

INFORMATION BULLETIN

OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE PARTY OF LABOR
OF ALBANIA

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The History of the Party of Labor of Albania, a text book prepared by the Institute of Marxist-Leninist Studies and published in accordance with a decision taken by the Central Committee of the Party of Labor of Albania, was put into circulation on November 8, 1968, the 27th anniversary of the founding of the Party of Labor of Albania.

GENERAL CONCLUSIONS DRAWN FROM THE BOOK «THE HISTORY OF THE PARTY OF LABOR OF ALBANIA»

«The History of the Party of Labor of Albania» is an immense treasure of accumulated experience in carrying out Marxism-Leninism in a creative and resolute way by a country under bondage striving to regain its freedom and national independence and to establish its People's Power, by a backward, semi-feudal country striving to build socialism under a geographical encirclement by hostile States.

In summing up this experience we draw these main general conclusions:

1. — The Party of Labor of Albania was founded by the Albanian communists led by Comrade Enver Hoxha on the basis of the workers' and communist movement. It came into being as an essential historical necessity to lead the war for the national liberation and social emancipation of our people.

The Party of Labor of Albania was set by the amalgamation of the Albanian communist groups into a new-type revolutionary party of the working class based on Marxist-Leninist organizational and ideological lines. The fusion was achieved in the common battle of the communists of the various groups against the pseudo-Marxist political trends and organizations, against alien views within the groups themselves

and by placing the general interests of the communist movement above the narrow particular interests of the groups. The fusion was cemented when a single general line based on scientific Marxism-Leninism was worked out and adopted.

The Party of Labor of Albania was formed when the country was a backward agrarian country. The creation of a Marxist-Leninist party of the Albanian working class was not hampered by the fact that this class was small in number, scattered, not formed into an industrial proletariat and had not reached a high level of organizational and political maturity. Under these conditions the school youth as well as the workers' movements served as a powerful support for the formation of the Party. The Albanian secondary school youth as well as most of the University undergraduates were among the first to embrace communist ideas and they stood at the forefront of the anti-fascist democratic movement. With the communists in the lead and supported and inspired by the working class, they became the disseminators of the Marxist-Leninist ideas of combative patriotism among the people's masses, playing in this way an important role in founding the Party and in propagating its revolutionary line.

The Party of Labor of Albania was the first party of the Albanian working class and remained to the end its only party.

2. — The triumph of the people's revolution and the building of the economic basis of socialism were achieved under the leadership of the working class. The complete construction of socialist society is being achieved also under its leadership.

The leadership of the working class brought about the complete triumph of the national independence of the Albanian people, it did away with the economic dependence of the country on foreign powers, it ensured the uninterrupted development of our revolution in the political, economic and social domains and it safeguarded the achievements of this revolution.

The Albanian working class accomplished this historical mission through the role of leadership of the Party of Labor of Albania, a proletarian revolutionary party as concerns the theory that blazes its ways, the organizational principles on which it is built and its political program.

The Party of Labor of Albania has always preserved intact its proletarian character and has faithfully realized the leadership of the working class at all stages and in all the domains of the life of the country.

Our Party has imbued the leading cadres and all the communists, including those who do not come from the working class, with the proletarian ideology, with the spirit of loyalty to the cause of the proletariat and socialism, with the sentiment of irreconcilable battle against the enemies of the class. Their revolutionary proletarian tempering has been effected in the fight against the fascist invaders, against the exploiting classes of the country, against imperialism and revisionism, in the revolutionary activity for national liberation and social emancipation, for socialist construction and defense of our homeland.

The Party has not allowed itself to fall a victim to bureaucracy, to the sloth of routine and, as a consequence, it has developed along revolutionary proletarian lines. The Party of Labor of Albania has considered its systematic fight against the bureaucratization of cadres, of its leading organs and apparatuses, as a decisive condition to ward off the creation of any bourgeoisified stratum of people who would aim, in the name of «Marxism-Leninism» and for the sake of the «Party», at removing the leadership of the working class and at establishing their domination over it and its party.

Through its own party, the Albanian working class has succeeded in overcoming all obstacles to accomplishing its role of leadership, obstacles due to the backward agrarian and semi-feudal state of the country, to its incomplete development as a class, to its inefficient organization, to the low ideological, economic and cultural level of the country during the period of the National-liberation War and the early years following liberation.

