheet of the successes and of the mistakes that may have been verified along our course, helping us see more clearly the line we should pursue henceforth in order to score further successes to the benefit of socialism, communism, and peace.

The existence of the socialist camp with the Soviet Union in the lead is already an accomplished fact in the world. The communist movement in general has been enlarged, strengthened and tempered. The communist and workers' parties throughout the world have become a colossal force to lead mankind forward towards socialism, towards peace.

As the draft-Statement which has been prepared emphasises, our socialist camp is much stronger than that of the imperialists. Socialism rises higher and stronger day by day while imperialism grows weaker and decays. We would make use of all our means and exert all our efforts to speed

up this process. This will come about if we abide loyally and unwaveringly by Marxism-Leninism and apply it correctly. Otherwise, we will retard this process, for we have to cope with a ruthless enemy — imperialism, headed by U.S. imperialism whom we must defeat and destroy.

We want peace, while imperialism does not want peace and is preparing for a third world war. We must fight with all our might to avert a world war and to bring about the triumph in the world of a just and democratic peace. This will come about when imperialism will have been forced to disarm. Imperialism will not disarm of its own free will. To believe anything of the kind is merely to deceive oneself and others. Therefore we should confront imperialism with the colossal economic, military, moral, political and ideological strength of the socialist camp, as well as with the combined strength of the peoples throughout the world. We should sabotage by every means the war which the imperialists are preparing.

The Party of Labor of Albania has neither kept nor will it ever keep secret from its people this situation and threat from imperialism menacing peace-loving mankind. We can assure you that the Albanian people, who detest war, have not been alarmed by this correct action of their Party: they have not become pessimistic nor have they been marking time as far as socialist construction is concerned. They have a clear vision of their future and have set to work with full confidence, being always

on guard, keeping the pick in one hand and the rifle in the other.

We hold the view that U.S.-led imperialism should be mercilessly exposed politically and ideologically. At no time should we permit flattery, prettification or softness towards imperialism. No concessions of principle should be made to imperialism. Tactics and compromises on our part should help our cause not that of the enemy.

Facing a ruthless enemy, the guarantee for the triumph of our cause lies in our complete unity which will be secured by eliminating the deep ideological disagreements which have been manifested, and by basing this unity on Marxist-Leninist foundations, on equality, on brotherhood, on a comradely spirit and proletarian internationalism. Our Party is of the opinion that, not only should we not have any ideological divisions, but that we should maintain a unified political stand on all issues. Our tactics and strategy towards the enemy should be worked out by all our parties, based on Marxist-Leninist principles, on correct political criteria complying with the concrete existing situations.

Our socialist camp, headed by the glorious Soviet Union, has become a colossal force from all points of view, both as to its economic and cultural as well as to its military potential. At the center of the successes, at the center of the strength of our camp lies the colossal moral and political, economic, cultural, and military strength of the Soviet Union. The successes in industry, agriculture, education and

culture, in science and in the military field in the Soviet Union are exceptionally great. At the same time they are of immeasurable assistance to the achievement of major successes in the other countries of the socialist camp.

It is rightly pointed out in the draft-Statement that the great and inexhaustible strength of the socialist camp headed by the Soviet Union is the decisive factor in the triumph of peace in the world, it is the moral, political and ideological force which inspires the peoples of the world who are fighting to free themselves from the yoke of the blood-suking colonialists, from the clutches of imperialism and capitalism, it is its force of example and its economic aid which helps and inspires other peoples to win the battle for total liberation from the exploiting capitalists.

It is for this major reason that the Soviet Union and the socialist camp have become the center and hope of the peoples of the world, their moral, political and economic prop, their firm and loyal champions against the threats of the warmongering U.S., British, French aggressors and their allies.

All the peoples of the world aspire to and fight for freedom, independence, sovereignty, social justice, culture and peace. These sacred aspirations of theirs have been and are being trampled upon by the capitalists, the feudal lords and imperialists and it is natural that the struggle of these peoples should be waged with great severity against the capitalists, feudal chiefs and imperialists. It is also natural for the peoples of the world to seek allies

in this battle for life which they are waging against the executioners. It is only the Soviet Union and the socialist camp that are their great, powerful and faithful allies.

Therefore, in the struggle for peace, disarmament, and social progress in the world, the socialist camp is not alone against the imperialist camp but in close alliance with all the progressive people of the world, while the imperialists stand isolated against the socialist camp.

We are living at a time when we are witnessing the total destruction of colonialism, the elimination of this plague that wiped peoples from the face of the earth. New states are springing up in Africa and Asia. The states where capital, the scourge, and the bullet reigned supreme, are putting an end to the yoke of bondage, and the people are taking their destiny into their own hands. This has been achieved thanks to the struggle of these people and the moral support given them by the Soviet Union, People's China, and the other countries of the socialist camp.

Traitors to Marxism-Leninism, agents of imperialism and intriguers like Josif Broz Tito, try in a thousand ways, by hatching up diabolic schemes like the creation of a third force, to mislead these people and the newly-set up states, to detach them from their natural allies, to hitch them up to U.S. imperialism. We should exert all our efforts to defeat the schemes of these lackeys of imperialism.

We are witnessing the disintegration of im-

perialism, its decomposition, its final agony. We live and fight during the epoch which is characterized by the irresistible transition from capitalism to socialism. All of the brilliant teachings of Karl Marx and Vladimir Ilich Lenin, teachings that have never become outdated, though the revisionists claim they have, are being confirmed in practice.

World imperialism is being dealt hard blows which clearly go to show that it is no longer in its «golden age», when it made the law as and when it wanted. The initiative has slipped from its hands and this is not on account of its own desires. The initiative was not wrested from it by mere words and discourses but after a long process of bloody battles and revolutions which capitalism itself forced upon the proletariat by the strength of people who were rising to smash the world of hunger and misery, the world of slavery. This glorious page was opened by the Great October Socialist Revolution, by the great Soviet Union, by great Lenin.

Even now, when it sees its approaching doom, when it has strong and determined opponents such as the socialist camp and its great alliance with all the peoples of the world, U.S.-led world imperialism is mustering, organizing, and arming its assault forces. It is preparing for war. He who fails to see this, is blind. Ho who sees it but covers it up, is a traitor in the service of imperialism.

The Party of Labor of Albania is of the opinion that, in spite of the major difficulties we encounter on our way to establish peace in the world, to bring about disarmament and settle the other internatio-

nal problems, there is no reason to be pessimistic. It is only our enemies who are losing, that are and should be pessimistic. We have won, we are winning and will continue to win. That is why we are confident that our efforts will be crowned with success.

But we think that exaggerated, unrealistic optimism is not only bad but also harmful. He who denies, belittles, who has no faith in our great economic, political, military, moral strength is a defeatist and does not deserve to be called a communist. On the other hand, he who, intoxicated by our potential, disregards the strength of the opponents, thinking that the enemy has lost all hope, has become harmless, and is entirely at our mercy, he is not a realist. He bluffs, lulls mankind to sleep before all these complicated and very dangerous situations which demand very great vigilance from us all, which demand the heightening of the revolutionary drive of the masses, not its slackening, its disintegration, decomposition and relaxation. «Waters sleep, but not the enemy» is a wise saying of our long-suffering people.

Let us look facts straight in the eye. World imperialism headed by its aggressive detachment, U.S. imperialism, is directing the course of its economy towards preparations for war. It is arming itself to the teeth. U.S. imperialism is rearming Bonn's Germany, Japan, and all its allies and satellites with all kinds of weapons. It has set up and perfected aggressive military organizations, it has established and continues to establish military bases all around

the socialist camp. It is accumulating stocks of nuclear weapons and refuses to disarm, to stop testing nuclear weapons, and is feverishly engaged in inventing new means of mass extermination. Why is it doing all this? To go to a wedding party? No, to go to war against us, to do away with socialism and communism, to put the peoples under bondage.

The Party of Labor of Albania is of the opinion that if we say and think otherwise we will be deceiving ourselves and others. We would not be called communists if we were afraid of the vicissitudes of life. We, communists, detest war. We, communists, will fight to the end to smash the diabolic and warmongering schemes the U.S. imperialists are up to, but if they launch a war, we should deal them a mortal blow that will wipe imperialism from the face of the earth once and for all.

Faced with the nuclear blackmail of the U.S.-led world imperialists, we should be fully prepared economically, politically, morally as well as militarily to cope with any eventuality.

We should prevent a world war; it is not fatally unavoidable. But no one will pardon us if we live in a dream and let the enemy catch us unawares, for it has never happened that the enemy is to be trusted, otherwise, he would not be called an enemy. The enemy is and remains an enemy and a perfidious one at that. He who puts his trust in the enemy will sooner or later lose his case.

We should do everything, strive with all our means, in order to prevent war. The policy of the

Soviet Union and of our socialist camp has been and remains a policy of peace. All the Soviet proposals and those of the Governments of our countries of the People's Democracy made in the international arena have aimed at easing tension among nations, at solving unsettled issues through negotiations and not through war.

The peaceful policy of the Soviet Union and of the countries of the socialist camp has exerted a major influence in exposing the aggressive intentions of imperialism, in mobilizing the people against the warmongers, in promoting their glorious struggle against the imperialist oppressors and their tools. The examples of heroic Cuba, the struggle of the Japanese people and the events in South Korea and Turkey are the best proof of this.

But, in spite of all this, many concrete problems that lie on the table, like the proposals for disarmament, the summit conference, etc., have not yet been resolved and are being systematically sabotaged by the U.S. imperialists. (**1**)

What conclusions should we draw from all this? The Party of Labor of Albania thinks that imperialism and, first and foremost, U.S. imperialism, has not changed its skin, color or nature. It is aggressive and will remain aggressive as long as it has a single tooth left in its mouth. And being of an aggressive nature, it may plunge the world into a war. Therefore, as we emphasized at the meeting of the Editorial Committee, we insist that it should be brought home clearly to all the peoples that, there is no absolute guarantee against world war

until socialism has triumphed throughout the world, or at least in the majority of countries. The U.S. imperialists make no secret of their refusal to disarm. They are increasing their armaments, preparing for the war, therefore we should be on our guard.

We should make no concessions of principle to the enemy, we should entertain no illusions about imperialism because, despite our good intentions we would make things worse. In addition to rearming and preparing war against us, the enemy is launching an unbridled propaganda to poison the spirit and benumb the minds of the people. They spend millions of dollars to recruit agents and spies, millions of dollars to organize acts of espionage, diversion and of outrage in our countries. U.S. imperialism has given and is giving billions of dollars to its loyal agents, the treacherous Tito gang. It does all this with a view to weakening our internal front, to sowing dissention, to wakening and disorganizing our rearareas.

A lot is said about peaceful coexistence, some even go so far as to assert such absurdities as that People's China and Albania are allegedly opposed to peaceful coexistence. Obviously, such harmful and erroneous views should be rejected once and for all. There can be no socialist state, there can be no communist who is opposed to peaceful coexistence, who is a warmonger. Great Lenin was the first to put forward the principle of peaceful coexistence among states of different social orders as an objective necessity as long as socialist and capitalist

states exist side by side in the world. Standing loyal to this great principle of Lenin's, our Party of Labor has always held and still holds that the policy of peaceful coexistence responds to the vital interests of all the peoples, responds to the purpose of the further consolidation of the positions of socialism, therefore, this principle of Lenin's is the basis of the entire foreign policy of our people's State.

Peaceful coexistence between two opposing systems does not imply, as the modern revisionists claim, that we should give up the class struggle. On the contrary, the class struggle must continue; the political and ideological struggle against imperialism, against bourgeois and revisionist ideology, should become ever more intense. In our persistent struggle to establish Leninist peaceful coexistence while making no concessions of principle to imperialism, we should further promote the class struggle in capitalist countries as well as the national-liberation movement of the people of colonial and dependent countries.

In our view, the communist and workers parties in the capitalist countries should strive to establish peaceful coexistence between their countries which are still under the capitalist system and our socialist countries. This strengthens the positions of peace and weakens the positions of capitalism in those countries and, in general, helps the class struggle in those countries. But their task does not end there. In these countries, it is necessary to promote, intensify and strengthen the class struggle. The laboring masses, guided by the local proletariat headed by

the communist party and in alliance with all the proletariat of the world, should make life impossible for imperialism, should crush its fighting and economic potential, should wrest from its hands its economic and political power and proceed to the destruction of the old power and the establishment of the new power of the people. Will they do this by violence or by the peaceful parliamentary road?

This question has been clear and it was not necessary for Comrade Khrushchev to confuse it in the 20th Congress, and do so in such a way as to please the opportunists. Why was it necessary to resort to so many parodies of Lenin's clear theses and the October Socialist Revolution? The Party of Labor of Albania is quite clear about and does not shift from Lenin's teachings on this matter. So far, no people, no proletariat and no communist or workers' party has assumed power without bloodshed and without violence.

It is incorrect for some comrades to claim that they assumed power without bloodshed, for they forget that the glorious Soviet Army shed streams of blood for them during the Second World War.

Our Party thinks that, in this matter, we should be prepared and prepared well for both eventualities, especially, for taking power by violence, for if we are well prepared for this eventuality, the other eventuality has more chance of success. The bourgeoisie may allow you to sing psalms, but then it deals you a fascist blow to the head and crushes you because you have not trained the necessary cadres to attack, nor done illegal work, you have

not prepared a place where you can be protected and still work, nor the means with which to fight. We should forestall this tragic eventuality.

The Party of Labor of Albania is and will be for peace and peaceful coexistence and will fight for them in the Marxist-Leninist way, as Lenin taught us, and on the basis of the Moscow Peace Manifest. It has been, is and will be striving actively for general disarmament. On no occasion and not even for a moment will the Party of Labor of Albania cease to wage a political and ideological struggle against the activities of the imperialists and capitalists and against bourgeois ideology, it will not cease to wage a bitter, uninterrupted and uncompromising battle against modern revisionism and, particularly, against Yugoslav Titoite revisionism. There may be comrades who reproach us Albanians, with being stubborn, hot-blooded, sectarian, dogmatic and what not, but we reject all these false accusations and tell them that we do not deviate from these positions, for they are Marxist-Leninist positions.

They say that we are in favor of war and against coexistence. Comrade Kozlov has even put to us, Albanians, these alternatives: either coexistence, as he conceives it, or an atomic bomb from the imperialists, which will turn Albania into a heap of ashes and leave no Albanian alive. Until now, no representative of U.S. imperialism has made such an atomic threat against the Albanian people. But here it is and from a member of the Presidium of

the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and to whom? To a small heroic country, to a people who have fought, through centuries, against savage and innumerable enemies and who have never bent the knee, to a small country and to a people who have fought with unprecedented heroism against the Hitlerites and Italian fascists, to a people who are bound like flesh to bone to the glorious Soviet Union, to a party which abides loyally, consistently and to the last by Marxism-Leninism and by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. But comrade Frol Koslov, you have made a mistake in the address, you cannot frighten us into yielding to your wrongly calculated wishes and we never confound the glorious Party of Lenin with you who behave so badly, with such shamelessness, towards the Albanian people and towards the Party of Labor of Albania. The Party of Labor of Albania will strive for and support all the correct and peaceful proposals of the Soviet Union and other countries of the socialist camp as well as of the other peace-loving countries.

The Party of Labor of Albania will exert all its efforts, use all its prerogatives and obligations to strengthen the unity of the socialist camp, a Marxist-Leninist unity. It is absurd to think that little socialist Albania may detach itself and live apart from the socialist camp, apart from our fraternity of socialist peoples. Albania is indebted to no one for its presence within the ranks of the socialist camp; the Albanian people themselves and the Party of Labor of Albania have placed it there with

their blood and sweat, their work, their sacrifices, with their system of government and through the Marxist-Leninist line they pursue. But let no one ever think that, because Albania is a small country, because the Party of Labor of Albania is a small party it should do what some one else say when it is convinced that that someone is mistaken.

As I said earlier, the Party of Labor of Albania thinks that, our socialist camp, which has the one aim, which is guided by Marxism-Leninism, should also have its own strategy and tactics and these should be worked out together by our parties and states of the socialist camp. Within the ranks of our camp we have set up certain forms of organization of work, but the truth is, that these have remained somewhat formal, or to put it better, they do not function in a collective way, for instance, the organs of the Warsaw Treaty and of the Council of Mutual Economic Aid. Let me make it quite clear. This is not a question of whether we too, should be consulted or not. Of course, no one denies us the right to be consulted, but we should hold meetings for consultation. We raise this problem on principle and say that these forms of organization should function at regular intervals, problems should be taken up for discussion, decisions should be adopted and there should be a check up on the implementation of these decisions.

The development and further strengthening of the economies of our socialist countries have been and always are the main concern of our Parties and Governments and constitutes one of the decisive

factors of the unconquerable strength of the socialist camp.

The construction of socialism and communism is proceeding at a rapid rate in our countries. This is due to the great efforts of our peoples and to the reciprocal aid they render one another. A role of major importance in this direction has been and is being played by the coordination of the plans of our countries and by the Council of Mutual Economic Aid.

So far, the People's Republic of Albania has given economic aid to no one, first because we are poor, and, second, because no one stands in need of our economic aid. But within correct norms we have made and are making every effort to help the countries which are our friends and brothers to some extent through our exports. We have been aided by our friends, first and foremost by the Soviet Union. We have been helped by credits and specialists without which it would have been very difficult for our country and our economy to develop at the rate they have developed.

The Party of Labor and the People's Republic of Albania have utilized this generous aid of the Soviet Union and of the other countries of People's Democracy as well as they could to the best advantage of our people. Our people are forever grateful to the Soviet people, to the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Soviet Government, to the people, parties and governments of the countries of People's Democracy for this aid. We have considered, consider, and will consider this

aid not as charity but as a fraternal, internationalist aid.

Our people who have been in dire poverty, who have fought with heroism, who have been murdered and burnt out, fell it their duty to seek the aid of their friends and brothers bigger and economically better off than they. And it was and still is the internationalist duty of their friends to give this aid. Therefore, it is necessary to reject any sinister and anti-Marxist view that any one may hold about the nature and purpose of this aid. The economic pressures on the Party of Labor of Albania, on the Albanian Government, and on our people will never be of any avail.

I wish to propose here that the aid of the economically stronger to the economically weaker countries, as is the case of our people, should be greater. The Albanian people do not, in any way, intend to fold their arms and open their mouths to be fed by others. That is not their habit. Nor do our people expect the standard of living in our country to be raised at once to the standard of living in many other countries of People's Democracy, but greater aid should be given our country to further develop its productive forces. We think that the economically stronger countries of the socialist camp should accord credits also to neutral capitalist countries and to peoples recently liberated from colonialism, provided the leaders of these capitalist countries are opposed to imperialism, support the peaceful policy of the socialist camp and do not hinder or oppose the legitimate

struggle of the revolutionary forces, but first of all, the needs of the countries of the socialist camp should be looked into more carefully and be fulfilled. Of course, India stands in need of iron and steel but socialist Albania stands in more urgent need of them, Egypt stands in need of irrigation and electric power but socialist Albania stands in more urgent need of them.

On many political issues of first rate importance, our socialist camp has held and holds identical views. But, since collective consultations have not become a regular habit, on many occasions it has been noted that states from our socialist camp take political initiatives, not that we are opposed in principle to taking initiatives, but these initiatives very often affect other states of the socialist camp as well. Some of these initiatives are not correct, especially when they should be taken collectively by the members of the Warsaw Treaty.

An initiative of this kind is that of the Bulgarian Government which, with total disregard for Albania, informed the Greek Government that the Balkan countries of People's Democracy agree to disarm if the Greek Government is prepared to do so. From our point of view, this initiative was an erroneous one, for, even if the Greek Government had endorsed it, the Albanian Government would not have accepted it. Albania is in agreement with the Soviet proposal made by Nikita Khrushchev in May, 1959 (**2**), but not with the Bulgarian proposal which intends to disarm the Balkan countries and leave Italy unaffected. Or have the Bulgarian com-

rades forgotten that bourgeois and fascist Italy has attacked Albania a number of times during this century?

On the other hand, can the Bulgarian comrades, without consulting at all the Albanian Government with which they are bound by a defensive treaty, be allowed to propose a treaty of friendship and non-aggression to the Greek Government at a time when Greece maintains a state of war with Albania and makes territorial claims against our country? It seems to us, that is dangerous to take such unilateral actions. From this correct and legitimate opposition of ours, perhaps the Bulgarian comrades may have arrived at the conclusion that we, Albanians, do not properly understand coexistence, that we want war, and so forth. These views are erroneous.

Similar gestures have been made also by the Polish comrades at the United Nations, when comrade Gomulko stated in an uniteral way at the General Assembly of the United Nations Organization, that Poland proposes to preserve the statusquo on the stationing of military forces in the world and, concretely, that no more military bases should be created, that those that have been set up already should remain, that no more missiles should be installed but the existing ones should remain, that those States that have the secret of the atomic bomb should keep it and not give it to other States. In our opinion such a proposal is contrary to the interests of our camp. No more missiles to be installed, but by whom and where? All the NATO allies including

Italy, West Germany and Greece have been equipped with missiles. Not to give the secret of the atomic bomb, to whom? Britain, France and West Germany have it. It is clear that a proposal of this kind will oblige us, the countries of People's Democracy not to install missiles, or any other country of the socialist camp except the Soviet Union, not to have the atomic bomb.

We pose the question, why should Communist China not have the atomic bomb? We think that China should have it and when she has the bomb and missiles, then we will see in what terms U.S. imperialism will speak, we will see whether they will continue to deny China her rights in the international arena, we will see whether the U.S. imperialists will dare brandish their weapons as they do at present.

Some one may pose the question: will China win her rights over the United States of America, by possessing and dropping the bomb? No, neither China nor the Soviet Union will ever use the bomb unless they are attacked by those who have aggression and war in their very blood. If the Soviet Union did not possess the bomb, the imperialists would speak in other terms with us. We will never attack with the bomb, we are opposed to war, we are ready to destroy the bomb but we keep it for defensive purposes. «It is fear that guards the vineyard,» is a saying of our people. The imperialists should be afraid of us and terribly afraid at that.

Based on Marxism-Leninism and on the Moscow Declaration and Statement on peace (**3**), the

Party of Labor of Albania has pursued a correct Marxist-Leninist line in matters of international policy and in the important problems of socialist construction. In international relations, the line of our Party has been in accord with the policy of the socialist camp and has followed the direction of the peaceful policy of the Soviet Union.

The Party of Labor of Albania has considered, considers, and will consider the Soviet Union as the savior of our people, and its great experience as universal, very necessary and indispensable to all. The Party of Labor of Albania has followed, implemented, and adopted this great experience unreservedly in all fields and has scored successes. We have scored successes in setting up and strengthening our industry, in collectivizing agriculture, in developing education and culture which has made great progress, in building our state and our Party. Our Party has now gained maturity and a rich experience in work in this direction.

Our Party has educated, educates, and will continue to educate our people with a great love and loyalty towards the peoples and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. This love has been tempered and will be tempered each passing day, for it is kneaded with blood, for it has developed on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. We have loved, and still love the Soviet people from the bottom of our hearts and the Soviet people, on their part, have loved and love the people and the Party of Labor of Albania in the same way. This is friendship between peoples,

friendship between Marxist-Leninist parties and, therefore, it will flourish through the ages and will never die. This is the unshakable conviction of the Albanian communists, a conviction they have deeply implanted and will continue to implant among our people. We have said and we it repeat now that, without this friendship, there could not have been freedom for our people. This is the fruit of Leninism.

The major problems of the time have preoccupied the Party of Labor of Albania and our people. Our People's Republic has been and is surrounded geographically by capitalist states and the Yugoslav revisionists. We have had to be highly vigilant and tie down people and considerable funds to defend our borders, to defend the freedom and sovereignty of our country from the innumerable attempts of the imperialists and their satellites and lackeys.

We are a small country and a small people who have suffered to an extraordinary degree but who have also fought very hard. We are not indebted to any one for the freedom we enjoy today, for we have won it with our own blood. We are continually aware, day and night of our imperialist enemies, of their maneuvers against the socialist camp and our country in particular, therefore we have never had nor will ever entertain illusions about their changing their nature and their intentions towards our peoples, our camp, and towards socialist Albania in particular. Our Party has been and is for peace, and will fight unceasingly, by

the side of the Soviet Union, of People's China, of the other countries of the socialist camp and of all the progressive peoples of the world, to defend peace. For this sacred purpose the Party of Labor of Albania and our Government have supported with all their strength the peaceful policy of the Communist Party and Government of the Soviet Union and of all the countries of the socialist camp. On every issue and on every proposal we have been in solidarity with them.

The U.S. and British imperialists have accused us Albanians of being «savage and warlike». This is understandable, for the Albanian people have dealt telling blows at their repeated attempts to put us under bondage and have smashed the heads of their agents who conspired against the Party of Labor of Albania and our regime of people's democracy.

Tito's gang, that of the Greek monarcho-fascist chauvinists, the rulers in Rome have accused and accuse us of being «warmongers and disturbers of the peace in the Balkans», because, without hesitation, we have always, and will always hit them hard, for their intentions have been, remain, and will always be to chop up Albania among themselves, to enslave our people.

We do not think we need prove at this meeting that war is alien to the socialist countries, to our Marxist-Leninist parties, but the question remains: why do the imperialists and their agents accuse China and Albania of being warlike and, allegedly, opposed to peaceful co-existence?

Let us take the question of Albania. Against whom would Albania make war and why? It would be ridiculous to waste our time in answering this question. But those who accuse us of this are trying to cover up their aggressive intentions towards Albania.

Rankovich wants us to turn our borders into a roadhouse with two gates through which Yugoslav, Italian and Greek agents and weapons could go in and out freely, without visas, in order to bring us their «culture of cutthroats», so that Tito may realize his dream of turning Albania into the seventh republic of Yugoslavia, so that the reactionary Italian bourgeoisie may put into action for the third time their predatory intentions towards Albania, or so that the Greek monarcho-fascists may realize their crazy dream of grabbing southern Albania. Because we have not permitted and will never permit such a thing, we are «warmongers». They know very well that if they violate our borders they will have to fight us and the whole socialist camp.

Their aim, therefore, has been and is to isolate us from the camp and from our friends, to accuse us of being «warmongers and savage», because we do not open our borders for them to graze freely, to accuse us of being, allegedly, opposed to peaceful coexistence. But the irony of fate is that there are comrades who give credit to this game of the revisionists and to these slanders against the Party of Labor of Albania. Of course, we are opposed to any co-existence for the sake of which we Alba-

nians should make territorial and political concessions to Sophocles Venizelos. No, the time has gone forever when the territory of Albania could be treated as a medium of exchange. We are opposed to such a coexistence with the Yugoslav state which implies that we should give up our ideological and political struggle against the Yugoslav revisionists, these agents of international imperialism, these traitors to Marxism-Leninism. We are opposed to such co-existence with the British or the U.S. imperialists for the sake of which we should recognise, as they demand, the old political, diplomatic and trading concessions King Zog's regime had granted them.

As a general conclusions, the Party of Labor of Albania is absolutely convinced that our great cause, socialism and peace, will triumph. Through determined action, the combined forces of the socialist camp headed by the Soviet Union, of the international communist and workers movement and of all the peace-loving peoples, have the possibility of compelling the imperialists to accept peaceful co-existence, of averting a world war. But, at the same time, we will intensify our revolutionary vigilance more and more so that the enemy may never catch us unawares. We are convinced that victory will be ours in this noble struggle for world peace and socialism. The Albanian people and the Party of Labor of Albania, just as heretofore, will spare nothing, will assist with all their might the triumph of our common cause. As always, we will march forward in steel-

like unity with the whole socialist camp, with the glorious Soviet Union, and with all the international communist and workers' movement.

Dear Comrades!

The unity of the international communist and workers' movement is the decisive factor in realizing the noble aims of the triumph of peace, democracy, national independence and socialism. This question is especially emphasised in the 1957 Moscow Declaration and the draft-Statement prepared for our meeting. In the 1957 Declaration it is stressed that «the communist and workers' parties bear an exceptionally serious historic responsibility for the fate of the world socialist system and the international communist movement. The communist and workers' parties taking part in the meeting declare that they will spare no effort to strengthen their unity and comradely collaboration in the interests of the further unity of the family of socialist states, in the interest of the international workers' movement, in the interests of the cause of peace and socialism». It must be said that, especially in recent times, in the international communist movement and in the relations among certain parties, there have arisen deep ideological and political disagreements, the deepening of which can only bring damage to our great cause. Therefore, the Party of Labor of Albania thinks that, in order to forge ahead together towards fresh victories, it is necessary to condemn the mistakes and

negative manifestations which have appeared so far and to correct them.

We want to refer here to the Bucharest meeting at which our Party, as you know, refrained from expressing its opinion concerning the disagreements which have arisen between the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Communist Party of China, but reserved the right to do so at this meeting of the representatives of the communist and workers' parties. At that time the Party of Labor of Albania was accused by the Soviet comrades and by some comrades of the other fraternal parties, of everything imaginable, but no one took the trouble to think for a moment why this party maintained such a stand against all this current, why this party, which has stood loyal to the end to Marxism-Leninism and the Moscow Declaration is unexpectedly accused of allegedly «opposing» Marxism-Leninism and the Moscow Declaration, why this party, so closely bound to the Soviet Union and to the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, suddenly comes out in opposition to the leadership of the Soviet Union?

Now that all the comrades have in their hands the information materials of both the Soviet and Chinese Communist Parties, let them reflect on them themselves. We have read and studied both the Soviet and Chinese materials, we have discussed them carefully with the Party activists, and come to this meeting with the unanimous view of the Party as a whole.

As we all know, on the occasion of the Congress

of the Rumanian Labor Party on June 24 this year, the Bucharest Conference was suddenly organized on the initiative of the comrades of the leadership of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union without any previous warning, at least, as far as our Party was concerned. Instead of «exchanging opinions» and setting the date for this Conference we are holding today, which was agreed upon by the letters of June 2 and 7 (**4**), it took up another topic, namely, the ideological and political accusation directed against the Chinese Communist Party, on the basis of the «Soviet informative» material. On the basis of this material, entirely unknown up to a few hours before the meeting of the Conference, the delegates of the fraternal communist and workers' parties were supposed to pronounce themselves in favor of the views of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, at a time when they had come to Bucharest for another purpose and had no mandate (at least as regards the delegation of our Party) from their parties to discuss, let alone decide, on such an important issue of international communism. Nor could a serious discussion be thought of about this material which contained such gross accusations against another Marxist-Leninist party, when not only the delegates but, especially the leaderships of the communist and workers' parties were not allowed to study it from all angles and without allowing the necessary time to the Party accused to submit its views in all the forms which the accusing Party had used. The fact is that the

overriding concern of the Soviet leadership was to have its accusations against the Chinese Communist Party passed over quickly and to have the Chinese Communist Party condemned at all costs.

This was the concern of comrade Khrushchev and the other Soviet comrades in Bucharest, and not at all the international political issues worrying our camp and the world as a whole.

Our Party would have been in full agreement with a Conference of this kind, with whatever other Conference of whatever agenda that might be set, provided that these Conferences were in order, had the approval of all the Parties, had a clear agenda set in advance, provided the communist and workers' parties were given the necessary material and allowed enough time to study these materials so that they could be prepared and receive the approval of the Party Political Bureau and, if necessary, of the plenums of the Central Committees, on the decisions that eventually might be taken at these Conferences. The Conferences should be conducted according to the Leninist norms governing the relations among communist and workers' parties. They should be conducted in complete equality among parties, in a comradely communist and internationalist spirit and with lofty communist morality.

The Bucharest Conference did not comply with these norms, therefore, our Party, although it took part in it, denounced and denounces that Conference as out of order and in violation of Leninist norms.

We think that the Bucharest Conference did a great disservice to the cause of the international communist movement, to the cause of the international solidarity of the workers, to the cause of strengthening the unity of the socialist camp, to the cause of setting a Marxist-Leninist example in settling ideological, political and organizational disputes that may arise within the ranks of the communist and workers' parties and which damage Marxism-Leninism. The blame for this falls on the comrades of the leadership of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union who organized this Conference, who conceived those forms and who applied those non-Marxist norms in this matter.

The aim was to have the Chinese Communist Party condemned by the international communist movement for faults which do not exist and are baseless. The Central Committee of the Party of Labor of Albania is fully convinced of this on the basis of the study of facts, of the Soviet and Chinese materials which the Party of Labor of Albania now has at its disposal, based on a detailed analysis which the Party of Labor of Albania has made of the international situation and the official stands of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Chinese Communist Party.

The whole Party of Labor of Albania holds the unanimous view that the Soviet comrades made a grave mistake at Bucharest, by unjustly condemning the Chinese Communist Party for having, allegedly, deviated from Marxism-Leninism, for having, allegedly, violated and abandoned the

1957 Moscow Declaration. They have accused the Chinese Communist Party of being «dogmatic», «sectarian», of being «in favor of war», of being «opposed to peaceful co-existence», of «wanting a privileged position in the camp and in the international communist movement», etc.

The Soviet comrades made a grave mistake also when, taking advantage of the great love and trust which the communists have for the Soviet Union and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, they tried to impose their incorrect views towards the Chinese Communist Party on the other communist and workers' parties.

Right from the start, when the Soviet comrades began their feverish and impermissible work of inveigling the comrades of our delegation in Bucharest, it became clear to the Party of Labor of Albania that the Soviet comrades, resorting to groundless arguments and pressure, wished to lead the delegation of the Party of Labor of Albania into the trap they had prepared, to bring them into line with the distorted views of the Soviet comrades.

What was of importance to comrade Khrushchev, (and comrade Andropov said as much to comrade Hysni Kapo) was whether we would «line up with Soviet side or not». Comrade Khrushchev expressed this opinion in other ways also, in his interjections against our Party at the Bucharest meeting. This was corroborated also by the unjust and unfriendly gestures of the comrades of the Soviet leadership and the employees of the Soviet Embassy in Tirana after the Bucharest meeting

which I will refer to later. What was important for the comrades of the Soviet leadership was not the views of a Marxist-Leninist party such as ours but only that we should maintain the same attitude in Bucharest as the Central Committee of the Soviet Union.

No warning was given to the Party of Labor of Albania by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union which organized the Bucharest meeting that, on the occasion of the Congress of the Rumanian Labor Party, accusations would be brought against the Chinese Communist Party for, allegedly grave mistakes of its line. This came as a complete surprise to the Party of Labor of Albania. While now we hear that, with the exception of the Party of Labor of Albania, the Chinese Communist Party, the Party of Labor of Korea, the Workers' Party of Vietnam, other parties of the camp were cognizant of the fact that a Conference would be organized in Bucharest to accuse China. If this is so, then it is very clear that the question becomes very much more serious and assumes the form of a faction of an international character.

Nevertheless, our Party was not taken unawares and it did not lack vigilance, and this happened because it always observes the Leninist norms in relations with other parties, because it holds in great Marxist esteem the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the Chinese Communist Party, and all the other communist and workers parties, because it respects the feeling of equality among parties, an equality which the other parties should

respect towards the Party of Labor of Albania regardless of its being a small one in numbers.

Right from the beginning, our Party saw that these norms were being violated at the Bucharest Meeting and that is why it took the stand you all know, a stand which it considered and considers, as the only correct one to maintain towards the events as they developed.

Some leaders of fraternal parties dubbed us as «neutralists» some others reproached us with «deviating from the correct Marxist-Leninist line», and these leaders went so far as to try to discredit us before their own parties. We reject all these with scorn because they are slanders, they are not honest and neither are they compatible with communist morality.

We pose the questions to those who undertook such contemptable acts against the Party of Labor of Albania: Has a party the right to express its opinions freely on matters as it views them? What opinion did the Party of Labor of Albania express in Bucharest? We expressed our loyalty to Marxism-Leninism and this is corroborated by the entire life and struggle of the Party of Labor of Albania. We manifested our loyalty to the 1957 Moscow Declaration and Peace Manifesto and this is corroborated by the line pursued with consistency by the Party of Labor of Albania. We expressed our loyalty to and defended the unity of the socialist camp and socialism and this is corroborated by the whole struggle of the Party of Labor of Albania. We expressed our affection for and loyalty

to the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and to the Soviet people and this is corroborated by the whole life of the Party of Labor of Albania. We did not agree to «pass judgment» on the «mistakes» of the Chinese Communist Party and, even less, «to condemn» the Chinese Communist Party without taking into account also the views of the Chinese Communist Party on the problem raised in such a distorted, hasty, and anti-Marxist way against it. We counselled caution, coolheededness, and a comradely spirit in treating this matter so vital and exceptionally serious to international communism. This was the whole «crime» for which stones were thrown at us. But we think that the stones which were raised to strike us fell on the heads of those who threw them. The passage of time is confirming the correctness of the stand maintained by the Party of Labor of Albania.

Why did comrade Khrushchev and the other Soviet comrades make such great haste to accuse the Chinese Communist Party groundlessly and without facts? Is it permissible for communists and, especially for the principal leaders of so great and glorious a party as the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, to perpetrate such an ugly act? Let them answer this question themselves, but the Party of Labor of Albania also has the full right to express its opinion on the matter.

The Party of Labor of Albania is of the opinion that the Bucharest meeting was not only a great mistake but also a mistake which was deliberately aggravated. In no way should the

Bucharest meeting be cast into oblivion but it should be severely condemned as a black stain in the international communist movement.

There is not the least doubt that the ideological differences have been and are grave, and that these have arisen and have been developed between the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Chinese Communist Party. These should have been settled in due time and in a Marxist-Leninist way between the two parties concerned.

According to the Chinese documents, the Chinese Communist Party says that these differences of principle were raised by the Communist comrades immediately following the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Some of these matters have been taken into consideration by the Soviet comrades while others have been rejected.

The Party of Labor of Albania thinks that, if these differences could not be settled between the two parties concerned, a meeting should have been sought of the communist and workers' parties at which these matters could be brought up, discussed and a stand taken towards them. It is not right that these matters should have been left unsettled, and the blame for this, must fall on the Soviet comrades who had knowledge of these differences but disregarded them because they were dead certain of their line and its «inviolability», and this, we think, is an idealist and metaphysical approach to the problem.

If the Soviet comrades were convinced of the

correctness of their line and their tactics, why did they not organize such a meeting in due time and have these divergences settled? Were the problems raised so trivial, for example, the condemnation of Joseph Stalin, the great problem of the Hungarian counterrevolution, that of the ways of taking power, not to speak of other very important problems that emerged later? No, they were not trivial at all. We all have our own views on these problems because as communists we are interested in all of them, because all our parties are responsible to their peoples but they are responsible to international communism, as well.

In order to condemn the Chinese Communist Party for imaginary faults and sins, comrade Khrushchev and the other Soviet leaders were very concerned to present the case as if the divergences existed between China and the whole international communist movement, but, when it came to problems like those I just mentioned, judgment on them has been passed by Khrushchev and his companions alone, thinking that there was no need for them to be discussed collectively at a meeting of the representatives of all the parties, although these were major international problems in character.

The Hungarian counter-revolution occurred but matters were hushed up. Why this tactics of hushing things up when they are not to their advantage, while for things which are to their advantage, the Soviet comrades not only call meetings like that of Bucharest but do their utmost to force on others the view that «China is in opposition to the line

of all the communist and workers' parties of the world?»

The Soviet comrades made a similar attempt towards us also. In August this year, the Soviet leadership addressed a letter to our Party in which it proposed that «with a view to preventing the spark of divergences from flaring up», the representatives of our two parties should meet so that our Party would align itself with the Soviet Union against the Chinese Communist Party and that our two Parties present a united front at this present meeting. Of course, the Central Committee of our Party refused such a thing and, in its official reply, described this as an entirely non-Marxist deed, a factional act directed against a fraternal third party, against the Communist Party of China. Of course, this correct principled stand of our Party was not to the liking of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

There is no doubt that these matters are of first rate importance. There is no doubt that they concern us all, but neither is there any doubt for the Party of Labor of Albania that the way the question was raised in Bucharest was tendentious and aimed at condemning the Chinese Communist Party and isolating it from the whole international communist movement.

For the Party of Labor of Albania this was monstrous and unacceptable, not only because it was not convinced of the truth of these allegations, but also because it rightly suspected that a non-Marxist action was being organised against a great

and glorious fraternal party like the Chinese Communist Party, that under the guise of an accusation of dogmatism against China, an attack was being launched against Marxism-Leninism and the Moscow Manifesto of Peace.

At the meeting, the Chinese Communist Party was accused of many things. This should have figured in the Communique. Why was it not done? If the accusations were well grounded, why all this hesitation and why issue a communique which did not correspond to the purpose for which the Conference was called? Why was there no reference in it to the «great danger of dogmatism» allegedly threatening international communism?

No, comrades, the Bucharest Conference cannot be justified. It was not based on principle. It was a biased one to achieve certain objectives, of which the main one was, in the opinion of the Party of Labor of Albania, that by accusing the Chinese Communist Party of dogmatism, to cover up some grave mistakes of line which the Soviet leading comrades have allowed themselves to make.

The Soviet comrades stood in need of the support of the other parties on this matter. That is why they tried frankly to catch them unawares. The Soviet comrades achieved half their aim and won the right to raise in these parties the condemnation of China as the outcome of an «international Conference of communism». In the communist and workers' parties, with the exception of the Party of Labor of Albania and certain other communist and workers' parties, the question was raised of

«the grave errors of policy committed by the Chinese Communist Party», the «unanimous» condemnation of China in Bucharest was reported in an effort to create opinion in the parties and among the people in this direction. The Party of Labor of Albania was also condemned at some of these party meetings.

After the Bucharest Conference, the Central Committee of the Party of Labor of Albania decided, and decided rightly, to discuss in the Party only the Communique, to tell the Party that there existed divergences of principle between the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Chinese Communist Party which should be taken up and settled at the coming November Conference in Moscow. And this was what was done.

But this stand of our Party did not please the leading comrades of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, and this we very soon felt. Immediately following the Bucharest meeting, an unexpected, unprincipled attack was launched, brutal intervention and all-round pressure was undertaken against our Party and its Central Committee. The attack was begun by comrade Khrushchev in Bucharest and was continued by comrade Kozlov in Moscow. The comrades of our Political Bureau who happened to pass through Moscow were worked upon with a view to turning them against the leadership of our Party, putting forward that «the leadership of the Party of Labor of Albania had betrayed the friendship with the Soviet Union», that «the line pursued by the leadership of the

Party of Labor of Albania is characterized by 'zig-zags'», that «Albania must decide to go either with the 200 millions (with the Soviet Union) or with the 650 millions (with People's China)» and finally that «an isolated Albania is in danger, for it would take only one atomic bomb dropped by the Americans to wipe out Albania and all its population completely», and other threats of the kind. It is absolutely clear that the aim was to sow discord in the leadership of our Party, to remove from the leadership of the Party of Labor of Albania those elements who, the Soviet leaders thought, stood in the way of their crooked and dishonest undertakings.

What came out of this divisive work was that comrade Liri Belishova, Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Party of Labor of Albania, capitulated to the cajolery of the Soviet leaders, to their blackmail and intimidation and took a stand in open opposition to the line of her Party.

The attempt of the Soviet comrades in their letter to the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party to present this question as if the friends of the Soviet Union in Albania are being persecuted is a falsehood. The million and a half Albanians and the Party of Labor of Albania have been, are, and will be, life-long friends of the Soviet Union and its Communist Party, sworn friends of the Soviet people. They have forged and steeled this friendship, tempered in blood, not the various capitulators, splitters and deviators.

But attempts to arouse suspicion about the correct stand of our Party in Bucharest were not confined to Moscow alone. They were made with even more fervor in Tirana by the employees of the Soviet Embassy with the Soviet Ambassador in Tirana himself in the lead.

As I said before, prior to the Bucharest Conference, one could not imagine closer, more sincere, more fraternal relations than those between us and the Soviet comrades. We kept nothing from the Soviet comrades, neither Party nor State secrets. This was decided upon by our Central Committee. These relations reflected the great love and loyalty which our Party had tempered in blood between the Albanian and Soviet peoples.

It was these sacred sentiments of the Party of Labor of Albania and of our people that certain sickly elements, with the Soviet Ambassador at the head, trampled underfoot. Taking advantage of our friendly relations, taking advantage of the good faith of our cadres, they began feverishly and intensively to attack the Marxist-Leninist line of the Party of Labor of Albania, to split the Party, to create panic and confusion in its ranks, to alienate the leadership from the Party, and the Soviet Ambassador to Tirana went so far as to attempt to incite the Generals of our Army to raise the People's Army against the Party of Labor of Albania and the Albanian State. But the saw struck a nail, and this came to naught, for the unity of our Party is steel-like. Our cadres, tempered in the National-liberation War and in the

bitter life and death struggle with the Yugoslav revisionists defended their heroic Party in a Marxist way. They know well enough how to draw the line between the Communist Party of the Soviet Union of Lenin and the splitters, they know well enough how to defend and temper their love and loyalty towards the Soviet Union. And in fact they put these denigrators in their place.

Nevertheless, the employees of the Soviet Embassy to Tirana, with the Ambassador in the lead, succeeded, through impermissible anti-Marxist methods, in making the Chairman of the Control Commission of the Party of Labor of Albania, who, 15 days before had been at one with the line pursued by the Central Committee of the Party of Labor of Albania in Bucharest, fall into the clutches of these intriguers, deviate from Marxism-Leninism and come out flagrantly against the line of his Party. It is clear that these contemptible acts of these Soviet comrades aimed at splitting the leadership of the Party of Labor of Albania, at alienating it from the masses and from the Party. And this, as a punishment for the «crime» we had committed in Bucharest, for having the courage to express our views freely as we saw fit.

The functionaries of the Soviet Embassy to Tirana went even further. They turned to the Albanians who had studied in the Soviet Union with a view to inciting them against the Albanian leadership, taking them to be a fitting contingent by whom to further their sinister intentions. But the Albanians, whether those who had completed or

were still pursuing their studies in the Soviet Union, as well as all the rest, entertained, entertain, and will always entertain a fervent, sincere and untarnished affection for the Soviet Union and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, and are and will be aware of the fact that the base methods used by the employees of the Soviet Embassy to Tirana are altogether alien to the Soviet Union and to the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. The Albanians are the sons and daughters of their own people, of their own Party, they are Marxist-Leninists and internationalists.

We can list many other examples, but in order not to take so much time of this important meeting, I will mention only two other typical cases. The pressure on our Party continued even during the days when the commission was meeting here in Moscow to draw up the draft-Statement which has been submitted to us; when the Soviet comrades urged that we should look ahead and not back. That day in Moscow, the member of the Central Committee and Minister of the Soviet Union, Marshal Malinovsky, launched an open attack on the Albanian people, on the Party of Labor of Albania, on the Albanian Government and on our leadership at an enlarged meeting of the Chiefs of Staff of the Warsaw Treaty countries. This unfriendly and public attack has much in common with the diversionist attack of the Soviet Ambassador to Tirana, trying to incite our People's Army against the leadership of our Party and our State. But Marshal Malinovsky makes as grave an error as

the Soviet Ambassador. No one can achieve this end, and even less that of breaking up the friendship of our people with the peoples of the Soviet Union. The correct struggle of the Party of Labor of Albania against these subversive acts strengthens the sincere friendship of our people with the peoples of the Soviet Union and with the glorious Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Nor can this friendship be broken up by the astonishing statements of Marshal Grechko, Commander-in-Chief of the Warsaw Treaty, who not only told our military delegation that it was difficult for him to meet the requirements of our Army for some very essential armaments for the supply of which contrats have been signed, but said bluntly, «You are in the Warsaw Treaty only for the time being», implying that Marshal Grechko seems to have decided to throw us out. But, fortunately, it is not up to the Comrade Marshal to take such a decision.

In October this year, Comrade Khrushchev declared solemnly to the Chinese comrades, «We will treat Albania like Yugoslavia». We say this at this meeting of international communism so that all may see how far things have gone and what attitude is being maintained towards a small socialist country. What «crime» has the Party of Labor of Albania committed for our country to be treated like Tito's Yugoslavia? Have we by any chance betrayed Marxism-Leninism as Tito's clique has done? Or did we break away from the camp and hitch up with U.S. imperialism as revisionist

Yugoslavia has done? No, and all the international communist movement, all the concrete political, ideological and economic activity of our Party and our State during the whole period of the National-liberation War and during these 16 years since the liberation of the country bear testimony to this. This is borne out also by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union itself, which, in its 1960 August 13 letter to the Central Committee of the Party of Albania, stressed: «The relations between the Party of Labor of Albania and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union based on the principles of proletarian internationalism have always been truly fraternal. The friendship between our parties and peoples has at no time been obscured by any misunderstanding or abatement. The stand of the Party of Labor of Albania and that of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union on all the most important issues of the international communist and workers' movement and of foreign policy have been identical.» Of what then are we guilty? Our only «crime» is that in Bucharest we did not agree that a fraternal communist party like the Chinese Communist Party should be unjustly condemned; our only «crime» is that we had the courage to oppose openly, at an international communist meeting (and not in the marketplace) the unjust action of Comrade Khrushchev, our only «crime» is that we are a small Party of a small and poor country which, according to Comrade Khrushchev, should merely applaud and approve but express no opinion of its

own. But this is neither Marxist nor acceptable. Marxism-Leninism has granted us the right to have our say and we will not give up this right for any one, neither on account of political and economic pressure nor on account of the threats and epithets that they might hurl at us. On this occasion we would like to ask Comrade Khrushchev why he did not make such a statement to us instead of to a representative of a third party. Or does Comrade Khrushchev think that the Party of Labor of Albania has no views of its own but has made common cause with the Communist Party of China in an unprincipled manner, and therefore, on matters pertaining to our Party, one can talk with the Chinese comrades? No, Comrade Khrushchev, you continue to blunder and hold very wrong opinions about our Party. The Party of Labor of Albania has its own views and will answer for them both to its own people as well as to the international communist and workers' movement.

We are obliged to inform this meeting that the Soviet leaders have in fact passed from threats to treating Albania in the same way as Titoite Yugoslavia, to concrete acts. This year our country has suffered many natural calamities. There was a big earthquake, the flood in October and, especially, the drought which was terrible, with not a drop of rain for 120 days in succession. Nearly all the grain was lost. The people were threatened with starvation. The very limited reserves were consumed. Our Government urgently sought to buy grain from the Soviet Union, explaining the very

critical situation we were faced with. This happened after the Bucharest Meeting. We waited 45 days for a reply from the Soviet Government while we had only 15 days bread for the people. After forty-five days and after repeated official requests, the Soviet Government, instead of 50,000 tons, accorded us only 10,000 tons, that is, enough to last us 15 days, and this grain was to be delivered during the months of September and October. This was open pressure on our Party to submit to the wishes of the Soviet comrades.

During those critical days we got wise to many things. Did the Soviet Union, which sells grain to the whole world, not have 50,000 tons to give the Albanian people who are loyal brothers of the Soviet people, loyal to Marxism-Leninism and to the socialist camp, at a time when, through no fault of their own, they were threatened with starvation? Comrade Khrushchev had once said to us: «Do not worry about grain, for all that you consume in a whole year is eaten by mice in our country.» The mice in the Soviet Union might eat but the Albanian people could be left to die of starvation until the leadership of the Party of Labor of Albania submits to the will of the Soviet leaders. This is terrible, comrades, but it is true. If they hear about it, the Soviet people will never forgive them, for it is neither Marxist-Leninist, internationalist, nor humane. Nor is it a friendly act not to accept our clearing for buying grain in the Soviet Union but to oblige us to draw the limited gold reserve from our National Bank in

order to buy maize for the people's bread in the Soviet Union.

These acts are linked with one another, they are not just accidental. Particularly in recent days, Comrade Khrushchev's attacks on our Party of Labor have reached their climax. Comrade Khrushchev, on November 8 you declared that «the Albanians behave towards us just like Tito». You said to the Chinese comrades: «We lost an Albania and you, Chinese, won an Albania». And, finally, you declared that the Party of Labor of Albania is your weak link.

What are all these monstrous accusations, this treatment of our Party, our people and a socialist country as something to be bought or sold or lost and won as in a card game? What appraisal is this of a sister party which, according to you, happens to be the weak link in the international communist movement? For us it is clear, and we understand it only too well, that our correct and principled Marxist-Leninist stand, that our courage, to disagree with you and condemn those acts of yours which are wrong impel you to attack our Party, to resort to all kinds of pressure against it, to pronounce the most extreme monstrosities against our Party. But there is nothing comradely, nothing communist in this. You identify us with the Yugoslav revisionists. But everybody knows how our Party has fought and continues to fight against the Yugoslav revisionists. It is not we who behave like the Yugoslavs but you, comrade Khrushchev, who are using methods alien to Marxism-Leninism

against our Party. You consider Albania as a market commodity which can be gained by one or lost by another. There was a time when Albania was considered a medium of exchange, when others thought it depended on them whether Albania should or should not exist, but that time came to an end with the triumph of the ideas of Marxism-Leninism in our country. You were repeating the same thing when you decided that you had «lost» Albania or that some one else had «won» it, when you decided that Albania is no longer a socialist country, as it turns out from the letter you handed to us on November 8, in which our country is not mentioned as a socialist country.

The fact that Albania proceeds along the path of socialism and that it is a member of the socialist camp is not determined by you, comrade Khrushchev, it does not depend on your wishes. This has been determined by the Albanian people headed by their Party of Labor, by their struggle and there is no force capable of turning them from that course.

As regards your claim that our Party of Labor is the weakest link in the socialist camp and the international communist movement, we say that the twenty-year history of our Party, the heroic struggle of our people and our Party against the fascist invaders and the sixteen years that have elapsed since the liberation of the country to this day, during which period our small Party and our people have faced up to all the storms, show the contrary. Surrounded by enemies like an island

amidst the waves, the People's Republic of Albania has courageously withstood all the assaults and provocations of the imperialists and their lackeys. Like a granite rock it has held and holds high the banner of socialism behind the enemy lines. You raised your hand, comrade Khrushchev, against a small country and its Party, but we are convinced that the Soviet people who shed their blood in defense of our people, also, that the great Party of Lenin are not in agreement with this activity of yours. We have full confidence in Marxism-Leninism, we are certain that fraternal parties which have sent their delegates to this meeting will size up and pass judgment on this issue with Marxist-Leninist justice.

Our Party has always considered the Communist Party of the Soviet Union as a mother-Party and has done this because it is the oldest Party, the glorious Party of the Bolsheviks, it has spoken of its universal experience, of its great maturity. But our Party has never accepted nor will ever accept that some Soviet leaders may impose on it their views which it considers erroneous.

The Soviet leaders viewed this matter of principled importance in an altogether erroneous way, in an idealistic and metaphysical way; they have become swellheaded over the colossal successes attained by the Soviet people and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and violate Marxist-Leninist principles, consider themselves infallible, consider every decision, every act, every word they say and

every gesture they make infallible and irrevocable. Others may err, others may be condemned, while they are above such reproach. «Our decisions are sacred, they are inviolable». «We can make no concessions to, no compromise with the Chinese Communist Party», the leaders of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union said to our people. Then why did they call us together in Bucharest? Of course, to vote with our eyes blindfolded for the views of the Soviet leaders. Is this the Marxist way? Is this a normal procedure?

Is it permissible for one party to engage in subversive acts, to cause a split, to overthrow the leadership of another party or of another State? Never! The Soviet leaders accused Comrade Stalin of allegedly interfering in other parties, of imposing the views of the Bolshevik Party upon others. We can bear witness to the fact that at no time did comrade Stalin do such a thing towards us, towards the Albanian people and the Party of Labor of Albania, he always behaved as a great Marxist, as an outstanding internationalist, as a comrade, brother and sincere friend of the Albanian people. In 1945, when our people were threatened with starvation, comrade Stalin ordered the ships loaded with grain destined for the Soviet people, who also were in dire need of food at that time, and sent the grain at once to the Albanian people. Whereas, the present Soviet leaders permit themselves these ugly deeds.

Are such economic pressures permissible; is it

permissible to threaten the Albanian people, as the Soviet leaders did after the Bucharest Meeting? In no way whatsoever! The Soviet Union has always aided us in a generous way through credits and by all other means. New Albania could not be built without this aid, first and foremost, from the Soviet Union and from the other countries of People's Democracy.

To tell the truth, we are very grateful to the Soviet Union and to the Communist Party and Government of the Soviet Union for the great aid they have given our country to build up its industry, to set agriculture on its feet, in short, to improve the life of our people and speed up socialist construction. We know that this aid is an internationalist aid given our small people who, before the war, suffered great, all round misery, and that the Second World War burnt and devastated our country though never downing the Albanian people who, under the leadership of the glorious Party of Labor of Albania, fought with great heroism and liberated themselves.

But why did the Soviet leadership change its attitude towards us after the Bucharest Meeting to the point that it let the Albanian people suffer from hunger? The Rumanian leadership did the same thing when it refused to sell a single ear of wheat to the Albanian people on a clearing basis at a time when Rumania was trading in grain with the capitalist countries, while we were obliged to buy maize from French farmers, paying in foreign currency.

Some months before the Bucharest Meeting, comrade Dej invited a delegation of our Party for the specific purpose of conducting talks on the future development of Albania. This as a laudable and Marxist concern of his. Comrade Dej said to our Party: «We, the other countries of People's Democracy, should no longer discuss how much credit should be accorded to Albania, but we should decide to build in Albania such and such factories, to raise the means of production to a higher level, regardless of how many million rubles they will cost, that is of no importance». Comrade Dej added: «We have talked this over with comrade Khrushchev, too, and we have been in agreement».

But then came the Bucharest Meeting and our Party maintained the stand you all know. The Rumanian comrades forgot what they had previously said and chose the course of leaving the Albanian people to suffer from hunger.

We have made these things officially known to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union before. We have not submitted them to public discussion nor have we whispered them from ear to ear, but we are revealing them for the first time at this party meeting. Why do we raise this question? We proceed from the desire to put an end to these negative manifestations which do not strengthen but weaken our unity. We proceed from the desire to strengthen the relations and Marxist-Leninist bonds among communist and workers' parties, among socialist States, discarding

any evil manifestation that has arisen so far. We are optimistic, fully convinced and have unshaken confidence that the Soviet and other comrades will understand our criticism aright. They are sharp but open and sincere and aim at strengthening our relations. Notwithstanding these unjust and harmful stands which are mantained against us, but which we believe will be stopped in the future, our Party and our people will consolidate still further their unbounded love and loyalty to the Soviet people, to the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, to all the peoples and communist and workers' parties of the socialist camp, based always on the Marxist-Leninist teachings.

Our Party considers that friendship must be based on justice, mutual respect and Marxism-Leninism. This is what the 1957 Moscow Declaration says and this is what is stressed in the draft-Statement which has been submitted to us. We declare in all earnestness that the Party of Labor of Albania and the Albanian people will be, as always, determined fighters for the strengthening of relations and unity in the socialist camp and the international communist movement.

The Albanian people will throw themselves in to the flames for their true friends, and the Soviet Union is such a friend of the Albanian people. And these are not empty words. I am expressing here the sentiments of our people and of our Party, and let no one ever think that we love the Soviet Union and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union for

the sake of some one's beautiful eyes or to please some individual, but because without the Soviet Union there would be no free life in the world today, fascism and capitalist terror would reign supreme. This is why we love and will always be loyal to the Soviet Union and to the Party of the great Lenin.

Dear Comrades!

In the 1957 Moscow Declaration as well as in the draft-Statement submitted to us, it is pointed out that revisionism constitutes today the principal danger in the international communist and workers' movement. In the 1957 Moscow Declaration it is rightly stressed that the existence of bourgeois influence is the internal source of revisionism, while capitulation to the pressure of imperialism is its external source. Experience has fully corroborated that, disguised under pseudo-Marxist and revolutionary slogans, modern revisionism has tried by all manner of means to discredit our great doctrine, Marxism-Leninism, which it has dubbed as «outdated» and no longer compatible with social development. Hiding behind the slogan of creative Marxism, of new conditions, the revisionists have striven, on one hand, to deprive Marxism of its revolutionary spirit and to undermine the belief of the working class and the working people in socialism and, on the other, to use all the means in their power to prettify imperialism, describing it as mo-

derate and peaceful. During the three years that have elapsed since the Moscow Conference, it has been fully confirmed that the modern revisionists are nothing but splitters of the communist movement and of the socialist camp, loyal lackeys of imperialism, avowed enemies of socialism and of the working class.

Life itself has demonstrated that until now the standard-bearers of modern revisionism, its most aggressive and dangerous representatives are the Yugoslav revisionists, the treacherous clique of Tito and company. At the time when the Moscow Declaration was approved, this hostile group, agents of U.S. imperialism, were not publicly denounced, although, in our opinion, there were enough facts and information to warrant such a thing. Not only that, but later on, when the danger it presented became more evident, the fight against Yugoslav revisionism, the consistent and ceaseless fight to smash it ideologically and politically, was not conducted with the proper intensity. On the contrary, this has been and is the source of many evils and much damage to our international communist and workers' movement. In the opinion of our Party, the reason why Tito's revisionist group has not been totally exposed, why false «hopes» have arisen for an alleged «improvement» and positive «turn» of this treacherous group is because comrade Khrushchev and some other Soviet leaders maintain a conciliatory attitude towards, erroneous views about, and an incorrect assessment of this dangerous Titoite revisionist group.

It has been said that J. V. Stalin was mistaken in assessing the Yugoslav revisionists and in sharpening his attitude towards them. Our Party has never endorsed such a view, because time and experience has proven the contrary. Stalin made a very correct assessment of the danger of the Yugoslav revisionists, he tried to settle this affair at the proper moment and in a Marxist way. The Inform Bureau, as a collective organ, was called together at that time and, after the Titoite group was exposed, a merciless battle was waged against it. Time has proven over and over again that such a thing was necessary and correct.

The Party of Labor of Albania has always held the opinion and is convinced that Tito's group are traitors to Marxism-Leninism, agents of imperialism, dangerous enemies of the socialist camp and of the entire international communist and workers' movement, therefore a merciless battle should be waged against them. We, on our part, have waged and continue to wage this battle as internationalist communists and also because we have felt and continue to feel on our own backs the burden of the hostile activity of Tito's revisionist clique against our Party and our country. But this stand of our Party has not been and is not to the liking of comrade Khrushchev and certain other comrades.

The Titoite group have long been a group of Trotskyites and renegades. For the Party of Labor of Albania, at least, they have been such since 1942, that is, since 18 years ago.

As far back as 1942, when the war of the Albanian people surged forward, the Belgrade Trotskyite group disguising themselves as friends and abusing our trust in them tried their uttermost to hinder the development of our armed struggle, to hamper the creation of powerful Albanian partisan fighting detachments, and, since it was impossible to stop them, to put them under their direct political and military control. They attempted to make everything dependent on Belgrade, and our Party and our partisan army mere appendages of the Yugoslav Communist Party and the Yugoslav National-liberation Army.

Our Party, while preserving its friendship with the Yugoslav partisans, successfully resisted these diabolical intentions. It was at that time that the Titoite group tried to found the Balkan Federation under the direction of the Belgrade Titoites, to hitch the Communist Parties to the chariot of the Yugoslav Communist Party, to place the partisan armies of the Balkan peoples under the Yugoslav Titoite staff. It was to this end that, in agreement with the British, they tried to set up the Balkan Staff and to place it, that is to say, to place our armies under the direction of the Anglo-Americans. Our Party successfully resisted these diabolic schemes. And when the banner of liberation was hoisted in Tirana, the Titoite gang in Belgrade issued orders to their agents in Albania to discredit the success of the Albanian Communist Party and to organize a «putsch» to overthrow the leadership of our Party

which guided the National-liberation War and led the Albanian people to victory. The first «putsch» was organized by Tito through his secret agents within our Party. But the Albanian Communist Party frustrated this plot of Tito's.

The Belgrade plotters did not lay down their arms and, together with their agent in our Party, the traitor Koçi Xoxe, continued the re-organization of their plot against new Albania in other forms, new forms (**5**). Their intention was to turn Albania into a seventh Republic of Yugoslavia.

At a time when our country had been devasted and laid waste and needed to be completely rebuilt, when our people were without food and shelter but with high morale, when our people and army, weapons in hand, kept vigilant guard against the plots of reaction organized by the Anglo-U.S. military missions who threatened Albania with a new invasion, when a large part of the Albanian partisan army had crossed the border and had gone to the aid of the Yugoslav brothers, fighting side by side with them and together liberating Montenegro, Bosnia, Herzegovina, Kosova and Metohia and Macedonia, the Belgrade plotters hatched up schemes to enslave Albania.

But our Party offered heroic resistance to these secret agents who posed as communists. When the Belgrade Trotskyites realized that they had lost their case, that our Party was smashing their plots, they played their last card, namely, to invade Albania with their army, to crush all resistance, to arrest the leaders of the Party of Labor of Albania

and of the Albanian State and to proclaim Albania a seventh Republic of Yugoslavia. Our Party defeated this diabolic scheme of theirs also. Joseph Stalin's aid and intervention at these moments was decisive for our Party and for the freedom of the Albanian people. Precisely at this time the Information Bureau exposed the Tito clique. Stalin and the Soviet Union saved the Albanian people for the second time.

The Information Bureau brought about the defeat of the conspiracies of the Tito clique, not only in Albania but also in other countries of People's Democracy. Posing as communists, the renegade and agent of imperialism, Tito, and his gang, tried to alienate the countries of People's Democracy in the Balkans and Central Europe from the friendship and wartime alliance with the Soviet Union, to destroy the communist and workers' parties of our countries and to turn our States into reserves of Anglo-American imperialism.

Who was there who did not know about and see in action the hostile schemes of imperialism and its loyal servitor Tito? Everybody knew, everybody learned, and all unanimously approved the correct decisions of the Information Bureau. Everyone without exception approved the Resolutions of the Information Bureau which, in our opinion, were and still are correct.

Those who did not want to see and understand these acts of this criminal gang had a second chance to do so in the Hungarian counter-revolution and in the unceasing plots against Albania. The wolf

may change his coat but he remains a wolf. Tito and his gang may resort to trickery, may try to disguise themselves, but they are traitors, criminals and agents of imperialism. They are the murderers of the heroic Yugoslav internationalist communists and thus they will remain and thus they will act until they are wiped out.

The Party of Labor of Albania considers the decisions taken against Tito's renegade group by the Information Bureau not as decisions taken by comrade Stalin personally but as decisions taken by all the parties that made up the Information Bureau. And not only by these parties alone but also by the communist and workers' parties which did not take part in the Information Bureau. Since this was a matter that concerned all the communist and workers' parties, it also concerned the Party of Labor of Albania which, having received and studied a copy of the letter comrades Stalin and Molotov had written to the Central Committee of the Yugoslav Communist Party, endorsed in full both the letter and the decisions of the Information Bureau.

Why then was the «change of attitude» towards the Yugoslav revisionists, adopted by comrade Khrushchev and the Central Committee of the Soviet Union in 1955, not made an issue for consultation in the normal way with the other communist and workers' parties, but was conceived and carried out so hastily and in a unilateral way? This was a matter that concerned us all. The Yugoslav revisionists had either opposed Marxism-Leninism

and the communist and workers' parties of the world or they had not; either they were wrong, or we, not only Stalin, had erred against them. It was not up to comrade Khrushchev to settle this affair at his own discretion. But in fact, that is what he did and this change of attitude in the relations with the Yugoslav revisionists is connected with his visit to Belgrade. This was a bomb shell to the Party of Labor of Albania which immediately opposed it categorically. Before comrade Khrushchev set out for Belgrade in May 1955, the Central Committee of the Party of Labor of Albania sent a letter to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in which it expressed the opposition of our Party to his going to Belgrade, stressing that the Yugoslav issue could not be settled in a unilateral way but that a meeting of the Information Bureau should be called to which it asked that the Party of Labor of Albania also should be invited. It is there that this matter should have been settled after a correct and lengthy discussion.

Of course, formally we had no right to decide whether comrade Khrushchev should or should not go to Belgrade, and we backed down on this, but in essence we were right, and time has confirmed that the Yugoslav issue should not be settled in this precipitate way.

The slogan of «overriding interests» was launched, the second Resolution of the Information Bureau was speedily revoked, the «epoch of reconciliation» with «the Yugoslav comrades» began, the

conspirators, wherever they were, were re-examined and re-habilitated and the «Yugoslav comrades» came off unscathed, strutted like peacocks, trumpeted abroad that their «just cause» had triumphed, that the «criminal Stalin» had trumped up all these things and a situation was created under which whoever refused to take this course was dubbed as a «Stalinist» who should be done away with.

Our Party refused to take such a conciliatory and opportunist course. It stood fast on correct Marxist-Leninist ideological grounds, fighting the Yugoslav revisionists ideologically and politically. The Party of Labor of Albania remained unshaken in its views that the Titoite group were traitors, renegades, Trotskyites, subversionists and agents of the U.S. imperialists, that the Party of Labor of Albania had not been mistaken about them.

The Party of Labor of Albania remained unshaken in its view that comrade Stalin had not erred in this matter, that, by pursuing their treacherous line, the revisionists had attempted to enslave Albania and, through hatching up a number of international plots with the Anglo-American imperialists, they had tried to plunge Albania into international conflicts.

On the other hand, the Party of Labor of Albania was in favor of establishing state relations of good neighborliness, trade and cultural relations with the People's Federal Republic of Yugoslavia provided that the norms of peaceful co-existence between states of different regimes were observed,

because as far as the Party of Labor of Albania is concerned, Titoite Yugoslavia has not been, is not, and will never be a socialist country so long as it is headed by a group of renegades and agents of imperialism.

No open or disguised attempt will make the Party of Labor of Albania turn from this correct stand. It was futile for the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union to try to persuade us through comrade Suslov to eliminate the question of Koçi Xoxe from the Report submitted at our 3rd Congress in May 1956, for that would mean negating our struggle and our principled stand.

In Albania, the Titoite saw struck a nail, or, as Tito says, «Albania was a thorn in his flesh» and, of course, the treacherous Titoite group continued their battle against the Party of Labor of Albania, thinking that they were exposing us by dubbing us «Stalinists».

The Belgrade group did not confine their fight against us to propaganda alone but they continued their espionage, subversion, plots, dispatching armed bands into our country more intensively than in 1948. These are all facts. But the tragedy is that, while the Party of Labor of Albania mounted guard against the bitter and repeated attacks by the Yugoslav revisionists, its unshaken, principled, Marxist-Leninist stand was in opposition to the conciliatory stand of the Soviet leaders and of certain other communist and workers' parties towards the Yugoslav revisionists.

Then it was loudly proclaimed and written that «Yugoslavia is a socialist country and this is a fact», that «the Yugoslav communists possess a great experience and great merits», that «the Yugoslav experience deserves greater interest and more attentive study», that «the period of disputes and misunderstandings is not due to Yugoslavia» and that «great injustice had been done to it», and so on and so forth. This, of course, gave heart to Tito's clique who thought they had won everything except that there was still that «thorn in their flesh» which they thought of isolating and then liquidating. But not only could our Party not be isolated, much less liquidated, but time proved that the views of our Party were correct.

Much pressure has been exerted on our Party over this stand. The Albanian leaders were considered «hot-blooded» and «stubborn», «exaggerating» matters with Yugoslavia, unjustly harassing the Yugoslavs, etc. The attack against our Party in this direction has been led by Comrade Khrushchev.

So far, I have mentioned in brief what the Yugoslav revisionists have done against our country during and after the war, after 1948, but I will dwell a little also on the events prior to the Hungarian counter-revolution which is the work of Yugoslav agents. The treacherous Belgrade group began to organize a counter-revolution in Albania also. Had our Party made the mistake of joining in the «conciliation waltz» with the Yugoslav revisionists as Khrushchev preached after 1955, then the people's democracy in Albania would have gone down

the drain. We, Albanians, would not have been here in this hall but would have been still fighting in our mountains.

Firmly united by steel-like bonds, our Party and people kept their eyes wide open and discovered and unmasked Tito's spies in our Central Committee who worked in collusion with the Yugoslav Legation in Tirana. Tito sent word to these traitors, saying that they had precipitated things, that they should have waited for his orders. These spies and traitors also wrote to comrade Khrushchev to intervene against the Central Committee of the Party of Labor of Albania. These are documented facts. Tito's intention was to coordinate the counter-revolution in Albania with that of Hungary.

Our 3rd Congress was to be held following the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. The Yugoslav agents thought that the time had come to overthrow the «obstinate Stalinist Albanian leadership» and organized a plot which was discovered and crushed at the Party Conference of Tirana in April 1956. The plotters received the stern punishment they deserved.

Tito's other dangerous agents, Dali Ndreu and Liri Gega, received orders from Tito to flee to Yugoslavia for «they were in danger and because activities against the Party of Labor were to be organized from Yugoslav territory». Our Party was fully aware of Tito's activity and secret orders. It was wide awake and caught the traitors right on the border when they were trying to flee. The traitors

were brought to court and were executed. All the Yugoslav agents who were preparing the counter-revolution in Albania were detected and wiped out. To our amazement comrade Khrushchev came out against us in defense of these traitors and Yugoslav agents. He accused us of having shot the Yugoslav agent, the traitress Liri Gega, allegedly «when she was pregnant, a thing which had not happened even at the time of the Czar, and this had made a bad impression on world opinion». These were slanders trumped up by the Yugoslavs in whom comrade Khrushchev had more faith than in us. We of course denied all these insinuations made by comrade Khrushchev.

But comrade Khrushchev's incorrect, unprincipled and hostile stand towards our Party and its leadership did not stop there. The other Yugoslav agent and traitor to the Party of Labor of Albania and to the Albanian people, Panajot Plaku, fled to Yugoslavia and placed himself in the service of the Yugoslavs. He organized the hostile broadcasts from the socalled «Socialist Albania» radio station. This traitor wrote to bandit Tito and comrade Khrushchev asking the latter to use his authority to eliminate the leadership of Albania headed by Enver Hoxha under the pretext that we were «anti-Marxists and Stalinists». Far from being indignant at the letter of this traitor, comrade Khrushchev expressed the opinion that Panajot Plaku could return to Albania on condition that we do nothing to him, or he could find political asylum in the Soviet Union. We felt as if the walls of the Kremlin had

dropped on our heads, for we could never imagine that the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union could go so far as to support Tito's agents and traitors to our Party against our Party and our people.

But the culmination of our principled opposition over the Yugoslav issue with comrade Khrushchev was reached when, faced with our principled persistence in the exposure of the Belgrade Titoite agents, he was so enraged that, during the official talks between the two delegations in April 1957, said to us angrily: «We suspend the negotiations. We come to terms with you. You are seeking to lead us to Stalin's ways».

We were disgusted at such an unfriendly stand taken by comrade Khrushchev who intended to break off the talks, which would mean an aggravation of relations with the Albanian Party and State over the question of the traitors to Marxism-Leninism, the Tito group. We could never have agreed on this matter, but we, who had been accused of being hot-blooded, kept calm, for we were convinced that we were in the right, and not comrade Khrushchev, that the line we were pursuing was the correct one, and not that of comrade Khrushchev, that our line would be confirmed again by experience, as it has been confirmed many times over.

In our opinion, the counter-revolution in Hungary was mainly the work of the Titoites. In Tito and the Belgrade renegades, the U.S. imperialists

had their best weapon to destroy the people's democracy in Hungary.

After comrade Khrushchev's visit to Belgrade in 1955, no more was said about Tito's undermining activity. The counter-revolution in Hungary did not break out unexpectedly. It was prepared for, we might say, quite openly, and it would be futile for any one to try to convince us that this counter-revolution was prepared in great secrecy. This counter-revolution was prepared by the agents of the Tito gang in collusion with the traitor Imre Nagy, in collusion with the Hungarian fascists and all of them acted openly under the direction of the Americans.

The scheme of the Titoites, who were the leaders, was for Hungary to be detached from our socialist camp, to be turned into a second Yugoslavia, be linked in alliance with NATO through Yugoslavia, Greece and Turkey, to receive aid from the U.S.A. and, together with Yugoslavia and under the direction of the imperialists, to continue the struggle against the socialist camp.

The counter-revolutionaries worked openly in Hungary. But how is it that their activities attracted no attention? We cannot understand how it is possible for Tito and Horthy's bands to work so freely in a fraternal country of People's Democracy like Hungary where the party was in power and the weapons of dictatorship were in its hands, where the Soviet army was present.

We think that the stand taken by comrade Khrushchev and the other Soviet comrades towards Hungary was not clear, because the greatly mistaken views which they held about the Belgrade gang did not allow them to see the situation correctly.

The Soviet comrades trusted Imre Nagy, Tito's man. We do not say this for nothing or without good grounds. Before the counter-revolution broke out and when things were boiling up at the «Petőfi Club», I happened to pass through Moscow, and in conversation with Comrade Suslov told him what I had seen on my way through Budapest. I told him, too, that Imre Nagy was deserting and was organizing a counter-revolution at the «Petőfi Club». Comrade Suslov categorically opposed my view, and in order to prove to me that Imre Nagy was a good man, pulled out of his drawer Imre Nagy's fresh «self-criticism». Nevertheless, I told Comrade Suslov that Imre Nagy was a traitor.

We wonder and pose the legitimate question: Why do Comrade Khrushchev and Soviet comrades pay frequent visits to Brioni to talk with the renegade Tito about the Hungarian events? If the Soviet comrades were cognizant of the fact that the Titoites were preparing for a counterrevolution in a country of our camp, is it permissible for the leaders of the Soviet Union to go and talk with an enemy who organizes plots and counter-revolutions in socialist contries?

As a communist Party, as a state of People's Democracy, as a member of the Warsaw Treaty and of the socialist camp, we are justified in asking Comrade Khrushchev and the Soviet comrades why so many meetings with Tito at Brioni in 1956, with this traitor to Marxism-Leninism, and not a single meeting with our countries, not a single meeting of the members of the Warsaw Treaty? When will the members of this Warsaw Treaty meet, if not when one of our countries is in danger?

Whether to intervene or not to intervene with arms in Hungary is, we think, not within the competence of one person alone; seeing that we have set up the Warsaw Treaty, we should decide jointly, because otherwise it is of no use to speak of alliance, of the collective spirit and collaboration among the parties. The Hungarian counter-revolution cost to our camp blood, it cost Hungary and the Soviet Union blood.

Why was this bloodshed permitted and no steps taken to prevent it? We are of the opinion that no preliminary steps could be taken so long as Comrade Khrushchev and the Soviet comrades placed their trust in the organizer of the Hungarian counter-revolution, the traitor Tito, so long as they set so little value on the absolutely necessary regular meetings with their friends and allies, so long as they considered their unilateral decisions on matters that concern us all as the only correct ones, and so long as they attached no importance whatsoever to collective work and collective decisions.

The Party of Labor of Albania is not at all clear about this matter, how things developed and what decisions were taken. At a time when the Titoites are conducting talks at Brioni with the Soviet comrades, on the one hand, and feverishly organizing counter-revolutions in Hungary and Albania, on the other, the Soviet comrades make not the slightest effort to inform our leadership, at least as a matter of form since we are allies, on what is happening or on what measures they intend to take. But this is not a case of formality. The Soviet comrades know only too well what the Belgrade gang thought of Albania and what intentions they cherished. In reality, not only is this stand of the Soviet comrades to be condemned but it is also incomprehensible.

Hungary was a great lesson for us, for what was done, and for the drama that was played on the stage and behind the scenes there. We believed that the Hungarian counter-revolution was more than enough to show the betrayal of Tito and his gang. We know that many documents are kept locked away and are not brought to light, documents that expose the barbarous activity of Tito's group in the Hungarian events. Why this should happen we do not understand. What interests are hidden behind these documents which are not brought to light but are kept under lock and key? To condemn Stalin after his death, the most trifling items were searched out, while the documents that expose a vile traitor like Tito are locked away in a drawer.

But even after the Hungarian counter-revolution, the political and ideological fight against the Titoite gang, instead of becoming more intense, as Marxism-Leninism demands, was played down, leading to reconciliation, smiles, contacts, moderation and almost to kisses. In fact, thanks to this opportunist attitude, the Titoites got out of this predicament.

The Party of Labor of Albania was opposed to the line followed by Comrade Khrushchev and the other comrades towards the Yugoslav revisionists. Our Party's battle against the revisionists continued with even more fury. Many friends and comrades, particularly the Soviet and Bulgarian comrades, being unable to attack our correct line, ridiculed us, smiled, and with their friendly contacts with the Titoites, isolated our people everywhere.

We had hoped that, after the 7th Titoite Congress, even the blind, let alone the Marxists, would see with whom they were dealing and what they should do. Unfortunately, things did not turn out that way. Not long after the 7th Titoite Congress, the exposure of revisionism was toned down. The Soviet theoretical publications spoke of every kind of revisionism, even of revisionism in Honolulu, but had very little to say about Yugoslav revisionism. This is like saying: «don't see the wolf before your eyes but look for its tracks». Slogans were launched: «Don't speak any more of Tito and his gang, for that will fan their vanity», «don't speak any more of Tito and his group, for that would harm

the Yugoslav people», «don't speak of the Titoite renegades, for Tito makes use of what we say to mobilize the Yugoslav peoples against our camp», etc. Many parties adopted these slogans while our Party did not, and we think we acted correctly.

Such a situation was created that the press of friendly countries accepted articles from Albanian writers only provided they made no mention of the Yugoslav revisionists. Everywhere in the countries of People's Democracy, except in Czechoslovakia where, in general, the Czechoslovak comrades assessed our activities correctly, our Ambassadors were isolated in a round about way, because the diplomats of friendly countries preferred to converse with the Titoite diplomats while they hated our diplomats and did not want even to set eyes on them.

And things went so far that Comrade Khrushchev made his coming to Albania in May 1959 at the head of the Soviet Party and Government Delegation conditional on the Yugoslav issue. The first thing Comrade Khrushchev said at the beginning of talks in Tirana was to inform everybody at the meeting that he would not talk against the Yugoslav revisionists, a thing which no one could compel him to do, but a statement of this kind was intended to show quite openly that he disagreed with the Party of Labor of Albania on this issue.

We respected the wishes of the guest during the whole time he stayed in Albania, regardless of the fact that the Titoite press was highly elated and did not fail to write that Khrushchev had shut

the mouths of the Albanians. This, in fact, responded to reality, but Comrade Khrushchev was very far from persuading us on this matter and the Titoites learned that quite clearly, because after our guest's departure from our country, the Party of Labor of Albania felt no longer bound by the conditions put upon us by our guest and continued on its own Marxist-Leninist way.

In his talks with Vukmanovich Tempo, among others, Comrade Khrushchev has compared our stand, as far as its tone is concerned, with that of the Yugoslavs and has said that he did not agree with the tone of the Albanians. We consider that Comrade Khrushchev's statement to Vukmanovich-Tempo, to this enemy of Marxism-Leninism, of the socialist camp and of Albania, is erroneous and should be condemned. We hold that one should get what he deserves and we, on our part, disagree with Comrade Khrushchev's conciliary tone towards the revisionists, for our people say one should speak in a harsh tone to the enemy and with honeyed tongue to the beloved.

Some comrades hold the erroneous idea that we maintain this attitude towards the Titoites because, they claim, we are allegedly eager to hold the banner of the fight against revisionism or because we view this problem from a narrow angle, from a purely national angle, therefore, they claim, we have embarked, if not altogether on a «chauvinist course», at least on that of «narrow nationalism». The Party of Labor of Albania has viewed and views the question of Yugoslav revisionism through

the prism of Marxism-Leninism, it has viewed, views, and fights it as the main danger to the international communist movement, as a danger to the unity of the socialist camp.

But while being internationalists we are communist of a specific country, of Albania. We, Albanian communists, would not be called communists if we failed to defend consistently and with determination the freedom of our sacred country from the plots and diversionist attacks of Tito's revisionist clique which are aimed at the invasion of Albania, a fact which is already known to everyone. Can it be permissible for us Albanian communists to let Albania become the prey of Tito, of the U.S. imperialists, of the Greeks or of the Italians. No, never!

Some others advise us not to speak against the Yugoslavs, saying «why are you afraid? You are defended by the Soviet Union?» We have told these comrades and tell them again that we are afraid neither of the Yugoslav Trotskyites nor of any one else. We have said and say it again that the Soviet Union has defended, defends and will defend us, but we are Marxist-Leninists and not for one moment should we diminish the struggle against the revisionists and imperialists until we wipe them out of existence. Because if the Soviet Union is to defend you, you must first defend yourself.

The Yugoslavs accuse us of allegedly being chauvinists, of interfering in their internal affairs, and of demanding a rectification of the Albanian-

Yugoslav borders. A number of our friends think and imply that we Albanian communists swim in such waters. We tell our friends who think thus that they are grossly mistaken. We are not chauvinists, we have neither demanded nor demand rectification of boundaries. But what we demand and will continually demand from the Titoites, and we will expose them to the end for this, is that they give up perpetrating the crime of genocide against the Albanian minority in Kosova and Metohia, that they give up the white terror against the Albanians of Kosova, that they give up driving the Albanians from their native soil and deporting them 'en masse' to Turkey. We demand that the rights of the Albanian minority in Yugoslavia should be recognized according to the Constitution of the People's Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. Is this chauvinist or Marxist?

This is our attitude on these matters. But if the Titoites speak of peaceful coexistence, of peace, of good neighborly relations and, on the other hand, organize plots, an army of mecenaries and fascists in Yugoslavia for the purpose of attacking our boundaries and of chopping up socialist Albania, and sharing it with the Greek monarcho-fascists, then, we are convinced that not only the Albanians in new Albania but also the one million Albanians living under Tito's bondage will rise arms in hand to stay the hand of the criminal. And this is Marxist and, if anything happens, this is what will be done. The Party of Labor of Albania does not

permit any one to play at politics with the rights of the Albanian people.

We do not interfere in the internal affairs of others but when, as a result of the slackening of the fight against Yugoslav revisionism, things go so far that there is published in a friendly country like Bulgaria a map of the Balkans in which Albania is included within the boundaries of Federal Yugoslavia, we cannot keep silent. We are told that this happened due to a technical error of an employee, but why had this not happened before?

But this is not an isolated case. At a meeting in Sremska Mitrovitsa, the bandit Rankovich attacked Albania as usual and called it «a hell where barbed wire and the boots of frontier guards reign supreme» claiming that the democracy of the Italian neofascists was more advanced than ours.

Rankovich's words would be of no significance to us, but these words were listened to with the greatest serenity by the Soviet and Bulgarian Ambassadors to Belgrade who attended this meeting, without their making the slightest protest. We protested in a comradely way over this to the Central Committees of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Bulgarian Communist Party.

In his letter of reply to the Central Committee of the Party of Labor of Albania, comrade Zhivkov dared to reject our protest and call the speech of the bandit Rankovich a positive one. We could never have imagined that the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party

could describe as positive the speech of a bandit like Rankovich who so grossly insults socialist Albania, likening it to hell. We no only reject with contempt this impermissible insult by the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party but we are dead certain that the Bulgarian Communist Party and the heroic Bulgarian people would be utterly revolted if they came to hear of this. Things will not go any too well if we allow such gross mistakes towards one another.

We can never, never agree with Comrade Khrushchev and we protested to him at the time, over the talks he had with Sophocles Venizelos in connection with the Greek minority in Albania. Comrade Khrushchev is well aware that the borders of Albania are inviolable and sacred and that anyone who touches them is an aggressor. The Albanian people will fight to the last drop of their blood if any one touches their borders. Comrade Khrushchev was gravely mistaken when he told Venizelos that he had seen Greek and Albanians working together as brothers in Korça. In Korça, there is no Greek minority whatsoever, but there is the age-old covetousness of the Greeks for the Korça district as for all Albania. There is a very small Greek minority in Gjirokastra. Comrade Khrushchev knows that they enjoy all the rights, use their own language, have their own churches and schools in addition to all the rights that the other Albanian citizens enjoy.

The ambitions of the Greeks, among them those

of Sophocles Venizelos, the son of Eleftherios Venizelos who murdered Albanians and put whole districts of southern Albanian to the torch, the frenzied Greek chauvinist and father of the idea of Great Greece, aimed at cutting up Albania and annexing it under the slogan of autonomy, are very well known: Comrade Khrushchev is well aware of the attitude of the Party of Labor of Albania, of the Albanian Government and people on this question. Then, to fail to give Sophocles the answer he deserves, to permit the arousing of hopes and illusions and to say that he will transmit to the Albanian comrades the desires of a British agent, a chauvinist, this is unacceptable to us and deserves condemnation.

Comrade Khrushchev, we have given our reply to Sophocles Venizelos and we believe you have learned of this through the press. We are not opposed to your politicizing with Sophocles Venizelos but refrain from politicizing with our boundairies and our rights, for we have not allowed nor will we allow such a thing. And it is not as nationalists but as internationalists that we do this.

Some may consider these things I am telling you as out of place, as statements inappropriate to the level of this meeting. It would not have been hard for me to have put together a speech in an allegedly theoretical tone, to have spoken in generalizations and quotations, to have submitted a report in general terms in order to please you and pass my turn.

But to the Party of Labor of Albania it seems

that this is not the occasion. What I have said may appear to some as attacks, but these are criticisms which have pursued their proper course, which have been made before, when and where necessary within Leninist norms. But seeing that one error follows another, it would be a mistake to keep silent because attitudes, deeds and practice confirm, enrich and create theory.

How quickly the Bucharest Conference was organized and how quickly the Chinese Communist Party was condemned for «dogmatism»! But why has a Conference to condemn revisionism not been organized at the same speed?

Has revisionism been totally exposed as the Soviet comrades claim? No, in no way whatsoever! Revisionism has been and continues to be the principal danger, Yugoslav revisionism has not been liquidated and the way we are dealing with it is leaving it a clear field for all forms of action.

And can it be said that there are no disturbing manifestations of modern revisionism in other parties? Anyone who says «no» is closing his eyes to this danger, and one fine day we will wake to see that unexpected things have happened to us. We are Marxists and should analyze our work just as Lenin did and taught us to do. He was not afraid of mistakes, he looked them in the eye and corrected them. This is the way the Bolshevik Party was tempered and this is the way our parties have been tempered.

But what is happening in the ranks of our parties? What is happening in our camp since the

20th Congress? Comrade Suslov may feel optimistic, and he expressed this feeling at the October Committee meeting when he reproached the delegate of the Party of Labor of Albania, Hysni Kapo, with pessimism in observing events. We, Albanian Communists, have not been pessimistic even at the blackest moments of the history of our party and people and never will be, but we will always be realists.

Much has been said about our unity. This is essential, and we should fight to strengthen and temper it. But the fact is that on many important issues of principle we have no unity.

The Party of Labor of Albania is of the opinion that things should be re-examined in the light of a Marxist-Leninist analysis and errors should be corrected. Let us take the question of the criticism of Stalin and his work. Our Party, as a Marxist-Leninist one, is fully aware that the cult of the individual is an alien and dangerous manifestation for the parties and for the communist movement itself. Marxist parties should not only not permit the development of the cult of the individual which hampers the activity of the masses, negates their role, is at variance with the development of the life of the party and with the laws that govern it, but should also fight with might and main to uproot it when it begins to appear or has already appeared in a specific country. Looking at it from this angle, we fully agree that the cult of the individual, Stalin, should be criticized as a dangerous

manifestation in the life of the party. But in our opinion, the 20th Congress and, especially, Comrade Khrushchev's secret report did not put the question of Comrade Stalin correctly in an objective Marxist-Leninist way.

Stalin was severely and unjustly condemned on this question by Comrade Khrushchev and the 20th Congress. Comrade Stalin and his work does not belong to the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Soviet people alone, but to us all. Just as Comrade Khrushchev said in Bucharest that the differences are not between the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Chinese Communist Party but between the Chinese Communist Party and international communism, just as it pleases him to say that the decisions of the 20th and 21st Congresses were adopted by all the communist and workers' parties in the same way, he should also be magnanimous and consistent in passing judgment on Stalin's work so that the communist and workers' parties of the world could adopt it with a clear conscience.

There cannot be two yardsticks nor two measures of weight for this matter. Then, why was Comrade Stalin condemned at the 20th Congress without prior consultation with the other communist and workers' parties of the world? Why was this «anathema» pronounced upon Stalin all of a sudden to the communist and workers' parties of the world and why did many sister parties learn of it only when the imperialist press published Comrade Khrushchev's secret report far and wide?

The condemnation of Comrade Stalin was imposed on the communist and progressive world by Comrade Khrushchev. What could our parties do under these circumstances, when unexpectedly, using the great authority of the Soviet Union, he imposed a matter of this kind on our bloc?

The Party of Labor of Albania found itself in a great dilemma. It was not convinced and will never be convinced on the question of condemning Comrade Stalin in that way and in those forms that Comrade Khrushchev did it. Our Party adopted, in general, the formula of the 20th Congress on this matter but, nevertheless, it dit not stick to the limitations set by the Congress nor did it yield to the blackmail and intimidation from outside our country.

The Party of Labor of Albania maintained a realistic stand on the question of Stalin. It was correct and grateful towards this glorious Marxist against whom, while he was alive, there was no one among us «brave enough» to come out and criticize, but when he was dead a great deal of mud was thrown, creating in this way an intolerable situation in which a whole glorious epoch of the Soviet Union when the first socialist State in the world was set up, when the Soviet Union waxed strong, successfully defeated the imperialist plots, crushed the Trotskyites, Bukharinites and the kulaks as a class, when the construction of heavy industry and collectivization triumphed, in a word, when the Soviet Union became a colossal

power succeeding in building socialism, when it fought the Second World War with legendary heroism and defeated fascism, liberated our peoples, when a powerful socialist camp was set up, and so on and so forth — all this glorious epoch of the Soviet Union is left without a helmsman, without a leader.

The Party of Labor of Albania thinks that it is no right, normal or Marxist, to blot out Stalin's name and great work from all this epoch, as it is actually being done. We should all defend the good and immortal work of Stalin. He who does not defend it is an opportunist and a coward.

As a person and as the leader of the Bolshevik Communist Party, after Lenin's death Comrade Stalin was, at the same time, the most prominent leader of international communism helping in a very positive way and with great authority in consolidating and promoting the victories of communism throughout the world. All of Comrade Stalin's theoretical works are a fiery testimony of his loyalty to his teacher of genius, to great Lenin and Leninism.

Stalin fought for the rights of the working class and the working people in the whole world, he fought to the end with great consistency for the freedom of the peoples of our countries of People's Democracy.

Viewing things from this angle alone, Stalin belongs to the entire communist world and not to the Soviet communists alone, he belongs to all the

workers of the world and not to the Soviet workers alone.

Had Comrade Khrushchev and the Soviet comrades viewed this matter in this spirit, the gross mistakes that were made would have been avoided. But they viewed the question of Stalin very simply and only from the internal aspect of the Soviet Union. But, in the opinion of the Party of Labor of Albania, even from this aspect, they viewed it in a one-sided way, seeing only his mistakes, almost completely putting aside his great activity, his major contribution to the strengthening of the Soviet Union, to the tempering of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, to the building of the economy of the Soviet Union, of its industry, its kolkhozian agriculture, to his leading the Soviet people to their great victory over German fascism.

Did Stalin make mistakes? Of course he did. In so long a period filled with heroism, trials, struggle, triumphs, it is inevitable not only for Joseph Stalin personally but also for the leadership as a collective body to make mistakes. Which is the party and who is the leader that can claim to have made no mistakes in their work? When the existing leadership of the Soviet Union is criticized, the comrades of the Soviet leadership advise us to look ahead and let bygones be bygones, they tell us to avoid polemics, but when it comes to Stalin, they not only did not look ahead but they turned right round, completely backward, in order to track down only the weak spots in Stalin's work.

The cult of the individual of Stalin should, of course be overcome. But can it be said, as it has been claimed, that Stalin himself was the sponsor of this cult of the individual? The cult of the individual should be overthrown without fail, but was it necessary and was it right to go to such lengths as to point the finger at any one who mentioned Stalin's name, to look askance at any one who used a quotation from Stalin with great speed and zeal? Certain persons smashed statues raised to Stalin and changed the names of cities that had been named after him. But why go any further? At Bucharest, turning to the Chinese comrades, Comrade Khrushchev said: «You are catching on to a dead horse», «Come and get his bones, if you wish!» These references were to Stalin.

The Party of Labor of Albania solemnly declares that it is opposed to these acts and to these assessments of the work and person of Joseph Stalin.

Soviet comrades, why were these questions raised in this manner and in such a distorted form, while possibilities existed for both Stalin's mistakes and those of the leadership to be treated properly, to be corrected, without creating such a shock in the hearts of the communists of the world, which only the sense of discipline and the authority of the Soviet Union prevented from bursting out?

Comrade Mikoyan has said that we dared not criticize Comrade Stalin when he was alive for he would have cut off our heads. We are sure that

Comrade Khrushchev will not cut off our heads if we criticize him aright.

After the 20th Congress, the events we know took place in Poland, the counterrevolution broke out in Hungary, attacks began on the Soviet system, disturbances were aroused in many communist and workers' parties of the world and finally this that has occured.

We pose the question: Why did these things occur in the international communist movement, in the ranks of our camp, after the 20th Congress? Or do these things happen because the leadership of the Party of Labor of Albania is sectarian, dogmatic and pessimistic?

A thing of this kind should be of extraordinary concern for us and we should look for the source of and cure this malady. But, certainly, this sickness can not be cured by patting the renegade Tito on the back nor by putting in the Statement that modern revisionism has been completely done away with, as the Soviet comrades claim.

The authority of Leninism has been and is decisive. It should be established in such a way as to purge erroneous views everywhere and in radical way. There is no other way out for us communists. If there are things that must and should be said outright, just as they are, this should be done now, at this Conference, before it is too late. Communists, we think, should go to bed with a clear conscience, they should strive to consolidate their unity but without keeping back their reser-

vations, without nurturing feelings of favoritism and hatred. A communist says openly what he feels in his heart and matters will be judged correctly.

There may be people who will not be pleased with what our small Party is saying. Our small Party may be isolated, our country may be subjected to economic pressure in order to prove, allegedly, to our people that their leadership is no good, our Party may be and is being attacked, Michael Suslov equates the Party of Labor of Albania with the bourgeois parties and likens its leaders to Kerensky. But this does not intimidate us. We have learned some lessons. Rankovich has not said worse things about the Party of Labor of Albania, Tito has called us Goebels, but again, we are Leninists and they are Trotskyites, traitors, lackeys and agents of imperialism.

I wish to emphasize that the Party of Labor of Albania and the Albanian people have shown in practice how much they love, how much they respect and how loyal they stand to the Soviet Union and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, and that when the Party of Labor of Albania criticizes the wrong doings of certain Soviet leaders, that does not mean that our views and our attitude have changed. We, Albanians, take the courage as Marxists to criticize these comrades not because we hate them but because we think highly of them and because we love above everything else the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Soviet people.

This is how we love the Soviet Union, the

Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Soviet leadership. With our Marxist severity we tell them in a comradely way, we open our hearts, we tell them frankly what we think. Hypocrites we have never been nor will ever be.

In spite of the severity we show, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union will hold us dear, regardless of errors we may make, but the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the other communist and workers' parties of the world will not accuse us of lacking sincerity, of talking behind their backs or of swearing allegiance to a hundred banners.

In conclusion. I wish to say a few words about the draft-Statement submitted to us by the Editorial Commission. Our Delegation took cognizance of this draft and scrutinized it carefully. In the new draft-Statement many amendments have been made to the first variant submitted by the Soviet Delegation which was taken as a basis of the work of the said Commission. With the amendments made to it, the new draft-Statement has been considerably improved, many important ideas have been stressed, a number of theses have been formulated more correctly and the overwhelming majority of the allusions against the Chinese Communist Party nave been rejected.

At the meeting of this Commission, the Delegation of our Party offered many suggestions which were partially adopted. Although our Delegation was not in agreement that certain important matters of principle should remain in the drafted do-

cument, it gave its consent that this document should be submitted to this meeting, reserving its right to express once again its views on all the issues on which it disagreed. Above all, we think that those five issues which remain uncoordinated, should be settled so that we may draw up a document which has the unanimous approval of all.

We think that it is essential to make clear in the Statement the idea of Lenin expressed recently by Comrade Maurice Thorez as well as by Comrade Suslov in his speech at the meeting of the Editorial Commission, that there can be an absolute guarantee of the prohibition of war only when socialism has triumphed throughout the world or, at least, in a number of other great imperialist countries. At the same time, that paragraph which refers to factionist or group activity in the international communist movement should be deleted since this, as we have pointed out also at the meeting of the Commission, does not help consolidate unity, on the contrary, it undermines it. We are also in favor of deleting the words refering to the overcoming of the dangerous consequences of the cult of the individual or else, of adding the phrase «which occurred in a number of parties», a thing which corresponds better to the reality.

I do not want to take the time of this meeting over this question and other opinions which we have on the draft-Statement. Our Delegation will make its concrete remarks when the draft-Statement itself is under discussion.

We will do well and it will be salutary if we take the courage at this conference to look our mistakes in the face and treat the wounds, wherever they may be, but which are threatening to become aggravated and dangerous. We do not consider it an offense when comrades criticize us justly and on facts, but we will never, never, accept that without any facts, they may call us «dogmatic», «sectarian», «narrow nationalists» simply because we fight with persistence against modern revisionism and, especially, against Yugoslav revisionism. If anyone considers our struggle against revisionism as dogmatic or sectarian, we say to him, «Take off your revisionist spectacles and you will see more clearly!»

The Party of Labor of Albania thinks that this Conference will remain an historic one, for it will be a Conference in the tradition of the Leninist Conferences which the Bolshevik Party had organized in order to expose and root right out distorted views, in order to strengthen and steel the unity of our international communist and workers' movement on the basis of Marxism-Leninism. Our Party of Labor will continue to strive with determination to strengthen our unity, our fraternal bonds, the joint activity of our communist and workers' parties, for this is the guarantee of the triumph of the cause of peace and socialism. The unity of the socialist camp headed by the Soviet Union, the unity of the international communist and workers' movement with the glorious Commu-

nist Party of the Soviet Union at the center, is the most sacred thing which our Party will guard as the apple of its eye and will strengthen more and more with each passing day.

(Reproduced from «Important Documents of the Party of Labor of Albania», Vol. III).

NOTES

1) In December 1959, N. Khrushchev, Head of the Soviet Government, who preferred to settle the important international issues only through talks with the chiefs of imperialism, made arrangements through diplomatic channels to call a top-level conference with the participation of the Heads of the Governments of the USSR, USA, Britain and France. This conference was to be held in May 1960, but it was not held because of the sabotage of the U.S. imperialists and the vacillating adventurist stand of N. Khrushchev.

2) Through this proposal and the notes the Soviet Government addressed on May 25, 1959 to the Governments of Albania, Bulgaria, Rumania, Yugoslavia, Turkey, Greece, Italy, France, Britain and the USA, the creation was sought of a zone free of nuclear weapons and missiles in the Balkans and the Adriatic region.

3) The reference here is to the documents approved by the meeting of the representatives of the Communist and Workers' Parties which was held in Moscow in November 1957.

4) In its letter on June 2, 1960, the CC of the CPSU proposed to call a meeting of the representatives of the Communist and Workers' Parties of the socialist camp towards the end of June in order «to exchange views on the problems of the present international situation and to map out a further commonline». But on June 7, 1960, the CC of the CPSU, in another letter, expressed the opinion that this meeting should not be held in June but at a date to be set by a preliminary gathering of the representatives of the Communist and Workers' Parties of the socialist countries at the time of the 3rd Congress of the Rumanian Workers Party in Bucharest.

5) At the 2nd Plenum of the CC of the CPA held in Berat in June 1944, the delegate of the CC of the Yugoslav Communist Party hatched up a plot behind the scenes against the Communist Party of Albania with the participation of the anti-Party elements Sejfulla Maleshova, Koçi Xoxe and Pandi Kristo. The main objective of this conspiracy was to overthrow the Party leadership headed by Comrade Enver Hoxha and to replace it with a new pro-Yugoslav leadership.

This objective failed to materialize because of the opposition offered by most of the members of the CC of the Communist Party of Albania.

ENVER HOXHA

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

SPEECH

DELIVERED AT THE TIRANA FESTIVE MEETING COMMEMORATING THE 20th ANNIVERSARY OF THE FOUNDING OF THE PARTY OF LABOR OF ALBANIA AND THE 44th ANNIVERSARY OF THE GREAT OCTOBER SOCIALIST REVOLUTION ON NOVEMBER 7, 1961

(Excerpts)

Dear comrades,

We are celebrating the 20th anniversary of our Party in new international conditions very favourable to the forces of peace, democracy and socialism. Twenty years ago, when the Albanian Communist Party was founded, the world was ruled by the capitalist system — a system of oppression and wild 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; the Soviet Union became the liberator of

the enslaved European peoples. 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. Socialism came out of the borders of a single country and became a world system stretching from the Adriatic coasts to the coasts of the Pacific Ocean; this is the greatest historic victory of the international working class.

The world socialist system, which includes in its fold over 1 billion people with a big economic and military potential continually growing at unprecedented rates, has become today the decisive factor in the development of the world history. It exerts a tremendous influence on the world; it has become a great attractive and revolutionazing force.

The world socialist system is showing with every passing day its indisputable superiority over the capitalist system. It has become the shield of all the progressive forces of the world, the impregnable bulwark of freedom and peace, democracy and socialism.

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 the second greatest event after the establishment of the world socialist system.

As a result of the establishment and consolidation of the world system of socialism, and of the dissolution of the colonial system of imperialism, 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 ruler and all-powerful ruler in the world. It can no more lord over it. Its laws do not operate everywhere in the world. In front of the capitalist system which is heading towards its inevitable doom, there stands powerful and invincible the world system of socialism round which there have rallied and continue to rally all the revolutionary and anti-imperialist forces which are striving for the national and social liberation.

Such is the reality of our days and this reality convincingly shows that the ratio of forces in the world today has radically and definitely 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 carry 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 Labor 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. These are known tactics. 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 power 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 leaders of

imperialism, but on the tremendous economic, political and military power of the mighty socialist camp, on the unity and struggle of the international working class, on the resolute efforts of the peoples of the whole world against the imperialist warmongers, 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 country, the interests 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 Labor 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 countries of the socialist camp headed by the Soviet Union; 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 consolidation of peace in the world and in the Balkan and Adriatic area; exposure of the policy of war and aggression pursued by the im-

perialist powers headed by the United States of America and their partners and tools round our country, such as the Italian imperialists, the Greek monaroho-fascists and the Yugoslav revisionists.

In the foreign policy our Party and Government have always marched hand in hand 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 with 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 company turned their coat and are accusing us at times of being «adventurists and warmongers» 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 in regards the questions of war and peace, or in regards our relations with the other States, and especially with the neighbouring States, or in regards the struggle against imperialism and for the exposure of the Yugoslav revisionists.

Twenty years of life and revolutionary struggle of the Party of Labor 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 henchmen. Those who accuse and slander the Party of Labor 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 Government 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 U.S. or British, French or Italian, and their policy of war and aggression; they have been irreconcilable 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 sacred 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 plot 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. By this they mean the conclusion of a peace treaty with Germany and the settlement of the West Berlin problem. The Party of Labor of Albania and the Government of the People's Republic of Albania have not feared and never fear imperialism; they have not feared and never fear their responsibility as a socialist country and as a member of the Warsaw Treaty and they have honourably and strictly fulfilled their internationalist tasks. The attitude of the Party of Labor of Albania and the Government of the People's Republic of Albania towards the German issue is known to the whole world, it is contained in many publicly known documents. The Party of Labor of Albania and the Government of the People's Republic of Albania have always supported and continue to resolutely support the efforts of the Soviet Union and the German Democratic Republic for a peaceful settlement of the German problem. The viewpoint of our Party and Government has been and remains that the conclusion of a peace treaty with Germany and the solution on this basis also of the West Berlin problem are indispensable measures, long since ripe and in the interests of the People's Republic of

Albania, of the German Democratic Republic, of the other socialist countries, in the interests of peace and security in Europe. We have stood and stand for the earliest possible settlement of these problems because any procrastination is only to the advantage of our enemies. The declaration of the Central Committee of the Party of Labor of Albania concerning the German question publicly stated that «in any situation and at any dangerous moment we shall fight to the end alongside with the Soviet Union and the other fraternal countries; irrespective of any sacrifice on every occasion and as always we shall solidarize with them to the end and honourably discharge our duty». Such has been, is and will remain the stand of our Party and our Government.

Then 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 out from year to year?

Or let us take the disarmament problem. It is a matter of common knowledge that our Government has supported the Soviet Union's proposal for a total and complete disarmament because as long as the arms exist and the armament race is being conducted, as long as a total and complete disarmament is not effected, there is no security for peace. The Soviet Government, jointly with our Government, have forwarded the proposal to convert the

Adriatic and the Balkans into a peace area, without bases for atomic weapons and rockets. But the proposals of the Soviet Union and the socialist countries for a total and complete disarmament and for the creation of peace areas have been rejected by the imperialist powers. In such conditions our Government has supported and fully supports the Soviet Government's decision on the resumption of the nuclear weapon tests as a very important and indispensable measure for the security of the Soviet Union and the whole socialist camp, for bridling the imperialist powers headed by the United States of America and the Bonn revenge-seekers, who have intensified to the maximum the frenzied armaments race and the feverish preparations for a new world war. 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 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 damages 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 U.S. 6th fleet is roaming about like a monster in the Mediterranean, when U.S. 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 sabrerattling and seriously endangering the world peace. The Albanian Government was not guilty of and bore no responsibility for this. But, at any case N. Khrushchev should by no means go 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 defense 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 Labor 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 universal peace. Therefore, this principle underlies 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 socialism on a world scale, who for the sake of peaceful coexistence renounce the struggle for the exposure of imperialism, who negate 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 every country.

As regards the forms of transition to socialism, N. Khrushchev badly complicated this question, too, at the 20th Congress 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 a priori 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 one of these eventualities it means to embark on an erroneous path. Only by getting well prepared, especially for the non-peaceful way, the chances grow also for the peaceful way.

This is how we understand the peaceful coexistence 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 neighbors. 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 Tito and Karamanlis that we are allegedly the «warmongers of the Balkans» at a time when Greece continues to consider herself in a «state of war» with Albania, when she advances territorial claims towards our country and is plotting to attack Albania, when monarcho-fascist Greece has become a fortress armed to the teeth by the American imperialists against our socialist countries. The charges of our criticizers are groundless, for no reasonable man can think that little Albania, encircled as she is by wolves which for 17 years in succession have sought to swallow her alive, 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, which has liberated us and is defending us. 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 their 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 10th, 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 Albania should be no more an ally of the Soviet Union? This is monstruous. 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 interests of our people, are Marxists. Tomorrow, these same criticizers may hold us responsible also for the losses in election of the Greek progressive party — EDA. Do perhaps these selfstyled 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 selfstyled Marxists should not forget that the Party of Labor

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 thereby a heavy historic responsibility as a splitter of the unity of the international communist movement and of the socialist camp. Our Party of Labor 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; they are 20 years of exemplary cooperation between our Party and the glorious Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Twenty years of the activity of our Party are 20 years of sincere faithfulness, of great fraternal love of cur Party for Lenin's great Party which has always been, is and will remain for us a source of inspiration and experience, from which we have learned and shall learn how to work and strive for the good of our peoples, for the cause of socialism and communism. Twenty years of the activity of our Party have been years of an unspared and allround assistance by the Soviet Union to the Albanian people, of a fraternal internationalist aid, 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 «anamazing quickness» have changed their attitude towards the Soviet Union, towards the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Incredible is also the monstruous 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-year 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 Labor 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 countries of the socialist camp 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 or another reason, 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 Labor 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 Labor 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 Labor of Albania has always declared, and declares now, too. that the experience of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the experience of its congresses, including here also the 20th and the 22nd Congresses, have been, are and will always be a great help on our road for the up-building of the socialist and communist society. However, 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 some special questions of the 22nd Congress or of the new programme 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 some 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?» (Although we say that we do not agree with some theses of the 20th Congress, the Soviet leaders like to round out things and say the whole 20th Congress). 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 Declara-

tion 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 Labor of Albania, the line it has pursued right from its founding, its 20-year old political activity, are the most convincing facts attesting to its firm loyalty towards Marxism-Leninism, towards the great cause of socialism and communism as well as towards the cause of the world peace.

Our Party of Labor has made its special remarks about some 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 «Concerning the personality cult 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 were against the criticism of Stalin's personality cult because the personality cult methods 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 Labor 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 Labor 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 personality cult as 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 Third 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 First Congress. Everybody knows what was the fate of the enemy of the Party and people Koçi Xoxe and company, who before the

year 1948, incited by the Yugoslav revisionists and abusing the trust given to them by the people and Party, violated the state laws in order to dig the grave to the Party and state cadres.

There does not exist in our Party either the sickness of the personality cult or the violation of the socialist legality. But at the same time, while guarding itself against the manifestations of the personality cult, our Party, in a correct Marxist-Leninist way, nourished 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 Labor 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 worker's 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 Tzarism

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 Trotzkyites, 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's revisionist traitorous group. By thus appraising J. V. Stalin's activity, there is not doubt that the 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 evaluation of J. V. Stalin's activity, in the foreground stand his great merits, his fight for the defense 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 feature as a leader and as a communist. Such has been and remains the firm position of the Party of Labor 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 the leadership of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and its propaganda has made no positive appraisal of J. V. Stalin's theoretical legacy to show his positive

sides and his contribution to the defense 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 a 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 defense of the interests of the class of the proletariat, in the revolutionary struggle against our class enemies, Stalin defended bravely and irreconciliably the cause of Marxism-Leninism», that «in the main and fundamental thing — and the main and fundamental thing for the Marxist-Leninists is the defense 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 personality cult, 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 personality cult, the mass democracy was contraposed to the role of the leaders. It is not bad to recall what V. I. Lenin writes in connection with this:

> «To arrive for this reason at such a point as to oppose in general the dictatorship of the masses to the dictatorship of the leaders, is an absurdity and a folly. It is especially ridiculous when you see that the old leaders who had human viewpoints about simple things, are indeed replaced (under the mask of the slogan: «down with the leaders!») by **young leaders** who say nonsenses which weigh

nothing.» (V. I. Lenin, Works, vol 31, p. 31, Albanian edition).