During the period of socialist construction, it grew in numbers, it was formed as a new industrial working class, it developed from the technological and cultural point of view, it gained major political and ideological maturity and a high level of organization. This strengthened further its role of leadership over the whole life of the country and its role as an organizer of socialist and communist construction.

Following the radical change in the structure of classes and the growth and tempering of the working class, our Party swelled its ranks with members from the best elements of this class.

3. — The Party of Labor of Albania has been able to play its role of leadership in the revolution and the socialist construction of the country because it has worked out and continually applied its revolutionary general line. This line has always complied with the political, economic, social and cultural requirements of the masses, with the vital interests of the people and of the country, with the interests of socialism on a national and international level.

In working out its political line the Party of Labor of Albania has been based: on the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism; on a scientific analysis of internal and external conditions, of the ratio of class forces of the country and on an international level; on the revolutionary experience accumulated within the country; on the experience of the international communist movement. On this basis it has succeeded in detecting and sizing up aright the basic contradictions at the various historical stages of the revolution and to map out aright its programmatical aims and tasks.

In working out its political line our Party has always proceeded with measured steps, it has neither hurried nor lagged behind in taking decisions, it has not confined itself within the limits of national peculiarities nor has it copied and made automatic use of foreign revolutionary experience. It has always realized that the principles of Marxism-Leninism and the revolutionary experience of the other fraternal communist parties alone do not offer a complete and ready-made political line. In order to achieve this, it is necessary for the party of the working class to accumulate its own major experience which is acquired in revolutionary practice. Therefore, at the beginning of each historical stage the Party of Labor of Albania has succeeded in laying out only the groundwork of its own general line and then has enriched and completed it in the process of revolution and socialist construction.

The correctness of the political line of our Party has, likewise, been corroborated by the revolutionary practice. In order that this line may always be correct and revolutionary, the Party of Labor of Albania has never hesitated

to make improvements and amendments in all cases when the objective national and international conditions have changed, when specific decisions have not been carried out in practice, when forms and methods borrowed from abroad have turned out to be incompatible with our national reality or alien to Marxism-Leninism. It has never hushed up its mistakes and shortcomings, it has maintained a critical stand towards them by correcting them in due time and not allowing them to become incorrigible and it has not tolerated the emergence of anti-Party trends among its ranks.

There are no serious backups and zigzags in the tactics the Party of Labor of Albania has pursued at different stages. This is due to the fact that the revolution has not had any serious ebbs caused by objective conditions because the Party has made no serious mistakes of principle.

The more experience the Party of Labor of Albania has accumulated from its own revolutionary practice and that of the laboring masses the more it has appropriated the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism and the deeper it has delved in mastering them in the heat of this practice, the better it has been able to sum up its experience and that of the people, the more in detail and correctly it has been able to work out its line of action, the more it has been able to find its bearings in complicated situation, the fewer and less frequent mistakes it has made and the sooner it has corrected them.

4. — The general line of the Party has been successfully carried out first of all because it has been embraced by the broad masses of people who have made it their own, and the masses together with the Party and under its guidance have striven with might and main to put this line into practice. The Party has drawn the masses to itself convincing them of the correctness of its political line, acquainting them with the objectives of the war, making them aware of the difficulties and obstacles, of the sacrifices needed to reap victory. Our Party has always attached primary importance to its ties with the masses.

The close ties of the Party with the masses, the latter's conviction of the correctness of the Party's political line, the transformation of the Party line into the line of the masses have become a reality not only because this line has complied with the requirements and interests of the people

and of socialism but also because in carrying out this line in practice our Party has always pursued a practical revolutionary course.

In order to persuade the masses of the people, to establish stable ties with them and to mobilize them for work and battle, the Party has resorted to real, tangible, clear-cut and combative agitation and propaganda work, to differentiated political work on a large scale through various forms of the communist and patriotic education of the masses.

Hand in hand with the work of agitation and propaganda, in its revolutionary practice our Party has always abided by the principle: words should tally with deeds. The educational work of the Party has always been accompanied with actions, with the personal example of the communists, with their stand at the forefront of battle and work. As a consequence, the conviction in the political line of the Party has come also from the experience of the masses themselves.

In all the decisions it has taken at every stage of its activity, our Party has consulted the masses, has encouraged criticism and the free expression of views by the masses, it has listened attentively to their demands and proposals, it has always upheld the high moral and political assets of the people. It has constantly drawn lessons from the rich revolutionary experience of the masses and has taught the masses.