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 personality cult. 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 Communist 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, also at party meetings, against 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 personality cult? 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 personality cult», 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-fascist and the United States 6th fleet, a plot which was exposed in our country a few months ago. Moreover, after having recommended these 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. Khrushchev 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 defense 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 Trotzky, too, used the same tactics.

> «... Trotzky in his writings — J. V. Stalin says — makes one more (one more!) attempt to prepare the conditions for the substitution of Trotzkyism to Leninism. Trotzky 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 Trotzkyism 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». (J. V. Stalin, Works, vol. 6, p. 361, Albanian edition).

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 any one who would dare to object; to reduce to silence the other parties and various leaders who would not support

his revisionist views, his course. The question of the personality cult, 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. Khrushchev said in his speech:

> «To put an end to the personality cult means for Shehu, Hoxha and others to renounce in essence the commanding posts in the Party and state». And added that «such a thing they do not want to do».

If we take account of the fact that in the same speech he, as we mentioned above, takes under protection and considers as patriots the anti-party elements and agents of imperialism, participants in the plot organized by the imperialists against the People's Republic of Albania, then clearly follows N. Khrushchev's «principled» fight against the personality cult in Albania, his great concern! He is seeking to liquidate the present-day leaders of our Party and place in their stead the anti-party elements and any plotter, agent of imperialism.

That N. Khrushchev, under the pretext of the fight against the personality cult, 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 personality cult. 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 personality cult 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 manifestations of the personality cult, 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 Labor has not agreed and does not agree with the Soviet leadership also as regards the question 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 personality cult also to prepare the ground for the complete rehabilitation of Tito's revisionist and traitorous clique, to present it as a «victim» of Stalin's errors, encouraging thereby 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 Tito's revisionist clique was publicly condemned both by the known letters of the Central Committee of the Communist Party (Bolsheviks) 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 center 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 her on the economic and political dependence of imperialism, that the Tito

gang 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 Labor of Albania has been and remains that the conclusions of Stalin and the Information Bureau in connection with the renegade revisionist clique of Tito, 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 at the imperialist service 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 Labor and at liquidating the people's power. From Tito's Yugoslavia were illegally smuggled in the socialist countries hundreds and thousands of agents and provocators, spies and diversionists, whose duty was terror, sabotage, hatching up of plots against socialism in these countries. Tito's revisionists clique has more and more openly since 1948 and on, placed itself at the service of the U.S. imperialism, with which it is linked with the millions and billions of dollars in the form of U.S. 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 Jugoslavia and her 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 allegely made a serious mistake. And immediately he took the initiative, went to Belgrade, where he called Tito «dear comrade», threw to the basket onesidedly the resolution of the Information Bureau and loudly annouced 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 life both before and after 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. The experience and the practical life, on the other hand, show that in their stand towards Tito's 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 gang of Yugoslav renegades 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 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 people's democratic state.

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 the Hungarian events a base role was being played 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 Labor of Albania the letter that N. Khrushchev had sent on November 9th, 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 pos-

sible 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 Brionit talks you have been in full agreement with our stand towards comrade Janos Kadar as a distinguished personality and 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 the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, since the summer of this year, in connection with the departure of Rakoshi, was trying that comrade Kadar should become first secretary of the Central Committee of the Hungarian Working Peoples' Party».

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 under foot any regulation determining the relations between the fraternal parties, has gone so far as to interfere even in an issue of so important and 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, this enemy of socialism, the very inspirer and organiser 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 the Yugoslav revisionism was enlivened and the Yugoslav leaders were criticised for their stand. But the traitorous Tito group not only did not make any selfcriticism 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 Yugoslav Communist League, 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 embarassed before the public opinion and the international communist movement, although half-heartedly, took a stand concerning the Yugoslav revisionists. But this did not last long. With a wonderful nimbleness and contrary to the most elementary logic, he, at the Fifth 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 center 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 Yugoslav Communist League, 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 irreconciliable fight not only against opportunism, but also against those who preached the «unity» with the opportunists.

The revisionist group of the Yugoslav leadership, 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 showed themselves enemies of communism and of the peoples freedom. Precisely because Tito's revisionist gang 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 socalled «aid» of the U.S. 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 Declara-

tion stresses the need for a continuous struggle to expose fully the group of 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 at 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 10th, 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 Worker's Parties? 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 Com-

munist 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 teachings of Marxism-Leninism and the cause of socialism?

The Party of Labor of Albania could not and cannot agree with such an opportunistic stand towards the dangerous revisionist gang of Tito, which is an agency of imperialism and an enemy of socialism and communism, of the Party of Labor of Albania and the Albanian people. In the struggle against the modern revisionism especially against Tito's revisionist clique, the Party of Labor 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, Tito's clique has never renounced, either before 1948 or after 1955, the plots and diversion against the People's Republic of Albania and

the Party of Labor of Albania, but, on the contrary, has increased them. Therefore, the struggle of the Party of Labor 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 Labor of Albania, which 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 hotblooded», «they view things narrowly and conduct the struggle against the Yugoslav leaders from the positions of nationalism», that the «Albanians want to capture the flag of antirevisionism» 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 uncomprimisingly 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 Labor of Albania and its leadership.

The stand of N. Khrushchev's group towards the Yugoslav revisionism, in fact, is not a stand different only from that of the Party of Labor of Albania, but from that of all the international communist and workers' movement, from the stand 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 the 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 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. Khrushchev 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 proletariat precisely as Tito tried to do earlier and as have tried to do in the past the opportunists and revisionists of the various brands.

What were the consequences of the spreading of the various opportunist viewpoints, of the unprincipled struggle against J. V. Stalin and the policy of reconciliation with Tito's 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

personality cult of J. V. Stalin» and the «normalisation of relations with Yugoslavia», although they present the questions 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 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 personality cult 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, of the Soviet Union and of the peoples of all the countries of the socialist camp, 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 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 Congresses of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union did not become their banner? There is only one explanation here because some theses which were set at the 20th Congress were of an opportunist nature, therefore they constituted the ideological food for the renegades and the revisionists in their struggle against Marxism-Leninism; because the stand towards Stalin and Tito's clique were anti-Marxist, therefore they were utilised 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 the country, N. Khrushchev proposed ever since 1957 to be given political asylum to him in the Soviet Union. The slogans of these traitors were the demagogical slogans of «liberalisation and democratisation of the proletarian dictatorship», «of normalisation of relations with Yugoslavia», «of rehabilitation of Koçi Xoxe and other anti-party elements condemned earlier», etc. It is significant 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 Tito's clique, shot for his hostile activity which was aimed at liquidating the Party and the people's power and at turning Albania into a 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, socialism and communism.

However, the international communist and worker's movement managed to cope successfully with the onslaught of the revisionist renegades. The

ranks of the communist and workers' parties were strengthened and this is due to the strength and firmness of the fraternal communist and workers' parties, to the vitality of the ideas of Marxism-Leninism. And thus will always happen. Marxism-Leninism is the banner of victory, therefore its enemies, the revisionists and 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 some 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 some of 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 to all the communist and worker's parties, not stopping for this purpose even before the pressure, blackmail and brutal attacks against those fraternal 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 Labor 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 Labor 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 fraternal 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 tactic 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 fraternal communist and worker's parties, 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 Labor. For this reason he did not invite to the 22nd Congress our Party also, because its word would bring to the fore the truth on the Albanian-Soviet relations, would expose 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 one-sidedly our Party is known in the international communist and workers' movement. He applied this tactics at Bucharest, too, where with false and one-sided charges he tried to kneel down Marxist-Leninist parties and to compromise by means of a quick, unpondered and hasty pronunciation the representatives of the fraternal parties, but that 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, since he feared to convene an international conference, resorted to his putschist methods, utilising for this purpose the 22nd Congress.

In this way, N. Khrushchev has effectively sabotaged any future international meeting also, because by attacking one-sidedly and publicly our Party, he has put the Party of Labor of Albania on conditions of unequality.

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 Labor of Albania or the leadership of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union headed by N. Khrushchev? Our Party, which has always observed the principle that our disagreements should be solved through the party way, on basis of the principles of the Moscow Declarations of 1957 and 1960, or the Soviet leadership, which has trampled under foot 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 Labor of Albania has never spoken publicly about our differences, it has only through the party way and at party meetings, openly and courageously criticised 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, wnere

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, iron unity, not for an anaemic and sick unity. Presicely because it stands for the iron unity of the international communist and workers' movement and the socialist camp, it has courageously and through the party way criticised N. Khrushchev's anti-Marxist manifestations and actions, which weaken this unity.

We greatly regret the fact that some leaders of the fraternal 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 the fraternal parties have no knowledge of the development of relations between our Party and the Soviet leadership. Is it correct to take this or that stand, when one hears only the arguments of one side, while the other side has been deprived 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 fraternal 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 fraternal 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 Labor of Albania and the soviet leadership. Surely, many of them may have their remarks as concerns the work of the Party of Labor 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 dit not express themselves about the Soviet-Albanian disagreements, they did not support N. Khrushchev in his attacks and slanders against the Party of Labor 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 Labor thanks for their principled and correct stand both the representatives of the fraternal 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 Labor 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, and especially comrade Kliment Voroshilov, surely refrained himself from telling in detail all the backstage he and his companions had organised at the time of the plenary session of the Central Committee of the Communist. Party of the Soviet Union in summer 1957.

Poliansky has hidden this from the congress, hut he has told this their «friend» Liri Belishova, who reported it to our party. Let us take another example. When the Tirana tribunal gave the deserved verdict against the agents of U.S. imperialism, of Yugoslavia and Greece, Teme Sejko and company, out of the whole press of the European people's democracies, 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 two secretaries of the Central Council of the Bulgarian Trade Unions had been dismissed from their posts. And this was because the revisionist Tito 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, 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 been developed. At least our Party has not given the Italian Communist Party any material. His Central Committee had not adopted before any decision by which to denounce our party and thus to authorise its representatives to condemn it. At least we do not know of any such

fact. Then of what democracy are speaking these leaders who scandalise 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 revisionist Tito. Nevertheless, strangely enough, nobody rose against Togliatti's revisionist viewpoints.

N. Khrushchev, who speak 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 Labor 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 the 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 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.

Thus in the economic field, all the credits the Soviet Union had accorded to our contry for the third five year plan were suspended and this was done with a view of sabotaging the economic plan of our country, without any reason and one-sidedly were withdrawn from Albania all the soviet specialists whom our economy badly needed and we had officially asked to stay; under the pretext of starting from this year with the repayment of the old credists (although according to the existing documents, this would begin after 1970), the Soviet side has almost entirely suspended the trade relations on a clearing basis, scholarships were cut to all the Albanian civilian and military students studying in the Soviet Union, etc., etc. The economic pressu-

res have been accompanied with pressure and restrictive measures in the military field, too.

On the other hand, it is well known by all that the press of the People's Republic of Albania is continuously writing on the life and the successes of the Soviet Union in the communist building, supports the various moves and proposals the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Soviet Government concerning various international questions, whereas the Soviet press, to the contrary, since almost one and a half years has established a strict silence blockade against Albania. While it does not let escape the least chance to write even concerning a single positive word which some British lord has occassionally said, the Soviet press does no write a single line about Albania, let alone the Party of Labor of Albania, as if it did not exist at all on the earth either the People's Republic of Albania or the Albanian people, who are building up socialism and struggling for peace in the wolf's mouth, surrounded on all sides by the imperialists and their tools. The ice of silence was broken only at the 22nd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union by N. Khrushchev, but it was broken only to slander and vomit gall against the Party of Labor of Albania and the People's Republic of Albania.

In these anti-Marxist and hostile actions 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 her 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 socialism and of communism, there can be no «cordon», regardless of how organised and strong it may be, to resist to the Marxist-Leninist truth. Any «cordon» will be smashed and its organisers 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 Labor of Albania, for the liquidation of the 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 the internal affairs. He said: «To put an end to the personality cult 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. However 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 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 U.S.A. State Department, from the U.S., British and other imperialists, from Franco's «Nationalist Spain» radio, from Tito's traitorous revisionist gang, 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 Labor. On what have the imperialists and their tools relied in their activity against the people's power and the Party in our country? Their army has been the scum of our society, the degenerate and anti-party elements, people sold to the foreign imperialist intelligence services, whom our people recalls only with a feeling of deep hate, contempt and scorn. This will be also the army 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 iron unity of our Party and people, in the face of this invincible force, will shamefully fail all 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 Labor 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. Our Party and people for 20 years in succession have been educated in the spirit of unbounded love and firm loyalty towards the glorious Soviet Union and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. They have demonstrated this love and loyalty by deeds in their common struggle against fascism, in their joint efforts to built up the socialist and communist society, for peace and the freedom of peoples, they have shown it by their unswerving and principled struggle against our common enemies — the imperialists and the modern revisionists, especially after the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and after the counter-revolution in

Hungary, when the enemies of socialism launched wild attacks and slanders against the Soviet order and Soviet soldiers were attacked on the back. The entire 20 year old heroic struggle and untiring activity of our party and people for the continuous tempering and strengthening of the sacred Albanian-Soviet friendship can not be liquidated so easily by means of some unfounded accusations and base slanders. The Albanian-Soviet friendship has deep roots, it will live in centuries, contrary to the desires and attempts of our criticizers.

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 Labor 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 Labor 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 glorious Soviet Union and its great Party of Lenin, that they are

an unfortunate and temporary sickness in their sound body.

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 Labor 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 one-sidedly, 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. We hope for and are confident in the sense of justice of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

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 homeland of the great Lenin and Stalin, both in good and bad times. For us the glorious Soviet Union and the Soviet people, the great party of bolsheviks, have been, are and remain the most beloved friends of our

hearts, our liberators from the fascist yoke, our loyal and resolute allies in the struggle for the upbuilding of socialism in our country. With the Soviet Union, with the Soviet people, with the Communist Party of the Soviet Union we have been and will be linked for ever. Our Party and people have and are following with a special sympathy the glorious successes and efforts achieved by the Soviet peoples, under the leadership of their glorious Communist Party, in all the fields of communist construction and consider them also as victories of the Albanian people in the joint struggle for the triumph of the great cause of socialism and communism. We are deeply convinced that the objectives and the tasks set by the 22nd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union will be achieved as always successfully, for the good of the peoples of the Soviet Union, of the entire socialist camp, to the benefit of the sacred cause of socialism and communism, of peace and the freedom of the people of the whole world.

Our Party and people, as always, will struggle for the cause of socialism and communism united in the socialist camp, alongside the fraternal peoples of the Soviet Union, alongside the fraternal Chinese people, alongside all the peoples of the countries of the socialist camp.

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 cor-

rect general line, that in connection with the present day important questions preoccupying the international communist movement too, 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.

A guarantee for this is our heroic and indomitable people, our glorious party, the Party of the popular revolution, the Party which during these 20 years won over fascism and brought freedom to our people and homeland, which triumphed over the backwardness, over hunger and ignorance, and has embarked our country on the road to socialism, to progress and culture, the Party which, as a loyal offspring of our heroic people, has frustrated any provocation and plot which was aimed at bringing back the enslavement and poverty to our homes. A guarantee for our future victories will be our support and friendship with the Soviet peoples, with the Chinese people, with all the friendly peoples of the socialist camp and others, with which our Party, as a party loyal to the principles of the proletarian internationalism, has linked with an everlasting and invincible friendship our small but heroic people.

We are experiencing some temporary difficulties due to the fact that we have to face not only

the attacks and the intrigues of our sworn enemies, the U.S. and other imperialists, their allies and lackeys — the Yugoslav revisionists, but because we have to repulse also the new slanders and attacks which are being made against us. But the difficulties have never scared and bent either our Party, or our people. By closing our ranks around the Party, by strengthening the vigilance, by multiplying our efforts to successfully realise, better than ever, the tasks for the fulfilment of the state plan in all the fields, we shall succeed. We are convinced that in this struggle and in these efforts we shall have the support of all our friends, of all the peoples of the socialist countries, including first and foremost the Soviet people, of all the communists of the world, including first and foremost the Soviet communists, who sooner or later will see that the blow directed against our Party and people is unjust, is dangerous for all the communists of the world.

With this confidence we are celebrating the great holiday of the 44th anniversary of the 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.

Long live the 44th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution!

Long live the 20th anniversary of the Party of Labor of Albania!.

Glory to the victorious Marxism-Leninism, the banner of the victories of our Party and people!

Long live our heroic and indomitable people!

Glory to the Party of Labor of Albania!

ENVER HOXHA

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

EXCERPTS FROM THE REPORT ON THE ACTIVITY OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE PARTY OF LABOR OF ALBANIA

Submitted to the 5th Congress of the PLA
on November 1,1966

THE STRUGGLE OF THE PARTY OF LABOR OF ALBANIA AGAINST MODERN REVISIONISM, IN DEFENSE OF THE PURITY OF MARXISM-LENINISM

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

The Party of Labor of Albania considers that it is the right and duty of every Marxist-Leninist Party to defend the teachings of Marxism-Leninism from any right or left deviation within its own ranks or within the international Communist movement and to make a principled criticism of any Marxist-Leninist Party which violates and distorts the Marxist principles and the laws of the proletarian revolution. This derives from the fundamental principles and the international nature of the Marxist-Leninist doctrine, from the common interests and aims of all the detachments of the working class, from the proletarian party spirit, and from

the responsibility of every party for the fate of the international communist movement.

At the same time, the correct understanding and development of Marxism-Leninism and its application in practice in different countries is not and cannot be a monopoly of one party or a few individuals, but is the right and duty of each party and each communist or revolutionary group and at the same time of all of them together. Each should and does make its own contribution to this great question of principle.

It is alien to Marxism-Leninism to classify the parties into big and small parties, the mother party and the daughter party, the leading Party and the led. All the true Marxist-Leninist parties are equal and independent of one another, are united to the end with one another in the great cause of the revolution, support and mutually assist one another, consult and cooperate with one another, coordinate their thought and action in order to achieve their common goal, inspired and guided in everything by revolutionary Marxism-Leninism.

The Party of Labor of Albania has always upheld these principles and this healthy revolutionary spirit, and since its foundation it has acted in conformity with them. Marching resolutely on this correct road, without any intention of imposing its views on others, the Party of Labor of Albania openly expresses its views on the great problems that preoccupy the international communist movement. Everybody has the right and the duty to criticize us openly, if we are not right on a certain question, or

somebody does not share our views. We would welcome any just and principled criticism.

1. Modern Revisionism — an Offshoot and Ally of the Bourgeoisie and Imperialism

The Party of Labor of Albania considers the open and uninterrupted struggle against modern revisionism, with the Soviet revisionist leadership as its center, as one of the main duties of all the Marxist-Leninists, for modern revisionism is the main enemy of the international communist movement, the «Trojan Horse» of world imperialism and capitalism, the «second front» of imperialism in opposing socialism and communism. Its strategic aim is to perpetuate the capitalist rule where it is still in power and to restore capitalism where it has been overthrown.

The present Khrushchevite revisionism is a direct successor and follower of the revisionism of Bernstein and Kautsky, Trotsky and Bukharin, Browder and Tito, against which Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, the Communist Third International and the Information Bureau of the Communist and Workers Parties waged a sharp and principled struggle. The present day modern revisionists are following in the footsteps of social-democracy, which is a servant of the bourgeoisie and a weapon to consolidate the capitalist order, suppress the revolution, and undermine socialism.

Revisionism and social-democracy are two ma-

nifestations of the same bourgeois ideology: the first — in the communist movement, and the second — in the workers movement. It is their common ideological basis and common political aims that bring revisionism and social democracy together, unite and integrate them into a single anti-Marxist, anti-socialist, and counter-revolutionary trend.

The history of the emergence, development and triumph of Marxism-Leninism is a history of uninterrupted struggle against all its ideological and political opponents, against all betrayers and splitters, against opportunists and revisionists of every shade. The international communist movement exists and develops in a society divided into opposing classes and systems, between which there is stern class struggle. This struggle finds its expression even within the ranks of the communist Parties and the International communist movement as the struggle between Marxism-Leninism and various opportunist and revisionist trends. Since the dialectical law of development through the struggle of opposites, is a universal law it operates also within the Communist Parties and the Communist movement. Opportunism and revisionism have always been and remain the ideological and polical source of disruption of the unity of the Communist Parties and the communist movement in general. In the course of its history the international communist movement has witnessed a transition from unity to division and from division to a new unity on a higher basis. Victory in the

struggle between Marxism-Leninism and opportunism and revisionism has always been on the side of Marxism-Leninism. After each battle against opportunism and revisionism, the Communist movement has won great historical victories and Marxism-Leninism has been developed and raised to a higher level.

It was precisely the struggle of great Lenin at the head of the Bolsheviks against the opportunism of the treacherous Second International, that ensured that victory of world historic importance — the Great October Socialist Revolution in Russia, which marked the greatest turning-point in the history of mankind, opened the era of transition from capitalism to communism, ensured the triumph of Marxism-Leninism over opportunism, revisionism and social democracy, and led to the formation of the Communist Third International, which raised the world communist movement to a still higher level. It was due to the struggle waged by J. V. Stalin, the great follower of Lenin's work, at the head of the CPSU and of the struggle of the Commintern, that the Trotskyites, Bukharinites, the bourgeois nationalists and all other opportunists were smashed, thus ensuring the consolidation of the proletarian dictatorship and the victory of socialism in the Soviet Union, and pushing forward the world revolutionary and liberation movement. This struggle was a direct contribution to the creation and tempering of the Communist and Workers' Parties; it confirmed the basic principles of the construction of Marxist-Leninist Par-

ties, strengthened the revolutionary unity of the communist movement against bourgeois ideology in its various manifestations, and armed the Parties with great experience in understanding and applying Marxism-Leninism correctly in accordance with the national and international conditions.

The results of the work and struggle waged by the CPSU, the Comintern, and the individual Communist Parties, were reflected especially in the struggle against fascism and after the Second World War, which ended in the complete political and military defeat of fascism, in the general weakening of the imperialist front, in the great victory of the Soviet Union, in the embarking of many countries of Europe and Asia on the road of socialism, in the upsurge of the national-liberation movement, in the growth of the role and authority of the Communist Parties throughout the world, in numerous political and economic victories of the international working class.

The Soviet Union came out of the war stronger than ever, although it had suffered great material and human losses. Its economy recovered quickly. Great successes were achieved by the other socialist countries, too. As a result, the economic and political potential of socialism in the world increased, its defence might, the attractive force of the ideas of socialism and the influence of the Marxist-Leninist Parties, grew. The Marxist-Leninist unity of the Communist and Workers' Parties and the international solidarity of the commu-

nists and peoples was strengthened and forged on a healthy basis, the mutual cooperation and assistance among the fraternal socialist countries were developed and strengthened by new Marxist-Leninist methods, the socialist camp was created and consolidated, and it became the defender of the peoples against imperialism and a mighty supporter of the revolutionary and national liberation struggle, a great school for the revolutionaries and peoples of the whole world for their liberation from the yoke of the imperialist oppressors and other enslavers.

The Revolution was on the rise and marching ahead, while imperialism was moving towards its doom, decaying, and encircled by the iron and fire of the peoples of the whole world. To extricate itself from the difficult situation and to accomplish its counter-revolutionary and aggressive global strategy, the head of world imperialism — US imperialism, put in motion all its economic, political, military, and ideological potential.

At these very difficult moments for imperialism, when it had to solve the crisis facing it from the revolutionary impetus of the working people, from the political, ideological, economic and military might of the socialist camp, and the national liberation struggle of the peoples, the modern revisionists headed by the Titoite and Soviet revisionists came to the aid of imperialism to rescue it from crisis and defeat. This is the great betrayal by the revisionists and their historical responsibility before the peoples.

Being ideologically and morally on the same rails as US and world imperialism in general, despite the great military potential of the countries they ruled, the modern revisionists were terrified by the war threats and atomic blackmail of US imperialism and surrendered to it. They presented themselves to world capitalism as obedient lackeys and tested agents, with a political platform, bourgeois from top to bottom, but camouflaged with Marxist phraseology, in order to deceive the people more easily. Thus world imperialism achieved a much greater success that it had expected. Therefore, it readily approved all the steps and actions of the revisionists, cheered and applauded them, supported and exploited them to the full while trying with blackmail and «concessions», with threats and loans to drag them further and further down the road of betrayal.

The first and most dangerous offspring of imperialism was Titoism, which, with the help of the bourgeoisies, the Trotskyites, and social democracy, seized power in Yugoslavia. It was used by imperialism as a political and ideological means to fight the socialist countries, to organize subversive activities in the international communist movement, to undermine the anti-imperialist struggle of the peoples, and to formulate the principles of modern revisionism under the conditions when a Party of Troskyites and renegades is in power. But thanks to the acute farsightedness of Stalin this serious threat was discovered in time, and a firm, militant,

Marxist-Leninist stand against this treacherous trend was adopted. The Titoite clique was exposed as a band of agents of US imperialism and the international bourgeoisie, it was fought unanimously by the whole of international communism and was isolated in its lair.

After the death of Stalin, the camouflaged counter-revolutionaries within the ranks of the CPSU, headed by N. Khrushchev, began to stir, to plot and to reorganize themselves in order to seize power. The Soviet Marxist-Leninists and the leadership of the CPSU were lacking in revolutionay vigilance and determination. They fell into the net of intrigue of the revisionists and renegades, Khrushchev. Mikoyan, Brezhniev, etc, who carried out their counter-revolutionary coup. The people within the leadership of the CPSU, not only gradually lost their vigilance but proved themselves as apathetic as they were frightened, in the face of the rise of the revisionist counter-revolution. They dit not rely on the Party and the masses, but, began bargaining, making concessions, and indulging in illusions about a false and opportunist democratic solution, allegedly to save the undermined «unity» and «prestige» which was being destroyed. And all this at a time when the traitors N. Khrushchev and Co, were taking everything into their own hands, bringing the revisionist plotters to key positions, and the whole of this undermining activity was covered with a deafening propaganda about

«plenty», «strength», the «newly established democracy», about the «splendid prospects» for the development of the economy, culture, and well-being; it was covered with an unrestrained euphoria about the «lost freedom» regained — about the «sensational successes» in the international field, and with the bombastic and almost daily speeches of the greatest counter-revolutionary that history has ever known, the charlatan clown, N. Khrushchev.

The Khrushchevite revisionists carried out intensive preparatory activity, openly and behind the scenes, both inside the Soviet Union and in the other socialist countries as well as in the international arena, in order to prepare the coups, conditions, and people for «their great action». The 20th, 21st, and 22nd Congresses of the CPSU, are the key moments when the modern revisionists came out the open with their treacherous political and ideological platform. They began their onslaught against Marxism-Leninism, the revolution and socialism, by launching the attack on the life and work of J. V. Stalin, who, as the great successor of the cause of Lenin had defended and implemented a consistant revolutionary general line, which ensured the construction of socialism in the Soviet Union, the victory over fascism in the Great Patriotic War, and the putting of the Soviet Union on the road to the construction of communism. Since that time Khrushchevite revisionism has been developed and elaborated until it has become an entire theoretical and practical system, which has

been concretised in the new Program of the CPSU - the code of modern revisionism.

Just as Khrushchovite revisionism did not arise in one day, but went through its process of formation, of organization and growth into a system, neither did the Marxist-Leninists recognise the nature of revisionism in one day, but through a whole historical process. In order to hide their treacherous aims, the revisionists use refined forms, manoeuvres, tactics and methods, dressed themselves in all kinds of disguises in conformity with the international and national situations, with the development of the class struggle, and their temporary victories and their defeats. As the Albanian saying goes «the serpent never shows its feet». Thus it was proved that the most suitable form for the penetration of bourgeois ideology into the socialist countries and Communist Parties is the form of revisionism, which is nothing but bourgeois ideology, camouflaged with Marxist and socialist phraseology.

The history of the international communist movement has never before known a revisionism developed to such proportions and so dangerous as present day Khrushchovite revisionism. This is connected with the fact that one of the most important features of modern revisionism is that it is revisionism in power which has affected the Communist Parties of several socialist countries, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in the first place, and thus, all the might, authority and means of the socialist state are used to defend and propa-

gate revisionism. This is a great misfortune, as well as a great lesson, for the Marxist-Leninists, who must know not only how to combat this revisionism which has power in its hands, but also, how to prevent a repetition of the revisionist tragedy of the Soviet Union in the other countries that are building socialism now, or will enter the road of socialism in the future.

2. The Strategic Aims of Khrushchovite Revisionism

Now there are innumerable facts to prove what the strategic aims of the Khrushchovite modern revisionists are, and what enormous damage and evil they have brought and are bringing to socialism, the revolution, and the peoples.

The revisionists directed the main spearhead of their struggle **against Marxism-Leninism** — as the reliable theory of world revolution and of the struggle for the defeat of imperialism and capitalism. They replaced this theory with an opportunist and counter-revolutionary theory in the service of the bourgeoisie and imperialism. Under the false slogans of the «struggle against dogmatism» and of the «creative development of Marxism under the new conditions» they actually declared Marxism-Leninism to be outdated, negated its fundamental principles, deprived it of its revolutionary spirit, turned it into a doctrine which is not only harmless but even helpful to the bour-

geoisie. The revisionists replaced materialism with idealism, dialectics with metaphysics, accepted the reactionary philosophy of pragmatism. They rejected the class struggle, the socialist revolution and the proletarian dictatorship, and replaced them with bourgeois and opportunist theories of class conciliation, social reform, peaceful transition, and liberal bourgeois democracy. There is no field of Marxist-Leninist theory where the revisionists have not introduced bourgeois social-democratic ideology, which is their spiritual nourishment. The aim of the revisionists is the ideological disarmament of the Party and the working class in order to open the way to the degeneration of socialism and the international communist movement.

The second direction of the struggle of the revisionists is **to promote the degeneration and step up the destruction of the Marxist-Leninist parties**, to turn them into social-democratic parties which support the counter-revolution, to undermine socialism and defend and reestablish capitalism. They trampled underfoot the Leninist principles for the construction of the party of a new type, introduced into the party life forms and methods of work alien to Marxism-Leninism, eliminated the old revolutionary cadres and brought opportunists, careerists, and adventurers to leading positions, started on the road of alliances with the bourgeois, liberal and socialdemocratic parties, and now are preparing for the liquidation of the Communist Parties under the pretext of creating «united parties of the working class». The Khrushchovites ne-

gated the proletarian class nature of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and declared it «the party of the entire people». They deny the leading role of the Communist Party armed with Marxist-Leninist theory in the socialist revolution and in the system of the proletarian dictatorship, preach that the transition to socialism and its construction can be carried out under the leadership of other parties and classes, even bourgeois ones. It is a bitter fact that today the parties led by the modern revisionists scarcely differ at all from the social-democratic parties; they have been transformed into bourgeois parties of the working class, accomplices and servants of the bourgeoisie and imperialism. Thus the revisionists try to deprive the working class and the working masses not only of their revolutionary ideology but also of their militant vanguard and their leading political staff, and this at a time when imperialism and the bourgeoisie and reaction are organized and armed to the teeth and have hurled themselves into attack on the working class and the revolutionary peoples.

Another aim of the Khrushchovite revisionists is the **degeneration of the socialist system and the liquidation of the proletarian dictatorship**, the radical transformation of the Soviet Union and socialist countries into bourgeois countries and states of a new Titoite and Trotskyite type. Under the false slogan of the «struggle against the cult of the individual and its consequences» the revisionists made the most monstrous slanders against Marxism-Leninism, against the Communist Party

and the dictatorship of the proletariat, against the whole socialist order and world communism. The Khrushchovite revisionists attacked the construction of socialism in the USRR, denigrated its victories, discredited the Soviet people; they tried to make people believe that Stalin with his «arbitrariness» and «his cult» had distorted Lenin's teachings. Thus, «Stalinist Socialism» had to be completely uprooted and turned into a «genuine socialism» in the revisionist style, which was acceptable to the social-democrats, the bourgeois liberals, imperialism and the bourgeoisie. Under the cover of the «state of the whole people» the Khrushchovite revisionists eliminated the proletarian dictatorship in the Soviet Union and established their own dictatorship which is the dictatorship of the new bourgeoisified stratum, which holds power in its hands and oppresses and exploits the Soviet people. This new bourgeois stratum, which is the social basis of revisionism and of which the political representatives are the Soviet revisionist leaders, has now paved the way to the restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union. It has undertaken radical measures to transform the socialist economy into a capitalist economy of a new type after the example of Titoite Yugoslavia, to bastardise the education, culture, the way of life, the healthy proletarian morality, and to spread corruption and dissipation, to open the way to the penetration of bourgeois ideology and morality and foreign investments, especially of the US dollar. That which the imperialist intervention, the white guards, the Trotskyi-

tes and all other enemies of the Soviet Union in their time were quite unable to do, is being carried out by the Khrushchovite revisionists today.

It has been and still is the aim of the Khrushchevite revisionists **to liquidate the socialist camp** — the greatest revolutionary victory of the working class and all the working people of the world, to replace it with the broad idea of the «great socialist family of the peoples», to disrupt the fraternal Marxist-Leninist bonds among the socialist countries and to replace them with bonds of domination and chauvinism, of blackmail, and the economic, political and military pressure of the great upon the small, of the strong upon the weak. The Soviet revisionist leaders trample upon the sovereignty of the other socialist countries and peoples, brutally interfere in their internal affairs, organize subversive activity against them, try to impose upon them their dictate to put the socialist countries under the control and heel of the transformed Troskyite Soviet State. In the relations between the socialist countries the principles of proletarian internationalism have been replaced with new bourgeois and capitalist principles of oppression and domination. Following this road, the Soviet revisionists and their followers violated all the economic, political, and military agreements concluded with the P.R. of Albania, and pursued a savagely chauvinist and imperialist policy towards it. The revisionist traitors have followed the line of sabotaging socialism, of economic pressure and blockades, provocations and plots towards PR

of China also. They follow the same policy in various forms and to various extents even towards their friends and allies.

Another important aspect of the strategy of the Khrushchevite revisionists is disruption, on an international scale, of the workers' internationalist unity, **the smashing of the international communist movement**, the subjugation of the Communist Parties to the Soviet revisionist leadership. The leading Soviet group has introduced to the international communist movement the concept and method of the «conductor's baton» and the «mother party». It has violated the Marxist-Leninist norms and principles of relations between fraternal parties and has established feudal and patriarchal relations of submission and domination. It has directed the whole of its struggle, not against the bourgeoisie and the class enemy, but against the Marxist-Leninist Parties and first of all against the Communist Party of China and the Party of Labor of Albania. The Soviet revisionist leadership, organized the public attack at the 22nd congress of the CPSU against the Party of Labor of Albania. They and their followers transformed the rostrum of certain other parties into arenas of wild slanders and fierce attacks not only against our Party, but also against the CP of China and other Marxist-Leninist Parties. In March last year, the Khrushchovite revisionists organized the splittist and factional meeting of Moscow. They have supported and incited anti-party and hostile elements to undertake factional activity against the frater-

nal parties, have carried out and are carrying out splitting activity on a broad scale within the international democratic organizations, doing their best to impose on them their opportunist and pro-imperialist line.

Soviet-U.S. friendship and cooperation and the establishment of a new alliance between U.S imperialism and Soviet revisionist imperialism for world domination is the essence of the Khrushchevite revisionists' line, their loftiest ideal and dream. This new alliance aims at dividing the spheres of influence and putting all the states of the world under the dictate of these two big powers. It is an undeniable fact that now the Khrushchevite revisionists, headed by the Soviet leaders, do not make any distinction between the friends and enemies of socialism and the peoples, they have broken any bonds with Marxism-Leninism, with the revolutionaries and peoples. They have united with imperialism in opposing socialism, with the USA, with all the reactionaries against the peoples, with all the reactionaries in opposing the revolutionaries. They have united with the Titoite clique and all the other renegades from the working class against Marxism-Leninism, and the Parties and forces which are loyal to it and to the cause of revolution.

Such is the anti-Marxist, anti-socialist and counter-revolutionary force of the Khrushchevite revisionists. Such are their treacherous strategic aims. The main purpose of the resolute and principled struggle of our Party was precisely the

unmasking of the treacherous features of the Khrushchevite revisionists before the eyes of all communists and peoples, the unmasking of the hostile aims of the Soviet revisionists leadership. Our Party is determined to carry this struggle through to the end, to the complete victory of Marxism-Leninism over Khrushchevite, Titoite, and other modern revisionism.

3. The Struggle of the Party of Labor of Albania and all the Marxist-Leninists Against Revisionism and its Results

The Soviet revisionist leaders thought, that because of the economic and military potential and the prestige and authority of the Communist Party and of the Soviet State, resistance to their betrayal would be weak and easily eliminated. Being anti-Marxist, they under-estimated the strength of Marxism-Leninism, its dynamism and revolutionary spirit. In fact things turned out quite the contrary, and it could not happen otherwise. Against this great betrayal of the Khrushchevite revisionists there stood up with all their might the glorious Communist Party of China, the Party of Labor of Albania, the other Marxist-Leninist Parties, and all the true communists and revolutionaries, who said «stop» to revisionism and began a stern, principled and uncompromising struggle against it. This struggle infuriated and terrified the modern revisionists, for it threatened them

with destruction and death. That is why they directed all their fire-power against the Marxist-Leninist Parties and forces, with the RP of China and the PR of Albania as their main targets. They have striven by every means to subdue us, used all their demagogy to isolate the Marxist-Leninists and to neutralize their heroic struggle, which was their resolute response to the revisionists' betrayal; they manoeuvred in a thousand and one ways to stop the polemics which they themselves had started. They left no stone unturned but had no victory, only losses, failure and defeat, up to the elimination of their chieftain Khrushchov, and this was a terrible calamity for the whole of modern revisionism.

Our Party undertook the open struggle imposed on it by modern revisionism, with complete confidence and responsibility, with wisdom and maturity. It assessed this struggle, properly, and took account of the sacrifices involved, because this was a major question of principle, upon which its fate and the fate of its beloved people who had raised and tempered it, the fate of socialism, and the freedom and independence of the Motherland were dependent. This was a struggle in defence of Marxism-Leninism and communism, in defence of the vital interests of the working class and peoples. Its loyalty to the revolutionary cause of its people and its lofty internationalist responsibility, its loyalty to the teachings of Marxism-Leninism and the 1957 and 1960 Moscow Declarations, are what inspired and still inspire our party in the

whole of its stand, and in the resolute and consistent struggle against modern revisionism of Khrushchov, Tito and others.

The Khrushchevites under-estimated this correct decision of our Party to resist and to fight blow for blow, against revisionism considering it an adventure that would flare up but die out after a few moments, like a fire in straw. They thought that with the Party of Labor of Albania and the Albanian people, a small Party and people of a small socialist country, they would quickly settle accounts and would thus provide a good lesson for all those who might dare to oppose the revisionist betrayal. For this purpose they undertook a hostile activity against us such as even the most rabid imperialists might envy. Never since liberation had the Albanian people been placed in a more difficult position than that brought about by the revisionist traitors headed by the Khrushchov group. But our Party and people passed this great historic test with complete success, and inflicted a shameful defeat on the Khrushchevite revisionists and their followers. Life proved that their calculations were built on sand, that in this matter, too, they thought and acted as anti-Marxists and chauvinists and that is why they broke their heads.

There have been people friendly and well intentioned towards our Party and people, who did not understand at first that our Party was correct in its decisions to resist revisionism by every means and to fight a blow for blow struggle against it. Some among them even considered our Party's

stand immature, hasty, tactically wrong, headstrong and arrogant. We listened patiently to these groundless judgements and were convinced that we would eventually be understood and supported, as actually happened. It is not difficult for those who are aware of the history of our relations with the Soviet leaders to see how correct and careful, how calm and cool-headed our Party's stand has been. The struggle of our Party against Khruschevite revisionism was not guided by economic or other trivial and practical considerations, «unhealthy pride» or «narrow national interests», which, some people thought, could be easily settled in one or two meetings with the Soviet leaders. Our differences with the Soviet leaders were not only as a consequence of the grave mistakes which they had committed towards our Party and our country. The Soviet revisionist leadership committed mistakes in regard to Albania because they had betrayed Marxism-Leninism and their mistakes were the consequence of this betrayal and departure from principle. Therefore, the mistakes of the Khrushchevites in regard to us could not be rectified separately from their treacherous general line. The differences were of principle and general, before they were particular and partial. They were differences between two lines in the international communist movement, and not simply between the Party of Labor of Albania and the leadership of the CPSU.

Where did our Party find such confidence and clarity, such strength and determination in its

struggle against modern revisionism? Our Party is relatively young and small, but it is a Party created and tempered amidst struggle and revolution; it is a consistent and revolutionary party, which, throughout its life, has rigorously and loyally upheld the principles of Marxist-Leninist ideology. Our Party's strength and invincibility lies in the invincibility of Marxism-Leninism, which our Party defends, in the revolutionary cause for which it fights, in the steel-like unity of its ranks tempered in fierce class battles; it lies in its unbreakable links with the people, forged by the Party with its correct line, and in the great international proletarian solidarity.

The great experience gained by our Party in the struggle against Yugoslav revisionism played a particular role in the struggle against the Khrushchevites. For more than 20 years our Party has been resolutely and consistenly fighting against the Titoite renegades who have plotted against our Party and our Republic, sabotaged the historic victories of the national-liberation struggle of the peoples of Yugoslavia, destroyed everything socialist, paved the way for the development of capitalism both in the countryside and in the cities, made Yugoslavia dependent economically and politically on imperialist «aid and credits», turned it into a tool of US imperialism and its aggressive and warmongering policy. The treacherous Titoite policy revived and incited national conflicts among the peoples of Yugoslavia. Our Party has never wavered in its stern and principled struggle against the

Titoite betrayal. And life, which is the best judge, has completely proved the correctness of the struggle and of the political and ideological stand of our Party in opposing Titoite revisionism. The struggle of our Party against Titoism was a great school which tempered us, strengthened our faith in victory, taught us to clearly distinguish enemies no matter how well camouflaged they may be, to see through their sinister plans, tactics, demagogy and methods of struggle. As a consequence, in the struggle against Khrushchevite modern revisionism, our Party was not a young and inexperienced party. Had it followed an adventurous line in the struggle against the Yugoslav revisionists, reactionaries, enemies, and imperialist plotters, our Party would have broken its neck long ago. This did not happen and would not happen in the great struggle against the Khrushchevite revisionists either.

For more than six years now our Party has been conducting a bitter and unrelenting struggle against Khrushchevite revisionism. During these years the lofty features and virtues of our Party, its ideological farsightedness, the steel-like unity of the ranks of the Party and of the Party with the people, its revolutionary courage were demonstrated once again with unprecedented vigour. Because of its principled stand and the resolute struggle against modern revisionism, our Party has won the hatred of the revisionist enemies and the love and respect of its friends, of the Marxist-Leninists and revolutionaries of the whole world. We highly appreciate this fact and with due modesty,

will stand unyielding on our correct revolutionary positions and will make our contribution to the great struggle which is going on today between Marxism-Leninism and modern revisionism.

The struggle against revisionism, like that against imperialism, develops gradually, with zigzags. But the general trend of the development of this struggle has been and is at present the rise of the anti-revisionist tide, the growth of the Marxist-Leninist forces and the fall of the revisionist tide and anti-Marxist forces. Khrushchevite revisionism is in decline, because of the open resistance and the struggle against it, which has inflicted great defeats on the revisionists and has faced revisionism with a deep and general crisis.

What are the main results of this historic struggle between Marxism-Leninism and modern revisionism?

First, whilst at first revisionism was developing quietly, covered with the mask of Marxism-Leninism, speculating on the prestige and the authority of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the struggle of the Marxist-Leninist Parties and forces tore the mask from the Khrushchevite revisionists, and exposed their treacherous real face. Never since that time have the revisionists been able to act quietly, under the rose, without being condemned and punished. The struggle against revisionism made it possible to draw a clear-cut line between truth and falsehood, between Marxism-Leninism and revisionism, between revolutionaries and counter-revolutionaries.

It helped the communists and the peoples to fully realize what the Khrushchevite revisionists and their like are, what they represent, and whom they serve, with their policy and all their activity.

Second, whilst at the beginning the revisionists succeeded in deceiving a lot of people with their boastful promises of creating abundance, material wealth, with their bombastic plans of achieving communism within a short period, with their demagogic slogans about the establishment of an «everlasting peace» and of the creation, not later than 1960, of a «world without weapons, without armies and without wars», etc. etc., now, their domestic and foreign policies have suffered a complete fiasco, their loud promises remain empty words, and their demagogy has been utterly discredited.

As a result of their bourgeois capitalist domestic policy, which has caused economic, political, ideological, military and cultural chaos and confusion and has paved the way to the restoration of capitalism, the Khrushchevite revisionists are involved in a deep and irreconcilable contradiction with the Soviet communists and people, who defend the socialist road of development opened by the October Revolution against the capitalist road followed by the revisionist counter-revolution. At the same time, as the result of their treacherous counter-revolutionary capitulationist foreign policy, the Khrushchevite revisionists have become involved in a general conflict with all anti-imperialist forces in the world, which see in the line of

Soviet-US collaboration the big imperialist-revisionist plot of oppressing the peoples and establishing the domination of the two great powers in the world.

Third, whilst earlier the revisionists seemed to have a more or less united single front, now their treacherous line and the struggle of the Marxist-Leninist parties and forces have caused them great difficulties and contradictions that are eroding the revisionist front from within. Now the revisionist front has been undermined to its foundations, and they are like a pack of hungry wolves ready to tear one another to pieces. The conductor's baton no longer has all the revisionist orchestra under its control. Centrifugal and polycentrist tendencies are increasing, big-power chauvinism has bred narrow local nationalism as an inevitable reaction. The different variants of revisionism are quarreling with one another for spheres of influence, and demand to be more free, more independent from the rouble so as to become dependent on the dollar. Each is making efforts to defend its own economic, political and military interest and to oppose them to the interests of other revisionists.

The Soviet revisionist leaders are trying by hook and by crook, now by threats and pressure, now by concessions and roubles, to stop the cracks in the leaking revisionist boat. But none of these efforts have succeeded nor ever will succeed, because the revisionists are unprincipled people, bearers and transmitters of bourgeois ideology, natio-

nalists and chauvinists; therefore there can never be unity among them.

The firm and principled struggle waged by the Marxist-Leninists will sharpen these contradictions more and more, so that the revisionist front will be weakened and the wave of revolution will rise. This struggle, however, should be waged without overestimating these contradictions, or nurturing illusions, because, irrespective of the shades of difference between them and contradictions among them, all the revisionist leading groups represent a single retrogressive anti-Marxist trend — they all have the common goal of struggling against Marxism-Leninism and the revolution, all their manoeuvres and preoccupations are aimed at saving revisionism, at consolidating its positions and prolonging its life.

Fourth, whilst earlier the revisionist groups seemed to be powerful, stable, and with consolidated positions at home, now everyone can see that they are weak, unstable, and their positions are shaky, Without mentioning each group separately, let us dwell briefly on the two main ones: the Soviet revisionist group and the Titoite group. The general weakness of the Soviet leading group became evident with the shameful bankruptcy of its leader and inspirer, the archtraitor N. Khrushchev. Khrushchov's failure was an inevitable consequence of the revisionist course, of the deep contradictions of revisionism, of the resistance by the genuine Soviet revolutionaries and the struggle of the Marxist-Leninist parties and forces that

exposed and completely defeated this traitor. The followers of N. Khrushchev, his loyal disciples and collaborators, removed him from the political scene to save revisionism and to practice Khrushchovism without Khrushchov. Together with Khrushchovism, however, they inherited all the problems left unsolved by Khrushchev, as well as all the difficulties and contradictions to which their revisionist course gives birth and which are daily becoming more serious. The new Soviet leading group, making use of demagogy and various masks, tried to get out of its difficult situation, but there is nothing to help them. Their tricks have been exposed by the Marxist-Leninist parties and forces, while in the Soviet Union itself the genuine communists and revolutionaries in the cities and kolkhozes, in the army and elsewhere, have increased their anti-revisionist activities in various forms: here setting up «Committees in defence of Stalin», there, «Committees for the defeat of revisionism», and so on. Our Party is convinced that the day will come when the peoples and the revolutionaries in the Soviet Union will smash the revisionist traitor clique that has usurped power, and will again raise high the victorious banner of the October Revolution, the banner of Lenin and Stalin.

We were given another example that is eloquent of the weakening of the various revisionist groups by the recent events in Titoite Yugoslavia. Among the Titoite leading group squabbles and fights for power, as well as national rivalries have

broken out. The Tito-Kardelj-Bakarich group that represents the interests of the capitalist bourgeoisie and Croat-slovenian chauvinism eliminated the other rival group of Rankovich, that represented great Serb capitalist chauvinism relying on UDB, which was used not only to suppress and murder the Yugoslavian communists and people — a thing that served the common interests of the whole Titoite clique — but was used by Rankovich to ensure the great-Serb hegemony in Yugoslavia, and to eliminate any resistance to it.

The recent events are the natural course of development in Titoite Yugoslavia which has become involved in complete capitalist chaos and degeneration. The betrayal by the Tito clique of Marxism-Leninism could not fail to lead and in fact did lead, to the growth of the most rabid nationalism and chauvinism. «The direct democracy» and «the workers' self-administration» as well as the economic reforms, etc. were nothing but the device by which the economically stronger group, mainly the Croat-Slovenian group tried to sanction their domination over the other republics of the Yugoslav Federation, which were to remain merely sources of raw materials and manpower. The rivalries that are developing in Yugoslavia now are closely bound up with the rivalries of the external wolves, in the first place, between the U.S. imperialists and the Soviet revisionists leaders, who are struggling for zones of influence, for capital investments and to establish their domination at the expense of the Yugoslav peoples. From the last clash those who

came out victorious were the U.S. imperialists who supported the Tito-Kardelj group of the richest Sloveno-Croat bourgeoisie.

But this is not the end of the affair. Not only because the Rankovich Serbomaniac chauvinistis will not lightly lay down their arms, but because, in the first place, the Yugoslav people and the genuine Yugoslav Communists will not allow these chauvinistic groups, Serbomaniacs or Croat-Slovens, no matter who they are to perform at their expense. The Yugoslav peoples and the genuine Yugoslav Communists are realizing ever more clearly that the Titoite regime, no matter which chauvinistic group stands at the top, represents a cruel, bloody, police regime, which keeps under the yoke and mercilessly oppresses not only the peoples of Montenegro and Macedonia, of Kosova and Bosnia-Herzegovina, but also the working people of Serbia, Croatia, and Slovenia, and all the other peoples of Yugoslavia.

The experience of the Titoite betrayal has served as an example for all the other modern revisionists. All of them, one more zealously than the other, have tried to copy it and apply it in their own countries. And now in the Yugoslav chaos, in the struggle for power, in the chauvinistic rivalries, we should see their future too, the mine in which they will end up.

Fifth. While, previously, the revisionists had managed to some extent to establish their domination over the Communist Parties and the international communist movement and impose their

treacherous line upon them, now, thanks to the struggle of the Marxist-Leninist parties and forces, and as a reaction against the revisionist line and methods, a great process of differentiation between the forces of Marxism-Leninism and revisionism on both a national and an international scale has developed and is becoming deeper. Tens of new parties and Marxist-Leninist groups have been founded in different countries of the world, including some socialist countries. We whole heartedly hail these Marxist-Leninist parties and groups and wish them ever greater successes in their just struggle for the great revolutionary ideals of the working class. The Party of Labor of Albania, caring not a snap for the revisionist slanders and accusations that we have been allegedly carrying out «factionist» and «splitting» activities, has done and will continue to do everything it can to help the new Marxist-Leninist forces, all those who fight against imperialism and revisionism and who are for revolution. We regard this as our lofty internationalist duty, for in the growth of these new revolutionary forces we see the only correct way to the triumph of Marxism-Leninism and the destruction of revisionism.

From the above-mentioned results of the struggle between Marxism-Leninism and modern revisionism, it is evident that revisionism is undergoing a deep crisis — without a way out, and its total defeat is inevitable. Our Party, like all the true revolutionaries, has the duty of intensifying the struggle for the defence of the Marxist-Leninist

positions and the exposure of revisionism. We must help to make the crisis which revisionism is undergoing, become deeper and develop more rapidly.

The Party of Labor of Albania thinks that the struggle against modern revisionism in general, and against Khrushchevite and Titoite revisionism in particular should be raised to a new higher level. The phenomena of disintegration and degeneration to be found among the revisionists, the successive defeats they are suffering, the national rivalries and the struggles for power that are appearing everywhere, will undoubtedly bring about increasing resistance from the peoples and revolutionary communists in the countries where the revisionists rule. The revolutionary struggle against the revisionist cliques will find active support in the broad working masses, in the ranks of working class and especially in the peasantry who are being continually oppressed to a greater or lesser degree by the revived kulaks and bourgeois elements backed up by revisionism. Our Party is confident that the struggle against revisionism will grow and develop with a new unprecedented force, even right in the traitors' lairs.

4. Intensify the Struggle against Khrushchevite and Titoite Modern Revisionism

The further extension and intensification of the struggle against revisionism are closely connected with unhesitating rejection of any illusions

about «the changes» that the new Soviet leaders have allegedly made about the «about turn» and «corrections» they are allegedly making in regard to Khrushchev's mistakes. Such illusions are very harmful. The present Soviet leaders are the closest collaborators of Khrushchev! It was they together with Khrushchev, who prepared and carried out the counter-revolution in the Soviet Union, who worked out the revisionist line and put it into practice, who launched the frenzied attack on Marxism-Leninism in ideology, politics, economics, organization, art and culture, etc. It was they who attacked and are fighting against the Marxist-Leninist parties, who linked themselves with U.S. imperialism, the bourgeoisie and world reaction, who are doing everything in their power to set up an imperialist-revisionist Holy Alliance against Communism and the peoples of the world.

Marxist-Leninists are not to be deceived by the outward appearances, or the demagogy that the new Soviet leaders use so freely. Behind it they should look for the content, the essence of things, and distinguish words from deeds. If we look at things in this way, then it is clear that the present Soviet leaders have not changed and do not intend to change. They are determined to follow their road of betrayal. And this is only reasonable. They cannot turn back on to a correct road without sentencing themselves to death. So there can be no hope that the revisionist traitors will change their course. Change will certainly come about some day, but it will not be the revisionists who will make it,

but the Marxist-Leninists, who will put an end to the revisionists rule and will bring them before the court of revolution.

In what do those who have illusions on this question see «the change» and «about turn» of the new Soviet leaders? Not in anything concrete, but only in the Khrushchevite demagogy, in which, willy-nilly they have been trapped. And it must be admitted that as far as demagogy is concerned the new Soviet leaders, Brezhniev, Kosygin, and their ilk, are much more cunning and better masters than their teacher. They swear by Leninism, and even allow Stalin to be spoken about more «objectively», but at the same time they swear by the 20th and 22nd Congresses of the C.P.S.U. Can it be said that this constitutes a «turn»? Certainly not! It would be possible to speak about of a «turn» only if they openly rejected revisionism and betrayal, publicly denounced the decisions of the 20th, 21st, 22nd Congresses, as anti-Marxist and proclaimed that the program of the C.P.S.U. which was worked out during the 22nd Congress, and all its theses on «the party and state of the whole people» etc. are revisionist. It would be possible to speak of a «turn», only if they were to fully and unequivocally rehabilitate Stalin.

Our Party has stressed and stresses it again that the question of Stalin is a fundamental question, especially because the revisionists concretized their attack on Marxism-Leninism and the proletarian dictatorship with their attack on J. V. Stalin. Our Party is of the opinion

that the Marxist-Leninists and all the revolutionaries should defend Stalin from all the slanders and attacks of the revisionists and with their struggle should succeed in putting the name and deeds of Stalin in the place of honor they deserve. For Stalin was and remains a great revolutionary and a great Marxist-Leninist. He pursued a correct revolutionary general line, both in internal and foreign policy. He consistently upheld the line of class struggle and of the proletariat dictatorship, the line of building socialism and communism and the struggle against bureaucracy and the degenerated bourgeois elements. He led the Soviet people from one victory to another in stern struggle with all the enemies of the Soviet Union and socialism. J. V. Stalin made an invaluable contribution to the formation and consolidation of the socialist camp and to the growth and strengthening of the international communist movement. Throughout his life as a revolutionary militant, Stalin waged a resolute struggle against imperialism, in defence of peace and the people's security, he faithfully pursued a policy of proletarian internationalism of aid and support for the oppressed peoples and the revolutionary national-liberation movement.

Stalin was a modest person. As a Marxist-Leninist, he always made a correct assessment of **the role of the masses and place of the individual**. He opposed the cult of the individual and more than once criticized it as alien to Marxism-Leninism. However, the Soviet propaganda, especially during the last years of Stalin's life, boosted his cult to

great proportions, and this was used later by the Khrushchevite clique who, out of fear, had themselves played an active part in the exaltation of Stalin, for their anti-Marxist and anti-socialist aims. The only grounds on which Stalin might be criticized are not that he developed and practised his own cult, but that he did not take the proper measures to restrain this unnecessary propaganda, especially taking into consideration that the great personality which Stalin had won by his struggle and deeds, and the unlimited confidence and love that the Party and people had for him, were sufficient to deal a telling blow to the bureaucratic elements who were jeopardizing the dictatorship of the proletariat. Our Party of Labor has resolutely adhered and adheres to the Marxist-Leninist principles on the relations between the masses, the class, the party and the leaders, both fighting against the cult of the individual, and opposing the negation of the role and authority of leaders who enjoy the sympathy and respect of the masses, who faithfully defend their interests, and successfully lead them in the revolutionary struggle. In this matter we always bear in mind Marx's words when speaking of himself and of Engels, he said: «Neither of us give a brass farthing for our popularization... From the beginning the participation of Engels and me in the clandestine communist association, was on the condition that anything in its constitution which contributed to mystical kowtowing to authority was to be rejected» (K. Marx and F. Engels, Works, vol. XXVI pp. 487-488, Russian editions 1935).

The historic merits of Stalin are undeniable. These merits constitute his fundamental characteristic as a great leader and a great revolutionary. The revisionist slanders against Stalin cannot tarnish his outstanding figure and his monumental work which will shine for ever and will always serve as a great example of inspiration and a fighting banner for all the Marxist-Leninists of the world.

The new Soviet revisionist leaders speak of the «unity» of the communist movement and «the family» of socialist countries, but at the same time they declare that in matters of principle concerning foreign policy and the international communist movement they had no differences with N. Khrushchev. Can it be said that these words constitute the socalled «turn»? Certainly, not. It would be possible to speak about a «turn» only if they were to publicly refute all the slanders and the attacks, also made publicly, against the Party of Labor of Albania, the Communist Party of China and the other Marxist-Leninists, only if they were to admit openly the errors, crimes, and plots, pressures and blackmail, that have been committed by the Soviet chauvinists against the Marxist-Leninist parties, against the socialist countries, and in the first place the People's Republic of Albania and the People's Republic of China. But what is the reality? Actually, from the day Brezhniev, Kosygin and Co took power, they have continuously increased their activity against Marxism-Leninism and the parties which defend it, their provocations

and subversive activities have been extended, the unity both within the communist movement and within the socialist «family» has been even more systematically undermined. The unity in the communist movement and the socialist camp will be re-established, but it will be established by the Marxist-Leninists without the treacherous revisionists and in resolute struggle against them.

The Soviet revisionists raise a hue and cry for «unity of action» against the imperialists, explaining that there are more things that unite us than divide us, but at the same time they loudly proclaim that they are working actively for all-round Soviet-American cooperation. Can it be said that these statements mean we are faced here with some «turn?» Certainly not. The numerous facts show that the Khrushchevite revisionists are anti-imperialists, only in words, while in deeds they are pro-imperialists. They are more and more extending their economic, political and scientific relations with the U.S.A. All their diplomatic activity, especially their secret diplomacy, is aimed at strengthening the all-round links and cooperation with the various imperialists: the Americans, the Japanese, the West-Germans, the British, etc., with the Indian reactionaries, with the Indonesian fascist clique, with all the enemies of the peoples, of socialism and the revolution. Thus what is there to unite the Marxist-Leninists with the modern revisionist? Nothing. Everything divides them. Their ideology, politics and final aims are diametrically opposed.

The anti-imperialist front of the peoples must be achieved on a sound basis. It must be a true anti-imperialist front, in which all those, who to this or that extent are effectively fighting against imperialism, headed by U.S. imperialism are to be united. With their entire policy and activities the Khrushchevite revisionists have excluded themselves from the anti-imperialist front. To include the revisionists in this front means to introduce «the fifth column», «the Trojan Horse», to undermine it from within. Our Party firmly upholds the great Lenin's idea that it is impossible to fight successfully against imperialism without, at the same time, resolutely fighting against its offspring and close ally, revisionism. «If the struggle against imperialism, is not closely connected with the fight against opportunism» emphasises Lenin, «the struggle against imperialism becomes an empty phrase and a fraud» (Lenin, Works, vol. 22, p. 367, Albanian edition). For our Party of Labor, the idea that «unity of action» with the Khrushchevite revisionists against U.S. imperialism is a touchstone and a positive and effective form of struggle against revisionism, is absolutely unacceptable.

In fact, to cooperate with the revisionists, to enter into unity of action with them, is to slip gradually into the revisionist positions, to accept their treacherous line. This would mean to accept that U.S. imperialism is not the number one enemy of the peoples and the international gendarme, but to consider that the Khrushchevite policy of «peace-

ful co-existence» with imperialism, the Soviet-American cooperation, the Moscow Treaty, and all the other open and secret agreements of the Soviet leaders with the U.S. imperialists and the reactionaries of other countries are correct. This would mean giving up the struggle against imperialism and adapting oneself to the interests of Soviet-American cooperation, thus sacrificing the liberty and independence of the peoples. This is just what the revisionists are trying to attain by their efforts for «unity of action».

With their slogan for «unity of action» the revisionists are trying to attain their sinister aims of putting aside the deep ideological and political differences of principle, for the sake of the alleged struggle against imperialism headed by the U.S.A. This would be nothing but complete capitulation to revisionism, giving up the struggle against it, an acceptance of ideological co-existence with it.

There is another reason why united action with the revisionists is a deceitful and demagogic manoeuvre. Unity in the struggle against imperialism supposes coordination of the economic potential and military forces which will confront the imperialist policy of war and aggression. But what do the facts show? The Khrushchevite revisionists have directed all their spearhead against the P.R. of China, the P.R. of Albania, and other socialist countries, against the cause of the revolution and the peoples. They have put their economic and military potential at the service of their general line for the establishment of the Soviet-American domination of the world.

Those who support the illusions of the alleged «turn» of the new Soviet leaders are very enthusiastic about their «readiness» to give up the open polemics. Can this comprise another serious proof to convince us of the alleged «turn» of the revisionists? Certainly not. In the first place, it is not true that the revisionists have given up open polemics. Isn't the fact that they follow a line completely in opposition to Marxism-Leninism and the interests of socialism, a continuation of the polemics in deeds? Is it not open polemics to use the so-called aid for Vietnam to spread the slander that P.R. of China is holding up transport? Is their subversive activity to split the Marxist-Leninists and help the deserters not open polemics? And finally, the fabrications and attacks in their daily press, the propaganda, the letters, and lectures, delivered not only in the Party organizations in the Soviet Union, but also sent to other parties to be studied, are they not a continuation of open polemics? But besides this it should not be forgotten that the Khrushchevite modern revisionists were the first to start the open polemics. And at that time all of them parrotted that this was «Leninist». Only when they saw that open polemics were yielding negative results for them, because their treacherous faces, were being unmasked, only then did they call them harmful.

Our Party is of the opinion that open polemics are necessary. They are a school for all the communists helping them to distinguish between truth and falsehood. The revisionists would be very

satisfied even if we spoke about them in general terms, on the condition that they were not openly attacked and things were not called by their proper names. But revisionism and betrayal are not imaginary, they are living reality which is undermining socialism and the people's struggle. Thus it is this reality and not some phantasy that must be opposed, if the Marxists want to avoid falling into the position of Don Quixote. Our Party thinks, that not for one moment should we allow the Khrushchevite revisionists make use of a state of peace to consolidate their positions and to carry on their treacherous activity unhindered. The slightest weakening of the struggle against modern revisionism, what ever the pretext, means to deviate from principle. And principles cannot and should not be sacrificed, for momentary interests and benefits, of economic, or any other character what so ever.

Our Party thinks that the situation is such that any party or person who calls himself a communist and a revolutionary should not be a mere on-looker, waiting until the revisionists attack and satisfied just to hail the struggle that the others are waging against revisionism. Time does not wait. The Marxist-Leninists should be on the offensive and not on the defensive: on attack and not in retreat. They were not and are not afraid of the revisionists, of their threats and pressure. Fear is alien to Marxist-Leninists. They do not recognize it either in their struggle against imperialism or in the struggle against revisionism.

It is the revisionists who are afraid of imperialism and of Marxism-Leninism. To be afraid of revisionism is to be even more afraid of imperialism, and to have no confidence in the strength and triumph of Marxism-Leninism.

We think that it is high time to draw a clear line of demarcation with modern revisionism, with all its groups and especially with the Soviet leading group, and to fight with the greatest severity to isolate them completely from the people and from the revolutionary Soviet communists. We have never confused the Soviet revisionist leadership with the Soviet Union and the Soviet people, with whom we have been and always will be good friends in good days or bad. But it is a fact that revisionism is in power in the Soviet Union now and a stern and principled fight must be waged against this revisionism. This is in the direct interest of the Soviet Communists and people; this is a great assistance that we give their revolutionary struggle to put an end to the revisionist betrayal which has undermined the very foundations of the victories of the October Revolution and the construction of socialism and communism in the Soviet Union.

In the struggle against modern revisionism, as in all other problems, the only correct stand is the principled stand. There is no room for bargaining in matters of principle, in defending principles one must not stop half-way; must never adopt a wavering, opportunist stand. The struggle between

Marxism-Leninism and revisionism is an expression of the class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, between socialism and capitalism. There is no middle road in this struggle. «The golden middle way», as the historical experience of thousands of years has shown, is the line of the reconciliation of opposites, which can never be reconciled. It is an unstable and temporary position. Nor can the middle course serve to diguise deviations from Marxist-Leninist principles, for if the struggle against revisionism is not inspired by ideological motives, but only by some economic and political contradictions and by national chauvinistic motives, it is but a bluff that will soon be called. Whoever holds to this line in the stand against the renegades from Marxism-Leninism will sooner or later be in danger of slipping into the position of those renegades himself.

J.V. Stalin has strongly stressed: «There is not and cannot be any middle course in matters or principle. One or the other set of principles must be the foundation of the Party activity. The «middle» course in matters of principle is «the line» that benumbs the brain, the «line» that covers up the differences, the «line» which leads to the ideological degeneration of the Party, the «line» which leads to the ideological death of the Party» (J, V. Stalin, Works, vol. 9, p. 4, Albanian editions).

In our Party's opionin, the urgent current problem of the day is not reconciliation and unity with the revisionists, but separation, a clean break

from them. Lenin said: «Unity is a great cause and a great slogan. But the workers' cause needs the unity of Marxists not the unity of Marxists with the opponents and distorters of Marxism». Unity with the opportunists and the revisionists, Lenin said, is «unity of the proletariat with the national bourgeoisie and splitting of the international proletariat, the unity of lackeys and division of the revolutionaries» (V. I. Lenin, Works, vol. 20, p. 256 and vol. 21, p. 387, Alb. edition).

In the face of the united imperialist-revisionist front, their attacks, plots and threats, their sabre rattling, the Marxist-Leninists must strengthen their unity on a national and international scale, and their resolute struggle against imperialism and revisionism. The time we are passing through is no time for, endless, sterile, academic discussions, but for daring militant revolutionary actions of self denial and sacrifice. Modern revisionism and the bourgeoisie with their parties are loudly propagating pacifism and bourgeois humanism, to create among the people, even among some cowardly and wavering communists, the impression that allegedly our militant and revolutionary spirit is «sectarianism» «adventurism», «dogmatism», «fanaticism», etc. We Marxist-Leninists, are neither sectarians and adventurers, nor dogmatists and fanatics. We fight against these manifestations as alien and unnacceptable to communists, but at the same time, we do not fall into the position of our enemies, who,

with these false accusations and for definite purposes are trying to cause us to disintegrate ideologically, politically and organizationally, thus weakening and extinguishing our struggle against them.

The ranks of the Marxist-Leninist parties and forces must be closely united and well organized, trained and tempered for countinous fighting. We must be perfectly trained politically, ideologically, economically and militarily for struggle, for revolutionary actions, mastering, our triumphant doctrine profoundly and in a creative manner. The world communism of our days must be characterized by the militant revolutionary spirit of the heroic days of Lenin and Stalin, of the Comintern. It was not without definite hostile purposes, that Khrushchev and his followers undertook the struggle to discredit the Comintern and its immortal work. Naturally, times have changed, and the question here is not that we must adopt or copy the forms and methods of work, of organization, and leadership suitable for the time of the Comintern, with their merits and shortcomings. But the establishment of links for cooperation and coordination of actions in conformity with the new actual conditions, in our Party's opinion, is an urgent and essential question.

Naturally, all the parties are equal and independent. Each party, as has been stressed in the Moscow statement, works out for itself its general line based upon the Marxist-Leninist principles and in conformity with the special features and

concrete conditions of its country and time. Even the modern revisionists have these correct Marxist principles on the tip of their tongues, but while they are for independence in words, in reality they want all the other parties to be dependent on them and under their direction; while they are for proletarian internationalism, in words, in reality they strive to prevent the Marxists from uniting, from upholding a common line formulated on the basis of a profound, principled, objective Marxist-Leninist class analysis. The modern revisionists try by every means to split us, for our Marxist-Leninist unity means the end for them and for their masters - U.S. imperialists. The Marxist-Leninists must crush the revisionist attempts, overcome all the obstacles and strengthen their revolutionary unity on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.They must consolidate their collaboration and coordination, must work out a common line and a common stand on the basic questions, especially in connection with the struggle against imperialism and modern revisionism in connection with the new alliances concretized in the real conditions of the actual situation, but always based on Marxist-Leninist principles.

It is an undeniable historic fact and great good fortune for the peoples and international communism, that in the forefront of present day struggle against the US-led imperialism, against modern revisionism with the Soviet leaders at the head, stands, strong and steadfast, the Communist Party

of China and the great People's Republic of China, headed by the outstanding Marxist-Leninist, comrade Mao Tsetung. The role and contribution of the C.P.C. and the PR of China in the struggle for the revolutionary cause of the international proletariat and peoples of all the world is colossal. Today, China is an invincible stronghold of socialism, the powerful base of revolution, the standard bearer of Marxism-Leninism, the steel pillar and reliable shield of our revolutionary common cause.

The imperialists and the revisionists are trying to defeat, the C.P. of China and the PR of China, because it is their greatest and most powerful enemy, the unsurmountable obstacle to the realization of their hegemonic aims of world domination. They are trying to divide the peoples, the revolutionaries and the Marxist-Leninists from the C.P. of China, to isolate it the more easily and more quickly to liquidate us. World imperialism and the Khrushchevite revisionists together, are attacking People's China, slandering China's great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. The enemies are hoping in vain to discredit great People's China. Under the leadership of the Communist Party of China and Mao Tsetung' thought she is marching triumphantly ahead. The Party of Labor of Albania welcomes the Chinese Proletarian Cultural Revolution, which has as its aim the merciless fight against bourgeois and revisionist ideology manifested in the consciousness of men in the field of culture, and in every other sphere of the country's life, against

the class enemies and all revisionists, open or camouflaged, who are trying to turn People's China back to the capitalist road, as well as against US imperialism, Khrushchevite revisionism and all reactionaries.

The Party of Labor of Albania thinks that all the Marxist-Leninist parties and forces, as equals and independent, should unite themselves closely with the Communist Party of China and the PR of China to form a steel block against which all our enemies will break their heads. We are not concerned at all about the slanders of the revisionists and their imperialist masters that by uniting with China we have became her «satellites» and lost «our independence». Slanders of this kind never have and never should prevent the Marxist-Leninists from strengthening their unity with People's China and its Marxist-Leninist Party.

The international situation and the situation in the communist movement is developing in our favor and to the detriment of our enemies. But we must look things straight in the eye and face up to them with courage, because, despite the failures they have suffered, the imperialist and revisionist enemies have not laid down their arms. On the contrary, they are intensifying their cooperation and activity. The situation is such that sluggishnesh, hesitation and wavering cannot be tolerated, while courage, determination, and maturity are required. Soft, flabby, opportunist tactics and phraseology cannot be tolerated, but quick militant actions, fighting tactics, are necessary, tactics

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

As far as the Party of Labor of Albania is concerned, as an active partner among the Marxist-Leninist forces of the world, it is fully conscious of the great historic task that today confront the communist movement for the defence of Marxism-Leninism and the advance of the cause of revolution and socialism. In full unity and shoulder to shoulder with the great Chinese Communist Party of Mao Tse-tung, with all the other parties and Marxist-Leninist forces of the world, the Albanian Party of Labor will fight with all its might, as it has been doing hitherto, against U.S.-led imperialism and modern revisionism headed by the Soviet leaders, and will spare no effort to support the just revolutionary struggle of the Marxist-Leninist parties and forces. It will work untiringly for the consolidation and strengthening of the anti-revisionist unity of the Marxist-Leninist

movement and the anti-imperialist unity of the peoples of the world, confident that the victory belongs to Marxism-Leninism, to socialism, to the peoples. This is the task that this congress puts before the whole Party for the coming years.

AN OPEN LETTER TO THE MEMBERS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE SOVIET UNION

Published in the «Zëri i Popullit» daily, organ of the CC of the Party of Labor of Albania, on October 5, 1964

Dear Comrades,

A grave situation has been created in the international communist and workers' movement, the Soviet Union, the socialist camp, the communist parties. The cause for which the communists and proletarians of the whole world have fought heroically, risking their very lives, the cause of socialism and of communism, is facing a great danger, is passing through one of the most difficult periods of its history. Open revisionism, complete division, betrayal and denegeration are threatening them today more than at any other time.

The originators and principal culprits for this grave situation are the Khrushchev group. After having usurped the leadership of the glorious party set up by the great Lenin, and of the first and most powerful socialist state in the world, the Soviet Union, by putchist and conspiratorial methods, this group have now embarked on the greatest betrayal of Marxism-Leninism and the cause of socialism, have now become the principal bearers and disseminators of the opportunist and revisionist trend that is eroding the international commu-

nist and workers' movement today, and which has undermined the very foundations of its unity.

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

Even since the 22nd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, when N.Khrushchev launched his vilest public attacks and most monstrous slanders against the Party of Labor of Albania and its leadership, our party has called on the leaders of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union to reexamine their line and to return to the right road. «The Party of Labor of Albania», said Comrade Enver Hoxha, in his address to the solemn meeting on November 7, 1961, commemorating the 20th anniversary of the founding of the Party of Labor of Albania and the 44th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution, calmly, and with a clear conscience, appeals to the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, appeals to its Central Committee newly elected by the 22nd Congress, to judge the situation created in the relations between our two parties and our two countries with Leninist justice, objectively, without

heat and anger or in a biased way. Our Party has always been ready to settle the existing differences, for the sake of the unity of the communist movement and the socialist camp, and in the interests of our two countries. But it has always been and remains of the opinion that these matters must be settled correctly and only in a Marxist-Leninist way, under conditions of equality and not of pressure and dictate. We have hope and faith in the justice of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union».

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

However the Khrushchev group not only failed to listen to the voice of reason, and scorned the comradely advice of our party and the other fraternal parties, but they persisted with even more

vehemence in their course of betrayal, increased their assaults and hostile acts against our party, against the Communist Party of China and other fraternal parties, against Marxism-Leninism, against the unity of the socialist camp and the communist movement. Events and facts have proved indisputably that N. Khrushchev is a conscious traitor and enemy, determined to pursue his counter-revolutionary line to the end.

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

Taking into account that the Khrushchev group has completely and incorrigibly betrayed the

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

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

The Party of Labor of Albania is addressing itself to you, for it is of the opinion that in this situation your responsibility and role are of historic significance. It is up to you to say your word. We have faith in you. In the Soviet Union no one else but you can call a halt to N. Khrushchev's revisionist line of action. You are the only force which can save the Soviet Union, the Fatherland of the Great October Revolution, and the glorious Party of the Bolsheviks from the blind alley into which N. Khrushchev has led it, you must defend

Marxism-Leninism, the honor and dignity of the Soviet Union and raise aloft the revolutionary banner of your party which N. Khrushchev has sullied with disgrace.

Dear Comrades,

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

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

The Central Committee of the Party of Labor of Albania declares that the Party of Labor of Albania is firmly opposed to this disruptive meeting of the modern revisionists, and categorically denounces this new plot of the Khrushchevite clique.

For what reason does the Party of Labor refuse to take part in this meeting and why does it condemn it?

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

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

Second, the Central Committee of the Party of Labor of Albania declares that the meeting which is now being called on the initiative of the N. Khrushchev group is absolutely arbitrary and illegal, since the norms and principles sanctioned

in the 1960 Moscow Declaration governing relations between parties have been brutally violated. No one is entitled to call a general meeting of the communist and workers' parties to suit his whims without consulting the other parties and receiving their prior consent. We publicly declare that no preliminary consultation on this matter has taken place with the Party of Labor of Albania.

N. Khrushchev has quite arbitrarily decided that the principle sanctioned in the Moscow meeting of 1960 of arriving at unification of views through equal and comradely consultations, should be replaced with the principle of subjecting the minority to the majority. The Party of Labor of Albania has always opposed such a principle because this is a flagrant violation of the equality and independence of fraternal parties, an attempt to impose the will of the so-called majority on others. But even if we speak of majorities, the real and not the false and fictitious majority, is by no means on the side of the revisionists. A considerable number of sister parties whose ranks contain about half the communists of the entire world, are quite definitely opposed to the calling of the international communist movement under the present conditions and circumstances without reckoning here a whole army of revolutionary communists enrolled in the parties of other countries where the leaders have slipped into the revisionist position, and who also condemn the splitting and treacherous activities of N. Khrushchev.

Third the Central Committee of the Party of

Labor of Albania declares that by organizing the so-called international meeting in a hasty, arbitrary and illegal manner, the Khrushchev group are in fact trying to organize a meeting of factionists. This is clearly evident in the July 30 letter of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union which runs: «In our opinion the Commission should start its work even if any of the 26 Communist Parties fails to send its delegation at the appointed time». And the letter continues: «The refusal of this or that party to take part in this collective work must not serve as a justification for further postponement of measures aimed at working out the ways and methods of consolidating the internationalist unity of the Marxist-Leninists of the whole world».

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

Now it is becoming clear to all that by hastily convening the so-called international meeting of the communist and workers' parties the Khrush-

chev group are aiming to achieve two main objectives. On one hand, to intensify their fight against Marxism-Leninism, to condemn certain socialist countries and certain communist parties, and «to expel» them from the socialist camp and the communist movement; and, on the other hand, to strengthen the ranks of the revisionist front, to subject all the revisionists to their dictate, to force «a new menu» on them, while binding them hand and foot.

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

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

These plans, which N. Khrushchev aims to achieve with the meeting that is being prepared,

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

The maneuver which N. Khrushchev and his followers are now resorting to, the tactics they are using, cannot conceal the anti-Marxist aims of the modern revisionists, their hostility to Marxism-Leninism. They will not succeed in deceiving any one.

Whether or not the revisionists hold their meeting, whether they hold it now or later, makes no difference. The true Marxist-Leninists will intensify their principled struggle for the exposure of the Khrushchevite and other modern revisionists, a struggle that will bring defeat and total destruction to these dangerous enemies of communism.

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

The Party of Labor of Albania has stated earlier and is repeating now, that in order to prepare a meeting of the Marxist-Leninist unity of the communist movement it is essential to take into account the present situation of the communist movement, the changes that have taken place, and the process that have gone on in it since the i960 meeting, and in conformity with these circumstances and conditions to specify the measures and steps that should be taken to achieve an international meeting which would really express the opinion and wishes of all the communists of the

world, and would achieve and strengthen that militant unity of which our movement stands in greater need today than ever before.

The only basis for true unity of the socialist camp and the communist movement lies in Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. No unity can be achieved on the basis of revisionism. There can be no unity between Marxists and revisionists who have betrayed the cause of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. N. Khrushchev's plan to unite the communist movement on the basis of revisionism is a plan of disruption, and it is doomed to failure and disgrace. Likewise, any attempt, any hope, any illusion of finding an intermediary platform, satisfactory to all, that would unite both Marxists and revisionists is futile and detrimental to the attainment of true principled unity of the communist movement, which is the only unity possible.

The treacherous aims which the Khrushchev group are striving to attain at the present meeting are by no means accidental. The Khrushchevite revisionists have always striven towards attaining these objectives. They began the split by spreading their revisionist line. They deepened it with their anti-Marxist and anti-socialist activities. And they are now carrying this division to its logical conclusion. But the revisionists should bear well in mind that the heavens will not be overturned because of their separatist meeting and because of the «collective» measures that they may take. Their meeting will be fruitful and very favorable

to the international communist movement. The day of the revisionists' meeting will go down in history as the day of their complete and open betrayal, and at the same time as the day that will mark their final catastrophe. The revolutionary communist movement will forge ahead, without the revisionists and in struggle against the revisionists, and it will certainly achieve its unity in this militant way. This will be true Marxist-Leninist unity for which the Marxist-Leninists of the world are fighting and will fight courageously.

Dear Comrades,

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

These are all lies, — nothing but lies. It is true that an historical turn started when the Khrushchev group took the reins of state in their hands, but this was a big retrogressive turn, a turn that flung the doors open to opportunism and revisionism, to treachery and degeneration, to the

undermining of unity and beginning the rift in the communist movement, to approaches to and unity with the imperialists and other enemies of peoples and of socialism, towards sabotage of the revolution and restoration of capitalism.

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

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

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

It was N. Khrushchev who cancelled out the most glorious period of the Soviet Union, when the Soviet peoples, led by the Party with Stalin at the head, overcame colossal difficulties, courageously coped with the ruthless capitalist encirclement, smashed the counter-revolution, built the first socialist society in the world, reaped the great historic victory in the patriotic war, and transfor-

med the Soviet Union into a powerful, developed, and advanced socialist state with an unparalleled authority and role in the international arena. He presented the whole of this period as one during which terror and persecution, prisons and concentration camps, violations of the law and democracy, arbitrarity and despotisms, poverty and hunger reigned in the Soviet Union. He rendered the imperialists great service through these deeds of his, providing them with weapons to attack and discredit the Soviet Union. The infamous «secret» report which N. Khrushchev delivered at the 20th Congress and his subsequent speeches became the main nourishment, the inexhaustible source of all the most reactionary anti-communist and anti-Soviet propaganda.

Who can believe N. Khrushchev's slanders about the crimes of Stalin? Can we have any faith in the concoctions of investigation committees appointed by Khrushchev, in the writings of the Adjubeys, the knowledge of the Solzhenytsins, and their ilk? Can it be that imperialism and its agents, for whom the Soviet Union has always been an acute irritation which they tried to get rid of by strangling in its cradle, have sat with folded arms all this time, and have done nothing about it? In times gone by N. Khrushchev himself said, in 1938: «The Jakirs, the Balitskys, the Lypuchenskys, Zatorskyites, and other rogues, intended to bring the Polish aristocracy back to the Ukraine, to bring the German fascists, the landlords and capitalist here... We have exterminated many enemies but still

not all of them. Therefore we should keep our eyes open. We should always bear in mind Comrade Stalin's words that so long as the capitalist encirclement exists spies and saboteurs will be sent into our country».

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

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

has openly taken under his protection sach murderers and terrorists, enemies of our party and of our people as K. Xoxe, P. Plaku, T. Sejko, L. Gega, and others, dubbing them true revolutionary communists, internationalists, patriots, and innocent victims.

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

Have you never stopped to think, Comrades, why such bitter hatred is expressed for Stalin, why he is attacked, with so much frenzy, why the whole glorious period of the Soviet people and its Party when Stalin was at the head is blackened so shamefully? Don't you see a logical connection between attacks and slanders against Stalin and songs of praise for the leaders of imperialism, Eisenhower. Kennedy, Johnson, and others whom N. Khrushchev has called «reasonable men» who «enjoy the absolute trust of their people», who «are earnestly concerned about the preservation of peace», the death of one of whom as in the case of Kennedy, he described as «a great loss for mankind» and proclaimed as a day of mourning even for the communists? Only a charlatan, a man without character or shame could behave as N. Khrushchev has done towards Stalin, to whom, when he was alive, he used to sing the most rapturous praises, whom he used to call «great Lenin's close friend and comrade-in-arms», «friend of the people and beloved father», «the great Marshal of the victory over fascism», «the greatest genius and leader of mankind».

How could it have been possible that you, Soviet communists, the Soviet people, achieved such colossal victories of historic significance with your party and state headed by a man who did nothing but commit all kinds of crimes and mistakes? Can there be any greater absurdity and more clumsy falsification of history than to deny Stalin's great merits as the leader of the Party and the Comman-

der-in-Chief of the Soviet Army and to praise to the skies the role and merits of N. Khrushchev, who is presented as a great strategist, not only of the Patriotic War but even of the civil war, as the pioneer of the cosmic era, and so on and so forth? It is a regrettable thing that even some comrades-in-arms of Stalin who directed the major operations during the war, with him and under his leadership, are now falsifying history, under instructions from Khrushchev, are now denying what yesterday they admitted with their own mouths.

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

This is precisely what Khrushchev himself has done. By raising his hand against Stalin he raised it against everything, against communism, against Marxism-Leninism.

By raising his hand against Stalin, N. Khrushchev raised his hand against the Soviet socialist

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

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

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

ries of socialism in the Soviet Union, for which the party and the Soviet people have fought heroically, have made great sacrifices, have shed their blood.

To carry their course through the Khrushchev revisionist clique have carried out great and continuous purges in the ranks of the cadres of the party, and the state, from both the central organs and the base, have discussed all those about whom they are doubtful and have replaced them with cadres loyal to their course. Within ten years N. Khrushchev has removed about 70% of the members of the Central Committee who were elected at the 19th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in 1952, and about 50% of the members of the Central Committee elected in the 20th Congress. Likewise, on the eve of the 22nd Congress, on the pretext of circulation of cadres, he replaced 45% of the members of the central committees of the parties of the Federated Republics, as well as 40% of the regional and district party committees of the cities and regions. In 1963, under the pretext of reorganizing the party on the basis of production, the Khrushchev clique once again replaced more than half of the members of the central committees of the Federated Republics and the regional party committees.

The men around Khrushchev today who serve him, constitute a privileged stratum, degenerated from the point of view of ideology, who have betrayed the revolutionary cause of the Soviet working class, who are fighting against Marxism-Leninism and socialism. Their sole concern is to con-

solidate their economic position and their political domination. Relying on this stratum the Khrushchev group are turning the glorious Communist Party of the Soviet Union into a revisionist party and the Soviet socialist state into a dictatorship of the Khrushchevite clique.

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

visionist one. All the organizational and re-organizational steps, which N. Khrushchev has undertaken time after time serve these aims.

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

Since he came to power N. Khrushchev has taken a number of steps and has made a number of reforms in the field of the economy, particularly in agriculture, about which he has bragged a great deal. But what is the purpose and real meaning of these measures and reforms? They are in opposition to the principles of socialism and communism, they are an attempt to introduce into the Soviet socialist economy organizational forms and methods of management borrowed from the experience of Titoite Jugoslavia and the capitalist countries. The Khrushchev group have replaced the socialist principle of payment according to the work done, with the material stimulus which they absolutise and fetishise. They have undermined the planned and centralized management of the economy, are encouraging the capitalist principle of

the struggle for profits, incite unrestrained capitalist competition, are destroying the common property of the whole people, and are breaking it up, as they have done with the machine and Tractor Stations.

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

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

Dear Comrades,

As long as your party held aloft, unsullied, the banner of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism and pursued a consistent revolutionary line in home and foreign affairs, the Soviet Union was, for whole decades, the bastion of revolution and socialism, the greatest defender and supporter of the freedom and independence of the peoples, the greatest fighter for the emancipation of the working class and the cause of peace in the world. The revolutionary communists and people of the world looked upon the great Soviet Union with deep respect and sympathy, took as their example and were inspired by its stand for revolutionary principle. The establishment of the socialist camp, the growth of the communist and workers' movement, the great impetus of the liberation wars of peoples, are closely bound up with the internationalist role and contribution of

the first country of socialism, the Soviet Union. At this time there was full unity of views and action in the socialist camp, in the communist movement, and in all the international democratic organizations of the world. All the revolutionary forces of the world, with the Soviet Union at the head, acted united as a single body against the forces of imperialism and of reaction.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

N. Khrushchev has turned the sharp edge of his attacks against the true and loyal friends of the Soviet Union. He has launched ferocious attacks against the People's Republic of China, against the Communist Party and the great Chinese people, he is sowing discord between two great peoples, between the two most powerful socialist countries. It is not the Soviet-American alliance

for which N. Khrushchev is working hard and dreaming day and night, but the fraternal Soviet-Chinese collaboration and friendship, which the Soviet people, the socialist camp, the revolutionary and liberation movement in the world stand in need of. But instead of this collaboration and of this friendship, N. Khrushchev is continually intensifying his unprincipled fight against the People's Republic of China and its Communist Party. Comrades, is this not a great betrayal of the vital interests of the Soviet Union?

You know the fierce attacks, monstrous slanders and accusations, the hostile acts which the Khrushchev group have launched against the Party of Labor of Albania, against the People's Republic of Albania, against the Albanian people and their leaders. What crime is there that he has not accused our party and our people of. In his campaign against our party and our people he resorted to threats and pressures, brutal interference in our internal affairs, established the economic blockade and broke off diplomatic relations. From the rostrum of the 22nd Congress he openly called upon the communists and people of Albania to launch a counter-revolution, to overthrow the leadership of the party and the state, exhortations which are continually repeated by the Soviet propaganda organs, and especially by Radio Moscow in its broadcasts to Albania. But why all this resentment, all this hostility, towards a socialist country, towards a Marxist party and a fraternal people, hatred and enmity which even

the most rabid imperialist enemies have not expressed towards our country? What was the crime this party and these people committed? Their sole «crime» was their refusal to submit to N. Khrushchev's line of betrayal, that came out in defence of Marxism-Leninism, and unmasked and opposed the disruptive aims of the revisionists.

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

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

Modern revisionism, which spread very rapidly following the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, paved the way to the

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

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

For the sake of his approach at any price and

all-round collaboration with the American imperialists who are the real beneficiaries from the whole at his policy of so-called «peaceful co-existence», N. Khrushchev has committed grave crimes against the peoples' freedom and independence, against peace, against the Soviet Union itself, against its security. For the sake of this approach and reconciliation, following his adventureous actions, Khrushchev capitulated shamefully to American imperialism during the Caribbean crisis, when he did not hesitate to sacrifice Cuba. He brought great shame to the Soviet Union, to its armed forces, when he allowed the American imperialists to search Soviet ships on the open seas in a most humiliating way, while Cuba, a tiny socialist country, only 90 miles from the USA, honorably upheld its dignity, did not allow any imperialist searches in its territory, even of Soviet ships in Cuban territorial waters. N. Khrushchev sacrificed the national interests of the Congolese people when he voted in favor of the intervention of UNO troops under the direction of the American imperialists. This compromise brought tragic consequences to the cause of freedom and independence of the Congolese people, as everybody now knows. The Moscow Treaty on the partial probibition of nuclear weapons testing which is in fact directed against the interest of the Soviet Union itself and the socialist camp, gives American imperialists the possibility of continuing their underground tests unilaterally, and of increasing their atomic potential,

of continuing their nuclear blackmail to threaten and intimidate peoples.

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

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

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

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

History has not recorded any other case of this kind, in which the leaders of imperialism, the class enemies, have lavished so much praise, so much

enthusiasm, on a leader of any communist party as on N. Khrushchev, have expressed so openly their approval, joy, and hopes, regarding his political policy. This fact alone makes clear who benefits from N. Khrushchev's actions, whom his views and deeds serve.

Dear Comrades,

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

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

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

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

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

In this grave situation created by N. Khrushchev's betrayal the time has come for you Soviet communists to perform your lofty revolutionary duty towards your glorious party, people and country, towards the proletariat and peoples of the whole world, not to allow the treacherous Khrushchevite clique to jeopardize the future of socialism and communism. The Soviet revolutionary communists have never sat back on the strength of

their traditions and merits of the past. Today more than ever before these traditions should be reasserted in the same revolutionary spirit, with the same determination and devotion to principle, to defend the glorious name of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, to raise high its revolutionary banner, flung to the ground by N. Khrushchev. The vital interests of the Soviet Union, the socialist camp, the revolutionary and liberation movement of the world demand this.

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

The Party of Labor of Albania addresses this open letter to you, members of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, because we are heart and sould with you, because we consider you today, as we have always done, our comrades-in-arms, because we love your party, the Soviet people, the Soviet Union. We have never confused the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, and the Soviet Union itself, with the Khrushchev group. The attempts of this group to smash the Soviet-Albanian

friendship, to sow dissension and enmity between our peoples, will fail. The sentiments of friendship and brotherhood of our party and our people towards your party and people have never been, nor will ever be quelled. The Albanian communists and people are lifelong friends of the Soviet Union regardless of the fact that a group of renegades stands today at the head of the Soviet Union, the Party of Labor of Albania, the People's Republic of Albania, and the Albanian people, will always defend the Soviet Union, the first socialist state, created by the great Lenin despite all the foreign and internal enemies. We have never forgotten, nor will we ever forget, what the Soviet Union means to us, we will never forget its internationalist aid for the liberation of our country and the building of socialism.

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

Our Party abides strictly by the statement made by Comrade Enver Hoxha after the 22nd Congress, in a speech commemorating the 20th anniversary of the founding of the Party of Labor of Albania and the 44th anniversay of the October Revolution, in November 1961, when he said: «Our Party and our people will keep intact in their hearts pure sentiments of friendship towards the fraternal peoples of the

Soviet Union, regardless of the attacks, slanders, and hostile acts to which they have been subjected. Our Party has taught us to love the Soviet Union, the great Fatherland of Lenin and Stalin both in good times and in difficult ones. The glorious Soviet Union and the Soviet peoples, the great Party of the Bolsheviks have been, are, and will remain for us our dearest friends, our liberators from the fascist yoke, our faithful and resolute allies in the great struggle for the construction of socialism in our country. We have been and remain bound for life with the Soviet Union, with the Soviet peoples, with the Communist Party of the Soviet Union».

Guided by these principles, these feelings and this spirit, the Party of Labor of Albania turns to you fully confident that the Soviet communists will know at these historical moments how to fulfill their revolutionary internationalist mission with dignity, will face every storm as worthy sons of their glorious party, of its heroic road and history.

How many plots and hostile acts have been concocted by the class enemy, the enemies of the Soviet Party and people, against the Soviet Union since the time of the October Revolution! But the enemy has always been crushed. The cause of socialism, the Soviet power has been defended with honor. You, sons of the Bolshevik Party, under the leadership of Lenin and Stalin, have smashed the intervention of the imperialist forces, which like ravening beasts tried to strangle the revolution, and you triumphed in the bloody civil war against

the rabid class enemies. Supporting you heart and soul with militant actions during those days were the communists, the proletarians, all the revolutionaries and oppressed peoples of the world. You, sons of the Bolshevik Party, fought with unparalleled heroism under the leadership of the great successor to the work of Lenin J. V. Stalin, during the Patriotic War, bravely vanquished German fascism on the field of battle, and become the saviours of the peoples of Europe. In this war, again you had allies in the communist and workers' parties throughout the world, the proletariat and all the peoples, the whole of progressive mankind.

Today great danger is again threatening the Soviet Union and your party. They are being menaced from within and from abroad by the plot that the imperialists, together with the modern revisionists, are hatching up. This plot which is being effected under peaceful conditions, is, in fact, much more dangerous for the fate of socialism in the Soviet Union, for all the international communist and workers' movement, for the fate of the revolution in general! At the head of this plot are the leaders of American imperialism and world reaction and the Khrushchev clique. The cause of socialism and the October Revolution, to which you have dedicated your lives, calls on you once more to defeat the great counter-revolutionary plot which is threatening you with the same heroism and revolutionary spirit that have characterized your whole life as militant Leninists. And today, as yesterday, in this just fight in de-

fense of Marxism-Leninism and the Soviet Union you are not alone. Standing by you are the Marxist-Leninists, the communist and workers' parties, all the revolutionary communists, all the proletariat and peoples of the world, who comprise a much greater force than the allies you used to have in your battles against the class enemy, the enemies of the Soviet Union in the days gone by.

The Party of Labor of Albania, which is not accostumed to whispering behind the door, but speaks openly and frankly, declares resolutely with a clear conscience that is with you. It is with you because the Soviet Union, the offspring of the Great October Revolution, against whom the imperialists and modern revisionists have spearheaded their attack, is dear not only to you, but to us as well. It is dear to all the revolutionaries and proletarians of the world, to all men of toil and progress. Therefore we consider the struggle that must be waged against the revisionist and imperialist plot, in defence of Marxism-Leninism, in defence of the Soviet Union, the first socialist country in the world, as a lofty internationalist duty. And the Soviet Union cannot be defended by saying: «We are with the Soviet Union right or wrong». Only traitors think that way. The Soviet Union cannot be defended in that manner. That would only defend the betrayal. We do not want the Soviet Union dominated by the revisionist traitors. We do not want to see the revisionists wreck the achievements of the October Revolution and push the country towards alliance with the imperia-

lists for the restoration of capitalism over the soil watered with the blood of the best sons of the party, of the working class, of the Soviet people. We want to see the Soviet Union, yesterday, today, tomorrow, and always, a powerful bastion of the cause of socialism and communism, of the Revolution and the freedom of people's, of peace in the world.

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

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

In defence of Marxism-Leninism, in defence of socialism and communism, in defence of the So-

viet Union, and under the great banner of Marx, Engels, Lenin, and Stalin, the Soviet communists will unite their efforts, their powerful struggle with those of all the communists and proletarians of all countries, for the complete exposure and defeat of modern revisionism and imperialism.

THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE
OF THE PARTY OF LABOR OF
ALBANIA

Tirana, October 6, 1964.

THE MODERN REVISIONISTS ON THE WAY TO DEGENERATING INTO SOCIAL-DEMOCRATS AND TO FUSING WITH SOCIAL-DEMOCRACY

Reproduced from the «Zeri i Popullit»
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Every day that passes by brings new facts to light testifying that the modern revisionists, N. Khrushchev's group and their followers, have completely deviated and have turned into enemies of Marxism-Leninism and of proletarian internationalism, of socialism and of the revolutionary and liberation movement of the working class and the peoples under bondage, enemies of the unity of the socialist camp and the international communist movement. They have joined in a «holy alliance» with the American imperialists and the reactionaries of different countries, with all the anti-communist forces against peoples and socialism. They have turned the blade of all their daggers against Marxism-Leninism, against all fraternal parties and revolutionary communists loyal to it, against the anti-imperialist, liberation and revolutionary movement of peoples. All their utterances about «loyalty» to Marxism-Leninism, to the cause of socialism, to the revolution and proletarian internationalism are sheer bluff and demagogy from head to foot.

In order to carry through their anti-Marxist, anti-socialist and counter-revolutionary line, they stand in need of allies. And where could they find

better allies than among the revisionist elements in the various parties and among the Titoite clique in Jugoslavia? Therefore, N. Khrushchev and his group succeeded, through 'putsch-es' and plots, deceiving some and compromising others, under the guise of fighting «the cult of the individual» in bringing to power and placing at the head of certain communist and workers' parties revisionist elements of their choice while, on the other hand, they rehabilitated Tito's renegate clique and joined up with them completely. Thus, the united revisionist front came into being. This was the first step.

In addition to this, the modern revisionists have never given up efforts to find other allies too. And who could these be? It is very natural for them to turn to — and they could not help turn to — their «brothers», fellow traitors — the right-wing social-democrat leaders. For revisionism and social-democracy of today are two manifestations of the same ideology — bourgeois ideology. Social-democracy is the manifestation of bourgeois ideology in the workers movement, while revisionism is the manifestation of bourgeois ideology in the communist movement.

This is the common ideologic basis that draws the revisionists closer to and unites with the social-democrats and creates the premises for their complete fusion not only ideologically and politically but also organizationally. Therefore it is altogether natural and logical that the attempts of the revisionists to cause the degeneration of the com-

munist parties they direct, into social democratic parties, that their tendency to fuse in with social-democracy, is being made so very clear nowadays.

The trend to get closer to and join with social-democrats, the whole treacherous line of action of the modern revisionists, have their beginnings at the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. This trend was re-emphasized at the 21st and the 22nd Congresses and was sanctioned in the new program of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Speaking of this line of approach to and union with social-democracy at the 22nd Congress, N. Khrushchev said: «This is not a tactical temporary slogan but the general line of the communist movement dictated by the basic interests of the working class». N. Khrushchev has also said: «If we are to speak of the role and position of the non-communist parties, we should stress, above all, that in the present situation, in order to achieve the socialist transformation of society, collaboration of the communist party with the other parties is not only possible but indispensable». (N. Khrushchev's reply to the editor of the Australian new-paper «Herald», John Waters, published in «Pravda» June 25, 1958).

The line of approach to and union with social-democrats began to be put into effect immediately after the 20th Congress. The Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union addressed letters to the social-democratic parties of Western Europe calling for unity. Beginning with 1956 the Soviet Union was visited by a number

of social-democratic leaders and by whole delegations of social-democratic parties who came into contact and carried on talks with N. Khrushchev's group.

The campaign for unity with social-democrats has become more intensive especially in recent times. A proof of this lies in the last year's visits to Moscow of such leaders of social-democracy as P. H. Spaak, secretary-general of the Belgian Socialist Party, Harold Wilson, the present chairman of the English Labour Party and Guy Mollet, secretary-general of the French Socialist Party, who conducted talks with N. Khrushchev and other Soviet leaders. In connection with these talks, in an interview with foreign journalists in Moscow Guy Mollet said that he had discussed with Khrushchev «a number of questions comprising all theoretical and doctrinarian problems of a general nature and which characterize the relations between social-democratic and communist parties». While, in an interview granted to the newspaper «Unita» (February 22, 1964) Guy Mollet stated that «The talks which the delegation of SFIO conducted with the leaders of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and in particular with Nikita Khrushchev, gave us sure satisfaction in many points.»

The leaders of communist and workers parties in certain other countries are also following the line of fusing with present-day social-democracy under the dictates of «the conductor's baton». This is evident in many of their acts, in various articles and statements, in the columns of the Khrush-

chevian review «Problems of Peace and Socialism»; in «the document of the Central Committee of the Italian Communist Party for the national conference of organization» appearing in the new-paper «Unita» dt. 9-1-1964, in the draft-resolution for the 17th Congress of the French Communist Party which will be held in May this year, and so on.

In all these attempts, documents and materials of the modern revisionists regardless of the phrases they use to camouflage their designs the prevailing idea is unity and fusion with social-democrats «on whatever basis» and «at all costs», renouncing every thing that might prejudice this union, be it in the field of ideology or in that of organization.

The attempts of the modern revisionists to get close to and join up with the social-democrats are a logical consequence of their betrayal of Marxism-Leninism, are a component part of their grand strategic plan of «world integration» clearly formulated by Tito in his well-known interview granted to Drew Pearson on August 7, 1962. To realize this objective the revisionists make extensive use of demagogical slogans. They try to justify their approach to and union with the imperialists and reactionaries, their approach to and union with Tito's clique in the name of «socialism», with the Roman Pontiff in the name of «humanity», with the social-democrats, in the name of «unity of the working class», in the name of «peaceful coexistence and of saving the world from a nuclear war of extermination».

MODERN REVISIONISTS PROCEED ALONG THE TREACHEROUS TRACKS OF SOCIAL DEMOCRACY

The modern revisionists try to justify their approach to and union with the social-democrats under the pretext that «positive trends» are allegedly being observed especially in recent times, among the ranks of social-democracy; that they have allegedly expressed themselves in favor of peace, peaceful coexistence, disarmament, that they have positively modified their attitude toward the USSR, that they have expressed themselves in favor of some kind of approach to the communists, that they have expressed some sort of willingness to meet the demands of the working class, to preserve and strengthen democratic institutions, they have stated that they are in favor of the socialist transformation of society and so forth. Thus, in order to justify their line of approach to the rightwing leaders of social-democracy, the revisionists try to create the illusion that it is not the revisionist train which is speeding its way to the social-democratic station, but the social-democratic station is coming up to meet the revisionist train!

This is no new tactic for revisionists. N. Khrushchev's traitorous group and those who follow them have used exactly this maneuver to justify their approach to and complete union with the Titoite clique, pretending that the Jugoslav leaders have allegedly corrected many of their errors and have adopted the line of «Marxism-Leninism». In

the same way, in order to justify their treacherous line of reconciliation with and approach to the imperialists, to the American imperialists in particular, they have spread and continue to spread illusions pretending that the leaders of imperialism have now become «wise», «realistic», «peace-loving», «reasonable» and what not.

But facts go to prove that the present social-democrat leaders have changed as little in their nature and in their attitude as the Titoite clique and the imperialists. If we may speak of any kind of change of views and stands of the social-democratic leaders, the only obvious change of theirs is their ever growing inclination to the right.

What Does Present-Day Social-Democracy Represent?

Present-day social-democracy is a direct follower of the traitorous IInd International. It has inherited all the ideological luggage, organization and tactics of the parties of the IInd International. The social-democrats began their betrayal by getting away from the basic teachings of Marxism-Leninism, which they proclaim as out-dated and inexpedient, by renouncing the class struggle and replacing it with the «theory» of harmony and reconciliation of classes, by negating the revolution and replacing it with reforms within the capitalist order, by giving up the revolutionary way and replacing it with «peaceful», «democratic» and parlia-

mentary method, by denying the indispensability of breaking up the old bourgeois state machinery and accepting the capitalist state as a means to cross over to socialism, by withholding their assent to the dictatorship of the proletariat and replacing it with «pure and general democracy», by departing from proletarian internationalism and going so far the other way as to plunge into positions of the national-chauvinists, to open union with the imperialist bourgeoisie.

Unmasking the betrayal of the old social-democrats Lenin wrote as far back as in his book «What is to be done?»: «Social-democracy should be changed from a party of social revolution to a democratic party of social reforms. Bernstein has bolstered up this political demand with a whole battery of «new» arguments and considerations harmoniously connected with one another. He denies the possibility of indorsing socialism scientifically and of proving, from the point of view of the materialist conception of history, that it is indispensable and inevitable; he denies the fact that poverty and proletarianization are on the increase and that capitalist contradictions are getting worse and worse; he proclaims the very notion of «the final goal» as groundless and unconditionally rejects the idea of the dictatorship of the proletariat; he denies the divergencies of principle existing between liberalism and socialism and the theory of the class struggle which, he pretends, cannot be carried out in a wholly democratic society governed by the will of the ma-

jority». (V. I. Lenin: Selected Works in 2 vol. Albanian edition, vol. 1, page 110).

By embarking on this road, social-democracy turned itself into a loyal supporter of the capitalist order of things, into a servant of the bourgeoisie, into a most important ideological and political abettor of bourgeois policy in the workers movement. It has aided the bourgeoisie to oppress and exploit the workers of their country and the peoples of other countries, to suppress their revolutionary and liberation movement. «It has been verified by practice» Lenin says, «that the militant group in the ranks of the workers movement who adhere to opportunist trends, are better defenders of the bourgeoisie than the bourgeoisie themselves. If workers were not under the guidance of such people, the bourgeoisie would not be able to stand their ground» (Works, vol. 31, page 259, Albanian edition).

But social-democracy today has gone a step further in its betrayal when compared with the time of the IInd International. At present it is characterized by a growing tendency towards the right.

Beginning from 1955 the social-democratic parties in Western Europe like the English Labour Party, the social-democratic parties in France, Austria, Switzerland, the Netherlands, Luxemburg, Western Germany and in the Scandinavian countries, have changed their programs, or have been engaged in elaborating new programmatic proce-

dures. What characterizes these programs and new programmatic procedures? They are characterized by the eclectic blending of the old opportunist theories with the «modern» bourgeois theories, by their permanent renunciation of all the principles and ideals of socialism, by their open support for the capitalist order of exploitation and by their frenzied opposition to communism.

If the former reformists avowed, even in words alone, that the establishment of socialism was their ultimate goal, present-day social-democrats have openly rejected this end. They preach that they are in favor of the socalled «democratic socialism», which has nothing in common with true scientific socialism. It is its negation, its replacement with certain bourgeois liberal reforms which do not tamper in any way with the basis of capitalist society. What kind of socialism is that when most of the social-democratic programs have discarded an elementary demand of socialism to abolish private property of the means of production?

Following the well-known statements of the socialist International «Aims and Tasks of Democratic Socialism» (1951), the new programs direct the working class not against capitalism as such but against «unsupervised» capitalism. Nationalization of a part of the enterprises by the bourgeois state, the establishment of state monopolist capitalism in the economic life of the country, the adoption of certain bourgeois-democratic reforms — all of these figure in the new programs and statements of the social-democrats as facts

that go to prove that the basis of socialism has allegedly been laid in certain capitalist countries. At the same time, they deny the socialist character of transformations in the socialist countries. They repeat in this manner, openly or in a roundabout way, the bourgeois theories in vogue on «people's capitalism», «capitalism under control», «organized», «democratic» and so on.

The bourgeois reactionary press has more than once hailed this departure of the social-democrats from the principles of socialism and in defense of capitalism. In a leading article under the title «Burial of Marxism» the «Washington Post and Times Herald» newspaper wrote: «84 years after its establishment at the historic Congress at Gotha, the German Social-Democratic Party in its Congress at Bad-Gotsberg, renounced Marxist ideology and, in fact, ceased being socialist in the true sense of that word. It reconciled itself to the principle of «free individual initiative, wherever that is possible in economic life».

The new programs of the social-democratic parties have cancelled out all mention of contradictions, antagonism and class struggle, have levelled down all boundaries between the oppressed and oppressors, between the exploited and exploiters. In place of the class struggle they preach «the sense of responsibility» of man «in general». Thus the program of the German Social-Democratic Party has it: «Freedom and democracy in industrial society are possible of attainment only if as many individuals as possible raise their social cons-

cience and express themselves as willing to share responsibility. The social-democrats uphold the solidarity and «harmony of all people» the attaining of their «above classes» objective — democratic socialism».

Since «democratic socialism» does not encroach upon the basis of the capitalist order in any way, but it is a kind of «reformed capitalism, it naturally follows that there is no need whatsoever for a socialist revolution. «Democratic socialism», according to them, will come about through «spontaneous economic evolution», through limitation of the prerogatives and power of the monopolist unions and through the aid of the capitalist state itself. Nevertheless, in order to attain this ideal, it is necessary that the social-democrats come into power and the only way to achieve this is through electoral campaigns to obtain the majority of votes in the bourgeois parliament. Speaking highly of the declaration of the socialist International on «The aims and tasks of democratic socialism», one of its leaders, Brauntal, has said that this declaration «puts an end to the discussions on the dictatorship of the proletariat», «does away with the revolutionary class war as a method to achieve socialism», and «rejects adherence to any socialist theory».

The social-democrats have severed all connections with Marxism-Leninism, with the theory of scientific socialism and with the materialistic conception of things. The program of the Austrian Socialist Party has it: «Socialism is an interna-

tional movement which does not at all demand an obligatory similarity of views. Regardless of where the socialists draw their points of view, from a Marxist or any other social analysis, from religious or humanitarian principles — they all aim at a common goal». Speaking at the Congress of the German Social-Democratic Party at Gotsberg, its former chairman, E. Olenhauer, said «the demand to make K. Marx's and F. Engels' political program the substance of the social-democratic program for 1959 is more anti-marxist than can be imagined» and he added, «We can not be understood if we speak in terms of the past, we cannot solve the problems of today with our old conceptions.»

Present-day social-democracy has not only slipped into positions of philosophic idealism and upholds idealism, but tries to find support in. and even fuse entirely with its extremest form. — religion. Thus, for instance, the programs of German, Austrian, Swiss and other social-democratic parties maintain that «democratic socialism» has its roots in Christian ethics and doctrine, that socialism and religion, far from eliminating, are completely at one with each other. Speaking at the Congress of the Austrian Socialist Party in 1958, the author of the new program, B. Kautzky. said: «We would like to draw up a program, which would be fully endorsed by Marxists and non-Marxists alike, by atheists and socialist believers in religion alike». A similar attempt to reconcile Christianity with socialism, religious idealist con-

ception with socialism materialist conception, is made also in an interview given to the correspondent of the Italian newspaper «Unita» by Guy Mollet and which was published in this paper on February 22 of this year.

Such, in general, are the ideological views of the present social-democrats. What should be stressed in this connection is that their programs, as a rule, are more leftist than their acts. If the right socialists still try, in words, to pose as socialists in order to deceive the workers, in deeds they have long become staunch defenders of the capitalist order. Both when they are in opposition as well as when they are at the head of bourgeois governments, or take part in them, the heads of social-democracy serve to preserve and strengthen the bourgeois order through all their views and acts. All the socialist demagogy of the social democrats has been shown up by experience. Socialists have more than once been in power, at the head of bourgeois governments both in England, France and elsewhere. They are at the head of or take part to this day in the governments of capitalist countries. And what have they done for the workers, for socialism? They have done nothing but follow Leon Blum's instructions: that being in power the socialists should be «faithful directors of capitalist society».