The ties of the Party with the masses have been built on a sound organizational basis. Only those with organized masses are real and stable ties. The Party of Labor of Albania has set up several political and economic organizations of the masses to serve as links binding the Party to the masses, as powerful levers to put the political line of the Party into effect. The programs and activity of these organizations have always had the political line of the Party at their roots.

A very important aspect of the revolutionary practice of the Party to maintain and strengthen its ties with the masses and to keep the Party itself from deteriorating under the blows dealt by the enemies of the class, is its uncurbing revolutionary stand towards the many hardships it has had to cope with. Our Party has trained itself and the people's masses to cope with the most difficult and complicated situations which are bound to arise along the path of revolution. As a consequence, it has never been caught unawares

by the critical situations set up by the enemy. In such situations our Party has never lost its bearings, it has not been seized by panic nor has it succumbed to dejection and inaction, it has not lost confidence in its forces and in the forces of the people. It has not lost heart because of drawbacks it may have incurred by enemy blows. At all critical moments the Party has acted wisely, coolly and boldly, it has laid bare the real situation to the masses, it has appealed to them and has firmly relied on them and at all times it has come off victorious.

In critical situations the Party has maneuvered with elasticity but it has never lost sight of its main objective and has never deviated from the principles of Marxism-Leninism.

It is under critical situations that the stability of the ties of the Party with the masses has passed its test and these ties have been further strengthened.

5. — Another Marxist-Leninist principle which the Party of Labor of Albania has carried out in its revolutionary activity is always putting its proletarian politics in command when solving its political, economic, cultural, technological, military and other problems. It has always sized up its activities and attitude from the class positions, of what benefit they are to the people, to revolution, to socialism on a national and international level, to the present and, particularly, to the future.

This has helped the Party to grasp more easily the main links in the great number of issues, to get the right bearings in complicated circumstances. This has saved it from falling into grave mistakes of principle, to correct its shortcomings and weaknesses on time and to always forge ahead along the straight Marxist-Leninist path.

The principle of placing proletarian politics in command is connected also with the principle of self-reliance which our Party has continually and persistently applied ever since it was founded.

Under the leadership of our Party our people did not beg the imperialist and home rulers to make a gift of freedom to them nor did they wait for this freedom and independence to be brought to them by others from abroad. In the same way, they did never condition the building of socialist society, the development of their economy and culture as

well as the protection of the achievements of revolution from foreign aid alone.

During the National-liberation War, the principle of self-reliance was embodied in the Party's slogan: «freedom is not offered as a boon but is won by bloodshed and sacrifice». Following the war it was expressed in the revolutionary determination and readiness of the people to build socialism under whatever circumstances and conditions by mobilizing all our inner resources, manpower, material and financial means.

6. — The Party of Labor of Albania has ensured the uninterrupted development of our revolution.

This revolution has passed through three main stages: the stage of the anti-imperialist democratic victory of national independence and of the establishment of People's Power; the stage of building the economic basis of socialism; the stage of completing the building of socialist society which is under way. All these three stages are integral parts of one single revolution.

The three stages have developed not only without a break but also interlaced with one another. One stage has set up the premises for the coming one.

At the first stage, hand in hand with carrying out the tasks of an anti-imperialist and democratic character we did away also with bourgeois political rule, a task this of a socialist nature. At the second stage, hand in hand with carrying out tasks of a socialist character, we carried out also economic and social tasks of a democratic character which could not be carried out during the first stage.

At the second and third stages, hand in hand with building and perfecting socialist relations there appeared also the beginnings of communist relations.

One predominating task has been tackled at each stage of our revolution: at the first stage — that of a political character; at the second stage — that of an economic and social character as regards ownership of the means of production; at the third stage — that of an ideological and cultural character.

The achievements of our revolution in the political, economic and social domain will not be guaranteed and the danger of the restoration of capitalism will not be removed unless victory is achieved in the ideological and cultural domain as well. Revolution in the domain of ideology and

culture aims at smashing bourgeois ideology, at setting up communist ethics everywhere and in all directions, at warding off the danger of placing revisionism in power and re-establishing capitalism. Hand in hand with developing the revolution in the domain of ideology and culture, we should continue it in the political, economic and social domain as well. It is only the uninterrupted development of socialist revolution in all fields, at the grassroots and in the superstructure, that leads to the building of communist society.

The uninterrupted and victorious development of revolution in Albania is guaranteed by these main factors: by the indivisible leadership of the revolutionary Party of the working class at all the stages of revolution, by our Party's strict application of the general laws of revolution conformable to the specific objective and subjective conditions created along the process of development of this revolution.