Le us dwell even briefly on the activity of the French Socialist Party and its leader Guy Mollet, who has more than once taken part in and even headed the French government, and whom

the revisionists consider a left-wing element and conduct hearty talks with. When at the head of the government, the French socialists set the dogs loose on workers on strike, incited the outbreak of the dirty war in Indo-China, undertook police repressions against the people of other colonies, carried on the fighting against the Algerian people with more ferocity, approved the North Atlantic Pact and the re-arming of Western Germany. Guy Mollet's government signed the agreements for «the European Common Market» and «Euratom», it was one of the organizers of the military aggression on Egypt. Guy Mollet's betrayal paved the way for personal rule in France and so on and so forth. Speaking of Guy Mollet's activity even the labourite weekly «Tribune» wrote at the beginning of 1957 that «Mollet is a disgrace to France as well as to socialism».

These are the true features of social-democracy today. Many representatives of the bourgeoisie have not been wrong in stressing the great role of the social-democratic parties in suppressing the revolutionary movement of workers and in defending the capitalist order, they have not been wrong in singing their praises. Thus, for instance, T. Junilla, director of a capitalist bank in Finland, has said: «In the struggle to win over industrial workers spiritually only the social-democrats can serve as a powerful force against the communists. If the social democrats lose this battle, it may very well be the end of democracy in Finland.

This is why, being a bourgeois member of the conservative party, I feel obliged to state that we need a united, militant social-democratic party which firmly upholds northern democracy». The English bourgeois newspaper «Financial Times» wrote in the same vein on June 28, 1963: «... the industrialists are scared less by the Labourites, and some of them cherish the opinion that a Labour government would open up better perspectives for development than the Tories».

It is precisely because the social-democrats are agents of the bourgeoisie in the workers movement that the Marxist-Leninists have always had it clear that without a determined struggle to unmask and smash the social-democrats ideologically and politically, the working class cannot wage its struggle and carry it on to victory, «... Bourgeois parties of workers» as a political phenomenon, V. I. Lenin has written, «have already been set up in **all** advanced capitalist countries. ... Without a resolute, relentless war on all fronts against these parties — or, what amounts to the same thing, against groups, trends and and so on — it is futile to speak of the struggle against imperialism, or of Marxism, or of the workers socialist movement» (V. I. Lenin: «Against Revisionists», Albanian edition, page 368). J. V. Stalin too, as a revolutionary and consistent marxist, has stressed: «Present-day social-democratism is the **ideological support** of capitalism. Lenin was a thousand times right when he said that the present social-democratic politicians are «true **agents**

of the **bourgeoisie** in the **workers** movement, lackeys of the capitalist class from the workers ranks» and that «in the civil war of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie» they will undoubtedly take sides with the 'Versailles' against the 'Communnards'. «**No end can be put to capitalism without putting an end to social-democracy in the workers movement.** Therefore, the epoch of the death of capitalism is at the same time the epoch of the death of social-democracy in the workers movement» (J. V. Stalin: Works, Albanian edition, vol. 10, p. 242).

The 1960 Moscow Declaration too, stressing the fact that the right-wing leaders of social-democracy have aligned themselves openly with the imperialists, uphold the capitalist system, split the workers movement and that they are «enemies of communism», called upon the communists to continue to expose them.

But the modern revisionists, with N. Khrushchev's group in the lead, as renegades and foes to Marxism, act entirely at variance with the teachings of Lenin and Stalin, with the instructions of the Moscow Declaration; they pursue the line of joining in and fusing with the right-wing leaders of social-democracy. And this is not accidental: social-democrats of today and modern revisionists have common things together, they proceed in the same direction and towards a common counter-revolutionary objective.

Modern Revisionists Have Slipped into the Positions of Social-Democracy

Just as the old opportunists and reformists betrayed Marxism-Leninism, the cause of the working class, of the revolution and of socialism, so do the modern revisionists betray these ideals and are pursuing the same road as their forerunners who are at the same time their spiritual inspirers. Those who have changed are not the social-democrats but the modern revisionists, who have fallen into the treacherous positions of social-democracy.

Rejecting Marxism-Leninism, the social-democrats claim that «problems of today cannot be solved by old concepts». Following in their wake, the revisionists too, speculate with the newer conditions and phenomena, and, under the guise of fighting «dogmatism» and upholding «the creative development of Marxism» claim that many things today should be looked at with a critical eye, that what was right 30 years ago cannot be such any longer, that atomic weapons and the danger of a nuclear war makes it indispensable to revise our views and stand on many questions of strategy and tactics, that he who abides by the basic theses of Marx and Lenin in the sixties of the XXth century is a dogmatist who takes no account of the great changes that have comme about in the world, and he who consults the classic works of Marxist-Leninists in order to analyze and explain the present historical process, is afflicted with the

mania of quotations and so on and so forth. Hence, Marxism-Leninism is outdated for revisionists too, it no longer suits the newer conditions, it should be «enriched» with new ideas and new conclusions. Just like all the old opportunists and reformists, the revisionists too are stripping Marxism of its critical and revolutionary spirit and are attempting to turn it from a weapon in the hands of the working class into a weapon in the hands of the bourgeoisie to be used against the working class.

«Not the class struggle but the solidarity and harmony of all men who possess the sense of responsibility towards society» — this is the motive power of present-day society, the social-democrats maintain. The revisionists too have erased the class struggle from their books, and in fact have replaced it with the idea of class reconciliation in the name of «preserving peace» in the world, they have renounced this struggle in the name of «saving the world from the danger of nuclear war», and instead of the class struggle they preach «peaceful coexistence» as the only method to solve all the vital problems that stand before human society. «Peace at all costs, peace with all and above all», «christian love for everybody», «abstract humanism above classes», these are the ideas that the modern revisionists preach far and wide. In the name of this ideal the revisionists make comon cause with the enemies of the class, with the imperialists and reactionaries of various countries and their agents and lackeys — the right-

wing leaders, social-democratic leaders and the Titoite clique, while, on the other hand, they fight furiously against all those who loyally uphold the interests of the working class and their Marxist-Leninist ideology — the communist parties and all the revolutionary communists.

The social-democrats have long given up the revolution and preach that socialism will come about through reforms within the framework of the bourgeois order of things, of democracy and bourgeois legality. Following in their tracks, the revisionists too have abandoned the revolutionary way, saying that the way to socialism is the way to an ever broader democracy, the way of observing and carrying out bourgeois constitutions, the way of «reforming structures». Just like the social democrats, the revisionists too, identify the struggle for democracy with that for socialism, confine the struggle for socialism to that for democracy. Dragging Kautzky's and Bernstein's theories from their burial place, they express themselves in and only in favor of the «peaceful» and «parliamentary» way, which they hold up as a world strategic principle, and they have concentrated all the efforts on the struggle for votes in order to win the majority of seats in bourgeois parliaments.

The social-democrats consider the capitalist state as a state above classes, as an interpreter and champion of the interests of society as a whole, they are opposed to breaking up the old bourgeois state machine, they are opposed to the dictatorship of

the proletariat, which, according to them, is the negation of democracy, is a totalitarian rule and so on and so forth. And the revisionists spread the illusions that the capitalist state may change its class nature, that it may become a state that will express not only the interests of the bourgeoisie but also those of the proletariat and of the laboring masses, they say that Lenin's thesis on the indispensability of breaking up the bourgeois state apparatus must be modified, that the dictatorship of the proletariat is an out-dated idea, or, at most, suitable only for backward countries, that it may take not only various forms but also quite a different content. Both the social-democrats as well as the revisionists slander against the dictatorship of the proletariat and describe the entire period of its rule as a period of mass terror and arbitrariness, as a period of brutal violation of laws, of socialist democracy, and so on and so forth.

In their practical political activity too, the modern revisionists are proceeding in the footsteps of the traitorous leaders of social democracy. As a matter of fact, they have joined with the enemies of socialism and of the peoples — with the imperialists and particularly with the American imperialists, and with the reactionaries of various countries. For the sake of getting closer to imperialism, for the sake of achieving Soviet-American collaboration, which is N. Khrushchev's and his group's highest aspiration and ideal, the re-

visionists do not hesitate even to betray the true friends and allies of the Soviet people, the vital interests of the socialist countries, the working class, the peoples and nations oppressed and exploited by the imperialists. A proof of this lies in such activities of the revisionists headed by Khrushchev's group as their adventuresome and capitulating attitude in the Caribbean crisis, in their pressure exterted on socialist Cuba to capitulate to the American imperialists, sacrificing its dignity and its sovereignty, in their union with the Indian reactionaries against the People's Republic of China, with the Titoite clique and with Venizelos against the People's Republic of Albania, in the infamous Moscow Treaty for a partial ban on nuclear tests, which is high treason to the interests of the Soviet Union, to the other socialist countries and to peace and in favor of the American imperialists, as well as in a number of other facts.

Anti-communism permeates all the ideology and practical activity of the modern social-democrats, they slander the socialist countries and communist parties, they split the workers movement, counter scientific socialism with «democratic socialism» which is no other than reformed capitalism, try their utmost to preserve the capitalist order where it prevails and re-establish it where it has been overthrown. The modern revisionists are also carrying on anti-socialist and anti-communist activities on a wide scale. N. Khrushchev's group and their followers have

split the socialist camp and the international communist movement and are speeding ahead towards degenerating the socialist countries into «docile bourgeois republics» and the communist and workers parties from parties of social revolution into «parties of social reforms». N. Khrushchev and his group deny the proletarian class nature of the socialist state and the communist party, they are liquidating the dictatorship of the proletariat and the communist party in the Soviet Union under the pretext of turning them into the state and party of «the entire people». The revisionists are organizing and reorganizing with a view to changing the forms of management of socialist economy after the pattern of Titoite Jugoslavia, violating the Marxist principles of managing socialist economy, they belittle the experience of many years of socialist construction in the Soviet Union and in other socialist countries, and call on all to learn from the experience of the capitalist countries, especially from the American experience. They express themselves in favor of all-round collaboration with the capitalist countries, going as far as to stretch their hands to the imperialists for aid, credits and capital investments «to build socialism and communism», as Khrushchev himself did of late. Under the guise of fighting «the cult of the individual and its consequences», they have done away with the sound Marxist-Leninist cadres and have rehabilitated the traitors and enemies of socialism, living or dead. They have flung open the

door of the socialist countries to the unhindered penetration of bourgeois ideology, of all kinds of alien anti-socialist trends and manifestations in art, letters and in all the life of the country, in the name of «freedom of conscience» and of «an abstract humanity above classes». This «liberal» and «humanist» socialism of the modern revisionists is getting closer and closer to the so-called «democratic socialism» which the leaders of modern social democracy preach.

Thus, all the given facts show clearly that the modern revisionists are proceeding along the treacherous tracks of the social-democrats. This is very clear to the socialist leaders who have openly expressed their approval, their joys and hopes regarding the traitorous course followed by N. Khrushchev's group and their followers. Here are some of their statements:

In a speech to the General Assembly of the United Nations at its last session P. H. Spaak said: «N. Khrushchev is trying to test peaceful coexistence and the West should not make it difficult for him to make this experiment. It would be a terrible and inexcusable mistake to discourage him. At this moment the future line of demarcation will not be any longer between communists and non-communists, between the colonized and colonizers, between ideologies and races. We are witnesses of the struggle between those who wait the opportune time and inhuman doctrinarians on the one hand and those who have had confidence in progress and have never ceased to hope, on the

other. Let us not let this great occasion slip from our hands».

In his interview on February 24, 1964, the chairman of the English Labour Party, H. Wilson, pointed out that he was the first of the Western politicians who visited Russia after the death of Stalin and, on his return from there, reported to W. Churchill, Prime Minister at that time, that «a great change was taking place in Soviet politics» and that this «is of major importance as regards relations between East and West». He is fully justified to be proud of his farsighted anticipations which today have become realities.

Before going to Moscow with the socialist delegation to talk with Khrushchev Gerard Jacques, director of the newspaper of the French Socialist Party stated: «We have long given up engaging in polemics with the Soviet Union and admit that this country is in the full phase of evolution... The problems raised are those of democracy and the democratic guarantees of the single party, of the role of the socialist party in socialist society, of the nature of the socialist regime and its structure. The attitude maintained by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in the divergences between Moscow and Peking throws ample light on the attitude of this party towards dogmatism and political sectarianism».

After his return to Paris from colloquys with N. Khrushchev, the Secretary General of the French Socialist Party, Guy Mollet, stated that he became convinced that «a positive evolution is

taking place in the Soviet Union», which, according to his words, were summed up in these matters: «Admittance of many ways to build socialism», «end of the proletarian dictatorship», «internal evolution» and so on. Whereas in an interview granted the newspaper «Unita» (Feb. 22, 1964), Guy Mollet declared: «I am convinced that the communist world has embarked on the road to transformation».

These statements of the leaders of social-democracy are at one with the statements made by the leaders of imperialism and their spokesmen who also express their support for N. Khrushchev's revisionist line and consider him «the best friend of the West in Moscow». They say that «The Soviet Premier Nikita Khrushchev acts like an American politician» and affirm that the officials in the State Department in the USA are of the opinion that «the United States should facilitate N.Khrushchev's task to a certain extent» and so on and so forth.

TOWARDS A COMPLETE FUSION OF THE MODERN REVISIONISTS WITH THE SOCIAL-DEMOCRATS

The falling of the modern revisionists into the ideological position of the social-democrats in major issues constitutes the basis of the complete amalgamation of revisionists with the social-democrats. By pursuing this course and recommending

it to communist and workers parties of different countries, the modern revisionists with N.Khrushchev's group in the lead, aim at causing the degeneration of the communist parties into reformist parties of the social-democratic type, at impregnating the working class with bourgeois ideology and reformist illusions, at weakening the revolutionary fighting spirit of the working class movement, and alienating it from the only correct road against the capitalist order of oppression and exploitation.

The revisionists, of course, do not, as a rule, proclaim their hostile intentions openly. They accompany every step they take to the detriment of the cause of the revolution and of communism, with demagogical slogans and clothe it with all kinds of justifications. Their anti-Marxist action of fusing with social-democracy too, they try to justify with the pretext that the social-democratic parties too are allegedly workers' parties and that the unity of the working class is essential in the struggle against capitalism. Let us dwell in brief on this matter.

Workers Parties or «Bourgeois Parties of the Working Class»?

Are the social-democratic parties really and truly workers parties?

To judge whether a party is a party of the working class or not it does not suffice to look at

the name it attaches to itself. Hitler's party too, called itself «national-socialist»! The only correct criterion is whether or not it defends and upholds the interests of the working class, whether or not it fights for its cause. And in order to elucidate this matter one should see to whose advantage are the ideology, policy and all practical activities of this or that party. «Don't put faith in phrases», Lenin teaches us, «but rather see to whose benefit they are» (Works, vol. 19, p. 33, Russian edition). And if we look at this matter from this prism, from the prism of class, which is the only correct. Marxist-Leninist criterion, then it becomes clear to every true communist that the social-democratic parties are not workers parties, but they are, as Lenin has dubbed them «bourgeois parties of the working class». We showed above through numerous facts, that in both ideological views, political and all around activities, modern social-democracy is nothing other than, as Lenin says, «a political detachment of the bourgeoisie», «promoter of its influence», «a true agency of the bourgeoisie in the workers movement».

From the point of view of its social make-up. too, the social-democratic parties have undergone and are undergoing visible changes. The number of workers in their ranks are becoming less and less and the number of elements of the petty bourgeoisie and of the workers bureaucrats are increasing. The modern reformists have themselves launched the slogan «the deproletarization» of the social-democratic parties. And this has been

expressed in the new programs of many social-democratic parties. Thus, for instance, the program of the Swiss Social-Democratic Party has it: «At the beginning socialism was the concern of the working class which used to be exploited by capitalism alone... Now socialism is the concern of all mankind. It pertains to every man with a sense of responsibility for the welfare of society».

This is for the groundwork, for the masses of the social-democratic parties, whereas as far as the leading cadres are concerned, the higher up you climb in the hierarchy of the social-democratic parties, the fewer workers you find in them. As a matter of fact many social democratic leaders have long become real capitalists: many of them take part in the administrative councils of the biggest banks and own packages of solid shares, drawing millions upon millions of dividends each year. Thus, for instance, according to returns of recent years, 410 principal functionaries of the German Social-Democratic Party occupied 929 high paid posts in the major banks and corporations of Western Germany, 62 social democrat personalities were directors of the firms Mannesman, Klekner, Krupp, Flick and others. The same situation prevails in the other social democratic parties of the West like France, England, Belgium, the Scandinavian countries and so on.

This is the kind of «workers' class» the social-democratic parties represent. The modern revisionists, who are themselves nothing but traitors to the working class, have every reason to stick

the label of «workers' party» not only on themselves, not only on the social-democrats, but also on any English bourgeois conservative party if such a thing is dictated by their anti-Marxist and anti-revolutionary plan of action.

It is therefore obvious enough that the argument of the modern revisionists pretending that the social-democratic parties are parties of the working class, is altogether a false one. Hence, their slogan on «the need for unity of the working class» is demagogical, a pretext to justify their union with the «bourgeois parties of the working class».

The workers' movement in almost all the advanced capitalist countries has been split. Who is to blame for this split? Who hinders the achievement of unity of action in the workers movement? The 1960 Moscow Declaration points out that the originators and promoters of this split on a national and international scale are «the ruling classes, the right wing leaders of social democracy and the reactionary leaders of the trade unions». Under these circumstances, in order to realize unity of action in the workers movement, the revolutionary Marxist-Leninists are guided by the following considerations:

a) that unity of action may be attained only in battle with splitters, therefore they wage a relentless and persistent war of principle against the splitters — the treacherous leaders of social-democracy;

b) that all efforts should be concentrated to achieve unity of action at the base with the working masses of the socialist parties, that the watchword of the Marxist-Leninists for unity of action could and should be: reliance on the masses, alliance with the leftists, uncompromising combat against the treacherous right-wing leaders who cause the split in order to expose and isolate them;

c) that by soliciting unity of action with socialists, the communist parties should consider this not as collaboration between two political parties of the working class but as collaboration between a proletarian and non proletarian party in order to achieve some specific objectives. In connection with this it is essential to always keep in mind and strictly observe Lenin's teachings, who has more than once stressed with force that it is essential that, when concluding an alliance or agreement with other movements for this or that question or objective, the revolutionary party of the working class will maintain its political independence at every moment and in every situation, so that it may not lose sight at any moment of the basic interests of the working class in its fight to achieve its final objective — the triumph of socialism and communism.

Every departure from Marxist-Leninist positions brings about as a consequence the alienation of the working class from its revolutionary line of action and its fall into the mire of opportunism. Such is the attitude of the Marxist-Leninists towards unity of the workers movement.

But what stand do the modern revisionists maintain in connection with this? They have not only given up fighting the splitters of the workers' movement — the right-wing leaders of social democracy but, what's more, they are advocates of unity «at all costs» and «under all conditions» with these traitorous splitters. The revisionists even rise against all those who fight against the right-wing leaders of social-democracy and who expose their betrayal, considering this fight as «sectarian», «dogmatic», as «insolent» and «dangerous attack» and so on.

But everybody knows that social-democratic leaders like Spaak, Guy Mollet and others, with whom N. Khrushchev and his followers conduct «hearty talks» and try to achieve unity «at all costs», are servitors and agents of the bourgeoisie, who have even been and continue to be at the head of bourgeois governments in many capitalist countries. Therefore, unity with these traitors is by no means a unity of the workers movement, but an attempt at unity between the working class and the bourgeoisie, for subjection of the working class to the bourgeoisie, unity and collaboration with the reactionary bourgeois governments pretending to be «socialist».

Formerly when they had not yet revealed so openly their treacherous features, the modern revisionists used to claim they are opposed to the right-wing leaders of social-democracy, that no unity was possible with them and so on, and they had even said a word or two against them. N.

Khrushchev, for one, said at the 21st Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union that the cause of unity of the working class is hindered by «imperialist reactionaries and their lackeys in the workers movement such as the anti-communist leaders of Social-democracy — Guy Mollet and Spaak. We know these leaders of anti-communism by name and we do not rely on them when we speak of the unity of action of the working class». Whereas now it is the same Khrushchev who conducts «hearty colloquys» with and solicits the collaboration of such anti-communist leaders as Guy Mollet, Spaak, H. Wilson and their ilk to achieve «unity of the working class»! One of two things must have happened: either Guy Mollet, Spaak and Co have ceased to be anti-communists or N. Khrushchev himself has ceased to be a communist and makes common cause with the leaders of anti-communism, servitors of the imperialist reactionaries! So far there is no sign to prove the first, while there are plenty of facts to prove the second.

Regardless of the demagogical slogans they make use of in order to waylay the masses, the modern revisionists are not only in favor of «unity at all costs» with the social democrats including their traitorous leaders, but have gone even further, expressing themselves willing to collaborate with them «on any basis». Thus, in an article appearing in the «Komunist» review of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union No. 3, 1960, we read: «Unity of action with the reformists, even with the sworn ones, on this or that issue is always

possible, provided they really try to achieve any reform, be it ever so small, for the benefit of the working class, of the workers». Whereas the leaders of the French Communist Party, on the basis of a resolution of the plenum of the Central Committee during September 27 & 28, 1961 regarding collaboration with the socialist and other parties, have stated: «We on our part, are ready to collaborate **on any basis**». (See the «Komunist» review No. 3, 1962, p. 95).

Thus, speculating on the slogan «unity», the revisionists sacrifice the principles, level off the distinction between communists and social-democrats, trample upon and sacrifice the basic interests of the working class. This is sham unity, unity in favor of the bourgeoisie and their agents in the workers movement, which aims at submitting the workers movement wholly to bourgeois and reformist influence, at liquidating the revolutionary spirit and the revolutionary party of the working class. This is high treason to the cause of the working class and of socialism.

All of these things give rise to an important conclusion: full unity on sound basis of the workers movement can and will be achieved through bitter combat not only with the right-wing leaders of social democracy but also with the modern revisionists, against their dangerous attempts to wholly submit the workers' movement to the poisonous and counter-revolutionary influence of social democracy and of its treacherous right-wing leaders.

Liquidation of Communist Parties — the Goal of the Modern Revisionists

Facts go to prove that the hue and cry the modern revisionists are raising about «unity» of the workers movement, is nothing but a bluff, a demagogical maneuver to cover their tracks. Whereas their true objective is to cause the degeneration of the communist parties into parties of the social-democratic type, to join with the social-democrats under «any condition» and on «any basis» and then to liquidate the communist parties, to amalgamate them with the social-democratic parties

The social-democratic leaders, who cannot plead ignorance of these attempts and intentions of the revisionists, have defined their stand and their tactics towards them in compliance with this. The social-democratic leaders pursue the same two-fold tactics towards the revisionists as the American imperialists and the Titoite clique do.

On the one hand, they sing praises to them for their revisionist line of action, back them up and encourage them as allies in their betrayal, incite them against Marxism-Leninism and against all those that stand loyal to it. To meet the revisionists halfway and to throw dust in the eyes of the masses, certain social-democratic leaders, have, especially of late, started to speak in terms similar to those of the revisionists and to make statements in favor of peace, peaceful coexistence and disarmament, they have somewhat changed their attitude

towards the Soviet Union and towards the communists in their countries, and so on. This has, of course, nothing to do with any real, positive, basic change of the social democrats, but a mere change of attitude **towards the revisionists** for the above reasons. It is exactly this kind of «change» that the revisionists try, in a demagogical way, to hold out as «an inclination to the left» of the social-democrats, in order to justify their transition to the right, to justify their own line of approach and collaboration with them.

On the other hand the social-democratic leaders maintain a «superior» and «haughty» attitude towards the servile requests and appeals of the revisionists for approach and collaboration and demand more and more concessions. And what do the social-democrats demand?

In the ideological field they demand that the revisionists give up for good the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism, the idea of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the role of leadership of the communist party, proletarian internationalism, and so on, not only in essence but also formally.

In the field of politics, they demand «further democratic guarantees», toleration of many parties, consequently of bourgeois parties as well, and the distribution of power among them in socialist states, a change in the electoral system to allow lists of candidates including anti-socialist elements in them, etc. They demand in other words «the liberalization» of the socialist regime and its transformation into an ordinary bourgeois democracy.

In the economic field they demand abolition of the cooperative system in the countryside, of the «old forms» of organization and management of economy, in order to proceed towards alignment and «wide and all-round collaboration» of the socialist countries with the capitalist countries and so on.

In the field of international relations they demand further and bigger concessions towards the imperialists in the name of «preserving peace», renunciation of support for the revolutionary and national-liberation movements and even the sacrifice of the German Democratic Republic as a condition of establishing peace in Europe.

Such are the demands put forward, for instance, by Spaak, Guy Mollet and other social-democratic leaders. These demands are as similar as two drops of water to those made to the revisionists by the imperialists, particularly the American imperialists through Eisenhower, Dulles. Kennedy. Johnson and others.

The social-democratic leaders are convinced that the revisionists will continue to make further concessions, for this is an inevitable consequence of the traitorous line which the revisionists pursue. And facts go to prove more clearly as days go by that they are not mistaken in their calculations. In fact, having embarked on the road of degenerating the communist parties into social-democratic parties headed by them, the revisionists are now attempting to make the next move — to complete fusion with the social-democratic parties.

At the top of these efforts stands the revisionist «troika» — N. Khrushchev's group, Tito's clique and the revisionist leadership of the Italian Communist Party with P. Togliati in the lead. A living example of how to proceed along this treacherous road is that of the leaders of the Italian Communist Party. P. Togliati and other revisionist leaders have imposed on the Italian Communist Party a line which is opportunist and reformist from top to bottom, a line that flagrantly deviates from the teachings and basic principles of Marxism-Leninism, a line which has replaced the class struggle, the revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat with the so-called «Italian Road to Socialism» through «Structural reforms» within the framework of «bourgeois democracy», of the bourgeois state «above classes», of the bourgeois constitution. And this is not all. Proceeding along their anti-Marxist road, P. Togliati and other revisionist leaders of the Italian Communist Party have long been trumpeting abroad the indispensability of changing the «character, functions and organizational structure» of their party, allegedly to fit the major political exigencies lying before it and the «transformations that have taken and are taking place in the economic, social and political structure of the country» -«with the problems of the struggle for socialism in the advanced capitalist countries» and so forth and so on.

Just in what direction these changes will be made and what their objective is, is made clear by the «Document of the Central Committee of the

Italian Communist Party for the national conference on organization» published in the newspaper «Unita» dated January 9, 1964. In this document we read: «The essential exigency is to look for and adopt a system of new contacts and connections among all forces which accept a socialist policy and future» in perspective so that «the separation existing among the various organizations of the working class may be organically overcome and the basis for a single party may be laid». It is even said that in the light of the struggle against monopolist development of the country and in order to direct the latter toward socialist development, we should look into the «problem of the relation and dialogue with the political, democratic catholic movement, which is the other major force, whose support is essential in building a new society in Italy».

These theses of the leadership of the Italian Communist Party are the continuation and further concretization of the opportunist views expressed long ago by P. Togliati. At the meeting of the Central Committee of the Italian Communist Party on June 24, 1956 Togliati said: «We can detect, as a matter of fact, a drift towards socialism, a more or less clear trend towards economic reforms and transformations of the socialist type even in countries where the communist parties far from taking part in the government, are not even a major force at times... This situation exists today and assumes special significance in those regions of the world which have been emancipated from colonialism only recently. But also in very advanced

capitalist countries it may happen that the working class, in its majority, may vote for a non-communist party and it cannot be excluded that in such countries even non-communist parties based on the working class, may express the urge coming from the working class for a drift towards socialism. Even where communist parties exist and are strong, there may exist side by side with them other parties which may have their basis in the working class and a socialist program. The tendency to bring about radical economic changes in a direction which, in general is that of socialism, many after all come also from organizations and movements which do not call themselves socialist».

What is new in the latest document of the Central Committee of the Italian Communist Party for the conference on the organization of the party, lies in the fact that attempts are being made to pass from pseudo-theoretical considerations to practical steps to set up the so-called «single organization of the working class», in other words the liquidation of the communist party as the revolutionary and independent vanguard of the working class.

We have already had the occasion to point out that these views of the leaders of the Italian Communist Party are not at all original, but entirely the same as those of the Titoite renegates sanctioned in the program of the Jugoslav Communist League and already condemned unanimously by the international communist movement as profoundly anti-Marxist. It is in this revisionist program that we read: «The view that communist parties own

a monopoly in every line of development towards socialism, and that socialism is expressed by them and through them, is theoretically incorrect and practically very harmful». We read there further: «The Yugoslav Communist League considers it dogmatic to claim the absolute monopoly of the communist party over the political power as a universal and perpetual principle of the dictatorship of the proletariat and of socialist construction».

The unity of views of the Italian Communist Party leaders with those of the Titoite clique extends not only to this, but to their entire line of action. This revisionist unity was clearly expressed in the joint Tito-Togliati communique signed in Belgrade on January 21 of this year, as well as in a leading article by Togliati on his return from a visit to Jugoslavia.

During this encounter in Jugoslavia Togliati and Tito did not keep it a secret that they talked about coordinating their joint activity in spreading the triumph of the «new positive course» in the communist movement, especially in Europe, and in overcoming the obstacles in the way of the unity of the workers and communist movement on the basis of this course. These talks pointed out again the «special role» which the leaders of the Italian Communist Party have assigned to themselves in the communist and workers movement in Western Europe (let us recall the theory of «polycentralization», implying, of course, that one of the principal and most «attractive» centers of direction would certainly be the Italian Communist Party with Togliati at the head!).

To achieve their end — the triumph of the «new course», the degeneration of the communist parties, the revisionists with N. Khrushchev at the head, must needs, first and foremost, break, subdue and set moving towards degeneration not only the Italian Communist Party which Togliati himself is zealously trying to do, but also the French Communist Party, as two major parties in Western Europe. It is precisely for this reason that the «Trojan Troika» — N. Khrushchev's group, Tito's clique and the revisionist leaders of the Italian Communist Party — are exerting strong and all-round pressure on the French Communist Party to compel it to give up for good the Leninist revolutionary principles. Daily pressure is also being exerted on the French Communist Party by the right-wing socialist leaders under Guy Mollet as well as by the various revisionist elements in the ranks of the French Communist Party itself like Raimond Gouyot and others.

The French Communist Party is a party with revolutionary traditions. It has formerly made valuable contribution to the struggle against various anti-Marxist trends ranging from the right-wing socialists like Leon Blum and Guy Mollet to Tito's clique of renegades. Now this criticism seems to have been suppressed either as a result of obedience to the «conductor's baton» or by the pressure on the part of revisionist elements who are bent on leading the French Communist Party towards the inglorious road of submission to anti-

Marxist degeneration, to the line against which it fought.

Let us take, for instance, the lattest document of the leadership of the French Communist Party — the draft resolution for the 17th Congress of the Party which will be held in May this year. It is said therein that for the sake of unity and collaboration with the socialist party, the French Communist Party has done much and is willing to do more, to smooth the «obstacles» in the way of this collaboration, that «it has given up the idea of a single party as an essential condition for transition to socialism. This idea upheld by Stalin constituted an abusive generalization of the specific circumstances under which the October Revolution came about. Later experience has proven that common objectives of the parties representing the working class of the cities and of the countryside, lead to an ever deeper unity for transition to socialism, for building socialist society».

Here we come across a new major concession of principle which the French Communist Party is making to the social-democrats. Through this very serious step the French revisionists are jeopardizing the very existence of the Communist Party, they are proceeding towards its liquidation, towards its complete fusion with Guy Mollet's Socialist Party. This is another clear proof of whither the modern revisionists are leading the communist parties. No wonder the big bourgeois newspaper «Le Monde» greets this statement with these words: «The Communist Party firmly rejects the

idea of the single party». No matter how hard they may try to justify this step, how hard they may try to slander against Stalin, the revisionists of the French Communist Party will not succeed in covering up their betrayal, the plot they are hatching up to cause the degeneration of the French Communist Party into a social democratic one.

J. V. Stalin, like all consistent Marxist-Leninists, has never denied the possibility of collaboration with other parties in taking over the reins of state and building socialism. He has never universalized the special historical circumstances which determined the existence of a single party in the Soviet Union. It is an indisputable fact that it was precisely in Stalin's time that the communist parties in various countries of Europe and Asia, collaborated for the first time with other parties, both during the revolution in order to ascend to power, as well as after the assumption of power, during the construction of socialism. But it is clear in the documents both of the leadership of the Italian Communist Party and of the French Communist Party, the question is not whether the communist party may or may not collaborate with other parties during the socialist revolution and during the construction of socialism. The question here is that for the sake of this collaboration these documents erase all distinction between the communist parties and other parties, they deny in fact the necessity of the leading role of the communist party armed with the theory of Marxism-Leninism.

J. V. Stalin however upheld just this idea, the

idea of the leading role of the communist party, an idea which is not Stalin's alone, but a basic teaching of Marx, Engels and Lenin emanating from the historic mission of the working class and from its Marxist-Leninist ideology which is the sole ideology of scientific socialism. This is clearly emphasized also in the 1957 Moscow Declaration in which we read: «the leadership of the masses by the working class, whose nucleus is the Marxist-Leninist party, during the accomplishment of the revolution in this or other form, during the establishment of the dictatorship in this or other form» is the general law of transition from capitalism to socialism.

Time was when the leaders of the French Communist Party bitterly criticised the leaders of the Italian Communist Party because the latter placed the communist party on the same level with the other so-called «workers parties», advanced the necessity of the existence of many parties under socialism and denied the indispensability of the leading role of the Marxist-Leninist party. Debating on these views of P. Togliati & Co, the organ of the Central Committee of the French Communist Party, «Cahier de Communisme» published in its January 1957 issue an article by the present member of the Political Bureau of the French Communist Party, R. Gorad under the title: «In connection with «the Italian Road to socialism» pointed out that the denial of the radical distinction between the communist party and other so-called «workers» parties permeated with the ideology of other classes, which, therefore, cannot fully represent the

true present and future interests of the working class, means, in fact, to place the communist party on a level with non-proletarian parties, to deny that «there is only one scientific socialism which clearly determines the historic role of the working class, the tactics and the strategy, which enables it to carry out its mission» and «to admit the possibility of a reformist 'way' to socialism placed on a level with the revolutionary way». «Cahier de Communisme» at the time likewise stressed that this means to slip into positions of Kardelj and other Jugoslav leaders, who have proclaimed the Scandinavian social-democratic way as one of the possible forms towards socialism thus erasing the radical distinction between scientific socialist ideology and social-democratic ideology which preaches reconciliation, class collaboration and peaceful integration, in other words, denunciation of socialist aims.

To deny the thesis on the role of leadership of the communist party as an essential condition of the transition to socialism, to place the communist party apart from other «workers», «socialist» parties, as the modern revisionists do, means to sever all connections with true scientific socialism and true socialist ideology, it means to renounce the principles and program of the communist party and to join and fuse with the social-democratic parties on the basis of their anti-Marxist program. And that's exactly what the revisionists are doing.

There was a time when the French Communist

Party did not agree with the treacherous, throughly revisionist line of the Italian Communist Party leaders with P. Togliati in the lead. Are there today any divergences between the French Communist Party and the revisionist leaders of the Italian Communist Party? If there are, then why do they keep silent about it? Why did the French Communist Party find it so easy to attack the Communist Party of China and the Party of Labor of Albania and keep silent towards the Italian revisionists? If there are none then why doesn't it say openly that it is d'accord with them and that it had been mistaken before? Or is it because «the conductor's baton» beats that tune?

To keep silent, to shut your eyes to the treacherous line and behavior of the revisionists — such an attitude is not only anti-Marxist but also dangerous. It causes serious damage not only to the Italian Communist Party, which must be helped to see where Togliati's revisionism is leading it to, but also to the French Communist Party itself, to the entire communist movement. The revolutionary Marxist-Leninists are seriously alarmed at the catastrophe threatening the communist and workers parties. They can nor should not keep their silence when a group of traitors try to lead the communist parties like the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the Italian Communist Party, the French Communist Party and others into the abyss, but they should raise their voice to help the genuine communists, members of these parties, to see the danger clearly, to understand where their present

revisionist leadership is leading them to, before it is too late.

There was a time when the communist parties of France and Italy were set up at the Congresses of Tours and Leghorn, as revolutionary proletarian parties of the new type, detaching themselves from the socialist parties of that time which had betrayed the interests of the working class and of socialism, and severing all connections with the opportunists and reformists of the IInd International adopting the Marxist-Leninist conditions and program of the communist International. Now we are witnessing a reverse process. The line of demarcation set at the Tours and Leghorn Congresses is being wiped out. The attempts of the modern revisionists to join up and fuse with those they had detached themselves from — the treacherous social-democratic leaders — by making to them repeated concessions, by renouncing the revolutionary principles of Marxism-Leninism, are becoming more and more evident. That is why the revolutionary communists of Italy and of Franco, as well as those of other countries, who are being threatened by the danger of revisionism, should rise up against these renegades. This is the only correct course to pursue. The attacks which the revisionist 'troika' under N. Khrushchev's leadership, are launching against the communist and workers parties, are very much like the treacherous acts of the social democrats of the IInd International. That's why the Marxists should draw lessons from history, should pursue the revolutionary ways of former

days in defense of the Marxist-Leninist party, in defense of the revolution.

On the eve of its 17th Congress the French Communist Party finds itself on the horns of a dilemma: will it continue to give blind obedience to the 'conductor's baton and allow the revisionist group in the leadership to plunge it definitely on the way of betrayal, or will it break the conductor's baton, correct its mistake, and return to the heroic revolutionary road of Marxism-Leninism?

Many leaders of the French Communist Party have hurled insolent words and made impudent charges against the Party of Labour of Albania and its leadership. This we will not forget. Eventually, if not today, tomorrow, every thing will be settled in a Marxist way. We are certain that those who have acted in this manner will eventually blush with shame. We are not indebted to the French Communist Party. Its leaders are indebted to the Party of Labor of Albania. Nevertheles, we sincerely call on the French Communist Party to turn to the way of revolution, to the true Marxist-Leninist way, before it is too late, for the good of the French people, of the French proletariat and of the international proletariat. There is its place. Those who correct their mistakes command the respect of others and enjoy the support of the communists and of all the progressive people of the world, while the traitors are loathed by everybody. They are looked down upon and mercilessly fought by all as in the case of Khrushchev's group, Tito, Togliati and their loyal companions, against all the modern revisionists.

A STOP SHOULD BE PUT TO THE TREACHEROUS ACTS OF THE REVISIONISTS; THE COMMUNIST PARTIES SHOULD BE PROTECTED!

Through their political course and through all their practical activity, the modern revisionists, with traitor Khrushchev in the lead, have created a grave situation in many communist parties and in the international communist and workers movement. They have wrecked the internal unity of certain parties in particular and of the movement in general, and are proceeding posthaste towards social-democratic degeneration of the communist parties, are trying to lead the whole world communist movement onto an opportunist and traitorous path. This reminds one of that period when as a result of the deviation of their leaders, the parties of the IInd International strayed away from the revolutionary path, renounced marxism, plunged definitely into the mire of opportunism and reformism, degenerated into «bourgeois parties of the working class».

The betrayal of the parties of the IInd International which was expressed clearly especially during the First World War, when they crossed over openly to the social-chauvinistic camp, met — and it could not help meet — with the firm resistance of the revolutionary communists with Lenin at the head. The latter, though in the minority, expressing the true fundamental interests of the working class, of the laboring masses waged a

bitter struggle of principle for years on end to unmask the traitorous leaders of the IInd International, to expose the opportunism and reformism of the parties of this International, in defence of proletarian internationalism and Marxism, for the purpose of setting up new revolutionary parties of the working class. «It is impossible», V. I. Lenin wrote at that time, «to carry out the tasks of socialism at the present, it is impossible to achieve true internationalist unity of workers, without a thorough break with opportunism, without explaining to the masses the inevitability of its failure». Speaking of this struggle of Lenin, J. V. Stalin has written: «Every bolshevik, if he or she is a real bolshevik knows that Lenin pursued the line of separation, of breaking with the opportunists in the Social-Democratic Party of Russia, as well as in the IInd International, especially in the German social-democracy, long before the war, approximately beginning with 1903 & 1904 when the Bolshevik group was formed in Russia and when leftist elements appeared for the first time in German Social Democracy». (Stalin: Works, Albanian edition, vol. 13, p. 83).

This firm struggle of principle by Lenin and other revolutionary communists to smash the opportunists and traitors of the IInd International ideologically and politically, led to further major victories of Marxism-Leninism and of the world revolutionary movement, it was crowned with the triumph of the Great October Socialist Revolution in Russia, with the setting up of new revolutionary

parties of the new type, and with the failure of the IInd International and its replacement by the IIIrd Communist International.

Today too the betrayal of the modern revisionists, who have departed for good from Marxism-Leninism, from the principles of the revolutionary proletarian party and from the vital interests of the revolutionary proletariat and of the broad masses of workers, has met — and could not help meet — with the firm resistance and struggle of principle of the Marxist-Leninist parties and of revolutionary communists. This is a battle of major historical significance, a battle which concerns the future of the world revolutionary and liberation movement, a battle in defense of Marxism-Leninism, against revisionism, in defense of proletarian internationalism against nationalism and chauvinism, in defense of the socialist order against liberal bourgeois degeneracy, in defense of the revolutionary communist parties against social-democratic degeneration, in defense of the Marxist-Leninist unity of the communist parties, of the international communist movement and of the socialist camp, against revisionist splitters.

Just as the classic writers of Marxism-Leninism and the experience of the communist movement teaches us, the only right way to respond to the challenge of the revisionists is to muster all the efforts of the Marxist-Leninists for a determined uncompromising struggle against the revisionist renegates. The blows and pressures of the revisionists, foreign and internal, cannot be

warded off by pursuing a vacillating centrist line, nor by preoccupying ourselves with maintaining a false and formal unity alone. The party cannot be rescued by sobs and sighs nor should it be sacrificed for the sake of saving the «prestige» of any one, at a time when this «prestige» is being unscrupulously utilized to bury the great cause of the working class and of socialism.

N. Khrushchev's group has led the leaders of many communist parties into a blind alley. He has urged them to ignore the revolutionary past of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and of their own parties, through false slanders against Stalin, he has put the old revolutionary leaders who have a brilliant past to their credit, in an embarrassing position. Many of them fell a victim to Khrushchev's line of peace and coexistence, which has now been clearly proved to be an anti-Leninist line, a line of getting closer to and collaborating with the enemies of peace and of socialism — the imperialists. The tragic thing about some of them is that although they have got wise to a number of things, although they see that the line of N. Khrushchev's group is a revisionist line fraught with errors, nevertheless they do not find enough Marxist courage to tell themselves: Halt! They do not conduct themselves towards this matter as it befits them, as revolutionary Marxist-Leninists. They try to save the party in the revisionist line which is mortal to it. They try feebly to justify this road, of which they nurture doubts and are not in complete agreement, sometimes even talking in narrow

circles about differences they have with N. Khrushchev. But that's all they do, they go no further, they do not take heart and bring these matters up for discussion in their parties in a Marxist-Leninist way. They agree to taking up and discussing materials sent to them by N. Khrushchev, but they are afraid to discuss in their party documents and written materials of other parties. A big struggle takes place in their innermost conscience. N. Khrushchev's group too, are at work; they have won over many adherents in the leadership of many other parties, who exert pressure, blackmail and other maneuvers to subject their parties to the conductor's baton. Following in N. Khrushchev's tracks many communist party leaders have entered into a blind alley with their political stand. It is of course right to ward off the danger that comes to world peace from western German militarism and from the imperialist Bonn-Paris axis, but it is altogether incorrect and anti-Marxist to give up the struggle against imperialism which is the main force of war and aggression, the bastion of world reaction, the greatest international gendarme and exploiter, the greatest enemy of the peoples of the world, as the 1960 Moscow Declaration has called it, under this pretext. It is correct and Marxist to fight against «personal power» and its consequences, but it is altogether anti-Marxist to follow blindly N. Khrushchev's pro-American policy and not to take advantage of the split that is becoming ever deeper in the imperialist camp. We know why this attitude is maintained. Of

course, the bandmaster has struck that tune. But eventually, if this 'conductory' flirts with «personal power» for adventuresome, anti-Marxist intentions, what will happen? Or is the bandmaster training other musicians to open the way to new adventures?

The revisionist camp is in a critical situation. Its ship has split, water is gushing in and it is foundering. N. Khrushchev's group are trying their best to avert the catastrophe. To sidetrack further exposure they are raising a hue and cry about stopping polemics which they themselves started and which they formerly considered fully justifiable, necessary and Leninist. But under present conditions, to stop polemics would mean to every true Marxist and revolutionary to join with the traitors, to create facilities for them to distort and destroy Marxism-Leninism. In his attempt to mislead people, N. Khrushchev swears by unity. But the true revolutionaries and consistent communists will not be deceived by adventurers, demagogues and splitters! Revolutionary communists observe with fidelity great Lenin's teachings, which say: «Unity is a great issue and a major slogan. But the cause of the workers demands **unity of Marxists** not unity of Marxists with opponents and those who distort Marxism» (Lenin: Works, vol. 20, p. 211, Russian edition). Now it has become clear that N. Khrushchev and his group represent just these opponents and distorters of Marxism in the present communist movement. N. Khrushchev, on his part, continues in his hos-

tile work splitting by diverse forms, through regional meetings, bi-partite pow-wows, dictating new instructions and tasks with a view to compromising and leading other parties and their leaders further ahead towards revisionism and betrayal. It is high time for everybody to stop and think, not to obey the «conductor's baton», to offer resistance to the traitors in order to defend Marxism-Leninism, the socialist camp and the Soviet Union, in order to defend the great revolutionary cause of the working class.

It behooves all communists to muster all efforts and fight the imperialists headed by the American imperialists. And the struggle against modern revisionism is a constituent part of the struggle against imperialism, for it is the offspring and ally of imperialism, the manifestation in theory and practice of bourgeois ideology, imperialism's «Trojan horse» in the socialist camp and the international communist movement. Great Lenin's words sound more contemporary than ever today when he said that without waging a firm and consistent struggle against opportunism and revisionism, no successful struggle can be waged against imperialism. Without exposing and smashing revisionism, no revolution can be effected, no socialism and no communism can be upheld and successfully built.

We are fully confident that, just as in the past, the present fight against modern revisionists, headed by N. Khrushchev's group, will be crowned with the further success of Marxism-Leninism, of

socialism and of the international revolutionary movement. The revisionists will not succeed in the turning historical revolutionary process backwards. We are witnesses to the fact that the revisionists are being more and more exposed and discredited in their own countries as well as in the international communist movement, they are meeting with defeat after defeat, while the ranks of the parties loyal to Marxism-Leninism and those of the revolutionary communists are increasing and becoming stronger, their fight against the modern revisionists more and more intensive. The complete defeat of revisionism and the triumph of Marxism-Leninism are inevitable.

REVOLUTIONARY MARXISM-LENINISM WILL TRIUMPH IN A EUROPE PREGNANT WITH REVISIONISM

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Europe is the cradle and one of the chief centers of capitalism. But it is at the same time the cradle of the revolutionary movement of the working class. Europe is the place where the most prominent teachers of the proletariat, Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, carried on their revolutionary activities. The European worker and communist movement, as well as the world communist movement as a whole, have travelled a glorious path from the time the Communist Manifesto was heralded to the First International, from the Paris Commune to the first Russian revolution and the Great October Socialist Revolution, from the Third International to the triumph of socialism in the Soviet Union and to the war against fascism in Spain, from the historic victory of the Soviet Union and other peoples in the Second World War to the triumph of the revolution in a number of countries which embarked on the road to socialism.

The revolutionary traditions and achievements of the European worker and communist movement are brilliant indeed. Through these traditions and achievements and operating in the main and most vital centers of the capitalist system, of world imperialism, in its very heart, it has played and con-

tinues to play a major role in the world revolutionary movement, it has exerted a powerful influence on all revolutionary processes of other continents. By dealing a direct blow to imperialism in its rear, the European revolutionary movement has made it easier for peoples of other countries to fight for national liberation and social emancipation and has sped up the latters' victory over imperialism and reaction.

But this is only one side of the worker and communist movement in Europe. History has gone to prove that besides being the main bastion of capitalism and world imperialism, Europe together with North America, have at the same time been the cradle of opportunism and revisionism within the international workers' movement. Europe has given birth to and spread most varied currents of anti-Marxism through the Bakunists, Proudhonists, Lassallists and Fabianists whom Marx and Engels fought during their life time, through Bernsteinists, Kautzkyites, «Legal Marxists», «Economists», mensheviks, essers, empiriocritics, anarchist trade unionists, whom Lenin fought with unique determination and through the Trotskyites, Bukharinites, Titoites against whom Stalin waged a major battle.

«The Senile Disease of Rightism» in the Present European Worker and Communist Movement

Europe has always been an arena of bitter battle between revolutionary Marxism-Leninism and opportunism and revisionism. The example set

by Europe has been the best proof that the fundamental law of development of the communist and workers' movement everywhere is the contest between opposites: where there is a revolution there is also a counter-revolution, where Marxism prevails there are also manifestations, overt or secret, of anti-Marxist trends, where opportunism and revisionism raise their heads, the battle of revolutionary Marxists against them is inevitable. Ever since the advent of Marxism this battle has been waged ceaselessly in the communist and workers' movement in Europe. It is in this bitter and protracted fight that the ranks of the European communists have been tempered and steeled and it is in this struggle that the European communist and workers' movement has come off ever stronger and has forged further ahead, attaining major successes and scoring major victories.

But the contest of opposites between Marxism-Leninism and opportunism and revisionism continues. Today it has become more bitter than ever. The former anti-Marxist trends are manifested today by modern revisionism, particularly by Khrushchevite revisionism. As a direct continuation of all the revisionist and opportunist trends of the past, Khrushchevite revisionism has today become the greatest menace ever recorded in the history of the international communist movement and has caused and is causing it great damage. The great danger of this revisionism lies in the fact that it has manifested itself in the oldest and most influential party in the world, in the Communist Party founded by

Lenin, that it has infected the first and most powerful socialist country in the world, the Soviet Union, and that, holding the reins of state in their hands, the revisionists use all the means of the socialist state to further their aims.

Khrushchevite revisionism, assisted in a powerful way by its predecessor Titoism, has now spread far and wide. This revisionism has gained ground first and foremost in Europe and North America, where the leaders of many communist and workers' parties, having betrayed the revolutionary traditions of the European communist and workers' movement, have plunged into the pit of opportunism, pursue a course which is anti-Marxist from top to bottom, have made common cause with the enemies of Marxism-Leninism and have launched an assault on the very basis of Marxism-Leninism and on all those parties which faithfully abide by it and fight against modern revisionism.

Europe became pregnant with modern revisionism immediately following the Second World War. Alarmed at the victory of socialism and at the growth of the communist and workers' movement in the capitalist countries and at the intensification of the national-liberation war of the oppressed peoples, the international bourgeoisie, headed by those of the USA, launched a relentless frontal attack for the purpose of maintaining and extending their sway over the world. It was to this end that they elaborated their plan of all-round political, ideological, economic and military pressure on the socialist countries, on the communist and

workers' parties and on all the peoples of the world.

In order to carry out their strategic plan the imperialists headed by those of the USA placed the economy of their countries on a militaristic basis, gave an unprecedented impetus to the armament race, set up aggressive military blocks, built a wide network of military sea, land and air bases in various countries of the world, embarked on a number of aggressive acts as in Korea, Viet Nam, Egypt, the Congo, Algeria, Hungary and elsewhere, made extensive use of atomic blackmail, taking advantage of their monopoly and temporary atomic superiority.

In the economic field the American imperialists enacted the «Truman Doctrine» and the «Marshal Plan» with a view to enslaving the European countries, first, economically under the guise of the so-called «American aid» and then politically; they set up a strict economic blockade against the socialist countries, they brutally interfered in various ways in all countries of the world for the purpose of replacing the old colonialists with the American neo-colonialists everywhere.

In the ideological field they launched a frenzied campaign of attacks and slanders against the Soviet Union and socialist countries, against the communist parties and all the democratic forces, accompanied by a lot of demagogy on the «superiority of the well organized and democratic people's capitalism», on «the state of general welfare», and

by fascist and dictatorial methods, persecuting communists and thus preventing the communist parties from strengthening their rear guard.

The upshot of this all-round pressure by the international bourgeoisie is revisionism as a manifestation of bourgeois ideology in the communist movement. Imperialism supports and gives all-round aid to this product of its own making in order to undermine and smash the revolutionary movement of the working class. Experience has shown that the more victories the revolutionary movement, socialism, scores, the stronger its position and its power grows, the more the bourgeoisie rely on the method of undermining the communist and workers' movement from within, on aiding and supporting opportunism. Moreover, the more gains the Marxists score against their ideological enemies in the ranks of the workers' movement, the more refined and camouflaged the opportunists become, taking the shape of distorted Marxists, the shape of revisionists. In order to encourage and spread opportunism and revisionism, the bourgeoisie of the advanced capitalist countries in Europe and America have resorted to two tactical methods: that of open violence, of denying all leniency, all reforms and all legitimate democratic institutions, as well as that of liberalization, of granting political rights, of reforms and concessions in order to create reformist and opportunist illusions. In regard to this Lenin has emphasized:

> «The bourgeoisie often attain their goal for a certain period of ... through the policy of 'liberalization', which, according to Pannekuku's just observation, is a most cunning policy. Part of the workers, part of their representatives, are at times misled by these concessions, which are in fact only so in appearance. The revisionists consider the class struggle as «outdated», or pursue a policy which really leads to its negation. The stratagems of bourgeois tactics lead to the strengthening of revisionism in the workers' movement and often succeed in turning the differences within its ranks into a direct split». (V. I. Lenin, «Against Revisionism» Albanian edition page 122).

The post-war economic circumstances have been of great help to the monopolist bourgeoisie of the USA and other major countries of Europe in pursuing this tactic. As far as North America is concerned it is a known fact that it incurred no losses in the war. On the contrary, the USA profited from the war and its devastation in Europe developing production and realizing colossal gains. Whereas the European capitalist countries, despite their dependence on the USA, began to pick up strength, to put their productive forces, demolished by the war, back on their feet again and to develop their economy utilizing for this purpose such factors as the militarization of the economy and the armament race, economic expansion abroad,

renewal of the basic capital, the use of modern technique, increasing the exploitation of the workers, plundering other peoples, and so on. This favorable economic conjuncture, based entirely on temporary factors, enabled the bourgeoisie in Europe and in North America to raise a hue and cry about «the perpetual prosperity» of capitalism, and to create many reformist illusions among the masses on the alleged elimination of crises, of anarchy and unemployment, and other sores of capitalism. Ideas began to be spread on the alleged economic planning of capitalism, on the capitalist state as a state above classes in the service of society as a whole, on the narrowing down and elimination of class distinction and, as a consequence, on the alleged elimination of the class struggle, and so on and so forth.

The economic conjuncture referred to above brought with it the growth of the working class, its re-inforcement with a considerable number of recruits from the ranks of the peasantry, artisans and other categories of the petty bourgeois class ruined by the oppression and competition of the upper capitalist class. As the leaders of the Italian Communist Party themselves affirmed at their 10th Congress, nearly 50% of the working class in Italy is made up of people who have come from the various categories of the petty bourgeoisie during these recent years. The ranks of certain communist parties, especially in Italy and France, were also expanded a great deal after the war. All sorts of petty bourgeois elements, career-seekers

and opportunists, were enrolled in them. On the other hand, as a result of economic conjunctures, of large profits, the bourgeoisie have striven to buy off, to «raise to the aristocracy», to «turn bourgeois» a part of the working class. The classics of Marxism-Leninism have long pointed out the danger of the spread of opportunism and revisionism in the advanced capitalist countries, where the bourgeoisie take advantage of their super-profits to corrupt and win over a part of the working class.

> «The English proletariat» Engels wrote to Marx on October 7, 1858, «are in fact continually turning bourgeois, thus, this most bourgeois nation intends apparently to carry things to the point of having a bourgeois aristocracy and a proletarian aristocracy side by side with the aristocracy». (K. Marx and F. Engels, Selected Letters, Russian edition 1947, p. 205).

Lenin has also written:

> «... These super-profits, which amount to billions, are the basis on which the opportunists of the workers' movement thrive. In America, in England, in France we see that the opportunist leaders, the upper stratum of the working class, the worker aristocracy are stubborn; they offer stronger resistance to the communist movement. We should,

> therefore, bear in mind that the European and American workers' parties will get rid of this malady with more difficulty than we. We know that great progress has been made in curing this disease from the time of the IIIrd International to this day, but it is not yet entirely eradicated; the workers' parties, the revolutionary parties of the whole world have not yet been entirely cleansed of bourgeois influence, have not yet got rid of the opportunists in their own ranks» (V. I. Lenin; Works, Albanian edition, vol. 31, p. 254).

The spread of revisionism in Europe has been and continues to be furthered a great deal by the social-democratic parties which exist in almost all the advanced capitalist countries and hold prominent positions and are even at the head of bourgeois governments in some of them. Social-democratic parties are the direct descendants of the traitorous IInd International; they are, as Lenin has dubbed them, «bourgeois parties of the working class, sworn agents of the bourgeoisie in the workers' movement», apprentices of the capitalist class, «ideological supporters of capitalism» etc.

> «It has been proven in practice», Lenin has said, «that the militants in the ranks of the working class, disposed to opportunist trends, are better defenders of the bourgeoisie than the bourgeoisie themselves. If the workers were not led by these people, the

bourgeoisie would not be able to hold their own» (V. I. Lenin, Works, Albanian edition vol. 31, page 254.

Modern revisionism found strong support and a source of spiritual nourishment in social-democracy, for both of them are manifestations of bourgeois ideology: social-democracy in the workers' movement, while revisionism in the communist movement.

After the outburst of revolutions in Europe during and immediately following the Second World War, the whole post-war period in Europe has generally been one of relative peace, a period of more or less peaceful development.

> «The transition from a period of strife to one of tranquility» Stalin has said, «increases, by its very nature, the danger of the rightists. If the period of rise brings about revolutionary illusions, thus creating the danger of leftism as the principal menace, the period of tranquility, on the contrary, gives birth to social-democratic reformist illusions, creating the danger of rightism as the main menace. In 1920, when the workers' movement was on the rise, Lenin wrote his pamphlet 'The Infantile Disease of «Leftism»'. Why did Lenin write just this pamphlet? Because the danger of leftism at that time was the most serious menace. I am certain that if Lenin were alive, he would now

> have written a pamphlet on «The Senile Disease of Rightism», for now, during the period of tranquility, when the illusions of compromise should be on the rise, the danger of rightism is the most serious menace» (J. V. Stalin, Works, Albanian edition, vol. 7, p. 61).

These words of Stalin's apply fully to the period following the Second World War, too. Had Lenin lived he would most certainly have written today also a pamphlet on «The Senile Disease of Rightism» in the European communist and workers' movement!

The process of the spread of revisionism in the communist and workers' parties of Europe and North America became more intensive and a vital factor especially following Stalin's death, when N. Khrushchev's traitorous group came to the fore and unfurled their revisionist banner at the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. The revisionists have loudly proclaimed the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union as «the Congress which inaugurated a new epoch in the international communist workers' movement». Well, the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, will truly remain in history as the Congress which inaugurated a new epoch, but this «new epoch» is nothing but the epoch of spreading opportunism and revisionism in the present international communist and workers' movement, especially in Europe and North America where they found favorable ground

both from history and from the current situation. Taking advantage of the authority of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and of the Soviet Union itself and using the basest of methods and means, N. Khrushchev's group succeeded in forcing their revisionist course on the leaders of many communist and workers' parties. In order to attain their objective, they did not hesitate to resort to the dirtiest plots of changing the make-up of the leadership of many parties in order to instal in office elements who are loyal to their treacherous line. The so-called «cult of the individual» and «the fight against its consequences» became the demagogical weapon and the bugbear which N. Khrushchev's group used to threaten, intimidate and subjugate all those who refused to kneel obeisance to their conductor's baton. As a consequence of all this, the veteran revolutionary cadres who had given proof of their loyalty to Marxism-Leninism, were removed from the leadership of many parties and N. Khrushchev's revisionist line was proclaimed by the revisionist leaders as the general line of action of many parties in the international communist and workers' movement.

The Source of All Evils Lies in the Revisionist Course

The modern revisionists use all means and maneuvers to mislead the people and to make them believe that Europe is allegedly «the strong-

hold of genuine Marxism-Leninism», «the carrier of the development and creative implementation of the Marxist doctrine», «the fiery center of the revolution», «the most advanced front of the world revolutionary movement». They try «to prove» that everywhere else Marxism-Leninism has degenerated, has been replaced by dogmatism, sectarianism, nationalism, racialism, neo-Trotzkyism and so on and so forth, that it is therefore essential to spread «the salvation light of Europe». Speculating on the revolutionary traditions of Europe, the revisionists try to sell soap for cheese, to sell off the present European revisionism as pure, unstained Marxism-Leninism, to subject the world revolutionary and liberation movement to the poisonous influence of modern revisionism with its seat in Europe, to smother the revolutionary impulse of the people of other continents, to lull the European revolutionary communists to sleep, so that they may thus carry out their criminal designs in peace.

But the revisionists will not succeed in misleading the people for long and attaining their objective. They have been and are continually being exposed. Their treacherous line has met with strong resistance from the genuine Marxist-Leninists, it has met with grave difficulties and it has ended in smoke whenever it has come face to face with reality. What this line is, has already been made very clear to all. It is the line of betrayal to the fundamental principles of marxism-leninism and of proletarian internationalism, the line of renouncing

the class struggle and the revolution, the line of approachment and unity with imperialism and all forms of reaction, the line of degenerating socialism and fusing with social-democracy. It is a bitter fact that present day Europe has become the main bastion of the most frenzied revisionism.

No matter how hard the revisionists may try to prettify the situation of the worker and democratic movement in Europe, it is an incontestable fact that this movement has declined, its revolutionary spirit and its power of action have been weakened as a result of their wholly opportunist and treacherous course. In spite of its major weight in the whole life of the country, the European working class is not playing the important role it should, is not contributing as much as it should to the struggle for peace, democracy, national independence and socialism. In Europe there are many words, illusions and empty statements and very few deeds and concrete actions. What has become of that dynamic impulse of the worker and democratic movement of the early post-war days which justly aroused the admiration of all the revolutionaries of the world? Where is the heroism of Raimonda Dien and the French doctors against the «dirty war» of the French colonialists in Viet Nam? Where are the strikes and energetic demonstrations of the many millions of Italian workers and wage earners against reaction and fascism? Where are the wholehearted support and lofty spirit of solidarity which was shown towards the Korean people, towards their patriotic fight against

the American aggressors? Where is that mass militant movement which burst forth throughout Europe at the time of the Stockholm Appeal and so on and so forth?

The revisionists set all their hopes not on the working class and laboring masses and on their actions and revolutionary struggle but on political and diplomatic combinations, on the «good sense» and «wisdom» of the leaders of imperialism, on the revisionist line of «peaceful co-existence», «peaceful competition» and «peaceful methods», on bourgeois constitutions and parliaments, on «structural reforms» and alliances with conservative and reactionary forces. Through all this the revisionists strive to paralyze the fighting spirit of the European working class, to wean it away from the revolutionary struggle and plunge it into lethargy by spreading all sorts of pacifist and reformist illusions.

Through their treacherous line of action the revisionists are doing their best to turn the communist and workers' parties of many European countries of glorious traditions from parties of social revolution to parties of social reform, from revolutionary, militant, well organized and well disciplined vanguards of the working class to loose, inert organizations without a clear-cut objective, lacking sound party discipline, into which all kinds of bourgeois, career-seeking and opportunist elements can enter and leave as it pleases them. They have embarked on the road of re-examining «the character, functions and organizational structure»,

of the communist parties, of denying the leading role of the party in the struggle for the triumph of the revolution, for establishing socialism. Under the pretext of establishing the unity of the working class, the revisionists have not only given up exposing the right-wing leaders of social-democracy, who are the principal splitters of the working class, but they are getting closer to and gradually fusing in with social-democrat parties, they are doing their uttermost to strike up an alliance with the liberal bourgeoisie, with the Christian democrats and all other reactionaries.

While making common cause with the imperialists and bourgeois monopolists, with Tito's clique, with the socialist leaders, Christian democrats, catholics and all other reactionary forces, the European revisionists have at the same time launched frenzied assaults on the Communist Party of China, on the Party of Labor of Albania, on all Marxist-Leninist parties and the sound forces of the revolutionary communists in their parties and their countries. They have given unreserved support to N. Khrushchev's and his group's anti-Marxist, anti-socialist and divisive acts and have themselves resorted to many acts that have wrecked the unity of the socialist camp and the international communist movement. The European revisionists have now taken the shameful banner of fighting marxism-leninism into their own hands. Faced with their inevitable exposure and ultimate defeat, these mad revisionists are set on carrying this battle to the

end, demanding, as P. Togliatti did in his «Testament», an intensification of the fight against Marxism-Leninism and all parties and forces that are loyal to it, using for this purpose the most refined, most wily and, according to them, most effective methods.

By their opportunist, treacherous and divisive acts, the European revisionists bear all the responsibility for the grave situation that has been created in the world communist movement, and especially for the great evil and harm that they have caused to the European workers' and communist movement. Before the bitter reality, they are themselves obliged to admit their failure. In the theses of the 10th Congress of the Italian Communist Party it is openly affirmed that:

«As a whole it must be admitted that the working class and the laboring masses of Western Europe and their organizations in recent years have not given the contribution necessary to the struggle for democracy, socialism and peace... Any way, it remains as a general fact, regardless of what we think of individual countries, that the working class has failed to exercise the leading political function pertaining to it both as regards its preponderance in the field of production, as well as the importance of the problems concerning its immediate existence and the development of democracy and advancement towards socialism».

P. Togliatti expressed this idea once again in his «Testament». He says:

> «We have always been of the opinion that it is not for us to describe the workers' and communist movement of the western countries in an altogether optimistic manner. On this side of the world, even if progress may have been made here and there, our development and our forces are to this day unsuitable for the task lying before us».

This state of the European workers' and communist movement can by no means be accounted for by the objective conditions and «unsuitable» circumstances of Europe. Apart from negative factors, there have been and there are also numerous other positive factors to promote the revolutionary movement in Europe. These factors are the consolidation of the socialist countries and their successes in all fields, the continuous weakening of the imperialist system, the great impetus of the national-liberation movement and the dissolution of the colonialist system, the aggravation of the external and internal, class and national contradictions in capitalist countries and so on. Therefore, the real cause of this situation which the revisionists themselves are obliged to recognize, to acknowledge, must not be looked for in objective conditions but, first and foremost, in the existence of the subjective factor, in the fact that the leaders of many European communist and workers' parties have slipped into positions of opportunism and revisionism, that they have departed from Marxism-Leninism, from the revo-

lutionary road and have embarked on the road to social-democracy.

But what measures and what steps do the revisionists propose to take in order to draw the European workers' and communist movement out of the blind alley into which they themselves have plunged it? None at all. On the contrary, they want and persist in pursuing even more resolutely that policy which was formulated from positions of the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, positions which they claim should be strengthened. The evil, they argue, does not he in the line of the 20th Congress but in the fact that the line of this Congress is not yet being implemented as it should, is not being applied forcefully enough and by all parties! The Italian revisionists as the most advanced ones, as the standard bearers of revisionism in Europe, want all to pursue the «Italian way» in order to get out of this predicament, a line which, as we have pointed out before, is the line of flagrant departure from the teachings of Marxism-Leninism on the class struggle, on the revolution and dictatorship of the proletariat, a line as similar as two drops of water to that preached and pursued by Bernstein, Kautzky, Tito, the right-wing social democrats, and all the other renegades from the working class. The revisionists see the way out of the crisis into which they have plunged the western communist and workers' movement in their attempts to strike up an alliance under all conditions and at any cost with the liberal bourgeoisie,

with bourgeois intellectuals, Christian democrats, social democrats and right-wing socialists, with a view to establishing that broad unity, that «new political block» which would assure to them «gains at the elections», «extension of the limits of freedom and democracy», «a change of the class nature of the bourgeois state» and «peaceful transition to socialism»!

And not only this. To get out of the predicament, to make their line come off victorious, and for the sake of their alliance with the bourgeoisie, with the leaders of social-democracy, Christian democrats and others, the revisionists of the West demand from their colleagues in the East, especially from the Soviet leaders, that they should give more aid. They are in perfect agreement with and hail the steps that have been taken in the Soviet Union and in certain other socialist countries towards degenerating the socialist order under the guise of «de-Stalinization», «democratization» and «liberalization». But, as Togliatti states in his «Testament», they are dissatisfied with the fact that this process in these countries is going on slowly, by zigzag, on and off ways. Therefore, the West European revisionists urge the revisionists of the socialist countries to proceed at a more rapid rate towards capitalist degeneration of socialism and towards getting into closer contact with the imperialists so that they may give proof of the complete liquidation of the «Stalinist anomaly» and of the establishment of «liberal» and «democratic» socialism which would remove all

fear from the bourgeoisie and would be acceptable to all pseudo-democrats of the world. In order to carry their treacherous work to the end the modern revisionists do not hesitate to sacrifice the USSR itself and the other socialist countries, to liquidate the historic achievements in these countries, achievements which have been attained through strife and struggle and at great sacrifice.

The European revisionists who had hitched their cart to that of N. Khrushchev's, received with great flurry the news of the inglorious downfall of their chief. They all in unison expressed their regrets and disapproval at N. Khrushchev's downfall, criticized the «antidemocratic» methods used in ousting him from the leading organs of the party and the state, demanded explanations and exerted pressure on the present Soviet leaders to pursue by all means N. Khrushchevs line, formulated by the 20th, 21st and 22nd Congresses of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. They even served notice on the Soviet leaders that if they should depart from this line they will not have their support. The conclusion the European revisionists drew from N. Khrushchev's ouster is that which the Italian revisionists so clearly formulated, namely that «the remnants of the cult of the individual have not yet been completely liquidated in the Soviet Union» that «freedom and democracy are still restricted there» and therefore it is necessary to forge ahead without hesitation towards liberal-bourgeois democratization of the socialist order. And the present Soviet leaders,

N. Khrushchev's collaborators, hurried to assure the revisionists of all shapes, wherever they may be, that they will loyally pursue the course inherited from their chief, N. Khrushchev.

Such is in rough-cut line the political course, the attitude and acts, the way and perspective of the European revisionists. All this is a vivid proof of the undeniable fact that present-day Europe is pregnant with revisionism.

Revisionists — Enemies of the Anti-Imperialist Liberation Movement of the People

European revisionists reproach the parties which courageously uphold Marxist-Leninist principles with allegedly belittling and even denying the role and importance of the revolutionary movement in Europe, with allegedly counterpoising to it the national-liberation movement as the only revolutionary force in our time, with allegedly trying to isolate and wean the revolutionary national-liberation movement of Asia, Africa and Latin America away from the socialist camp and the workers' movement of the advanced capitalist countries, and so on. The revisionists stand in need of all this in order to prove that the center of world revolution is allegedly in Europe and that all the revolutionary and liberation movements of other countries should be subjected to and led by revisionist: Europe. Through all these calumnies the revisio-

nists strive to lower the authority, role and growing influence of Marxist-Leninist forces, especially of the People's Republic and the Communist Party of China, in the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America, to smother the revolutionary trend, the fighting spirit in these regions too and to wean the people away from the struggle and to hitch them to the chariot of imperialism.

It is an undeniable fact that the revolution is proceeding at full speed today in Asia, Africa and Latin America. These regions of the world are today the weakest links of the imperialist system; it is here that all kinds of social contradictions find free play, that the impetus of the revolutionary movement keeps growing from day to day, that imperialism is dealt the heaviest and most direct blows. Many facts and events bear witness to this reality, to wit, the heroic struggle of the people of South Viet Nam, of North Kalimantan, of Laos against the American aggressors and internal reactionary forces, as well as the powerful anti-imperialist movement in Indonesia and Japan, in the Arab countries and elsewhere in Asia; heroic Algeria, the wave of liberation wars in the Congo, Angola, Western Guinea and in other regions of Africa; glorious Cuba, war-like Venezuela, Panama and others in Latin America.

European revisionists, serving the monopolist bourgeoisie in their countries and the American imperialists, are greatly disturbed by the impetus of the struggle of the Asian, African and Latin

American peoples. In order to mask their true features and extend their influence in these countries the revisionists do not hesitate at times to issue statements and take steps which, on the surface, seem to be in support of the fight of the people of Asia, Africa and Latin America. But if a study is made of their policy and general conduct, of the essence of their attitude towards the national-liberation movement, it turns out that the European revisionists maintain an entirely anti-Marxist attitude towards it, spread all kinds of dangerous illusions and carry out such acts as hinder and sabotage the just struggle of the people against imperialism. The revisionists declare that «colonial rule has been almost entirely abolished», that «only about 50 million people are still under colonial rule», that «no spheres of influence of imperialism exist any longer in the world today». They say that the main task of the national-liberation movement today is not to fight against imperialism, against old and new colonialism and those that serve them, but «to assure and consolidate economic independence». According to them, the people of these regions will get rid of all evil through «peaceful coexistence», through «complete and total disarmament», through the «aid, not only of the socialist countries, but also of the advanced capitalist countries as well, the «United Nations Organization» and so forth and so on. The spread of these illusions jeopardizes the cause of the liberation of the people. Comrade Mao Tse-tung rightfully stressed in his 1963,

August 29 statement in support of the people of South Viet Nam against the aggressive barbarous acts of the American imperialists and Ngo Din Diem's clique:

> «oppressed peoples and nations should not rely on the «good sense» of the imperialists and their lackeys for their emancipation. They will triumph only by consolidating their unity and by waging a persistent fight.»

The modern revisionists have gone even farther: they not only spread illusions about the imperialist colonialists, but have also resorted to direct treacherous acts towards the liberation struggle of the oppressed peoples. We know only too well the attitude of the Khrushchevite revisionists towards the just war of the Algerian people, which they considered as an internal affair of France, towards the Congo when they voted in favor of dispatching troops of the United Nations Organization, towards Cuba at the time of the Caribbean crisis, when they tried to impose on it the «international» inspection of the USA, towards the national-liberation movement in Irak when they caused its defeat by their advice, towards the aggression of the American imperialists against the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, when they expressed their «regret» in a half-hearted way and so on and so forth.

Thus, while the Marxist-leninists wholeheartedly uphold the national-liberation movement,

the oppressed peoples and nations and give them active all-round support, the European revisionists in fact uphold the imperialists and colonialists, oppose the national-liberation movement of people, hinder and restrain it. But no matter how much the revisionists try to exalt Europe's role, how much they may try to belittle the role and major importance of the struggle of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America, how much they hinder and sabotage this struggle and how they may slander it, they will not succeed in changing reality and the revolutionary and national-liberation movement of these major regions of the world will forge ahead, bringing about fresh victories for the people and further losses to the imperialists and revisionists. The attitude of the modern revisionists towards the revolutionary struggle of the people of these continents is a clear proof of their betrayal to the cause of world revolution, of their chauvinism, of their aid to the imperialists and reactionary forces to smother the just struggle of the people.

The revolutionary national-liberation movement of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America is a movement of major historic importance not only to the future of the peoples of these continents but also to the future of the European people, to the entire progress of mankind. By dealing heavy blows to imperialism in its rear area, by undermining its strength and narrowing down its sphere of domination, this movement aggravates the contradictions in the advanced capitalist

countries themselves, speeds up the progress of the revolutionary movement in them and makes it easier for the working class to overthrow capitalism. The triumph of the revolution in the mainland depends to a large extent on the successful conduct of the struggle of the Asian, African and Latin American peoples who make up the bulk of the population of the world.

«Marx thought at first», Lenin wrote, «that Ireland would not be freed by the national movement of the oppressed nation, but by the workers' movement in the oppressor nation... But circumstances have been such as to make the English working class fall for quite a long time under the influence of liberals, to be hitched to their chariot and to be baffled by a liberal workers' policy. The bourgeois liberation movement in Ireland becomes more intense and assumes a revolutionary form. Marx re-examines his views and corrects them. 'It is hard luck for people to keep other people in bondage'. The English working class will not be freed so long as Ireland is not freed from the English yoke. Ireland's enslavement strengthens and feeds reaction in England...» (V. I. Lenin, Selected Works, Albanian edition, vol. 1, p. 713).

Paraphrasing Lenin's words one can very well say that Europe, pregnant with revisionism, will not be able to get rid of the capitalist yoke unless it brings about complete defeat to modern revisionism, joins up with the antiimperialist liberation struggle of oppressed peoples in Asia, Africa

and Latin America and helps to bring about a decisive victory in this struggle.

> «The future of the entire western civilization» Lenin emphasized, «depends to a very large extent of drawing the working masses of the East into political life».

It is quite clear, Lenin has further written, that:

> «in the coming decisive battle of world revolution, the movement of the majority of the population of the terrestrial globe which aims at first at national liberation, will turn against capitalism and imperialism, and will probably play a greater revolutionary role than we think» (V. I. Lenin, Works, Albanian edition, vol. 32, pp. 579 & 580).

Stalin has also pointed out:

> «The colonial countries are the main rear area of imperialism. Revolutionalization of these rear areas cannot fail to undermine imperialism not only in the sense of depriving it of its rear area, but also in the sense that the revolutionalization of the East is bound to give a decisive impetus to the sharpening of the revolutionary crisis in the West» (J. V. Stalin, Works, Albanian edition, vol. 7, p. 232).

Therefore, those who fail to support and aid the national-liberation and revolutionary movement of oppressed peoples, with all their strength and means fail at the same time to support and aid the revolutionary movement in their own country.

The accusations of the Khrushchevite revisionists that the marxist-leninist parties and all revolutionary communists deny, allegedly, the need of linking and uniting the national-liberation movement of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America with the struggle of the socialist countries and of the working class of the advanced capitalist countries, that they allegedly try to alienate this movement from the socialist camp and the working class of the advanced capitalist countries, are entirely trumped-up charges and slanders. Marxist-leninists have been and continue to be aware of the necessity of uniting all revolutionary trends in fighting imperialism, particularly of uniting the two major movements of our epoch, namely, the socialist and national-liberation movements. Just as the socialist camp and the working class of the advanced capitalist countries stand in need of the aid and support of the national-liberation movement so does the struggle of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America stand in need of the aid and support of the socialist camp and Working class of the advanced capitalist countries. The aid and support on the part of the socialist countries and the working class of the advanced capitalist countries is a factor of primary

importance in developing with success the national-liberation movement, in furthering the revolution in colonial and dependent countries as well as in guiding these countries towards socialism.

But the people of the Asian, African and Latin American countries stand in need of genuine revolutionary aid and support, whereas the Khrushchevite and other modern revisionists, far from giving effective aid and support to the anti-imperialist and liberation struggle of these peoples try, on the contrary, to smother and check it to please the imperialists. The line of the European revisionists is the line of unconditional submission and capitulation to imperialism; the line of renunciation of the ideals of freedom, independence and revolution, allegedly, in the name of «peace», «peaceful co-existence», «peaceful competition», «general and total disarmament». Of what good can this treacherous line be to people for their national liberation and social emancipation? Therefore, revisionism has today become a great menace not only to the international communist and workers' movement but also to the national-liberation movement of the peoples of the world. Without fighting against revisionism, this offspring and ally of imperialism, not only the revolutionary movement of the working class but also the national-liberation movement of peoples will fall short of achieving success.

It is not the Marxist-Leninists who counterpoise the national-liberation movement to the movement of the working class of the advanced capitalist

countries, but the Khrushchevite revisionists that counterpoise the workers' movement to the revolutionary national-liberation movement of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America, considering the latter a «lower, not entirely genuine form» of the revolutionary movement; it is they who, in fact, counterpoise the «European» Marxism-Leninism (read: European revisionism) to «Asiatic» Marxism-Leninism; it is they who claim that the revolutionary movement in other «non-proletarian» regions where «petty bourgeois population predominates» should be under «the patronage» and «leadership» of the «true proletarian» European workers' movement, and so on. This is a new, refined camouflaged form, and allegedly «proletarian» and «Marxist» phraseology of the old European imperialist chauvinism, an emphatic manifestation of the imperialist ideology of «the upper nations» who have dominated over the bulk of the population of the world for tens of years in succession, lowered by them to «the inferior category» of «savage» and «undeveloped people» «incapable of independent creative historical deeds». Thus, it is the revisionists who classify people into «upper» and «lower», into «capable» and «incapable», into «leaders» and «followers», who judge them by the color of their skin and their race, plunging in this way into the pit of imperialist chauvinism and racialism.

It Is High Time for Revolutionary Communists to Rise Against Treason and Vanquish Modern Revisionism

No serious Marxist-Leninist denies nor can deny the role and importance of the European workers' movement, its remarkable revolutionary merits, traditions and experience from which all the revolutionaries of the world have and should by all means learn a great deal. But the European revisionists boast in vain of the revolutionary traditions of Europe. They have betrayed these traditions. The modern revisionists are the direct followers of the worst traditions of the communist and workers' movement in Europe, of the traditions of Bernstein and Kautsky, of Trotsky and Bukharin, of Leon Blum and Saraggat, of Browder and Tito. The true bearers and followers of the grand traditions of Europe are the Marxist-Leninists, the revolutionary communists, who are rising everywhere in Europe against opportunism and revisionism, this grave nuisance and old ailment of the European communist and workers' movement.

Revisionism with which Europe is laden today is not everlasting. There have been periods in the past too when opportunism and revisionism have become the predominant current in the European workers' movement. This was the period of the IInd International. At that time the imperialist bourgeoisie rubbed their hands and proclaimed far and wide that Marxism-Leninism had been buried and revolution in Europe had come to its end.

But before long this joy of the bourgeoisie rejoicing was turned to tears. New revolutionary parties of the working class sprang up in place of the opportunist and reformist ones, the IIIrd communist International was set up to replace the IInd International, Marxism-Leninism triumphed over opportunism and revisionism, the period of great revolutionary upheavals, starting with the October Socialist Revolution, came to replace the ebb tide of the revolution.

And the present ebb tide of revolution in Europe will certainly change. A new revolutionary upsurge is inevitable. It can not be stopped by either the temporary «prosperity» of European capitalism, the bourgeois dictatorship of the fascist type, nor by the demagogy and treacherous acts of the Khrushchevite, Titoite and other revisionists. Analyzing the causes of the ebb tide, of the relative «tranquility» noticed in Europe after the triumph of the October Socialist Revolution in Russia and after the defeat of the revolution in certain other countries, J. V. Stalin has said:

> «What is the ebb tide of the revolution, quietude? Can it be the beginning of the end of world revolution, the beginning of the liquidation of the world proletarian revolution? Lenin has said that the triumph of the proletariat in our country was followed by a new epoch, the epoch of world revolution, an epoch filled with conflicts and wars, attacks and retreats, triumph and defeat, an epoch

which presages the triumph of the proletariat in the principal capitalist countries. In the ebb tide of revolution started in Europe, can this mean that Lenin's thesis on the new epoch, on the epoch of world revolution loses its force as a consequence? Can this mean that the proletarian revolution has been consequently left aside in the West? No, it does not mean that.

The epoch of world revolution is a new stage of the revolution, it is a whole period of strategy covering a number of years, probably tens of years. This period may and should have ebb tides and flood tides of revolution. (J. V. Stalin, Works, Albanian edition, vol. 7, pp. 91 & 92).

And having corroborated this with the experience of the Russian revolution prior to the triumph of the October Revolution and after, Stalin continues:

«What do these ups and downs show? Do they show that Lenin's thesis on the new epoch of world revolution has lost or can lose its importance? Of course, not. They only show that the revolution does not usually proceed in a straight and upward line continually climbing and rising, but by zigzags through advances and retreats, through ebbs and flows which put the revolutionary forces to the test and pave the way for final victory. This is the historic meaning of the ebb

tide of the revolution which has begun now. this is the historic meaning of the period of calm we are living through now», (idem, p. 94).

But experience has shown and shows that the impulse of the revolutionary movement of the working class does not come automatically. One has to strive and sweat for it every day. The chief obstacle to revolution in Europe today is Khrushchevite revisionism, which has smothered the revolutionary impetus, which has paralyzed the will and militant spirit of the European working class and of all European workers, which has diverted the communist parties of Europe from the revolutionary way. Therefore, without a resolute principled fight against the present Khrushchevite opportunism and revisionism in all its forms and manifestations the European workers class and its vanguard, the communist parties, cannot get rid of their influence, no genuine revolutionary movement can be established and the grand cause of the working class cannot be led to victory.

The European communists possess a rich historical experience in this respect. During the whole of their revolutionary lives the classical teachers of Marxism-Leninism have waged an irreconcilable war against all anti-Marxist trends, have always drawn the line between Marxists and opportunists, have always striven for a really principled unity of the communist and workers' movement. In his «Letter to the German and French Workers» (September 24, 1920) Lenin wrote:

> «Opportunism is represented by elements of the «workers bourgeoisie», of the old bureaucracy of trade unions, of cooperatives and so on. Without doing away with this trend, which in reality, through its vacillations, through its «menshevization»... carries bourgeois influence to the proletariat **within** the workers' movement, **within** the socialist parties, without doing away with this trend, without severing all connections with it, without expelling its outstanding representatives, **it is impossible** to achieve revolutionary proletarian unity... It is high time to finally dispel all these very dangerous illusions on the possibility of «unity» or «peace making» with the Ditmanns and Crispins, with the right wing of the «Independent Social-Democratic Party» of Germany, with the «Independent Workers Party» of England, with the «Socialist Party of France» etc. It is high time for all revolutionary workers to get rid of these elements in their parties and to form genuine united communist parties of the proletariat» (V. I. Lenin, «Against Revisionism» Albanian edition, pp. 616 & 617).

The fight against opportunists and reformists, the clear-cut separation from them, was considered by Lenin as an essential condition for admittance to the Communist International and for its very existence.

«Parties desiring to take part in the Communist International», say the conditions for admission to the Comintern drawn up by Lenin, «are obliged to accept the indispensability of severing all connections, totally and absolutely, with the reformists and with the policy of «the center» and to propagate this among the widest circles of the members of their parties. If this is not done it is impossible to carry out a consistent communist policy» (V. I. Lenin, Works, Albanian edition, vol. 31, page 227).

In the «Conditions» we read further:

«Every organization desiring to take part in the Comintern, is duty bound to regularly and systematically remove from posts of more or less responsibility in the workers' movement (from party organizations, editorial boards, trade unions, parliamentary fractions, cooperatives, municipalities and so on) reformists and partisans of the «center» and to replace them with loyal communists — not fearing that at times the need may arise at first to replace «experienced» leaders with plain workers» (idem, 226).

Speaking of Lenin's principled and determined struggle against opportunists of various hues, Stalin has said:

> «Every bolshevik, if he is a true bolshevik, knows that, Lenin, long before the war, approximately since 1903-1904, when the bolshevik groups were formed in Russia and when the leftist appeared in German social-democracy, pursued the line of splitting with and separating from the opportunists, even in our country, in the Social-Democrat Party of Russia, as well as over there, at the IInd International, particularly in the German Social-Democracy. Every bolshevik knows that it was for this reason that the bolsheviks gained among the ranks of the opportunists of the IInd International, the glorious fame as «splitters» and «disorganizers» as early as 1903-1905» (J. V. Stalin. Works, Albanian edition, vol. 13, p. 83).

Loyal to these revolutionary traditions and inspired by them, the Marxist-Leninists of Europe have risen and are daily rising to wage a grand historic battle to free Europe from the venomous clutches of Khrushchevite revisionism. The present and future of socialism and communism demand this determined battle against the high treason of the modern revisionists, the vital interests of the working class and of the people of the entire world demand it, the honor and revolutionary dignity of the European proletariat demand it.

The imperialists and Khrushchevite revisionists are striving to smother the revolutionary spirit

in Europe and to turn Europe together with North America into a stronghold of political and ideological reaction in order to curb the revolutionary movement and revolutionary thought throughout the world. But they will never succeed in achieving their goal. The Europe of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, the Europe of the Communist International, the Europe of the heroic Paris Commune and of the Great October Socialist Revolution, of the Spanish War and of the Anti-fascist Resistance has inexhaustible revolutionary forces and energies which have not died and which will never die. There are colossal Marxist-Leninist forces in the European communist and workers' movement. They are always alive, they are fighting each day with more pluck and courage, with more determination. In many countries like Belgium, Italy, France, England, Austria, Spain, Portugal, Switzerland, the Netherlands, the USA and elsewhere they have already been organized into Marxist-Leninist parties and groups. They exist, resist and fight everywhere, even within those European communist and workers' parties headed today by followers of N. Khrushchev's group.

At the present difficult moments, when Europe has become the bastion of modern revisionism, the Marxist-Leninists in Europe and North America do not view the situation with pessimism and do not feel isolated. In the international communist movement there exists today an unbreakable unity of the Marxist-Leninists the world over. The European Marxist-Leninists are united

in a body with the Marxist-Leninist parties and revolutionary Marxist-Leninists throughout the world, for Europe cannot stand aloof from other continents, for the revolutionary communist movement in Europe is an inseparable, important and worthy part of the world revolutionary communist movement. The struggle of the revolutionary marxists of Europe and North America as a component part of the struggle of all the communists of the world, is today of special international significance, for they militate inside the bastion of modern revisionism, and this bastion must be undermined, blown in the air, it must be turned to ashes and dust.

The revisionists launch all kinds of trumped-up charges and epithets against the healthy Marxist-Leninist forces in Europe, they try their uttermost to paralyze their revolutionary activities and to silence their voice, because the revisionists are alarmed at the growth of these forces which spell their inevitable doom. The revisionists must not be permitted to attain their anti-Marxist and retrogressive objectives. To confront the force of propaganda and organization which the revisionists found in good shape in the communist and workers' parties, and which they utilized to further their treacherous ends, the Marxist-Leninists of Europe place their organized force, legal and clandestine, with their work in and outside the party, establishing and consolidating new Marxist-Leninist parties and groups, striving within the party to safeguard the principles which the revisionists

are trampling under foot, against revisionist tactics in order to narrow down the sphere of activity of the revisionists, in order to expose their line and their designs, in order to isolate them from the communist masses and to smash them once and for all time.

Marxist-Leninists should especially be on their guard against the «quietude», «silence» which the Khrushchevite revisionists holding sway in the Soviet Union are trying to maintain. The present Soviet revisionists leaders are today in a predicament because of the mess which N. Khrushchev's downfall has placed them in. The economic difficulties caused by Khrushchevite anti-marxist policy and methods, the liquidation of hundreds and thousands of sound revolutionary cadres in the party and state, the base slanders against the life and deeds of Stalin, against the socialist order, the dictatorship of the proletariat, the policy of shameful capitulation and subservience to imperialism which has discredited the authority and prestige of the Soviet Union, contacts and alliances with American imperialism and various reactionary forces jeopardizing the interests of the Soviet Union itself, of the socialist camp and of the people, the chauvinist and dissentient line of N. Khrushchev's group towards the international communist and workers' movement, the frenzied attacks and hostile attitude towards China and Albania, N. Khrushchev's entire revisionist and treacherous course which the present Soviet leaders are pursuing with persistence, have aroused

the deep discontent of the communists and Soviet people, have opened the eyes of millions of people who were at first confused, and aroused their conscience against revisionism, have caused the resolute opposition and the principled struggle of Marxist-Leninist forces throughout the world. The revolutionary Marxist-Leninists of the Soviet Union are wakening and are waging an active and decisive battle on all fronts against the Khrushchevite revisionists. On the other hand, through his policy of dictate, of submission to «the conductor's baton», N. Khrushchev caused serious gaps among his allies, among the revisionist groupings, inclinations to break loose from the Soviet Union, tendencies to be more independent and to feel freer to come into closer contact with imperialism and the bourgeoisie, which have not only harmed the prestige and authority of the Soviet revisionist leaders, but have also caused further economic difficulties for the Soviet Union. The present Soviet leaders are passing through a transitory period trying to find a way out. trying to adopt a new tactics in order to sidetrack the opposition and blows of the Marxist-Leninists and in order to reaffirm their unchanged revisionist line and keep their friends, if not under their direct leadership as before, at least to hinder them from conducting a policy independent of the Soviet leaders, without consulting the latter at all.

It is precisely this critical, intricate position that makes the present Soviet leaders resort to this «silence» or «quietude». On the surface they appear

to be more moderate than their chief, N. Khrushchev, leaving the deceptive impression that they can be corrected, while in reality they persist in their former Khrushchevite line.

Such a period of «silence» and «quietude» is to the interest of the imperialists and revisionists and to the detriment of the communist movement, the cause of Marxism-Leninism and socialism, because during this period the revisionists are consolidating their positions to deal a heavier blow to Marxism-Leninism. On the other hand, the imperialists, especially those of the USA, continue to be more active in their relations with the revisionists and exert more all-round pressure on them to compel them to make further concessions and get closer to the imperialists, while the Soviet leaders take advantage of this «silence» to re-establish all the connections and relations which N. Khrushchev had maintained with the imperialists, which they have neither broken nor rejected. Therefore, Marxist-Leninists, revolutionary communists should not be misled by the new maneuvers and tactics of the Khrushchevite revisionists, should not be trapped by the period of «silence» they have encouraged, should entertain no illusions towards the present Soviet revisionist leaders, nor confuse them with the Soviet Union, with the revolutionary Soviet people, but should persist in their principled struggle to expose modern revisionism.

The struggle against modern revisionism in its cradle in Europe is not an easy one, it demands great efforts and sacrifices. But communists and

genuine revolutionaries have spared none of these for the grand cause. They have never recoiled before the enemy even at the time of black reaction, at the time of fascist cruelty. It is high time for the revolutionary communists to rise against betrayal, to vanquish modern revisionism, to create the former Marxist-Leninist-Stalinist unity of all communists which consolidated the positions of socialism and communism in the world, which brought so many gains to the proletariat and dealt such deadly blows to imperialism and reaction throughout the world. Some time ago great Lenin wrote:

> «from the point of view of the development of the international revolution the transition from Chartism to the Hendersons who behave with servility towards the bourgeoisie, from Varlain to Renodeli, or from Wilhelm Liebknecht and Bebel to Zydekum Scheideman and Noske (that is, from revolutionaries to opportunists and traitors — ed.) is nothing else but «transition» of a vehicle from a flat smooth road hundreds of kilometers in length to a stinking filthy pool along the same highway, to a pool a few yards in length (V. I. Lenin, Works, Albanian edition, vol. 33, p. 389).

There is not the least doubt that at present too, the transition from Stalin's revolutionary period to renegade Khrushchev and his followers is also a pit

of this kind a few yards in length full of grimy slush on the broad and shining boulevard of proletarian revolution which leads inevitably to the complete triumph of socialism and communism the world over. Khrushchevite revisionism is an ugly sore in the sound body of the European and international revolutionary communist movement, which must be healed, and will be healed, with a courageous operation by the revolutionary communists. Modern revisionism will meet with shameful and inevitable failure, just as its predecessors failed in the days gone by.

THE WORKING CLASS IN REVISIONIST COUNTRIES MUST TAKE THE FIELD AND RE-ESTABLISH THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT

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In all the countries where revisionists are in power, the dictatorship of the proletariat is being smashed and replaced by the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, the socialist regime is being replaced by the capitalist bourgeois regime and the party of the proletariat, degenerated from within, is now but a smokescreen to conceal this treason, to suppress the vigilance and legitimate revolt of the working class and of laboring people. **The vigilance and legitimate violence of the working class against the class enemies is what scares the revisionists to death. It is the only force that can subdue them, it is the only way out from this disastrous situation in which socialism and communism find themselves today in the countries where the revisionists are in power. Thus, the revival and fanning of the flames of the proletarian revolution in these countries is the «sine qua non» of the road of salvation.** No other road, as events have been unfolded and are rolling on, can be of any stable and lasting benefit to the dictatorship of the proletariat and socialism. Any other course can serve only as a posture of compromise, harmful and temporary, with grave consequences for socialism.

It is only the working class at the head of the masses, it is only the working class headed by its real Marxist-Leninist party, it is only the working class through armed revolution, through violence, that can and must bury the traitorous revisionists.

All the countries where the revisionists are in power, without exception, whether they are the vanguard, such as Yugoslavia, the Soviet Union, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Poland, etc., or those that, with different masks, conceal and camouflage their revisionist, anti-Marxist line, have turned into capitalist bourgeois countries, or are rapidly going down into this dirty morass.

The main issue on the agenda of the revisionist traitorous cliques that are in power consists only in choosing the most reliable forms to attain the aim of restoring capitalism, of strengthening and stabilizing their positions, without arousing the suspicion and awakening the vigilance of the working class and laboring people in order to avoid any setbacks, disturbances and, finally, to be in a position to suppress revolution when it breaks out. This is the essence of the revisionists' quandary.

The other item on the agenda for them, within the framework of this disintegration, to attain the purpose of restoring capitalism, **consists in the efforts of each clique to escape the tutelage of the most powerful, and yet to have its aid in general, particularly when they see their positions are weak.** With this is connected the degree of interdependence, while the more powerful among them is seeking to dominate the trends and channel them

towards the interest of the big State. Of course, such a thing cannot work out successfully for all parties or continually.

Another item on the agenda of these cliques is the tendency and the great care to find different means of camouflaging the diversity of forms of action, which, sometimes, are more advanced and less camouflaged than those of the fellow cliques. These «pioneers» serve the capitalist forces which inspire the revisionist cliques to instigate others to speed up the course as much as possible, to break the resistance of those revisionist cliques which, out of necessity, are more conservative because the sword of Damocles — the proletarian revolution — hangs over the heads of them all.

The revisionists are seeking to camouflage all the counter-revolutionary actions for the seizure of power and the efforts they are making to consolidate this power, **by creating and inculcating into the minds of the working class the illusion that their «Marxist-Leninist» party is allegedly in power, that it is itself directing all this development and transformation along the «real road of socialism and communism».** This is the most dangerous disguise, by which the revisionists are seeking to ward off the decisive blows of the working class. **Therefore, they try to tell the working class that every criticism, every revolt or opposition to their revisionist course is an anti-Marxist deviation, is a crime against Leninism, against socialism, against the party of the working class.** The revisionists inject this dose of opium through the press and

their false propaganda. A complete fabrication in itself, they inject it by depriving the party, in theory and practice, of all revolutionary characteristics; they inject it by making an allegedly Marxist interpretation of every political, economic and administrative action of theirs in the direction of the restoration of capitalism. This false interpretation of their foreign policy, of their relations, alliances and their underhand dealings with the capitalists is also necessary to the revisionists in order to lull the vigilance of the working masses of their respective countries.

In all these cunning actions the revisionists set in motion the new corrupted class of bureaucrats who impose upon the working class and the masses through the force of their regime, their length of service, their rotten hearts hidden under rows of medals. Thus they create the impression in the working class that «it is impossible that all these 'fine fellows' could betray the party, the class and socialism».

Let us draw some lessons, some conclusions from this revisionist counter-revolution.

Let us start with Hungary. In the euphoria of the advent to power of Khrushchevite revisionism, but at a moment when it had not yet consolidated its positions, world capitalism, its Titoite agency and the internal Magyar reactionary bourgeoisie launched the armed counter-revolution against the dictatorship of the proletariat and the Workers' Party of Hungary, thinking it was the weakest link of the chain of the socialist countries. And so it was

indeed. Rakosi's party melted away like snow in rain. But world capitalism and Titoism had not chosen the correct moment: they were convinced of Khrushchev's treacherous line, but they did not take account of the fact that his positions were not yet stabilized and, although he hesitated to resort to tanks, he was finally obliged to do so. Otherwise his road of treason could have been compromised. But in connection with the Hungarian counter-revolution the following facts must be pointed out:

1. The Hungarian counter-revolution was initiated by some intellectuals and students. These wavering strata, deprived of the influence of a genuine Marxist-Leninist party, became reserves and squads of the counter-revolutionary attack under the direction of the bourgeoisie. The Hungarian writers were in the van of this counter-revolution.

2. The Hungarian working class in general and that of Budapest in particular, despite the revolutionary traditions inherited from the 1919 proletarian revolution, was unable to defend its power and gains. On the contrary, a considerable part of the working class, especially in Budapest, was activated in favour of the counter-revolutionaries. It became therefore a reserve of reaction. This means, in other words, that the work of Rakosi's party was not well grounded, it was superficial. The working class did not fully recognize it as their leader. This was the greatest and most dangerous evil.

3. The counter-revolution entirely liquidated Rakosi's party within a few days, while counter-

revolutionary Janos Kadar promulgated the decree for its official dissolution.

4. During the few days of counter-revolution in Hungary many bourgeois, capitalist and fascist parties immediately sprang up like mushrooms after rain.

Thus, the Hungarian counter-revolution was suppressed by means of Soviet tanks, a thing which can no longer be repeated. The same traitor who liquidated the party, under the dictate of the Khrushchevite revisionists, promulgated the other decree for the re-founding of the new allegedly «Marxist-Leninist» party, the Hungarian revisionist party, a still worse one than that of Rakosi.

The Hungarian counter-revolution was suppressed by counter-revolutionaries. Thus, both wings of the putsch were bound to come together, as they did. They would build up their own «Hungary», as they did build it. They would restore capitalism, as they are restoring it. Drawing lessons from the bloodshed and, after having paid a bloody ransom for its hasty actions, Hungarian reaction is now carrying out at leisure its reforms of radical capitalist transformation independently, and without any trouble from the Soviet forces and tanks which remain on Hungarian territory. The Hungarian bourgeoisie is, so to speak, going about its business, this time under the protection of the Khrushchev tanks. The Hungarian capitalist bourgeoisie, hostile to the working class, disguised under the «banner of the party», is lulling the working class to sleep while forging new chains

for it. The capitalist bourgeoisie has as its vanguard the old and new revisionist intelligentsia in complete identity of views and unity of action.

Let us take Poland. As in Hungary, in Poland, too, in 1956 bloody demonstrations started in Poznan and were suppressed by tanks, this time Polish and not Soviet tanks. The Polish Church and reaction had a hand in it and Khrushchev was afraid of Poland detaching itself completely from the Soviet Union; therefore he threatened Gomulka with a tank invasion but Gomulka resisted and Khrushchev, willy-nilly, smiled and embraced «the fascist Gomulka», as he used to describe him behind his back.

But now, in recent days, events in Poland are unfolding otherwise. They have taken another aspect which is characteristic of all the revisionist countries. In Poland there have started demonstrations, clashes, bloody encounters between Gomulka's police and the writers, intelligentsia and students who are demanding «freedom», «full democracy», «liberalism». This time, the Polish counter-revolutionaries, who have risen against the Gomulka revisionist counter-revolutionaries, greet and express solidarity with the Czechoslovak counter-revolutionaries. The Polish reactionary intelligentsia, directed by world capitalism, by the clergy and by Zionism, are not satisfied with the Gomulka revisionist clique and want to make short work of them, as the new Dubcek Slovak clique are doing with the Novotny revisionist clique who will be referred to below. In Poland, as it was in Hungary,

the reactionary intelligentsia and the students are in the van of the claims, the party organisation is worm-eaten, the organs of the dictatorship are, for the time being, in the service of the Gomulka clique and the working class does not react, it does not come out in the street to do the necessary cleaning. Will the Gomulka clique be able to subdue this tide which is rising? We shall see. But of importance is the last tide which must be prepared to wipe from Poland's face all the overt and covert traitors. This salutary tide will be the proletarian revolution of the Polish working class led by the Polish Communist Party (Marxist-Leninist).

Let us take Czechoslovakia. The Soviet revisionists used to trumpet abroad that Czechoslovakia was their most powerful bastion, the most faithful country of the revisionists, and Antonin Novotny the most intimate, «the most earnest and most authoritative man» of the revisionist clan next to the Soviets. These claims, too, as we had forecast, come to nothing, not because Novotny and his revisionist clique were not a faithful agency of the Khrushchevites, but because they could not carry out the orders that the Moscow bosses used to give them. As a matter of fact, the dead horse of the Soviets, Antonin Novotny, sank into the revisionist mire which he himself created, while the other horse replacing him, Dubcek, has taken the bit in his teeth and is now bolting towards the western «fields», where the gates of the French and West-German capitalists are standing open for him as

they had stood for their old ill-famed agents Masaryk, Benes, Tiso, Hacha and others.

How is the new counter-revolution in Czechoslovakia unfolding? Openly, against Antonin Novotny and his clique, consequently against the Soviet revisionist yoke.

They are openly going over to capitalism, to the system of than one party, to the capitalist State system and the undisguised liquidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat, to the capitalist system in economy, education and culture.

They are openly preaching not only coexistence, but solid ties with the western capitalists. Homage is being paid at the grave of Masaryk, father and son, at the grave of Benes, who are all being noisily rehabilitated, even the fascists, and all of them are being described as «distinguished men», victims of the «Stalinist terror» and of the erroneous policy not only of the Novotny clique, but also of Gottwald, thus, of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and, of course, «of Stalin, of the Comintern».

In short, Czechoslovakia is going at a rapid tempo and without much subterfuge and demagogy towards capitalism, to the complete political, ideological, economic and State restoration of the capitalist bourgeois republic.

By what means and forms is this process unfolding? The Czechoslovak process should not be taken separately from all the processes which are taking place in the entire revisionist herd. This is the result of the disintegration, of the great con-

tradictions which exist within the revisionist clan, within the different tendencies existing in the clan of each individual revisionist country, of the international contradictions. Thus, the Czechoslovak disintegration and the course it has taken are nothing extraordinary. Nothing should surprise us. This is quite normal.

So is the overt manner of their actions, and this for two reasons: on the one hand a part of the Czechoslovak people, indeed of the Czechoslovak working class also, are prepared, are predisposed for this «liberal» road, as the revisionists call it. Communism has been for them a mere label, an incident, and the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, during the whole period from Liberation onward has not only failed to work on solid grounds, but in fact it has made little impression on the nature, the political inclinations, the political and cultural gusto and taste of a part of the people who even under the socialist regime were preserving and developing capitalist bourgeois feelings in accentuated forms.

On the other hand, the new Czechoslovak course towards capitalism proves the further rottenness of the power of Soviet revisionism which, plunged in the morass it has itself created, is no longer able to threaten its opponents either politically or economically or even militarily. It has become a slave of the system and treachery it created. The Soviet revisionists are obliged to give a sickly smile at the calamities which are descending on them. The further Czechoslovak revisionist

course now enjoys the full support not only of the U.S., French and West-German imperialists, but, of course, of the Titoites, of the «neutral» revisionists and, «in petto», of the Hungarian revisionists as well. A more or less organized force is taking shape, always within the framework of the disintegration of and «independence» from the Soviet, Polish and other revisionists who are very much afraid of the spread of the epidemic which has led to the clearing out of the stables and replacing the old revisionist horses with new ones.

The new Czech counter-revolutionaries resort to new and multilateral methods. They attach great importance to the complete taking into their hands of the internal situation, without neglecting the foreign policy. Naturally, for demagogical purposes, they often speak of friendship with the Soviet Union, in order to completely undermine it. Their principal aim is the liquidation of Novotny and of his clique which is pro the Soviet revisionist leadership, and the reduction of the relations with the Soviet Union to mere trade relations. The campaign for the liquidation of Novotny, for his exposure, for compromising him, and, finally, for his removal, was made in a round-about way. In the van of this campaign were the Slovak nationalists and their anti-Czech feelings, the old bourgeois intellectuals and the new revisionist ones as well as the students and hooligans, who came out repeatedly in demonstrations.

The Novotny group and their Kremlin bosses set the police against them but to no avail. Novotny,

feeling the noose tightening around his neck, called the tanks to Prague, copying the method of Khrushchev who surrounded the Kremlin with tanks and, thus, saved his head. But Novotny could not attain this aim and lost his case, perhaps his head, too.

The Dubcek group, to cover their aims, are resorting to apparently legal forms to purge the Novotny clique. First of all, this group made sure of the army through faithful cadres, framed up the deflection of a certain army general, discredited Novotny, Defence Minister Lomsky, and set in motion the «obedient» party, through petitions, rallies and student demostrations, to demand Novotny's immediate removal or resignation. The whole of this operation is being very quickly carried out, quietly and without strife, amidst the frantic applause of world capitalism to whose fold a scabby goat has thus returned.

What will the Soviets do? Nothing but to take Novotny for their collection, if he is available, and install him also in a villa near Rakosi's.

After this purge, in Czechoslovakia they will strive to stabilize the situation and march triumphantly towards the West. Nevertheless, the whole situation will not end at that. There will be great frictions and fierce political and economic struggle both on the part of the revisionists as well as on that of the Czechoslovak revolutionaries.

In these two countries, Poland and Czechoslovakia, where the revisionists are in power, the same process of capitalist degeneration is thus taking place, with the same aims, forms and

methods, but with different fates, with different results. In both countries, the new revisionist cliques which want to speed up the process of the transformation of their countries into completely capitalist countries, are striving to get rid of the Novotny and Gomulka revisionist cliques, these old revisionist cliques.

The anti-Czech and chauvinistic Slovak feelings, the radical transformation of the Czechoslovak economy into a capitalist economy, the radical transformation of the present Czechoslovak structure and super-structure which are favorable to the return to capitalism, the more active, broader economic, cultural and political ties with capitalist States, the anti-Soviet feelings, the weakening of all the ties with the Soviet revisionists — all of these inspire and guide the new Czechoslovak revisionist clique led by Dubcek.

The old clique and the inveterate revisionist Novotny are now isolated, smashed. Everybody leaves the sinking ship and embraces the «new road». Thus, the counter-revolution within the counter-revolution fully triumphed in Czechoslovakia.

The Soviet revisionists have lost their political authority completely in Czechoslovakia and their influence has suffered a decline. To be sure, the Soviet revisionists, as far as we know them, must have exerted great pressures to avoid their own disaster in Czechoslovakia, but they have been unable to do anything, and this gives reason to believe that the Dubcek clique are determined to

advance on their road towards separation. They enjoy the guarantee of the West. The Soviets will exert economic pressures, they will stop supplying the raw materials needed by Czechoslovakia, but it is clear that the Czechoslovaks have also envisaged this eventuality and have taken and will take further measures. The interests of world capitalism are visible in Central Europe and Czehoslovakia is its epicenter.

On the other hand, capitalist Czechoslovakia strengthens the capitalist positions of Tito and Co, helps in the complete transformation of Kadar's Hungary, with him or without him at its head; it helps the process in Poland.

The whole of this situation which is being created in Central Europe will smash the Warsaw Treaty and the Economic Mutual Aid Council, it will lead to bilateral and multilateral alliances, in an entirely different spirit from that of the existing ones, and the Economic Mutual Aid Council and the economic relations will change. They will be suppressed, they will assume new forms leading to amalgamation with the capitalist ones.

This whole capitalist transformation jeopardizes Democratic Germany, and the revisionists will push it, in various forms and ways, towards its integration with Bonn's Germany. This process is underway. The Soviet revisionists are entirely paralyzed. Economic pressures are the only weapons remaining to them. But these, too, have no effect. Capitalism has great interests in financing those who separate themselves from the Soviet

Union and turn towards the West. It disposes of capital for investments, it looks for new markets, for new colonies and new satellites.

Thus, having not profited much from the allegedly internationalist aid of the Soviet revisionists, the new revisionist capitalists are changing their bus.

This great Soviet defeat is reflected in the embarrassing position in which they find themselves at home. For a long time these separations have ben taking place, and the Soviet censorship has not permitted that domestic opinion should learn anything about them. This shows how they fear their own people, the revolutionaries, as well as the new revisionists, lest the latter, affected by the Czechoslovak disease, may burst forth in the streets against the clique, to overthrow and replace it with another revisionist clique. In this case Kosygin and Brezhnev will act in the same way as the clan of revisionist Gomulka is acting in Poland.

The same process as in Czechoslovakia started also in Poland but, for the time being, with different results. The Gomulka clan temporarily checked this process, not because Gomulka is more intelligent than Novotny, but because the circumstances are somewhat different in Poland, and that is why Gomulka's tactics are different and may appear «more clever».

In Czechoslovakia it started with the writers and students, but amongst them there was prevailing, in addition to everything else, the Slovak

nationalist anti-Czech feeling and the Czech nationalist anti-Slovak feeling. The rest was complementary, except the anti-Soviet and pro-Western feeling which were in common.

The process started in the same way in Poland, with the same tendencies, ideas and aims as in Czechoslovakia. The Gomulka clan also resorted to police violence, as Novotny had done, but had better success. Poland is not made up of two peoples, as is the case in Czechoslovakia, therefore, that factor which played a role in Czhechoslovakia did not serve as an instigator in Poland. Gomulka had to find a scapegoat as an object for violence and he found it in «Zionism». Thus, «the disturbances in Poland were created by Zionism». Gomulka does not mention the Church, because that might increase the danger of the revolt swelling and taking larger proportions. Gomulka is trying to keep the Church out of it and, in fact, the Church dit not step into the arena, although, at other times, it used to make appeals and fiery demonstrations against Gomulka. It seems tha they have come to terms until this tide passes away. On the other hand, Gomulka, rabidly anti-Soviet, defends himself at these moments under the shadow of the Soviet revisionists who, in the final analysis, when they realize that they have lost everything in Poland, anyway may even dare to intervene, allegedly to save Poland, allegedly to keep the roads open to come to the «assistance» of East Germany, etc.

Willi Brandt, on his part, at his party's Con-

gress, declared that «it is normal to recognize the Oder-Neisse borders». This was an offer to Poland to detach itself from the Soviets, it was allegedly reliance on the people, on Gomulka's «persistent» policy on the German-Polish borders and, finally, it was an attempt to complete the encirclement of East Germany and to form the «cordon sanitaire» around the capitalist Soviet Union.

The result of all these circumstances of anti-Judaism, anti-Sovietism, etc., was that the process of capitalism in Poland should continue according to Gomulka. But this is temporary. The problem is still on the agenda.

The Polish revolutionaries, the Communist Party (Marxist-Leninist) of Poland, the people and the working class, have not yet had their say. Gomulka even led part of the working class in demonstrations. This shows how ill-defined the situation is there, how much work must be done by the new Communist Party (Marxist-Leninist) of Poland to lead the working class to real understanding, to class, anti-capitalist, anti-revisionist positions, against Gomulka, against the Roman Catholic Church, against the Zionists.

There are also allegedly neutral countries and parties which are developing the revisionist course towards capitalism in comparatively calm internal situations, without noisy demonstrations, but certainly with accentuated contraditions in the leadership, among the people and in the party, which now appear in unity. This sham unity is the fruit of external fear and, in the first place, of fear of the

Soviet revisionists who have their own men within the leadership of these parties. But these «neutral» countries and parties are ruled over by cliques of bourgeois intellectuals who rely actively on the anti-Soviet feelings. Therefore, a little differently from the Czechoslovaks, these revisionists lay the stress on foreign policy, on relations with the capitalist states, with Tito's Yugoslavia, with Dubcek's Czechoslovakia, to counter-balance the Soviet revisionist danger. In these circumstances these cliques are purging their internal opponents who might endanger them and are making efforts to consolidate their bourgeois regimes which are being established in their countries by liquidating socialism.

Let us now take the Soviet Union. The Khrushchevite degeneration of the Soviet Union, of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, as far back as in the last years of Nikita Khrushchev's reign and later in a more accentuated manner, posed great dangers to the Kremlin clique. It not only further deepened the contradictions of this clique with the Soviet people, but it also created a section of new revisionists, opponents of the old revisionist clique, who aim at liquidating and replacing this clique with another of its kind, which would be more liberal and speed up the process of the restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union. The garbage of the garbages were not satiated and manifested their dissatisfaction and advanced further demands. At their head, here too, were the bourgeoisified intellectuals and writers, the men of revisionist art and culture. Dissipation had deeply

penetrated into the youth, the students, the hooligans. This was assuming disturbing forms for the clique. Khrushchev himself reacted several times after having felt the danger, not from the fact that they were demanding to head towards capitalism, but because they were demanding to go there without Khrushchev, with others, more by the means of efforts and deeds than by buffoonery and irregular methods.

The clique who succeeded Khrushchev tried to do something better than their boss. They linked themselves more closely and more securely with U.S. imperialism, thus further undermining the party, the socialist economy, increasing the degeneration outside and inside. But all this activity was bound to create difficulties for and tremendous contradictions within the clique itself. The Soviet economy declined, the prestige of the Soviet Union reached its lowest ebb, the «friends» of the Soviet Union deserted it one after another, the alliances assumed purely capitalist, oppressive, empty and ridiculous forms and content. The resistance to the clique increased from all directions. Not to speak of the international arena, at home the Brezhnev-Kosygin group find themselves in the midst of many fires which are difficult to put out. Revisionist intellectuals, writers, students have increased their demonstrations of protest and the Kremlin clique are obliged to arrest and jail. Thus, the jails and concentration camps are filled to capacity, not only with revolutionaries but also with young counter-revolutionaries.

In the Soviet Union the proletarian revolution is, certainly, being organized and on the rise. The clique are afraid of this and they strike back, try to deceive and to neutralize the party of the class and the working class itself as best they can making them believe that it is allegedly their «Leninist» party which leads, that «everything is proceeding along Leninist lines and with Leninist norms», and so on. Amongst these illusions we should also include those «historically realistic ideas» on Stalin which certain career-seeking, degenerate army generals and marshals have started to write with a view to throwing dust in the eyes of the masses and of genuine revolutionaries. But the Bolshevik revolutionaries and the Soviet working class are not to be deceived for long. They are becoming more and more aware that, in reality, power is being wielded by a clique of renegades and their bureaucratic anti-worker administration, that the party has been transformed into a bourgeois party and the dictatorship is a bourgeois dictatorship of the new capitalist class which oppresses the masses and the working class, exploits them economically for the benefit of the new revisionist bourgeoisie, does not allow them for a single moment to demonstrate their power and to demand their rights. The efforts of the revisionists to make the working class apolitical, to remove it from the political scene and to orientate it towards economism, will fail.

Thus, as we see, all these processes have similar features, at present more visible and noisy in

Czechoslovakia and in Poland, later on in Hungary and elsewhere as well. These processes will further increase the appetite of the revisionist reactionary Soviet intellectuals, and we shall witness clashes not only between them and the ruling clique, but also between the moderate intellectuals and their right-wing extremists, between the genuine Marxist-Leninist intellectuals and both the ruling clique and the two tendencies we mentioned. And, finally, the Russian Ivan will wake up from his heavy slumber. The Soviet working class, led by the Marxist-Leninist revolutionaries, must come out and will come out in the streets to have their say. They will bang their fist on the table and stage a second proletarian revolution. We are convinced that this will certainly happen, because it is a dialectical process that is bound to take place, the circumstances, the events and their unfolding making the situation ripe to this effect. When will it occur? This is not for us to decide.

Learning from this course of events in revisionist countries, from the tactics, the forms and methods of the struggle waged by the modern revisionists against Marxism-Leninism, against the dictatorship of the proletariat, against the working class, its party and the socialist regime, in addition to what we have analyzed at other times, our Party has derived clear-cut tasks so as never to allow modern revisionism or any other anti-Marxist disease to affect the healthy body and mind of the party and of the dictatorship of the proletariat in our country.

With regard to revisionist degeneration in certain countries, mention must be made of some typical characteristics common to all the revisionist parties.

The working class, in the first place, and then all the working masses were indeed caught unawares. They did not react immediately and energetically against the treason committed against their great cause, which they had won and consolidated with so much bloodshed and sacrifice. The treacherous elements who usurped power in the party and in the State, not only at the beginning of their subversive activity, when they knew how to hide and organize themselves, but even later, when their attitude and their treacherous actions had become conspicuous, did not meet with any fierce resistance on the part of the working class and its party which, on the contrary, accepted the yoke of the traitors without great objections or, even when they reacted, did it half-heartedly. The party and the working class, in the first place, had lost their vigilance and the intensity of the violence which characterize and must always characterize them in the class struggle, in the struggle against each and every enemy of their class and of socialism.

Why does this happen and what causes this apathy, this withering away of vigilance and of the use of violence taking place not only in communist parties with a short period of revolutionary probation, but also in the oldest and biggest party

with a long period of revolutionary probation, as is the case with the Bolshevik Party?

In general, there is nothing mysterious about this occurrance, but in this article we will point out some causes which appear to us as the principal and, at the same time, the most dangerous to a Marxist-Leninist party.

Let us consider this question in relation to the Bolshevik Party, the oldest and staunchest revolutionary party, from whose achievements as well as from whose errors we all have learned.

First and above all stands the question of the Party itself. It is here we must look for the shortcomings and errors which so tragically contributed to the emergence of revisionism and the seizure of power on the part of the Khrushchevite traitors in the Soviet Union.

a) Surprising as this may seem, **the political and ideological education of the Bolshevik Party was not always carried out at each stage at the intensity and depth required by the circumstances.** Such education moreover had weaknesses of form and of method and, sometimes, also of content. Although it was talked about, the integration of theory with actual revolutionary practice was not carried out as much and in the way it should have been done to the whole of its extent, placing politics in the forefront in the direction of the revolutionization of men and women, keeping alive the proletarian revolutionary spirit of the whole party, ensuring the understanding and implementing of the party line by everybody and in everything in

a revolutionary way. It is true that if it were a question of schools, training courses, forms, means, methods, etc. where one could be educated politically and ideologically, these existed in the Soviet Union. The same thing could be said with regard to the training and education of the cadres. The question isn't that in the Soviet Union the study of the infallible Marxist-Leninist-Stalinist theory was neglected, but something caused the political and ideological education to be defective. And this lay not only in the forms, the methods and the tempo which, as we said above, meant that the theory was not properly mastered and correctly put into practice. There was also a complex of other things that contributed negatively.

b) **The implementation of the norms of the Bolshevik Party or, to put it better, their deep ideological and political understanding and their actual carrying out in a revolutionary way, were not up to the mark.** All these norms were correct. They were laid down and established through a titanic struggle by Lenin. They were affirmed, defended and carried out by Stalin. But in actual life, in the process of development in the practice of work and struggle, we see these norms, which at first were properly implemented, later falling into disuse, becoming rustly and, finally, distorted and turned into a sharp and very dangerous weapon in the hands of the enemies of the class and of the party. This was the case with all the revisionist parties. **In these parties, they speak loudly of democratic centralism, but that is Leninist no longer. They**

speak of «Bolshevik» criticism and self-criticism, but they are Bolshevik no longer. They speak of party discipline, but it is no longer a Leninist, but a fascist discipline; of proletarian morality, but the morality is bourgeois, anti-proletarian, anti-Marxist; of free expression of opinions in the Party, about everything and everybody, but the expression of thoughts in the party spirit, in the proletarian spirit, in the revisionist countries leads to jail and concentration camps. The same may be said with regard to all the genuine Leninist party norms. Thus, the official norms, irrespective of how they are disguised, are anti-Leninist, they are bourgeois, reactionary, fascist norms. **Such a departure from the Leninist norms, which make up the strength of the party as a steel-like vanguard organisation of the proletariat, and the adoption of the revisionist norms, is the greatest evil that can befall a Marxist-Leninist party. It is a terrible weapon degenerating and disintegrating the party, making it depart from its historic role of transforming society.** It is a fact that this turning back has been already carried out on this issue in the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and in the other revisionist parties, irrespective of the fact that not all the Soviet communists approve and observe these anti-Leninist norms. It is indisputable that the revisionist norms actually prevail in this party and in other revisionist parties and are disrupting the parties and socialism in these countries.

Now the question arises: had the Marxist-Leni-

nist policy and ideology been rightly understood and implemented, as we said above, had the Leninist party norms, established in the Bolshevik party by the great classics Lenin and Stalin, been implemented in a correct revolutionary way and at all times, would there have happened what did actually happen? No. That would not have happened. But it did happen for the reasons given above and those we will set out below.

c) **The Communist Party, as a vanguard and organized detachment of the working class, must be the leader, the spearpoint; it must preserve, develop and temper the best virtues of the working class, it must be the first to correctly master and implement the ideology of the working class, Marxism-Leninism. It must be vigilant to the extreme and unyielding to the class enemy.** And in order to be such, it must possess, understand and carry out the Leninist norms that make it a party of the class, capable of leading the working class and their allies towards their class goal. **This is a great unity, not any sort of unity but such as we call a Marxist-Leninist unity, a Marxist-Leninist unity within the party, unity of views and action on the basis of the Leninist norms, unity between the grassroots of the party and its leadership, unity within the leadership itself, an iron Marxist-Leninist unity between the party and the working class, a steel-like, harmonious party-working class-people unity. And in this unity taken as a whole the fundamental idea, its basis and security is the party-working class unity, is the determined leadership of the**

working class headed by its party inspired, tempered, englightened by its Marxist-Leninist ideology.

This unity is not established either in one day or in one year. It is tempered in the heat of various struggles and dangers with which the class enemy faces them, resorting to all means, objective and subjective, political and ideological, to repression and terror, coercive measures and economic disturbance, open corruption and illegal subversive activity against the working class in general, against their party as an organization, against the party members and State functionaries, the mass organizations in particular.

We shall not dwell at length on these issues, we shall only point out, first, that the **preservation of unity and its tempering are not something achieved once and for all and the communists should not rest on their laurels. Second, that unity in the social-democratic manner, unity «of comrades», outside the Marxist-Leninist principles and norms of the party, unity «not to upset» the one or the other, allowing the violation of norms and principles, is not our unity. Our unity is not a unity for unity's sake, contravening principles. Our unity, to the large extent we mentioned, is created through struggle, is tempered through struggle and is preserved through continued and consistent revolutionary struggle. Otherwise there cannot exist Marxist-Leninist unity.**

In the Bolshevik party of Lenin and Stalin there did exist unity. Struggle was energetically waged to temper this unity, but it cannot be said

that perfection had been reached in everything, for that would be a denial of the class struggle, within and outside the country, within the party ranks, that would make us forget the class enemy whose only aim it is to smash the unity, to infiltrate into the organs of the party and of the dictatorship, to riddle them with worms and destroy them, to infiltrate into the consciousness and the worldoutlook of the communists, to demoralize them and cause them to degenerate.

Thus, in the Lenin-Stalin Bolshevik Party — and this is proved by the successes in the building of socialism, in the construction of the first powerful socialist State in the world, — they were advancing on the correct Leninist road. Stalin, at the head of the Bolshevik Party, fought correctly, vigorously, with deep understanding and without committing theoretical and political errors, on the road of the working class, relying on the Leninist Party, on its norms, for the aims of the class and of its party, which were the building of socialism and of communism in the Soviet Union and in the world.

However, the question arises: if this is so, then why did the Bolshevik Party degenerate, after Stalin's death, into a revisionist party? This is a reasonable question to pose, and in order to be able to answer it, one must discover the objective and subjective reasons. We have already pointed out in other writings that this is as important a question as it is difficult to treat fully and without mistakes, if we do not base ourselves on the documents, espe-

cially the internal ones, of the Bolshevik Party, documents which we do not possess and can hardly possess, especially in the present situation. But our ideology and the experience of our party and of the other parties can help us to determine some of these reasons. We say some, because there are and must be many more. But even these thoughts may not be complete.

Thus, it turns out that gradually, without being aware of it and relying on the great successes of the realization of the socialist construction, **there was created among the party cadres and among those of the socialist State a certain self-complacency and legitimate pride, which made them, inadvertently and without knowing it, turn from their correct forms towards distorted, incorrect inclinations which were basically incompatible with proletarian morality. Marxist ideology and education condemned them in principle and in practice, when they manifested themselves in a flagrant and dangerous way, but in general these trends were developing and were not considered as dangerous. They were interweaving with the party norms and gradually gave the latter also such an anti-Marxist tinge. They intensified later and, interwoven with other non-proletarian customs, promoted the dangerous complex.**

The members of the Bolshevik Party, who were led to legendary battles by Lenin and Stalin, were cadres of a class origin and with revolutionary vigor, tempered in revolution, in struggles, in the building of socialism, in battles against

Trotskyism, against deviators and other traitors. They were ideologically and politically tempered and had a firm and legitimate confidence in their glorious Bolshevik Party, in Lenin and Stalin, in the correct line and norms that they had mapped out.

To them the party was everything, it was their heart, brain and eyes, that is why they defended it, were educated by it and by their great leader. **But while trying to carry out the Party's and Stalin's correct line and norms, the Soviet cadres, at first not all of them and not in a clear-cut way but gradually, became susceptible to a feeling of stability which is alien, in the revolutionary sense, to development.** So long as they held lower level functions, the cadres worked zealously to serve the cause of revolution in the best possible manner strictly implementing the party norms and line, maintaining close connections with the masses and with the working class. But in the long run, when the initial difficulties had been overcome, when the indispensable ideological and political and general education and culture had been acquired, having grown older and having gained seniority in the party, certain people began to be affected by the germ of the evil. **Successes at work nourished the feeling of self-complacency and, parallel with these successes, the Soviet cadres began to lose their proletarian simplicity, raised unjust claims, which they considered «politically legitimate», because these people had worked and fought. With their rise to responsibility there was taking shape in them the feeling**

of ease and complacency and they were ever more infected by bureaucratism, intellectualism and technocratism. Thus, gradually, between the cadres of the Bolshevik Party and Soviet State, on the one hand, and the masses of the Soviet people and working class, on the other, there was created a separation and inequality. **Many cadres no longer listened, as they had done previously, to the voice of the masses. Among them the thought began to prevail that they knew everything themselves, that they were specialists in everything, that they stood above the masses, above the working class politically and ideologically and were more farsighted than the latter. The authority and prestige which the Bolshevik Party and Stalin enjoyed among the masses of the Soviet people and in the working class were confounded by these cadres with their personal authority and prestige. All these anti-proletarian features deformed the revolutionary concepts among these cadres. As this also infected the party line and its implementation, the revolutionary norms of the party remained formal, the life of the party itself and its organization as well as the whole Soviet State administration were in the process of becoming sclerotic.**

Therefore, the development, the endowment with education and culture of the cadres of the party, of the State and administration is one of the most important problems, **but the primary and still greater duty is their political and ideological development and their permanent revolutionization.**

The danger of the bureaucratization of the cadres and of their being imbued with formal education and culture only, can create in them a feeling of superiority and arrogance, causes the features of intellectualism and technocratism to take root in them. The growth of these ideas progressively places them above the masses of the party and the class and thus gradually a situation is created in which one stratum rules over the class and its proletarian party, scleroses the party and its revolutionary norms, makes them lifeless, propagates them without zeal, deprives them of their revolutionary influence and action. Hence develops the separation from the masses and from the control of the working class.

If the party and the working class fails to display their special and constant care for the ideological uplift of the cadres, not only through bookish methods, but through actions in daily and uninterrupted struggle, their rise to leading positions, their educational and cultural unevenness with the great bulk of the party and with that of the working class, the long period of probation in the party or in the state organs, the great disparity in salaries (a dangerous evil this) and the privileges to which they are allegedly entitled as cadres (another dangerous evil) spoil the cadre, incite him to progressively adopt, willy-nilly, features which are not of the proletarian class. While such a phenomenon may occur with the cadres of worker origin and conditions, this danger is greater among those coming from the

peasantry and the intelligentsia. **The party of the working class must bring up the cadres in such a way that they may advance and be promoted to posts of responsibility, but they should also rightly understand, when necessary their stepping down from posts of responsibility, and this not only in cases when they do not prove themselves capable and active for the function with which they are charged or for errors in work and in life, but also in cases where they are capable and accomplish their tasks correctly. The cadres should be educated to realize that, even when they are efficient, their departure from responsible functions and their going to work among the working class and the laboring masses is a necessity. It is to the advantage of the cadres themselves and of the party, for the present and in the future.**

The three features we mentioned above — bureaucratism, intellectualism and technocratism — caused within the Bolshevik Party and the Soviet State a failure to appreciate the heroic revolutionary spirit of the times. At first this insidious disease did not openly attack the correct party line. The cadres remained faithful to it and to Stalin. They were ready to go through fire for him, because Stalin was a man of the class. With his Marxist-Leninist class clarity, he did not commit errors of principle, politics or in ideology, in economy or in the military field. He faithfully defended everything Leninist. He developed Leninism further.

But in this stagnation which was gradually

building up, although the Stalinist energy of the party and of the dictatorship of the proletariat was still pushing the work ahead, the party work was becoming stereotyped and inflexible. The norms were being implemented but not with revolutionary vigor. The line was being carried out but not at that revolutionary tempo. Marxism-Leninism was being taught but in such a way that it was unable to purge these dangerous inclinations. Many high party and State cadres, proud of their diplomas, were, so to speak, viewing the situation from above, and especially from the petty-bourgeois feeling of all-round superiority. They had come to believe that this was something natural, that they were superior to the bulk of the party. They were assuming the features of a class above the class and above the party. They considered themselves infallible because they were in the leadership, because they enjoyed seniority, because they possessed knowledge, thinking as if it were they who brought sunshine and rain. All these anti-Marxist viewpoints were developing willy-nilly, under cover of the party norms. These people spoke of democratic centralism, of criticism and self-criticism, of party discipline, of elections from below, but all these things had lost their revolutionary spirit. **And what could all this bring about? The gradual separation of the leadership from the bulk of the party and of the party from the working class. Thus, in essence, that Marxist-Leninist unity which we mentioned above was getting weaker. Stalin forged the Leninist unity and fought for it, not-**

withstanding the stagnation. After his death it was proved that in the leadership and in the Bolshevik party this unity was split and the revisionists seized power.

Khrushchev and his traitorous companions had been working even when Stalin was alive, but certainly in a very camouflaged form. After Stalin's death, profitting by the situation that had been created, they took power. They sought and are seeking to preserve the whole of the negative process and deepen it still more, carrying out the complete transformation toward capitalism and towards the liquidation of the Bolshevik Party of Lenin and Stalin. The attack on Stalin was the attack on Leninism, on Marxism-Leninism, that is why they have made and are making short work of those whom they call Stalinists and, masquarading as Leninists, they are striving every passing day to deepen the process of liquidating the party as a Marxist-Leninist party of the proletariat and to isolate the Soviet working class, to lull it to sleep, to make it amorphous and apolitical, so as to avoid the blows which it may strike at them.

Of course, there are other reasons too, but we think that those we have mentioned caused the working class of the Soviet Union and hundreds of thousands and millions of Soviet party and State cadres to be caught unawares. They thought and are thinking (for they are still not so politically and ideologically minded, and this should not surprise us) that what Khrushchev did was «in line and in accordance with the Leninist rules». They

were deceived by the calumnies, by the demagogy and the promises of the traitors, but this will, certainly, not last for long. The eyes of the Soviet working class and revolutionaries are being opened and will be better opened and they will again recover the fighting spirit of the revolutionary struggles through which they had been led by Lenin and Stalin. They must come out, arms in hand, in the street, and they will come out, if not today, tomorrow. The situation will ripen. Time works for the proletarian revolution.

This process has occurred also in the other revisionist parties, but still more deeply, for the reason that the parties of the revisionist countries, with the exception of the Polish Party, are parties which have not themselves waged the struggle, have not passed through that furnace, irrespective of their self-advertisement as allegedly old parties which have been through the fight. Their luggage on this issue — and this is the main issue — is very insignificant, not to say, nil.

Moreover, these parties were revived, reorganized, and they seized power thanks to the Soviet army and to the direct aid of the Bolshevik party and of Stalin. This was a vital aid to them, not only to recover materially, but also to create political and ideological cohesion in their fold. But later, in these parties, that is in the Polish, German, Czechoslovak, Hungarian and other parties, an organisational, political, and ideological union was brought about between the communist, socialist and social-democratic parties. Thus, the social-de-

mocratic germ instead of remaining outside, wormed itself inside the party. The wine was diluted with water. Why should we be surprised that now it has turned into vinegar? While Stalin was alive, the social-democratic parties of Cyrankiewicz, Otto Grotewohl, Fierlinger, were silent, but they kept working inside, corroding, demoralizing, and seizing important positions to the best of their ability.

When Khrushchev came to power, these elements were overjoyed. Later came the separation, and it was a radical one since degeneration had taken deep roots in these parties and in these countries. While Marxist-Leninist Gottwald turned out the armed workers in the streets and made reaction shiver and retreat into their hide-outs, the revisionist Dubcek now has a part of the Czechoslovak working class on his side. This is happening also in Hungary, but not entirely so in Poland, for the Polish working class have more revolutionary traditions to their credit. But the struggle to win over the working class and to arouse them to revolt should be the main objective of every Marxist-Leninist party, **There is not and there cannot be proletarian revolution without the working class and without the leadership of the Marxist-Leninist party.**

The students and intellectuals must rise up in revolution but be led by the working class and by the Marxist-Leninist party. If the contrary happens, as in the revisionist countries, if they are not placed where they belong in the revolution and if they are not properly educated to take the revo-

lutionary road they become reserves of counter-revolution. Youth can never undertake and carry out the tasks and the role that history has entrusted to the working class. Everywhere, in everything, the working class and the party of the class must be in the van, in absolute leadership. The peasantry and the various social strata must advance on the road of the working class in alliance with them. They must be brought up with its laws and its ideology, and whoever does not advance on this road and places obstacles under the wheels must be discarded, by persuasion or by violence, as may be necessary.

In the light of all that we have said, we see more clearly the correctness of the Marxist-Leninist road and line pursued by our party at all the stages of its development, even at the most critical moments, and its boundless loyalty towards the ideas and the revolutionary cause of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin. But our party has never lost sight of the fact that no communist party, our own included, is immune from the danger of revisionism. It has always maintained a sharp vigilance against this danger, it has never rested on its laurels. Our Party has amassed and is elaborating every day a rich experience of how to bar the road to revisionism and to the restoration of capitalism. The measures adopted by the party for the further revolutionization of the whole national life, for the perfecting and the development of socialist relations in production and of the superstructure, for

purging them of everything alien, are of a decisive and vital importance to the cause of socialism.

It has waged and is waging the class struggle inside and outside the party on a correct Marxist-Leninist basis. Since this struggle is the motive force during the whole period of the transition from capitalism to socialism, the Party has attached first-rate importance to the revolutionary class education of the working people, and especially of the growing generation, in different forms, especially through revolutionary action. It has waged and is waging a principled and consistent struggle against each and every bureaucratic disortion, for the constant deepening of the mass line in all fields, for the uninterrupted improvement of socialist democracy. Above all, special attention has been devoted to the constant revolutionization of the party and its cadres, so that the latter may never detach themselves from the people, may not lose their revolutionary features and spirit, may not become bureaucratic and may not degenerate.

The party has never lost sight of the dialectical action of the different factors, with all their positive and negative influences. It has carried out and continues to carry out in depth all-round measures of revolutionization, of education, of work and struggle on all the fronts giving rise to a number of problems, great and small, but all of them important and closely interwoven, especially on the front of the class ideological education and of the class struggle. Thus, it has continued and continues the struggle frontally, without interruption, always

mounting, always learning from the successes and shortcomings, so that the shortcomings may not be repeated and the successes may not intoxicate and lull it to sleep. Our party and people are advancing on this correct Marxist-Leninist road with firm confidence in the upbuilding of socialism and communism.

Under the present-day conditions, when the revisionist cliques are completely liquidating all the victories of socialism in their respective countries, the working class of these countries must clearly understand that the revisionist party in power is no longer a party of the proletariat, but a weapon in the hands of treacherous leaders intending to restore capitalism, to deceive the masses. Today there is no longer room for illusions, hesitations and procrastination. The working class of the revisionist countries is now faced with the historic necessity of taking its place again on the battlefield, of launching a ruthless and thoroughly consistent struggle to overthrow and smash the treacherous cliques, to carry out once more the proletarian revolution, to restore the dictatorship of the proletariat. This requires absolute determination, courage, sacrifices and a renewal of the revolutionary spirit and traditions of the times of Lenin and Stalin. This requires, in the first place and above all, the organisation of the genuine revolutionaries Into new Marxist-Leninist parties, which should mobilize, organize and lead to victory the general uprising of the proletariat and of the other laboring masses.

At these important moments for the destinies of revolution, none of the Marxist-Leninists and the world proletariat can remain silent and idle in the face of what is happening in the revisionist countries. Proletarian internationalism demands that all the revolutionaries raise their voices and wage a principled struggle through to the end for the destruction of the revisionist cliques in power and give all support to the working class and to the peoples that are today under the revisionist rule, to overthrow these treacherous cliques and to raise again the banner of revolution and socialism.

LET THE STORM OF REVOLUTION BREAK OUT WITH FORCE!

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The great changes that have taken place and are taking place in the world as a result of the struggle of the peoples have created and are continually creating a situation favourable to the revolutionary forces that are struggling for social emancipation and national liberation, for the building of a new world without capitalists and colonialists. The fundamental problem now facing the genuine communists and revolutionaries, both in the capitalist countries, as well as where the revisionists are ruling, is that they should act with courage and in a consistently revolutionary way in the fight against imperialism and its tools — the modern revisionists.

The world capitalist bourgeoisie has mobilized all its forces and is striving to extinguish the revolution where it has started, to prevent it where it is about to start, and to wipe it out where it has triumphed. The bourgeoisie has placed the modern revisionists, the basest and most diabolic traitors to Marxism-Leninism, in the vanguard of its brutal ideological and political fight. In these conditions, modern revisionism poses a great and immediate danger to revolution and socialism.

Why do the Marxist-Leninists insist on this issue, why do they describe modern revisionism as a great danger to revolution and socialism, why do they always call on the revolutionaries to close their ranks and to fight boldly and without compromise up to the complete ideological and political destruction of revisionism?

The answer is clear. Modern revisionism constitutes such a danger because it is headed by the Soviet revisionists who have usurped the helm of the Communist Party and the Soviet State, of the country where the October Revolution was carried out and where socialism triumphed for the first time. It constitutes such a danger because revisionism has seized power in many countries of people's democracy, because the revisionist cliques have seized the leadership and the apparatus of the party in many communist and workers' parties of the world, where the main cadres have become bourgeoisified. They exploit the traditions of organisation of the working people for their own aims, keep the trade unions of the workers and their bourgeoisified apparatus and cadres under their direction. The revisionists have colossal funds and materials at their disposal to finance political, ideological and organisational diversion throughout the world, they have great propaganda means to distort Marxist-Leninist theory, to revise it and to present this distortion as «an actual and realistic development in the conditions of our epoch», in short, to adapt in a camouflaged way the revised Mar-

xism-Leninism to the interests of the bourgeoisie whom they serve with zeal.

In these conditions, the revisionists are striving to identify themselves with communists. According to the propaganda they conduct, they present their modern revisionism as «international communism». In the eyes of the revisionists «the alliance of the international proletariat» is but the alliance of the revisionist cliques and «proletarian internationalism» is for them in fact the revisionist Trotskyite internationalism.

The evil is that the efforts for the identification of modern revisionism with international communism, putting them on a par, are not being made only by the chiefs of modern revisionism. The wrong viewpoints spread by them find a place even in many Soviet communists, indeed in a part of the Soviet working class. The Soviet revisionist party in the lead of the strong anti-Marxist trend of present-day revisionism greatly contributes to the preservation of these viewpoints, and what is worse, to mixing the wheat with the tares and hampering revolution.

Likewise, not all the communists of various countries and the world proletariat have as yet properly realized that there exists today in the Soviet Union a so-called communist party which has nothing in common with the Bolshevik Communist Party of Lenin and Stalin. The present-day party in the Soviet Union is a revisionist, counter-revolutionary, anti-communist party. It is «com-

munist» only by name, it poses as Leninist but it has distorted Lenin from top to bottom in everything. It pretends to be building communism, but in practice it is restoring capitalism and helping the other revisionist parties to tread the same road. If the communist party of the Soviet Union was formerly of the bolsheviks, today the revisionist party of the Soviet Union is of the new mensheviks, Trotzkyites and Bukharinists.

However, despite the fact that not all the communists and the working class of the Soviet Union see that their old heroic party has changed and degenerated, Bolshevism cannot disappear and the Bolsheviks cannot reconcile themselves with the tragedy they are living, they cannot sit by with folded arms. Some signs of their revolutionary revival are appearing and they are encouraging.

The Khrushchevite Black Bands Are Striving to Close Their Ranks Against the Bolsheviks and the Working Class

The Khrushchevite chieftains who are proclaiming like the Popes «urbi et orbi» that they are «building communism» in the Soviet Union, that antagonistic classes have disappeared there and so has the class struggle, are now demanding from the party that it should «establish an iron discipline». For whom and against whom is this iron discipline required on which the chief revisionist Leonid Brezhnev insisted at the party con-

ference of the city of Moscow in the last week of March, and which is now clamourously trumpeted abroad by the whole Soviet revisionist press?

The iron «discipline» demanded by the Soviet leaders is a discipline of the black bands, of the new revisionist social-revolutionaries, which at first sight seems to be directed against the ultra-rightist elements who, born in the atmosphere created by the Khrushchev course itself and encouraged now by the events in Czechoslovakia and Poland, have started to step up their activities. The Brezhnev-Kosygin group fears lest it should suffer the fate of Khrushchev, or Novotny, lest one day these «liberals», if they are given much freedom, will overthrow the clique in power. By attacking the extremist revisionists, Brezhnev and company are seeking, on the one hand, to keep the latter in check, to control the process of bourgeois degeneration and, on the other hand, to take advantage of the hatred and contempt of the working masses towards these elements and to win them over and rely on them in every situation that would jeopardize their ruling position.

At the same time the Soviet revisionist leaders, by criticizing the ultra-rightists, are striving to create the illusion that they fight not only against the «dogmatists», but also against «the revisionists», that they allegedly pursue the «Leninist» road of the struggle on two fronts. As a matter of fact, these tactics are aimed at consolidating the positions of the clique in power and at intensifying.

at their ease and with the least possible troubles, the fight against Marxism-Leninism, revolution and socialism. These are dangerous tactics which must be exposed and smashed. There should be no illusion that the degenerate Brezhnev-Kosygin clique, lately submerged in treachery, can be brought to its senses by the events in Czechoslovakia, Poland and the activation of the «liberals» inside the Soviet Union. The fight against the «ultras» is a fight among the revisionist cliques for power. Nothing can correct these cliques. Only the revolution for the overthrow of those in power or who are struggling for power, will put the Soviet party and State back on the correct road opened by the October Revolution.

It is precisely this revolution which is feared more than anything else by the Brezhnev-Kosygin clique. They fear the masses of the people more than the «liberals». They are well aware that an open activation of the ultra-revisionist forces in the Soviet Union of great revolutionary traditions cannot take place so easily as in Czechoslovakia. Such a process in the Soviet Union could not help giving rise to the resistance and revolt of the bolshevik revolutionaries, of the working class and of others, which would sweep away the Khrushchevite ruling clique together with the «ultras». Therefore, the «discipline» demanded by Brezhnev is directed, in the first place and above all, against the bolsheviks, against the people, against all those who dare or would dare to rise against the revisionist treachery.

The course of the recent events in Czechoslovakia and Poland has caused very serious headaches to the Soviet revisionists. They are not only deepening the revisionist split, not only causing a lack of balance in political attitudes, disintegration in the mutual economic relations, but they are even causing non observance of their military-political treaties.

With regard to the Soviet revisionists, these events seriously affect the very policy and internal structure of their regime. If the Brezhnev-Kosygin-Podgorny clique had thought so far that, after having got rid of Khrushchev, they had created a certain internal stability, the events in Czechoslovakia, Poland and in certain other countries created deep faltering within its leadership and showed that its «stability» was weak. Thus it was confirmed once more that there is not and there will never be stability in the Soviet revisionist leadership.

This great uneasiness is clearly evident in revisionist Brezhnev's speech. That is why he laid the greatest stress on the question of the «unity» in the party, «Leninist unity» between the party and the working class, the «iron unity» between the people and the «Leninist central committee» and such other idle talk!

Real unity can be spoken of only in a Marxist-Leninist party and is achieved on the basis of the correct line, of the undistorted Marxist-Leninist principles, on the basis of the pure Leninist norms of the party. But in the present day revisio-

nist party of the Soviet Union one cannot speak either of Marxist-Leninist unity or of any of those principles which form, preserve and temper it. This happens because there is not and there cannot be identity of views and unity of action among the various revisionist cliques ruling in the revisionist party of the Soviet Union and in the Soviet State.

The bolshevik unity formulated and implemented by Lenin, Stalin and by the Bolshevik Party of Lenin-Stalin is the unity that the Marxist-Leninist parties need, and it is precisely this unity that the modern revisionists fight against, seek to destroy, and can never attain.

The bolshevik unity was achieved in fierce and uninterrupted struggle, led by Lenin, Stalin and the Bolshevik Party not only against the external enemies, the imperialists and capitalists, but also against Czarism and all the capitalist bourgeois parties of its regime, against the pseudo-revolutionary parties during and after the Revolution, against the left socialist revolutionaries, Trotskyites, Zinovievists, Bukharinists and all the other opportunists, rightists and «leftists», agents of the bourgeoisie and reaction, inside and outside of the party.

Bolshevik unity eliminated the anti-Leninist factions in the Bolshevik Party. It did not allow and could never allow, either legally or illegally the existence of factions in the Marxist-Leninist party. If the opposite is the case and if they do not strive for the total smashing of all kind of factions, the communist party can never be called a Leninist

party, because on the main issue it will have then rejected these principles and those norms which make it the organized Marxist-Leninist detachment of the proletariat. Such a party loses, eliminates the ultimate aim of its existence as a monolithic party of the proletariat, for the establishment of the proletarian dictatorship, for the building of socialism and communism. Such a party is transformed into an arena where separate groups, with separate interests, with separate aims, struggle for supremacy, for power. Such a party strives to preserve only the disguise, the external aspect of a single party, with a view to deceiving and nothing else.

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union has degenerated today into such a party. There does not and cannot exist unity in the present-day revisionist party of the Soviet Union. Therefore the question arises: what unity do the Soviet revisionists headed by Brezhnev, speak about?

They call for a unity of the various cliques within the party and in the leadership of the revisionist party of the Soviet Union in face of the great dangers threatening them both from outside and inside.

The danger to them from within is great. It stems both from the split within their revisionist fold, and also from the good revolutionary traditions of the Bolshevik Party of Lenin and Stalin, traditions which the Soviet revisionists are striving to suppress, to cause them to degenerate or demagogically harness them to their own interests.

These traditions were created by the Great October Revolution and the fight of the bolsheviks, by the ideas of Lenin and Stalin, on the basis of which a great party was formed and tempered, the dictatorship of the proletariat was established, the first socialist State of the workers and peasants was set up, socialism was successfully built up, the national question, so complicated in the Soviet Union, was correctly settled, too. In the process of the class struggle, energetically led by Lenin and Stalin, the dictatorship of the proletariat was strengthened, the consciousness of the working people was raised and tempered, the alliance of the working class and peasantry was consolidated, factions inside and outside the party were smashed and the possibilities of vegetation, be it in silence or as a matter of form, of the nuclei of the other allegedly progressive bourgeois parties were removed. From the victory of the revolution and until now there has been only one party in the Soviet Union — the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

The Bolshevik Party of the Soviet Union laid down the tradition of a single party in power; since the revolution, the younger generations of the Soviet Union have recognized only one party, therefore they are connected with this tradition.

With the advent of the Khrushchevites to power, the socialist system built up in the Soviet Union was frontally attacked under the mask of passing over to communism. The dictatorship of the proletariat was attacked under the mask of

the «state of the whole people», which means «liberalization» of the power. The traitors to the revolution, traitors of all shades were rehabilitated and the ground was prepared for the restoration of the new capitalist social basis, with a new structure and superstructure. The proclamation of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union as the party of the whole people is a bridge spanning the opportunist swamp and the elimination of all the revolutionary traditions of the Bolshevik Communist Party. All this creates favourable conditions for the liquidation also of the tradition of the single leading party, although this is not in the interest of the hegemony of the big Soviet revisionist State and of the connection of different nationalities living in the Soviet Union.

Soviet modern revisionism means splittism while strict implementation and defence of the teachings of Lenin-Stalin means unity. On the basis of these teachings the question of nationalities was correctly resolved and the Union of the Soviet Socialist Republics was created. Only the defence of the ideas of Lenin and Stalin can preserve the unity of the Soviet Union and of the nationalities which comprise it. Khrushchevite modern revision-Ism will smash the Union of the Soviet Socialist Republics and the Leninist unity among the nationalities.

The creation of other revisionist bourgeois parties in the Soviet Union will come about as a later result of the disintegration and degeneration of the Soviet Union, both from the political and

ideological and moral viewpoint, as well as from the economic-State viewpoint. The road of revisionism is the road of treachery to communism, of concessions to the bourgeoisie, of nationalism. Experience shows that the deeper the process of revisionist degeneration unfolds, the more concessions are made to the imperialists, to the bourgeoisie and to various nationalists. The new revisionist cliques which come to power after upsetting the old cliques are ever more prepared to advance on this road. The Soviet revisionists, too, will make concessions both to the domestic bourgeoisie and to the nationalism of their various Republics, just as they are doing with the imperialists and in their relations with their revisionist allies in other countries.

The Soviet revisionists pose as internationalists and accuse Tito and Dubchek of being nationalist and chauvinistic, as they are indeed, but in fact the Soviet revisionist leaders themselves are as much, if not more so, nationalist and chauvinistic. In order to camouflage their traitorous features they have re-arranged the leadership by bringing in individuals from different nationalities, in order to give the impression that the different nationalities of the Soviet Union are represented. But in fact their entire activity is characterized by big State chauvinism, by the Russian-Ukrainian tendency to domination, by a reactionary nationalist policy which can only lead to domination by force, which will lead to the splitting of the Union.

Total degeneration will come about as a result of the division of the Soviet Union into different

national States, ruled by capitalist bourgeois cliques that will seize power in them. The process of Titoite degeneration in the national question, not to speak of other aspects, the process of the disintegration of the party in Czechoslovakia and the revival of the national chauvinistic feelings of the Czechs and Slovaks, are merely a prelude of the great revisionist symphony which will be played in the Soviet Union.

The Soviet revisionists will strive hard, by all means, to avoid this thorough disintegration because such a thing is not in their interest as a big dominating capitalist State, but in such a case they will show themselves to be big nation chauvinists and they will be unable any longer to deceive anyone by the mask of a socialist State. They will continue to strive in their own interests, to preserve the tradition of a single leading party, of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. The struggle of various revisionist factions within the party and in the leadership will take place for a long time inside the party, in the leadership, but it will pass outside of it too, to the parties of the Republics and to the Republics themselves.

In the struggle for power the revisionist cliques will not fail to exploit the tradition of the Bolshevik Communist Party against factionists and deviationists. Under this disguise Khrushchev and the Khrushchevites, in addition to the preparation of the ground from the politico-ideological and organisational viewpoint against Stalin and Leninism, attacked the Molotov group as anti-party. Later

the elimination of Khrushchev himself and his supporters occurred.

Nevertheless, in the Soviet leadership and in the whole party deep divergencies exist. There exist active groups struggling for domination, and as a result there also exists a fierce struggle among them. The clique that rules temporarily will strive to weaken the opponent cliques, to neutralize them and, finally if they become dangerous, to eliminate them by attaching to them the «anti-party group» label, because the pseudo-party is for them, for the time being, the pivot which can deceive the masses of the Soviet people, accustomed to this tradition. Above all, the cliques that win and rule will effectively rely on the weapons of their dictatorship, on their Security Forces and on their Armies.

It is a fact that in all the revisionist countries, the Khrushchevites, from the very outset, attacked the Security Force, the Ministry of Home Affairs, systematically «purging» the Security Service. They did not take such a measure against the Army. What does this show in general? This shows that the Soviet revisionists did not aim only at completing their calumnies against Stalin, but they attacked the Security Force as it constituted one of the dangers to their treachery. This means that the Soviet Security Force was tempered and seasoned in the struggle against the enemies of the class and the dictatorship, irrespective of the mistakes it might have made.

Now, in general, the revisionists have purged the Security Force of opponents and they have

it for themselves. But whose is it, of which clique? Of the most powerful one. This is confirmed by the removal of Shelepin and Semichasny, two new revisionists who are, for certain, opposed to the others. They acted likewise in the Army, but here not so brutally. Considering it as a great and dangerous force, they acted and are acting cautiously, especially, through its leaders. There they caress the leaders, they remove cadres by tens of thousands, they decorate them, they give them villas, they pension them off, they expose them to suspicion, etc. The main tendency, as everywhere in the Army, too, is degeneration and apoliticalism, attaching the leaders to the chariot of the most powerful clique with a view to using the Army as a weapon of counterrevolutionary oppression and violence.

The Soviet revisionists take great care so that the degeneration of the party, of the State and economy should not occur in the chaotic way which the clown charlatan, Khrushchev, started. He was eliminated because he was causing premature dangers to them. Khrushchev's successors, while causing the party to degenerate, in appearance preserve the forms of general organisation. They effect many organisations and reorganisations in various administrations, but, to disguise themselves, they preserve the general forms of the State. They speak of a «modification of the constitution» and they are allegedly working for this, but they are not hasty. They are undermining the Soviet Power, but at the

same time they seek to disguise it, to preserve the socialist appearance.

As regards the organisation of economy, the changes they are making in this direction, they are advancing more openly towards the liquidation of socialist economy and its transformation into a capitalist economy. And it cannot happen otherwise as this is something which cannot be masked. This is required by the objectivity of the creation of the new revisionist capitalist class, it is required by the interest of the cliques in power, it is required by the new alliances with world capitalism and, in the first place, with U.S. imperialism, it is required by the needs of their bourgeois dictatorship, which oppresses, and will always oppress more forcefully, the masses of the people and revolution inside, and will activate the struggle for hegemony outside.

But it is not only the revisionist cliques that work and act in this whole process which is taking place in the Soviet Union and in the fold of the revisionist party of the Soviet Union. True, they actually rule through a single leading party, as the bolsheviks were ruling previously, but this does not mean that in the fold of the revisionist party of the Soviet Union, and outside of the party, in the fold of the class and of the masses, bolshevism, too, is not working, though now it is in a minority, in semi-illegality or in complete illegality.

In the leadership of the revisionist party of the Soviet Union there are no overt bolsheviks, but there are no covert ones either. This shows that in

the Soviet Union, unlike in other countries, the bolsheviks may have started or will start their work inside the party, as a still small faction and in complete secrecy, just as they may start or may have started it outside the party, or simultaneously from within and from outside, to reestablish the glorious Bolshevik Party of Lenin and Stalin. The Soviet revolutionaries will, for sure, also use tested forms, methods and tactics of the Bolshevik Party. They will take into account the new circumstances and conditions and they will know how to take advantage of them. The experience that will be gained will certainly be of great importance to the future.

The course of events in the world and in the international communist movement has clearly shown that the Soviet revisionists, in close alliance with U.S. imperialism, have become avowed and cunning enemies of revolution and of the liberation struggles of the peoples of the world.

In the international arena they claim to act on behalf of the Soviet Union, in the international communist movement they claim to act on behalf of Leninism, on hehalf of the Bolshevik Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

This is a great danger threatening the freedom of the peoples, the revolution, socialism and communism.

The Party of Labor of Albania has exposed, fought and will expose and fight these deceptive positions seized by the Soviet revisionists through to the end, for it thinks that this is the only Mar-

xist-Leninist road of revolutionary struggle to distinguish between the Bolshevik Communist Party of the Soviet Union of Lenin and Stalin and the present Soviet revisionist party, to distinguish between the Soviet Union created and built by Lenin, Stalin and the bolsheviks and the present-day Soviet Union which the Soviet modem revisionists have caused to degenerate.

Without making this distinction, and without waging this fierce uncompromising struggle against the revisionist trend and the means of its regime and power, the fight against the U.S.-led world imperialism cannot be properly waged nor can world revolution advance at the required speed.

The great interests of the Soviet peoples and revolutionaries, the interests of world communism, demand that the real socialist Soviet Union should be renewed, just as Lenin, Stalin and the bolsheviks created it. The interests of revolution demand that the real socialist Soviet Union should be strong, with inviolable international authority, as it was at the time of Lenin and Stalin. Now the Khrushchevite revisionists have lowered to the ground the prestige and authority both of the Soviet Union and of its Communist Party. From this situation the real Soviet Union, the offspring of the October Revolution, must be rescued, but how can this be achieved? There is only one road and this is the road of the revolutionary struggle for the destruction of the revisionist clique now ruling in the Soviet Union. This is an historic task facing the working class of the Soviet Union, the real bolshe-

viks and Soviet revolutionaries. The tempest of a second great proletarian revolution in the Soviet Union will wipe the Khrushchevite revisionists from the earths' face.

The Contradictions Among the Revisionist Cliques Have Degenerated Into a Life And Death Struggle Among Them

It is now a fact that the hegemony of the Soviet revisionists in the revisionist camp is being split, as revisionism, being a bourgeois trend, has in its fold numerous contradictions and it encounters the opposition of its partners and allies in practice. We are today witnessing the fact that the revisionist cliques, whether in power or not, are quarreling with, separating from and opposing the Soviet revisionists. The Marxist-Leninists had longsince forecast such a situation, therefore, no communist, no faction of the working class of any country must allow itself to be deceived by the allegedly «independent», «sovereign» actions of any revisionist clique, and should not entertain the least illusion that these cliques have become «sensible men», in as much as they have departed from the Soviet revisionists. Decisive in judging this phenomenon is the class orientation, the class struggle, the loyalty to the teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, and their implementation in a concrete and consistent way, bravely and without taking account of any sacrifice whatsoever.

We must bear in mind that the modern revisionists are not preoccupied so much now, as in the previous times, by the coordination among them of the revisionist stereotype formulas, fabricated in the Khrushchevite workshops of the Kremlin and zealously served at every soup by the revisionist neophytes. They became stale and were repeated so much that they are now worn out. They have all left the empty Khrushchevite phraseology in the lurch. Every revisionist group, whether in power or not, undertook, on behalf of «Leninism», to «liberate» itself for ever from every yoke, «especially from the yoke of the «dictatorship of the proletariat» and of the «Marxist-Leninist ideology». Every theory, not only of the revisionists, but also of their new ideological or political allies, was leading, in their opinion, to socialism with some impulses, with some slogans, with many lies, but «everything now was leading to socialism». Disruption became their main concern.

Every revisionist group now began to be free and to build up its plans of detachment and reunion, of destruction and reintegration. It followed from this, of course, based on the «brilliant Khrusnchev theory», that every country, in as much it has its own specifics, must build up also a specific socialism. And each revisionist country began to lend a less attentive ear to the stereotype phrases issued by the Kremlin workshop, began to expound its own specific formulas, to formulate its own theories of how to organize the new capitalist State in its own country, how to adapt the economy to

this State, how to liquidate the Communist Party, how to create the other bourgeois parties and share power with them, how to win over the Security Force and the Army and change them from weapons of the dictatorship of the proletariat into weapons against the proletariat and the working people.

In addition to these main directions, the revisionists in power in these countries were greatly concerned, in the first place, by the way and the form in which they would part with the Soviet revisionists. This was the big chain that had to be broken. They were bound by many overt and covert ideological, economic, political, cultural, military and other ties, state ties, interstate ties, ties of cliques, ties of individuals, espionage ties. A whole dirty network.

Of course there would be a «settlement of accounts» among them, as among gangsters. And this settlement of accounts has already started, indeed it has considerably advanced. Therefore, it is no longer a question of «correcting the formulas of the theory», but of acting pistol in hand, «your money or your life», so to say. The revisionists have started a life and death struggle among themselves.

The notorious Moscow meeting decided upon at the «Budapest Carnivals», as has now been shown by the other Budapest meeting of the commission for the preparation of the «summit», hardly indicates the aim for which it is to be convened, to establish «peace» in Vietnam, or to establish «peace» in the revisionist camp, that is to reconcile

the revisionist gangsters who have drawn their daggers against one another. This conference is intended among other things to conceal the whole miserable situation the revisionist party of the Soviet Union finds itself in, and the defeats of the Soviet revisionists. This is not a communist conference and the various preparatory meetings that are being held resemble the backstages of the horse markets and trade exhibitions, where there have gathered all sorts of swindlers, traders, brigands striking bargains, giving and taking signatures, words, rubles and dollars, to say this or that, this way or that way, to defend this or to insult that.

The new Budapest meeting showed still more clearly the further rottenness and degeneration of the revisionist camp. Only a few weeks had elapsed from the previous meeting which was attended by 67 revisionist parties and hardly 54 parties were represented at the new session. Let us see how many will go to Moscow in November. There they will draw up a balance-sheet, but it is already obvious that it will be a deplorable one. The new revisionist Budapest meeting, as to the number and quality of its participants, was a complete failure for the Soviet revisionists. That is why the major part of the participants were expelled and only 22 remained to prepare the hash to be served at the forthcoming Moscow meeting.

One of the main objectives of the meeting of these bandits will again be the fight against the Communist Party of China, of the Party of Labor of Albania and against Marxism-Leninism. They

will never forget this in as much the struggle which our Marxist-Leninist parties are waging for the exposure of revisionism hangs over their heads like the sword of Damocles. The role of the revisionist parties, their very existence, is to suppress revolution in their own countries and in the world and, in the first place, to subdue China and Albania, which hold high the banner of Marxism-Leninism, of revolution and the liberation of the peoples.

A frantic campaign of attacks and slanders has been launched today by the modern revisionists against the great Chinese proletarian cultural revolution, initiated and directly led by the outstanding Marxist-Leninist, Comrade Mao Tse-tung, for it smashed the plot of the home and foreign revisionists against people's China, and it is a great inspiration for all the revolutionaries, the working class and the laboring masses of the countries where the revisionists rule, in their struggle for the overthrow of the revisionist cliques in power.

Each day shows the weakness of the modern revisionists and precisely this year is becoming for them, and in the first place for the Soviet revisionists, a year of catastrophe. Czechoslovakia left them this year. Poland, too, is about to do so. Later it will be the turn of Hungary and Bulgaria. This year may see the German Democratic Republic isolated and sold out, the Warsaw Treaty almost non-existent, the Mutual Economic Aid Committee, their economic organisation, strangled. These problems of the Soviet revisionists will not be settled, for certain, either by the «revisionist bohemia», or

by the «number» of the revisionist parties of the capitalist countries that come to meetings — to fairs to receive the promised rewards.

The great contradictions corroding the relations among the revisionists are ever more expressed in the form of underground putches and plots to overthrow one another and in the form of internal criticism in each party.

But all these troubles that have befallen the modern revisionists and in the first place the Soviet revisionists, are being covered up by the latter with the densest possible smokescreen so that neither the members of the revisionist Communist Party of the Soviet Union, nor the Soviet people can see clearly through them. And their propaganda is working precisely in this direction trying to muddle the heads of the Soviet men and women, to make them more inert and more apolitical, to make them live and judge things by some formulas offered to them by the leadership, to make them see no further than their noses and, in case they manage to see something a little further, to make them see them through the glasses of a megalomaniac. By speculating on and purposely inflating what may be a lawful pride of the Soviet citizen as of «being born in the country where Lenin was born», the country «of the first man to reach the cosmos», «of the man who will be the first to go to the moon», etc, the Soviet leaders are seeking to make the Soviet people consider other people like flies, to think that others know nothing, that others are unimportant individuals, therefore, they should

live under their shadow. In order to make people see things with the eye of a megalomaniac, the Soviet leaders need time and again to organise some great spectacle to serve this purpose. For this reason, they are organizing the anti-communist Moscow conference decided upon by the Budapest carnivals.

Can the modern revisionists act otherwise with regard to their parties and peoples? Can the modern revisionists act otherwise in the international communist movement? No, absolutely not.

Modern revisionism is afraid of the party, of the people and of the international communist movement, it is afraid to openly raise problems and to submit them to a serious criticism and a bolshevik analysis by the party, the people and international communism. It is afraid of being badly exposed and totally smashed. The revisionists serve up to their party what is in their interest, prepared, prettified, full of lies, distortions and calumnies. «Why did the Party of Labor of Albania enter into conflict with the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and with the Soviet revisionist leadership?» «Quite simply», the revisionist traitors told the members of their party: «4he leadership of the Party of Labor of Albania and of the Albanian State sold themselves to the western capitalists», and so on, and so forth.

The revisionist cliques in their countries have thrown heavy chains on the political and ideological struggle of the revolutionaries, the Leninist polemics. The modern revisionists are attacking

Marxism-Leninism with all their means and forces, they are distorting it. The Party of Labor of Albania, remaining faithful to Marxism-Leninism and performing its internationalist duty, speaks openly and exposes all these treacheries, that are being committed, with principled courage. It is precisely for this reason that the modern revisionists, jointly with their capitalist allies, attack the Party of Labour of Albania and have enforced their law of silence about the truth which it spreads.

But whatever efforts the revisionists may make, they cannot conceal the rottenness and the out-and-out degeneration of their parties, in the same way as they cannot prevent the destruction of the revisionist front and the failure of the Soviet hegemony over it. No meeting, no get-together whatsoever, be they two-party, five-party or more, such as those which were held in Moscow recently, can bring order to the revisionists herd. The great State chauvinism of the Soviet leaders, their efforts to dominate and subjugate their allies, favor and increase nationalist and centrifugal tendencies on the other side. Just as the struggle among the different groups constitutes one of the main features of the political life inside every revisionist country, the divisions and conflicts among the revisionist countries characterize the modern revisionists, as a basket of crabs.

The present outburst of disputes between the clique of the Soviet revisionists and its revisionist partners, on the one hand, as well as the disputes about the political, economic and military issues

among the cliques of various revisionist countries, on the other, can easily be seen. The contradictions among them are deep and can never be reconciled. In the not distant future we shall witness still greater clashes and disintegration the breadth and depth of which are already quite obvious.

Though the process of further degeneration of modern revisionism in various countries follows the same road and the same aims in general, it does not have identical characteristics in particular. This is due to the specific features of each country where the revisionist cliques are ruling. The analysis of the events in each revisionist country in particular, the forms and methods used by each particular revisionist group against Marxism-Leninism for the degeneration of the Marxist-Leninist parties and the dictatorship of the proletariat, are of special importance, not to be underestimated.

The fight the Marxist-Leninists wage against the revisionists must be waged on a wide front, but they should not forget the particular fight against the particular revisionists, who use tactics which are not identical in attaining the same aim. Modern revisionism has its main common features, it has its identical strategy, but it uses different forms and tactics to which special forms and tactics of struggle must be opposed, for every situation, for every phase of its development, for every country and party in which it appears, seizes power, or takes the downward course.

Such an objective analysis is indispensable and must be made by all the Marxist-Leninist parties,

revolutionary groups and all communists and revolutionaries of every country that have seriously declared war on imperialism and its lackeys — the modern revisionists.

It is in Concrete Actions and Struggle that the Marxist-Leninist Party is Organized, that the Working Masses are Mobilized and Educated for Revolution

The working class in the countries where the revisionists have come to power must become conscious of the socially historic moments through which the world and, especially, their countries are passing. They must realize that they are faced with a great catastrophe and their situation is more complicated and more difficult than that of the proletariat in the countries where capital is ruling. The proletarians of the capitalist countries can see where the enemy hides himself and how he must be fought, while the working class in the countries where the revisionists — these new capitalists who pose as «Marxists» — are ruling, are being deceived, hoodwinked, are being enslaved. This working class which is being placed under the capitalist yoke has not even the right to speak nor the right to strike as their comrades in capitalist countries have. Under the pretext that the workers cannot rise against «the regime of the workers», under the pretext that the dictatorship is «their own dictatorship, that the laws are theirs and thus they have no reason to rise up, to move», the new capi-

talist class in power in the former socialist countries is spending its honey-moon with the western capitalists on those territories where the proletarians and peasants who fought for revolution under the banner of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin have shed rivers of their blood.

At the present stage of rottenness of imperialism we see the importance that the latter have placed on the stratum of the intelligentsia, the technocrats and bureaucrats, we see now that they have succeeded in corrupting a part of this stratum and have placed them in their own service, even in the van of their struggle to dominate the world, to suppress revolution and the national-liberation struggles of the peoples. This corrupted stratum in service of the capital are striving, by all the many means at their disposal, to corrupt, to deceive and neutralize the working class, the main and decisive force opposing capitalism. It is in this way and through this road that capitalism is seeking to lengthen its life-span.

This line is being broadly developed by modern revisionists both where they have come to power and where they have not. The corrupted intellectuals and bureaucrats have become and are becoming their mainstay to realize the transformation of socialist society into capitalist society. They are heading towards the subjugation of the working class, towards the restriction to a minimum of their historic role in revolution and socialism, they are advancing towards their decomposition, corruption and transformation so that they may no longer

be a political force but a mere economic appendage, a means intended not to rule but only to work for others, to produce a little for themselves ana much for the new capitalist bourgeoisie who are being formed, precisely of the stratum of the intelligentsia, the bureaucrats, technocrats and the worker aristocracy.

In the countries where the revisionists are in power they are advancing more rapidly on this road opened up for them by world capitalism. But this general process likewise has its own differences in different revisionist countries which depend on the degree of the development of revisionism in each individual country.

The question may arise: how did this come about, this turning towards the right of a quite important part of the intelligentsia in the Soviet Union and in the other revisionist countries? This turn, we may say, is a protract process taking years, and it has not yet ended, the scales are still swinging. This has occurred, in addition to other things, as a result of. the fact that the party in these countries has not sufficiently taken account of the question of the class ideological uplift of the intelligentsia in two directions. On the one side, while they were teaching ideology in theory they were not taking pains to tell those people, for example, what a pick was. This category of people that had schooling, whether they were sons of workers, employees, collective farmers, were swalloved up by the administration, offices, leaderships. They used to form the «elite», so to speak, of the

proletarian regime, the new proletarian intelligentsia filling the offices, the universities, the deans' offices, the directors offices, theatres, editorial boards etc. These used to become distinguished people, philosophers, artists, writers and they all bore the title of proletarian. Some of them really were and remained as such, but others were degenerating jointly with the administration, for the administration, from a means of the dictatorship of the proletariat, was turning into a monster that dominated, strangled and directed the power of the proletarians at will.

On the other hand, a large part of the intelligentsia went to production, living and working jointly with the working class and the peasantry. They acquired considerable technical skill, to which a special importance was attached, but litte importance was attached to their ideological and political tempering.

In these two domains the bureaucratized «high proletarian intelligentsia», according to the tradition, had occupied the top positions and never thought of yielding them. They felt «very able», «unmatchable in knowledge», destined to lead and direct others, the masses, that is, the working class and the peasantry who «by nature» and «by functions» must only work, while the intelligentsia make the law, or more correctly, distort the proletarian law and use the dictatorship of the proletariat, the party, against socialism and against the party itself.

Thus, in the revisionist countries there are

former proletarians or intellectualized, bourgeoisified, degenerate sons of proletarians, who have lost the class sense, who have occupied positions in the party and the State after a long and complicated process, and now, through the strong apparatus of the party and State Power, they have paralyzed the proletarian Power and the party. As a matter of fact, in the revisionist countries, neither the power of the dictatorship of the proletariat nor the party of the proletariat functions now.

In these circumstances it is indispensable that everywhere our Marxist-Leninist parties and revolutionaries in the world should, in the first place, awaken the working class, open their eyes, arm them and throw them as quickly as possible into revolutionary battle. The proletarian revolution is one of the most serious questions of the life of all mankind and it is, in the first place, a political revolution. It must be firmly led and firmly organized, for it is, without any doubt whatsoever, at any time and in every country a bloody clash between the working class and the capitalist bourgeoisie. Therefore in the forefront of this revolution must be the proletarians and their communist party. Without a properly organized communist party, with clear Marxist-Leninist political, organisational and ideological principles there is no revolution whatsoever, no proletarian revolution can triumph. History does not record a victory under such conditions.

This is one of the questions of principle which the communists and the international working

class must always bear in mind on their revolutionary road. The existence of really bolshevik parties of the Lenin-Stalin type is indispensable to the revolutionary Marxist-Leninists in the world, otherwise revolution cannot be organized and led. To succeed it is indispensable that every communist militant in the world should become acquainted with the respective materials of the classic leaders of Marxism-Leninism about the questions of the proletarian revolution and of the building of the party, and faithfully carry them out in the concrete situation of his own country. All the considerations of the Khrushchev revisionists and the bourgeoisie about these questions, who accuse us of being «Stalinists», «dogmatists», etc, are merely idle talk aimed at leading us away from the real road.

The teachings of Lenin and Stalin, the revolutionary experience of the Bolshevik Party, provide a brilliant example of how the party is built, of how to build the dictatorship of proletariat, of how to build socialism, while everything of the Khrushchevites is to be discarded, exposed, mercilessly fought, for it is precisely they that are turning the Soviet Union into a capitalist country.

The modern revisionists now have in their hands the leadership and the apparatus of the workers' and communist parties as well as the trade unions. They are aware that their main danger comes from the working class, that is why they are striving to keep the workers under guard. The old social-democracy, whose slogans continue to

deceive a part of the working class and keep it attached to its parties, is now allegedly indulging in polemics with the revisionists parties, but in fact it is only a question of dividing among them the crumbs from the capitalist dining table. Today there is no difference whatsoever between the revisionists and the social-democrats. They are all deceivers. They will strive in every way to deceive the working class in order to keep it under their domination and influence.

The revisionist parties, where they are in power, under the «legal» cloak, under the force of «democratic centralism», without democracy in fact, allegedly under the laws of the Power of the «dictatorship of the proletariat», which in reality has been turned into a dictatorship of the new technocratic bureaucracy, bind the communists in heavy chains, while in the capitalist countries the communist and workers' parties which have been converted into revisionist parties are striving to keep the communists under their influence, transforming and breaking down the party norms, making them similar to those of the bourgeois parties, so that their socalled communist have only the membership card but no obligations whatsoever. In a word, he is no longer distinguished from among the masses, he is not of the vanguard.

In these circumstances the imperative task is laid down that the Marxist-Leninists should break the revisionist-social democrat encirclement of the working class, liberate the latter from the bourgeois and reformist ideology, imbue them with

class consciousness, so that they may not lose either their bearings or their characteristic courage. The appraisal in due measure and in the proper way, both in practice and theory, of the role of the working class, and of the work and struggle in their ranks, is of decisive importance. It is from here, and only from here, that they should proceed, and not from a closed and narrow circle of some individual intellectuals or of some individual students.

The working class must close their ranks, organize themselves. They must develop their own leaders from their own ranks, brave, faithful, militant, men of sacrifice, and should not allow hypocritical, talkative elements to take over the leadership and use it for their own career-seeking aims or for the interests of the bourgeoisie. The working class needs tempered, steel-like and intrepid people having a good understanding of principles. They will love such people, they will listen to them and will follow them in grass-root organisations, on the barricades, in strikes and in revolution. It is this way that the new revolutionary cadres will be trained and tempered, it is in this way that the working class and their allies will be won over, it is in this way that the modern revisionists and social-democrats will be exposed, it is in this way that imperialism and capitalism will be fought.

It is along this road that the working class will create their new bolshevik parties, loyal to the glorious revolutionary traditions and to the

building of socialism, dedicated to the cause of Marxism-Leninism and capable of defending it from all external and internal enemies.

Real communists, revolutionaries cannot shrink from this imperative duty. It is true that this requires selfless work and struggle, but they have never feared sacrifices, however great they may have been. There is no war without damage or suffering. The revisionists who have usurped power, of course will not allow the revolutionaries, the bolsheviks to organize themselves freely, to act legally, etc.; they will, for certain, persecute them, jail them, torture them and even murder them. This however does not mean that the communists must give up the struggle, the action. Communists defend their views openly, even before the gallows. They are not afraid, if need be, of coming out into the street to protest, to call together the workers in the factory to speak to them, to expose the traitors at conferences, to write books and distribute leaflets. The Lenin and Stalin bolsheviks were never frightened either by Siberia or the Czarist trials. The Marxist-Leninist party is organized in concrete actions. Through concrete actions the working masses are educated for war and revolution. Out of bold actions come the healthy elements of the working class who will lead them in the struggle to overthrow the revisionist cliques. Through the daily, concrete, revolutionary struggle the bolshevik revolutionaries can and will build their clandestine organisations in the ranks of the working class, of the collective farm pea-

santry and of the Army, of the State Security Service, in the various apparati of the State etc., so as to attack the revisionist clique on a wide front from outside and from inside to bring about their total destruction. The revolutionaries can and must defend themselves from revisionist attacks and make their struggle more effective.

Now the revolutionaries in the countries where the revisionists are ruling, may not be in large numbers within the party itself. But they must learn from the example from the history of the Bolshevik Communist Party of the Soviet Union, from Lenin who, when he was in a minority, being convinced of the correctness of his line, reserved himself the right and exercised it to call upon the working class to join him against opportunism or against the treachery of the various rightwing or leftwing factions.

The proletariat in many countries of the world must reorganise themselves, must guide themselves by their own real Marxist-Leninist ideology, they must launch an armed revolution and smash all the machinery of the capitalist, social-democratic and revisionist bourgeoisie, which are links in the chains of their enslavement. In their resolute struggle and in revolution the world proletariat will also have their allies who, in these revolutionary periods, will better clarify their positions and stands. These allies are awaiting their leader to take the battlefield. It is the battlefield, the drawn sword against imperialism and modern revisionism, that decides, and not the attitude of wait.

and see and of compromise. The latter always causes wavering of the possible and natural allies of the proletariat. The entire policy and the schemes of the social-democrats and modern revisionists jointly with the imperialists and world capitalists are aimed precisely at this.

A special historic responsibility, a particularly great role in the fight against revisionism, is incumbent upon the Soviet working class and revolutionaries who are overtaken by the gravest treachery ever committed towards a people and the greatest danger threatening a great country with a glorious background as is the case of the Soviet Union. Do they not see the great abyss towards which their homeland is heading for? Do they not see what great harm the activity of the Soviet revisionists is inflicting on the international communist movement and on the national-liberation struggle of the peoples? Certainly they see it, and the Marxist-Leninists and peoples of the whole world have confidence that the working class of the Soviet Union, the Soviet collective farmers, people's intellectuals, soldiers and youth will overcome the temporary upheavals caused among them by the revisionists. They will discard the harmful illusions spread by the treacherous Khrushchevite leadership and will come down to the battlefield to overthrow the revisionist clique and to raise again the banner of Lenin and Stalin over the Kremlin and over the whole of the Soviet Union. The great Soviet people will for certain rise up one day and will again shake their powerful shoulders. The

question is that the day should be advanced as much as possible, to cut short their sufferings, and to help also the other peoples who are under the revisionist yoke.

The Soviet bolshevik revolutionaries, as they put it in their programmatic leaflet, have clearly defined their road: «To overthrow the bureaucratic order in the USSR it is indispensable to have an organization of the revolutionaries, it is indispensable to have a bed through which to channel the anger of the people and the popular struggle. And for this we do not have to search long. There lies before us the tested road — the road of the re-shaping of the proletarian party... All those who are prepared to fight against bureaucracy, all those who dearly cherish the great revolutionary victories of our people and the cause of world revolution, must resolutely take this road. The hour has come. From the many and separate cells of the CP(b) of the Soviet Union and up to their merger into a powerful and invincible eruption which will sweep away the bureaucrats, — this is the road that the Soviet communists must traverse. The activities of the cells of the CP(b) of the SU, their slogans and leaflets must develop into a real partisan struggle. The earth should burn beneath the feet of the bureaucrats.»

The Marxist-Leninists, the revolutionaries, the peoples of the whole world believe that the flames of revolution, the flames of bolshevism and proletarian internationalism, despite the efforts of the revisionists, have not yet gone out in the Soviet

Union. They have not only the hope, but also the sure conviction that the Soviet revolutionaries, old and young, will once again blow on these revolutionary flames to burn up revisionism and to give a new splendor to the glorious history of bolshevism, to the immortal revolutionary cause of Lenin and Stalin, of those millions of heroes who effected the October Revolution, who defended their homeland from the Hitlerite hordes and who successfully built up socialism.

THE DEMAGOGY OF THE SOVIET REVISIONISTS CANNOT CONCEAL THEIR TRAITOROUS COUNTENANCE

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

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

Khrushchevite revisionism in the Soviet Union has undergone several stages, in compliance with which its forms, methods and tactics of struggle and action to carry out in practice its anti-Marxist and traitorous course and to camouflage it, have also changed,

The first stage was that of the building up, maintenance and establishment of the betrayal, accompanied with a great and scandalous noise and with a sham «optimism» to distract the minds of the people. It was characterized by the frantic campaign of attacks on J. Stalin, to discredit the

ideas of Marxism-Leninism and the cause of the Bolshevik Party, under the fraudulent pretext of the «fight against the personality cult and its consequences».

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

In the ideological field the line pursued by the Bolshevik Party led by Stalin was the line of the consistent defence and the creative development of Marxism-Leninism in a merciless fight against the enemies and distorters of leninism in the Soviet Union and outside it — against the Trotskysts, Bukharinists, socialdemocrats, Titoites etc., the line of the fight against the pressure and influences of bourgeois ideology and culture, for the implanting and development of socialist ideology and culture, the line of high proletarian partizanship in all the spheres of spiritual life, for the communist education of the working people.

In the political-social field it was the line of the unceasing strengthening of the proletarian party and of its leading role in the whole national life, of the strengthening and consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat, of the alliance of the working class and peasantry, of the friendship of the peoples of the Soviet Union, of the unity of the entire Soviet people around the Party and the power of the Soviets, through a fierce class

struggle against the overthrown exploiting classes and their remnants outside the party and inside its ranks, the line of constant strengthening of the country's defensive power in order to stand up to any possible imperialist aggression.

In the economic field it was the line of the building of socialism with one's own efforts and at fast rates, in conditions of complete capitalist encirclement, and in a life and death struggle against the tide of petty-bourgeois spontaneity, the line of socialist industrialisation and collectivisation of agriculture, of the constant improvement of socialist relations of production, of the impetuous development of socialist production and of the uninterrupted growth of the well-being of the working people.

In the field of international relations it was the line of resolute opposition to imperialism, to its policy of war and aggression, as well as of the exploitation of contradictions in the imperialist camp for its weakening and the strengthening of the positions of socialism, the internationalist line of the powerful and unreserved support for the world revolutionary and liberation movement, the line of fraternal relations of mutual support and aid towards the socialist countries and the fraternal communist and workers' parties, the line of unceasing strengthening of the militant unity of the socialist camp and of the international communist movement on the basis of the principles of Marxism-Leninism and of proletarian internatio-

nalism, in the common struggle for the victory of the cause of socialism throughout the world.

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

The Khrushchevite modern revisionists, who after having taken over the leadership of the party and the state, relied on the great results of the Stalin epoch and used them to spread and consolidate their revisionist and treacherous course, frontally attacked all the Marxist-Leninist princi-

ples which guided Stalin's policy and underlay the tremendous strength of the Soviet Union, which they usurped and appropriated.

In the ideological field the revisionists replaced the ideas and the consistent Marxist-Leninist line of Stalin on all the fundamental questions with the ideas and the anti-Marxist line of modern revisionism. Opportunists and various Trotskyist, Bukharinist and Zinovievist enemies, nationalists, and others, in the Soviet Union were proclaimed as «victims of Stalin» and were placed on the pedestal of «martyrs» and «heroes». The renegade Tito clique in Yugoslavia was rehabilitated and Titoism was proclaimed as a variant of «creative Marxism-Leninism» and of «socialism». In various socialist countries condemned traitors were rehabilitated and revisionist cliques attached to Khrushchev's chariot were brought to power. They launched the slogan of unity with the social-democrats on a national and international scale «in the joint struggle for socialism», and the way was paved for the complete ideological, political and organisational rapprochement and merger of the communist parties with the social-democratic parties. The principle of proletarian partizanship was discarded and, under the slogan of liberalisation and «freedom of creative thought», the revival of all sorts of decadent and anti-socialist trends in the fields of culture, literature and arts was encouraged.

In the political field Khrushchev and his group besmirched and discarded the Marxist-Leninist theory and practice about the class struggle and

the dictatorship of the proletariat, calling it a «Stalinist distortion» and proclaiming the whole historic period of Stalin's leadership a «dark, anti-democratic period, a period of violations of socialist legality, of terror and murders, of prisons and concentration camps». The road was thus opened for the liquidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat and for its replacement with the bureaucratic and counterrevolutionary dictatorship of the new «socialist» aristocracy which was born and was developing, all this being covered with the deceptive slogans of «democratization» and of «restoration of freedom and socialist justice» allegedly «lost and now regained».

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

In the field of international relations the Khrushchevite revisionists proclaimed as «erroneous», «rigid» and «dogmatic» the Stalin foreign

policy line, the line of the blow for blow fight against imperialism and of determined internationalist support for the revolutionary and liberation struggle. They replaced it with the «peaceful coexistence» policy as the general line of the foreign policy of the Soviet state. They trumpetted peaceful coexistence in all directions as a «great discovery», as an «invaluable contribution to the creative development of Marxism-Leninism», and as the «beginning of a new epoch in international relations». Everything — the cause of revolution, of the liberation of the peoples, of the independence and sovereignty of the socialist countries, was subjected to the needs of «peaceful coexistence» and of «peace at any price» with imperialism, especially with U.S. imperialism. This was in fact the line of capitulation to imperialism, of renouncing the struggle against it, of rapprochement and collaboration with it.

The anti-Stalin campaign served the Khrushchevite renegades to pass over to the second stage — to that of the efforts for the strengthening and stabilisation of the betrayal in the economy, policy and ideology, at home and in foreign relations. This is the stage of the codification of the viewpoints of Khrushchevite revisionism and of the large-scale implementation of its policy.

N. Khrushchev and his group completely liquidated the Marxist-Leninist proletarian party, they transformed it into a weapon of the revisionist counter-revolution, they replaced the Leninist norms of party building with revisionist norms and,

finally, they proclaimed it a «party of the whole people». They liquidated the dictatorship of the proletariat and it was proclaimed as a past stage, under the pretext of the transformation of the Soviet State into a «state of the whole people», which is nothing else but a «democratic» mask hiding the counterrevolutionary dictatorship of the new bourgeois class represented by the revisionist renegades. The process of restoration of capitalism in the economy began on a large scale. The proclamation of «profit» as the fundamental criterion and incentive of economic development, the decentralisation of some vital links of the management of the economy, the encouragement of tendencies towards private property, the transformation of socialist property into a means of exploitation of the working people and of ensuring large profits on the part of the leading section of the bureaucratic bourgeoisie, the opening of the doors to the free penetration of foreign capital and, as a consequence of all this, the ever more powerful operation of the laws of capitalist economy, anarchy in production and competition between enterprises, the considerable revival of the black market, profiteering, abuses, graft, etc. — such are some of the fundamental features of the bourgeois degeneration of the Soviet economy. Alongside this, the anti-Marxist course of the Khrushchevite revisionists flung open wide the doors to the irresistible penetration of the decadent bourgeois ideology and culture, to the moral degeneration of the people, and in the first place of the rising generation, to the spreading of the «western way of life».

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

In this period, when Khrushchevite revisionism was still on the rise and had somewhat strong positions, it did not hesitate in many cases to take off its mask, to openly express its viewpoints, trying to place them on a «Marxist-Leninist» theoretical foundation and to justify them with the «new conditions». It was precisely in this period

that the entire revisionist chorus, under the absolute direction of the conductor's baton — Khrushchev's, — was loudly singing of peaceful coexistence, peaceful competition, the peaceful road, of the State and party of the whole people, of the world without weapons, without armies and without wars, when they were openly saying that imperialism and its chiefs have become sensible and peace-loving, that the fate of the peoples will be decided by U.N. resolution, that the Soviet U.S. alliance was the greatest guarantee of world peace, etc., etc.

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

At this ill-famed congress were repeated openly and publicly now the monstrous attacks and calumnies against Stalin. This showed, in the first place, that the feelings of sympathy towards J. Stalin had remained alive among the Soviet people and this greatly worried the Khrushchevite leading clique; in the second place, that this clique was obstinately advancing on its anti-Marxist road, and in the third place, that it needed the «bogy of Stalinism» in order to defeat the ever more resolute resistance

which was rising in the international communist movement against its treacherous line.

But the logic of treachery is such that the more deeply they submerge in the bog, the more it suffocates them. Revisionism was born as a retrogressive trend to save capitalism from its general crisis. But in this role it, itself entered a deep and general crisis from which nothing can save it. The situation for the head of revisionism, for the Soviet ruling clique has become especially grave.

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

The efforts of the Khrushchevite revisionist leadership to impose its revisionist course and its chauvinist dictate on the whole international communist movement failed ignominiously. At a rapid rate the great and irresistible process of differentiation in the communist movement in various countries and on a world scale has developed. The principled and determined attitude of the Communist Party of China and of the Party of Labor of Albania in defence of the immortal principles of Marxism-Leninism, and their consistent fight against

the treachery of Soviet revisionism played the main role in this important historic process. Within a few years tens of new Marxist-Leninist parties and organisations were created which raised high the banner of the struggle against modern revisionism and have taken in their hands the cause of revolution. This is a heavy and irreparable defeat with lethal consequence to the revisionist renegades in all countries.

The ever deeper engagement of the Khrushchevite revisionists on the criminal road of capitalist restoration in the Soviet Union, of counter-revolutionary alliances with imperialism, of subversion and division of the world communist and revolutionary movement, their successive defeats in their domestic and foreign policies, accompanied with serious economic and political difficulties — all this has thrown the Soviet revisionist leadership into a deep, irreconcilable, and ever fiercer contradiction with the Soviet people and with the revolutionary peoples of the whole world.

The contradictions of the Soviet revisionist leadership with the other revisionist groupings have greatly sharpened and these in compliance with the special interests of their national bourgeoisie whose representatives they are, are demanding faster rates of degeneration of the socialist order into an order of bourgeois democracy and greater independence and freedom of action from Moscow. The dominating positions of the Khrushchevite clique of the Soviet Union in the revisionist camp are weakening and being smashed with

every passing day. The clearest testimony to this is the «rebellion» of the Czechoslovak and other revisionists against the dictate of the Soviet leadership and the repeated discrediting failures of the latter in its efforts to organise an international meeting of the revisionist communist and workers parties.

The positions of the revisionist cliques in power, especially the Soviet clique, have been shattered to their foundations. No longer are they in a position to conceal the deep splits and the struggle for power which is taking place ever more fiercely in their fold. The failure and inglorious overthrow of the inspirer and head of the Soviet modern revisionists, N. Khrushchev, were the most obvious expression of the deep crisis and of revisionist instability.

Khrushchev's successors were obliged to change tactics. They discarded into oblivion the noisy slogans and preachings of N. Khrushchev and decided to pass from words to deeds. If the «merit» of the working out of the general line of modern revisionism belongs to N. Khrushchev, to his successors, the Brezhnev-Kosygin clique, belongs the «merit» of the full implementation of this counter-revolutionary line.

But the «cautious» tactics of the Brezhnev-Kosygin clique were incapable of lifting Khrushchevite revisionism from the swamps into which it has submerged. The iron laws of history irresistibly blaze their trail, deepening from day to day

the crisis and difficulties of the revisionist renegades.

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

This policy found its most flagrant expression in the aggression of the Soviet revisionists and their satellites against the Czechoslovak people. This agression entirely tore off the mask of the Kremlin clique. The methods used, beginning with the pressures, blackmail, the Judas kisses in Cerna and Tisu, and Bratislava, and ending with the surprise attack, in the darkness of the night, without any ground whatsoever, be it even as a matter of form, that could justify the brutal intervention with arms, gives this interference its true meaning — an imperialist, fascist aggression.

The strengthening of the aggressive, imperialist, fascist tendencies of the domestic and foreign policies of the revisionist Soviet Union, which is an expression not of the strength, but of the weakness of the Khrushchevite leadership, demands its ideological foundation. The ideological servants of revisionism are now meeting this need. For this purpose, there have been published of late in the Soviet press a series of so-called theoretical articles, full of pseudo-revolutionary demagogy, which are aimed at creating a smokescreen so that the people should not see what is in reality hidden behind it. It is a question of dressing the revisionist treachery with new cloaks at these very critical moments which the Khrushchevite leadership of the Soviet Union is living. Above all, they are striving to justify the complete passage of the Soviet revisionist clique to the fascist dictatorship and methods and to conceal it by the alleged return to Stalin and to his Marxist-Leninist line.

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

It is the duty of the Marxist-Leninists squarely

to expose this deceptive attempt of the Soviet revisionists and to wrest this dangerous weapon from their hands.

The Establishment of the Fascist Military Dictatorship Under the Disguise of Safeguarding the Idea of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat

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

They who come out today with the banner of the defence of the dictatorship of the proletariat are precisely those that have proclaimed it as liquidated in the Soviet Union under the pretext of the transformation of the Soviet State into a «State of the entire people». The Soviet revisionists are now striving to create the illusion that the socalled «State of the entire people» is allegedly «the direct continuation of the State of the dictatorship of the proletariat». This illusion can deceive only the naive, because there is nothing and there can be

nothing, in common between the revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat and «the state of the entire people». The latter, in reality, is the complete negation of the dictatorship of the proletariat, its transformation into something entirely opposite — into a counter-revolutionary dictatorship of the new revisionist bourgeoisie.

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

The Soviet Khrushchevite revisionists, who are today playing with slogans of the dictatorship of the proletariat, are precisely those that have defended and propagandized, with a great noise, the

revisionist theses which advocate the supra class character of the present day capitalist state, and its use as a means for transition to socialism, who deny the necessity of smashing the bourgeois state machine as an indispensable condition for the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat, who deny the leading role of the communist party in the system of the dictatorship of the proletariat without which the latter cannot exist, etc.

The falsity of the whole demagogical noise of the Soviet revisionists, allegedly in defense of the idea of the dictatorship of the proletariat, is quite obvious also in the fact that, as previously, indeed with a still greater intensity, they continue to attack the Party of Labor of Albania and the Communist Party of China for their firm loyalty towards the dictatorship of the proletariat. Just as at the time of the frantic campaign against Stalin and his work, they furiously attack the dictatorship of the proletariat in China and Albania calling it a «bureaucratic-military regime, strangler of freedom and socialist democracy», etc. They especially attack the Marxist-Leninist thesis of our parties that the dictatorship of the proletariat is indispensable till the victory of communism on a world scale, because during this period the class struggle continues at home and in the international arena. There continues the struggle between the two roads — socialist and capitalist, a thesis which has been fully confirmed by revolutionary practice. The most convincing proof of the correctness of this thesis is the very fact of the revisionist counter-

revolution and of restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union nearly 40 years after the triumph of the October Socialist Revolution.

It most clearly follows from all this that in the activity of the Khrushchevites we are by no means faced with a denial of the previous revisionist theses and with a return to the Marxist-Leninist positions on the dictatorship of the proletariat, but with a deceptive attempt to mask with «revolutionary» slogans what is happening in reality in the Soviet Union — the full transition to the methods of fascist military dictatorship. The dressing up of fascism with «socialist» and «revolutionary» phraseology is by no means new. These tactics were used by Hitler in Germany and Mussolini in Italy, in their time.

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

party and for the counter-revolutionary purposes of the revisionists.

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

Therefore, it is precisely against this revolution that all the measures, and the fascist dictatorship of the Soviet revisionist leadership, are directed. But however hard it may try to strangle this revolution through repressive measures and deception, the revolution is irrevocable. The Soviet people will not tolerate the revisionists treachery for long. In the end they will have the final say.

Complete Degeneration of the CPSU Under the Call For the Defense of the Party Principles

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

On the lips of the Soviet revisionist renegades such accusations resound as all-out hypocrisy, with an unprecedented cynicism, for it is precisely they themselves and their allies who, as before, are still advocating, defending and committing these crimes in their own parties.

The Party of Labor of Albania has long since, and more than once, pointed out the complete betrayal of the Soviet revisionist leaders of the teachings of Marxism-Leninism about the proletarian party. But in order to expose the deep-going demagogy of the revisionists that they are allegedly returning to the positions of the defense of these teachings, to the implementation of the Leninist norms of the party, it is necessary that we should once more dwell on some well known facts.

If the Dubcek counterrevolutionaries attacked and purged the Soviet agency — the Novotny counter-revolutionaries whom the Soviet leadership call «the Party's fund of gold», the Khrushchevite counter-revolutionary clique of the Soviet Union in its own country attacked and purged the real revolutionary cadres who were remaining true to the Marxist-Leninist line of the Bolshevik Party and to the ideals of socialism. Under the slogan of the «fight against Stalin's personality cult», or under the pretext of rotation, the Khrushchevite revisionists rode roughshod over the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Seventy per cent of the members of the Central Committee elected at the 19th Congress of the CPSU in 1952 were no longer figuring on the list of the Central Committee

members elected at the 22nd Congress in 1961. Sixty per cent of the CC members who were elected at the 20th Congress in 1956 were no longer figuring on the list of the CC members that were elected at the 23rd Congress in 1966. A still greater purge has been carried out in the lower party organs. For instance, during 1963 alone, more than 50 per cent of the members of the party central and regional committees in the Republics of the Soviet Union were relieved of their functions, while in the city and district party committees three quarters of their members were replaced with others. The purge of revolutionary cadres has been carried out on a large scale also in the State organs, and especially in those of the army and State security.

As to the question of the leading role of the communist party, of the denial of which the Soviet leadership accuses the Czechoslovak revisionists, this role has long since been liquidated in the Soviet Union itself. Of what leading role of the working class revolutionary party in the Soviet Union can we speak when the Khrushchevite revisionists have discarded the Marxist-Leninist line and the proletarian class character of the CPSU? They have forced upon it a treacherous revisionist line in the service of the new Soviet bourgeoisie and of world imperialism, headed by the United States, and have transformed it into a «party of the entire people»! The «party of the entire people» slogan is essentially a denial of the class character in

general, because there are not and there can never be non-class and above-class parties. But denial of its proletarian class character, is a label to conceal its transformation from a revolutionary proletarian Marxist-Leninist party into a counterrevolutionary bourgeois revisionist party.

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

It was precisely the revisionist course of the 20th Congress of the CPSU that paved the way, not only for the degeneration of this party itself, but also for the degeneration of a number of other communist and workers parties in socialist and capitalist countries. It was precisely this counter-

revolutionary course that inspired and encouraged the spreading of all sorts of anti-Marxist viewpoints of the revisionists in various countries about the transition to socialism under the leadership of non-proletarian parties, which indeed do not even call themselves socialist, about unity with the social-democratic renegades through to complete organisational merger with them into a so-called united working class party, about the liquidation of the communist parties and their merging into fronts led by the bourgeoisie, etc. As a result of this revisionist line, the communist parties in many capitalist countries in reality no longer exist as such; they have been transformed into a new variant of the old discredited social-democracy, they have abandoned all revolutionary ideals and are collaborating with the bourgeoisie for the defence of the capitalist order. While in the former socialist countries they have been transformed from working class parties for the building of socialism into parties of the new bourgeoisie for the complete restoration of capitalism.

Pluralism, the many party system, against which the Soviet revisionists are making a noise today, exists not only in Czechoslovakia, but also in many other revisionist countries, and signs are appearing everywhere of the revival and political and organisational activation of other parties to obtain leading and ruling positions in the «socialist state», which is ever more assuming the features of a bourgeois state. These viewpoints are being noisily defended and propagandized also by many

other revisionists in capitalist countries, especially in Italy and France, who are bringing pressure to bear upon their colleagues in the former socialist countries to advance as quickly as possible on this road, to adapt «socialist democracy» as far as possible to bourgeois democracy.

Why then does the Soviet leadership precisely now show itself so worried about the question of the leading role of the party and come out forcefully against pluralism? They do this not only to find additional justification for the legalisation of their aggression in Czechoslovakia. There are other deep reasons. The Brezhnev-Kosygin clique is very much worried about the defence of its dominating position from the great dangers threatening it both inside and outside the party. There is not and there can be no unity in the Soviet revisionist party. Revisionism is certain division. In the Soviet Union as well as in any other revisionist country, there exists the factional struggle for power between the revisionist groups and trends, as is clearly confirmed by N. Khrushchev's overthrow and the other changes in the Soviet leadership. This disintegration process will irrevocably deepen. The course of capitalist restoration in the Soviet Union cannot but lead to the revival of the various bourgeois and nationalist groups. This prepares the objective conditions for the birth, sooner or later, also of the bourgeois many party system. The Brezhnev-Kosygin revisionist clique, with a view to preserving its dominating position, is trying and will try with all its might without hesitating to use

even means of violence, to curb this process. For this purpose, it is trying and it will try, to exploit the tradition of the existence of a single party and of the fight of the Bolsheviks against the factionists and deviators. The Soviet leading clique is opposed to the disintegration of the single party also because of the position of the Soviet Union as a great multi-national State, for this would lead to an internal national division, consequently also to the undermining of the role of the revisionist Soviet Union on the international arena as a great imperialist power.

But above all, the Khrushchevite revisionists are striving to exploit the Bolshevik single party tradition, with which the Soviet communists and the Soviet people have been moulded, to keep them attached to the CPSU in which there remains nothing communist. They are striving to exploit this tradition in order to prevent the organisation of the Soviet revolutionaries and the creation of a new Marxist-Leninist Party in the Soviet Union. Despite the fact that not all the communists and the working class in the Soviet Union see that the present-day Communist Party of the Soviet Union has nothing in common with the Bolshevik Party of Lenin-Stalin, bolshevism is always alive in the Soviet Union and the Soviet Bolshevik revolutionaries will not be defeated in the face of the tragedy which the land of the Soviets is living, but they will restore the great traditions of October Revolution, of the heroic times of Lenin and Stalin. And the only road to this is the re-

creation of the Marxist-Leninist-Stalinist revolutionary party, that must take in its hands the banner of the struggle for the overthrow of the revisionist clique and the restoration of the dictatorship of the proletariat, to turn the Soviet Union back to the road of communism.

The Revisionists Against Revisionism

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

Modern revisionism was born about the time of the Second World War. Its first representatives were Browder in America and Tito in Europe. But due to the struggle of the Marxist-Leninist parties, headed by the Bolshevik Party led by Stalin, neither Browderism nor Titoism could flourish very widely; they were isolated and fully exposed. Modern revisionism was transformed into a major

international trend only after the 20th Congress of the CPSU and due to this ill-famed congress. After this congress Khrushchevite revisionism was developed and raised to a whole system of political, ideological and economic bourgeois viewpoints. But while they now take «anti-revisionist» poses, the Soviet revisionists persist in the entirely revisionist line of the 20th and 22nd congresses. This shows that all their present-day fuss against «revisionism» is a great bluff.

The Soviet leaders accuse the Czechoslovak revisionists of having «discarded loyalty towards principles under the banner of the fight against dogmatism. They advocate the liquidation of the revolutionary convictions, of the foundations of socialist ideology», etc. But is it not the Soviet revisionists themselves who up today have proclaimed that «dogmatism» (meaning Marxism-Leninism) was the main danger; and is it not they themselves who, under the banner of the fight against dogmatism, betrayed Marxism-Leninism, widely spread revisionism, and furiously attacked the Stalin revolutionary line, the Party of Labor of Albania, the Communist Party of China and the other Marxist-Leninist parties? Is it not the Soviet revisionist leaders who, while they throw fireworks against «revisionism», are furiously continuing the fight against the parties which really stand on Marxist-Leninist positions, especially against the Party of Labor Albania and the Communist Party of China, which have waged and continue to wage a consistent, principled and in-

flexible struggle against revisionism? This is another proof exposing the «anti-revisionist» demagogy of the Soviet leadership.

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

When the Czechoslovak revisionists speak of «grave errors in the past», «distortions of democracy and violations of legality» and use them to blacken and undermine the gains of socialism, this, according to the Soviet leaders, is «diabolic tactics» of the enemies of socialism. But did the Khrushchevite clique not pursue precisely these «diabolical tactics» in the Soviet Union? The attacks and calumnies made by the Khrushchevites against the heroic past of the Soviet Union outdid even those of the most rabid imperialist

enemies of the Soviet Union. Nobody has discredited the Soviet Union more than the Khrushchevite clique. The «secret» report of the 20th Congress is a document which is known to everybody and Khrushchev's successors have never, in the slightest, put this document in doubt. Their manoeuvres in publishing some writing or in producing some film showing the great historic role of J. Stalin during the great patriotic war, cannot conceal their out-and-out treachery towards the ideas and the activity of Stalin. They are only a testimony to the fact that Stalin is always alive in the minds and the hearts of the Soviet men and women, and are aimed at throwing dust in the eyes, and at quelling the resistance of the Soviet people towards the Khrushchevite clique which has buried the glorious historic period of the Stalin leadership.

Just as demagogical on the lips of the Soviet revisionist renegades, are their slogans about the necessity of intensifying the struggle against the bourgeois ideology and its efforts for the «erosion of socialist ideology», «against a multiplicity» of socialist ideologies and of socialism as a social order. Today they accuse the Czechoslovak revisionists of having had opened the doors to the flood of western ideology, of making efforts to liquidate the foundations of socialist ideology, of advocating a new model of socialism which is not based on Marxism-Leninism, etc. By rising against these «sins» of the Czechoslovak revisionists, the Soviet newspaper «Pravda» discovered America

for the second time, as it were, pointing out that «there is not and there can be no socialism without the leading role of the Communist Party, armed with the ideas of Marxism-Leninism», that «there can be no other form of socialism since the birth and development of scientific socialism, no «other» socialist ideology which is not based on Marxism-Leninism can exist in our times» (see «Pravda» of September 19 and 22, 1968).

Of what fight against bourgeois ideology can the Soviet revisionists speak while revisionism is nothing else but a manifestation of the bourgeois ideology in theory and practice, while egoism and individualism, the running after money and other material benefits are thriving in the Soviet Union, while career-seeking and bureaucratism, technocratism, economism and intellectualism are developing, while villas, motor-cars and beautiful women have become the supreme ideal of men, while literature and art attack socialism, everything revolutionary, and advocate pacifism and bourgeois humanism, the empty and dissolute living of people thinking only of themselves, while hundreds of thousands of western tourists that visit the Soviet Union every year, spread the bourgeois ideology and way of life there, while western films cover the screens of the Soviet cinema halls, while the American orchestras and jazz bands and those of the other capitalist countries have become the favorite orchestras of the youth, and while parades of western fashions are in vogue in the Soviet Union? If until yesterday

the various manifestations of bourgeois ideology could be called remnants of the past, today bourgeois ideology has become a component part of the capitalist superstructure which rests on the state capitalist foundation which has now been established in the Soviet Union.

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

Or let us take the case of Yugoslavia. In «criticizing» the Yugoslav Titoites, who supported the Dubcek clique and spoke against the Soviet aggression in Czechoslovakia, the Soviet revisionists thought of pointing out that the program of

the Communist League of Yugoslavia is the complete embodiment of the ideology of revisionism. But how does this comply with the other statements of the Soviet leaders who, after having kissed and embraced the Tito clique, proclaimed and continue even today to call Yugoslavia a socialist country? What is this socialism which is allegedly being built in Yugoslavia on the basis of revisionist ideology, which is nothing else but a variant of the bourgeois ideology? Does the Soviet leadership itself not admit by this that socialism can allegedly be built also on the basis of revisionism, that is of anti-Marxism, of bourgeois ideology?

Expressing dissatisfaction with the attitude of the Tito clique towards the Czechoslovak events, the Soviet propaganda accuses the Titoites of being «inspirers and supporters of the Czechoslovak counterrevolutionaries». But the Soviet leaders themselves who, in an entirely arbitrary way, rehabilitated the Tito clique as an «innocent victim», introduced it into the communist movement, proclaimed it as «fighter for socialism» and maintain close ties with it, are they not themselves inspirers and supporters of the inspirers and supporters of the counterrevolutionaries? Thus, they themselves are as much counterrevolutionaries as the Tito clique. After the 1956 Hungarian events, also, the Khrushchevite clique of the Soviet Union undertook a campaign of criticisms against the Yugoslav revisionists, but only as a matter of form, for it had collaborated with them behind the scenes

to bring counter-revolutionary Kadar to power, and as soon as the tension relaxed somewhat the honeymoon started again. This is what will surely happen this time, too. Indeed the tone of the anti-Yugoslav propaganda in the Soviet Union has already greatly diminished. The Brezhnev-Kosygin clique can deceive nobody by its sham criticism of the Tito clique. They are two revisionist cliques which, despite the contradictions they have about the questions of the roads of development of revisionism and of relations between the revisionist countries and parties, belong to a single counterrevolutionary trend — modern revisionism.

The Soviet revisionists have allegedly discovered in Czechoslovakia a «new», «unknown» form of counterrevolution, peaceful or calm counterrevolution. The sin of those who condemned the Soviet intervention in Czechoslovakia as agression, they say, is allegedly the «deep incomprehension of the essence of this new historical phenomenon», as people have been so far accustomed to «imagine counterrevolution only in its armed form, through violence».

Summing up the experience of the revisionist tragedy that happened in the Soviet Union and in other socialist countries where the revisionist cliques are in power, the Marxist-Leninists have long since drawn the conclusion that the danger to the destinies of socialism does not stem only from external imperialist aggression nor only from the armed counterrevolution of the exploiting classes and their survivals, but also from peaceful

bourgeois revisionist degeneration, which is the result of the influence of bourgeois ideology from inside and of the pressure of imperialism from outside.

The first example of peaceful counterrevolution was provided by the Titoites, then this road was 7ursued by the Khrushchevite clique of the Soviet Union and by the cliques of the other socialist countries of Europe in succession. The attempt of the Soviet revisionists to present peaceful counterrevolution as a «new historic phenomenon» which occurred only during the Czechoslovak events, is in reality an attempt, on the one hand, to justify their aggression against the Czechoslovak people and, on the other hand, to camouflage the peaceful counterrevolution which they themselves have carried out in the Soviet Union.

Although the ideologists of the Soviet revisionists speak a great deal of peaceful counterrevolution, they only skirt around this phenomen. They present it in a very simple way, as something directly instigated and organised by the remnants of the exploiting classes and by the agencies of imperialism. In reality, peaceful counterrevolution is a counterrevolution which is carried out from above, by the degenerated and bureaucratized cadres of the very class and party which are in power. And this process of degeneration has its own deep internal and external social-economic causes, in the same way as it has also its own historic and ideologic sources. The Soviet revisionists

do not and cannot make any analysis whatsoever of the causes and sources, because this would mean for them to make an autopsy of themselves. The autopsy of the birth of revisionism has been and will be made ever more fully only by the Marxist-Leninists, by the Bolshevik revolutionaries, who will throw out the revisionist carrion and will purge the whole atmosphere of its bad smell.

With their own words, the Khrushchevite revisionists expose themselves, because if they admit the danger of peaceful counterrevolution even after the liquidation of the exploiting classes, how can they proclaim that «the victory of socialism is complete and final», how can they say what was said in the program of the CPSU approved by the 22nd Congress that «in the countries of people's democracy the social-economic possibilities for the restoration of capitalism have been removed»? One or the other: Either the thesis of peaceful counterrevolution is a bluff or the other thesis that all danger to the destinies of socialism has been removed, is a deception, an attempt to legalize the revisionist treachery, to lull the vigilance and revolutionary action of the communists and the working people.

In contrast with what they have previously advocated, that allegedly with the liquidation of exploiting classes the class struggle also comes to an end and its place is occupied by the political and social-economic unity of society, at present the Soviet revisionists are not opposed to admitting the class struggle even after the liquidation of the

exploiting classes as such, and to oppose also «abstract national unity». There is no end to demagogy. They speak of class struggle, but only in other countries, while they do not utter a single word about the class struggle in the Soviet Union, as if harmony and everlasting peace were reigning there. But what about the struggle which the Khrushchevite revisionists themselves undertook after the death of J. V. Stalin in the Soviet Union; is it not an open expression of the struggle of the class enemies who opened the road to the restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union, to its transformation from a socialist proletarian state into a new bourgeois and imperialist state? This class struggle, but from the positions of the new bourgeoisie and in its interests, is being waged most savagely by the Soviet revisionist leadership against the healthy revolutionary forces both at home and in the international arena, resorting to all the means of the military fascist dictatorship.

Life, facts, the very experience of revisionist treachery show that the class struggle continues, not only after the liquidation of the exploiting classes as such, not only after the victory of socialism, but indeed, for some time, even after the victory of communism on a world scale, as long as the influences of bourgeois ideology continue to exist. Therefore, the complete victory of socialism and communism can be achieved and be guaranteed only when, in addition to other things, there has been achieved the full victory of socialist ideology over bourgeois ideology in every individual country

and on a world scale. And, as long as this struggle continues, the existence of the dictatorship of the proletariat is indispensable, as the main weapon of the class struggle of the proletariat for the destruction of all the class enemies and for the building of socialism and communism.

The whole demagogy of the alleged fight against revisionism and of the alleged return to the Leninist-Stalinist positions is needed by the Soviet revisionist leadership to conceal its complete transformation into a social-fascist clique.

But the Soviet leaders, due to their very position as a revisionist clique, cannot go very far in the socalled «fight against revisionism», for such a thing is fraught with extremely dangerous consequences unexpected and undesirable for them, Therefore, at the same time they are furiously continuing their fight against revolutionary Marxism-Leninism and the parties remaining faithful to it, especially against the Communist Party of China and the Party of Labor of Albania. This most clearly shows the falsity of their demagogical fuss about the «fight against revisionism».

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

Social-imperialism Disguised as Proletarian Internationalism

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

It is known that the Khrushchevite revisionists started their treachery with capitulation and concessions to imperialism and with renouncing the fight against it; while the liquidation of the foundations of socialism and the restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union, its transformation from a socialist state into a capitalist state of the new type, created the economic, social and class premises for its transformation into a great imperialist power in the international arena, and for the counterrevolutionary alliance with U.S. imperialism. The Soviet Union has become an imperialist power which seeks to have its zones of influence, which is striving to enslave and exploit the peoples of other countries, which, in alliance with U.S. imperialism, is striving for the establishment of the world domination of the two great powers.

But if, until recently, Soviet imperialism was trying to preserve and extend its zone of influence, to dictate its will to others through -peaceful means- — through economic penetration and subjugation, through political and ideological influence and pressure, through military and eco-

nomic alliances, etc., now it has passed over to open fascist methods, to the use of armed violence, to direct military aggression even against its own allies. Precisely this is the new feature in the evolution of Soviet imperialism. The most typical example in this direction is the Soviet fascist military aggression in Czechoslovakia.

By what they did in Czechoslovakia, the Soviet revisionists quite evidently showed that now for them there do exist neither friendship, alliances and treaties, freedom and independence, nor sovereignty of peoples. The only «principle» existing for them is the right of the more powerful to make the law everywhere, while all other principles are violated, trampled under foot, placed under the heel, through arms and bloodshed.

To justify this cynical and fascist policy, the Soviet revisionists are now seeking to convince none other than their own allies from the revisionist camp that the independence, self-determination, sovereignty of the parties and peoples of various countries have no value whatsoever, that they must submit to the interests of the so-called socialist community, in other words, to the interests of the chauvinist great power of the Soviet Union, that for the sake of these interests this power can violate these principles when, where, and in what way, it likes.

The demagogy of the Soviet aggressors, that by attacking and occupying Czechoslovakia with arms they carried out their internationalist duty towards the Czechoslovak people and towards the cause of

socialism and the world revolutionary movement, inasmuch as they allegedly saved the victories of socialism in Czechoslovakia from the danger of counterrevolution, can hoodwink nobody. How can they defend the gains of socialism in another country who have destroyed socialism in their own country, how can they avoid the danger of counterrevolution who themselves are the head of counterrevolution? We showed above that all those things of which they accused the Czechoslovak revisionists in order to justify their aggression, the Soviet revisionists have done and are doing themselves. Therefore all the «arguments» of the Soviet revisionist leadership are empty and false. Their actions have no political, ideological, moral or legal foundation whatsoever.

Fully defeated, also, was the «legal» argument of the Soviet revisionists to justify their aggression in Czechoslovakia. The -famous- letter of some Czechoslovak personalities allegedly addressed to the Soviets and to some other Warsaw Treaty countries «to ask for their aid in suppressing counterrevolution in Czechoslovakia» was absolutely proved to be a fraud. Nobody came out to confirm being the author of that letter. The Soviet troops were not invited either by the Czechoslovak Government, or by the President of the Republic, by the parliament or the Central Committee of the Party. Even Hitler in his time acted with more tact: as least be obtained by force the signature of the President Hacha, when he occupied Czechoslovakia.

As to the Czechoslovak people and the healthy socialist forces in Czechoslovakia, they had no reason to address themselves for aid to the Soviet revisionist renegades and their allies, for the defence of the gains of socialism from the Czechoslovak revisionist renegades, for both the Soviet revisionist clique and the Novotny or Dubcek revisionist cliques, are advancing, all of them, on the same anti-Marxist and anti-socialist road. And life showed, and confirms through numerous facts with every passing day, that despite the capitulation of the Dubcek clique, the Czhechoslovak people met the armies of the Soviet revisionists as occupiers and, in various forms, they resisted and are resisting occupation. They are ever more clearly realizing that the actions of the Dubcek clique which overthrew the Novotny clique, were a counterrevolution within the counterrevolution, just as the Soviet military intervention was the suppression through the force of arms of the internal Czechoslovak counterrevolution by the Soviet external counterrevolution.

As an important instrument for the implementation of its imperialist policy, the Soviet leading clique is using the Warsaw Treaty military alliance. This treaty, which has changed its nature from top to bottom, from a treaty of peace into a means of war, from a defensive treaty into a weapon of aggression, is being used by the Soviet leading clique also against the very participants in this treaty. In reality, with the exception of Rumania, all the other member countries of this ill-famed

treaty are under the control of the armed force of Soviet revisionism. The so-called «socialist family» or «socialist community» resembles a concentration camp, a prison of peoples, Soviet troops are stationed everywhere and they make the law in these countries. In these conditions, the freedom, independence, equality and sovereignty of the peoples, have been turned into empty slogans which are used to deceive and lull the peoples.

But the appetite of Soviet imperialism goes beyond the limits of the zone which is directly under its influence. It is openly threatening the other Balkan countries, especially the People's Republic of Albania; it is committing open military provocations against the People's Republic of China, and, in close collaboration with the U.S. imperialists, the Japanese militarists, with the Indian, Indonesian, and other reactionaries, it is preparing the big anti-China plot. The Soviet revisionist rulers, in alliance and vying with the U.S. imperialists, are extending the zone of action of their military fleet, they have led their warships to the Mediterranean to threaten the People's Republic of Albania as well as to extend their imperialist grip at the expense of the Arab people and of the peoples of other countries.

This typical imperialist policy of the Soviet revisionists cannot be concealed. It cannot help meeting with the determined opposition and resistance of all the peoples who cherish the ideals of freedom, independence, sovereignty, revolution and socialism. This policy is ever more exposing and

isolating the Soviet leading clique before the peoples of the whole world.

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

The recent events, especially those in Czechoslovakia, are a catastrophic defeat for the whole of modern revisionism, which most obviously indicates its complete degeneration, especially of the head of modern revisionism — the Khrushchevite clique of the Soviet Union, into a social-fascist and social-imperialist clique. Nobody should allow himself to be deceived by the maneuvres to conceal

this degeneration with demagogy, with the slogans of «internationalism». It is the duty of all the real Marxist-Leninists and revolutionaries to expose and smash this dangerous manoeuvre. In the first place, the Soviet people themselves must rise with determination against this imperialist aggressive course and should not allow the Khrushchevite renegade clique in power to use Soviet men and women, the Soviet armed forces, for the realisation of its imperialist and oppressive aims. One should not forget for a single moment the great teaching of Marx that the people of a country that oppresses other peoples are not and can never be free.

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

Analysis of the facts shows that there can be no question of any moderation of the revisionist positions of the Soviet renegade leadership. All its efforts to create the impression that it is allegedly returning to the old Stalinist positions are a big bluff. There should be no illusion whatsoever that the events in Czechoslovakia, in Poland, and the activation of the liberal extremists in the Soviet Union have opened the eyes of the Soviet counter-revolutionary clique and brought them down to earth. All this has only caused it to change its tactics, to adopt still more demagogical tactics to

establish and consolidate the full fascist military dictatorship of revisionist capital and to disguise it.

The Brezhnev-Kosygin clique places great hopes in achieving this success inside the Soviet Union, where there is brutal oppression, a terrible censorship, where the communists and people have been educated merely to repeat and not to do a thorough-going study of the content of the formulas and slogans, and where, finally, the cult of megalomania of the «great and powerful socialist state» continues to develop. It hopes to achieve this also by speaking in a low voice about a «return to the Stalin epoch», to satisfy and deceive thereby the apolitical, the sentimental and the naive.

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

duty towards their own people and international communism. And the sooner they do this, the better it will be.

The demagogy of the Soviet leading clique for an alleged return to the revolutionary positions of the Stalin epoch, must be exposed also outside the Soviet Union, where it could be established and used by the other revisionist cliques. But, on the other hand, it is obvious that these tactics will sharpen the contradictions in the camp of the revisionists, will lead to the division of the revisionist parties into pro-Soviet and anti-Soviet groups. Indeed, right now the Novotnyists in Czechoslovakia, the Vermeershists and Thorezists in France, are being called «tough», «Stalinist», because they are supporters of the Soviet revisionists, their agents. The Soviet leading clique is giving and will give to these elements, its whole support so as to establish through them, its control and shattered rule over the other revisionist parties. This cannot avoid meeting the resistance of the other revisionist elements, which will further deepen the division in the. revisionist camp.

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

As to the countries which are ruled by the

Soviet revisionists, and where they make the law through the military forces they have stationed there, this manoeuvre can hardly serve because the strengthening of the imperialist-fascist aggressive character of the policy being pursued by the Soviet leading clique cannot help arousing the ever more resolute indignation and protest of the peoples of these countries. Indeed, even the revisionist Quislings who are necessarily obeying the Soviet clique, for their ruling positions have been built on sand, do not want them to undertake a manoeuvre of an alleged return to the Stalin epoch, be it even as a bluff, because, on the one hand, this would attach them still more closely to the Soviet chariot, from which they want to be as independent as possible, and on the other hand, such a manoeuvre would undermine their foundations, in asmuch as they came to power precisely under the banner of the fight against Stalinism. Therefore, here too, divisions will be further sharpened and deepened, inside the revisionist parties as well as between the ruling revisionist cliques and the Soviet leadership. The submission of the revisionist Quislings to the Soviet fascist military dictatorship is temporary. There will be fierce disputes and blows between them up to armed clashes.

All these things create favorable conditions for the revolutionary struggle of the peoples and the Communists of these countries, to expose the local revisionist Quislings as well as the Soviet occupiers, to drive the occupation armies out of the country, and to overthrow the revisionist renegade

cliques in power. The only correct road for the attainment of those aims is the creation everywhere of Marxist-Leninist parties, and the organisation of armed revolutionary struggle.

The Party of Labor of Albania, which has always consistently abided by the Marxist-Leninist line and principles, and has waged and is waging a resolute fight against modern revisionism headed by the Soviet renegade leadership, will mercilessly unmask the present dangerous, pragmatist tactics of the Brezhnev-Kosygin clique for an alleged return to the revolutionary positions of Stalin. It has not and it will never allow the name and the great Marxist-Leninist revolutionary activity of Joseph Stalin to be besmirched by the Khrushchevite revisionists, or to be used by them as a camouflage to conceal their revisionist treachery. Stalin belongs to the Marxist-Leninists, to the proletarian revolution.

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