The Party of Labor of Albania has assured the triumph of revolution above all by carrying out in a revolutionary way three key tasks, namely, by joining the people's masses into a single front around the Party; by organizing the armed uprising to overthrow the old regime, creating the people's armed forces and training all the people to stand guard on our achievements and by establishing the dictatorship of the proletariat and perfecting it all along.

7. — Dhe Democratic Front (a direct descendent of the National-liberation Front) has been all along a powerful weapon in the hands of the Party of Labor of Albania to attain the political union of the broad masses of the people around itself, to mobilize them for struggle and work, to bring about victory.

Through the Front our Party has succeeded in uniting the classes, the people of all the walks of life and individual groups and persons — allied with the working class — into a major political organization at the various stages of the revolution. Through the Front it has become possible to leave none of these allies, particularly, those who are not included in the roll call of the other mass organizations like the Youth Union, the Women's Union and the Trade Unions, outside the influence of the Party's proletarian policy. Through the Front our Party has succeeded in establishing and consolidating its ties with the broad masses of the people so that it may better exercise its proletarian leadership in all fields.

The Front has been the widest political prop of the Party and the People's Regime. The moral and political unity of the people round the Party has been embodied in it.

The Democratic Front was set up and remained all along a voluntary union of the rank and file and not a coalition of political parties.

At all its stages it has had the alliance of the working class with the laboring peasantry under the leadership of the working class at its roots. The laboring peasantry has been its widest base.

The Party of Labor of Albania has continually been the only leading force of the Front and the only political party in it.

Real bourgeois political parties did not exist in Albania nor were any such parties formed after the founding of the Communist Party of Albania. The Party of Labor of Albania was not against the creation of other anti-fascist parties and against collaborating with them in the matter of organizing the war against invaders if such parties would have been founded.

But it fought and smashed such political organization as the «Balli Kombëtar» (= «National Front») and «Legaliteti» which were formed by the reactionary landlords and the bourgeoisie sponsored by the Italian and German invaders and which tried to destroy our Party and the Front and to halt the victory of our people's revolution. Our Party frustrated also the attempts of the reactionary landlords and bourgeoisie to set up reactionary political parties after the war sponsored by the U.S. and English imperialists with the purpose of overthrowing the People's Regime.

The historical fact that there have not been other political parties in the country save the Party of Labor of Albania has been a very beneficial phenomenon for the working class, for the people, for the revolution and socialism in Albania. This has made it easier for the party of the working class to carry out its mission as a leader of the revolution at all its stages better.

With the Party of Labor of Albania as the sole political party in the country, it has become easier for the broad masses of the people to exercise socialist democracy after the triumph of the people's revolution.

The Party of Labor of Albania has expressed and championed not only the interests of the working class but also

those of the laboring peasantry, of all the Albanian people united in the Democratic Front, viewing these interests from the prism of socialism.

The Party of Labor of Albania has always viewed the union of the people in the Democratic Front as a union of classes, strata and persons which have no antagonistic contradictions, which are bound by common interests and purposes at one or more definite historical stages. This union has been set up and consolidated in the battle for freedom, national independence and socialism, in the irreconcilable battle against the internal and external enemies of the class.

Our Party has fought, on one hand, against sectarian manifestations — cases of confounding persons of the people with enemies, of considering the non-antagonistic contradictions among the people as antagonistic, of lacking patience in dealing with persons of the people who are not politically enlightened. On the other hand, it has fought against opportunist trends — cases of lack of vigilance towards the enemies of the class or of slackening the class struggle within the Front — against the inclination of opportunist elements not to uphold the complete ideological, political and organizational independence as well as its role of sole leadership in the Front.

This fight has been indispensable in order to preserve and keep strengthening the union of the people in the Front.

8. — Revolution won in Albania through the armed uprising.

In our specific conditions this uprising could not be a single and sudden stroke. The development of the revolution was a long process beginning with anti-fascist demonstrations and minor military actions which grew step by step the general uprising of the people.

The organization of the armed uprising required 'sine qua non' the training of the people's national-liberation army which would be capable of smashing the armed forces of the enemy, which would destroy their state apparatus, which would liberate the country from the invaders and which would assure the establishment of people's rule and become the protector of this regime. In order to fulfil such tasks it was essential that this people's army should be organized as a regular army of the people and of the new Albanian State.

The armed uprising and the setting up of the people's armed forces passed through three main phases:

At the first phase, the groundwork was laid for a general armed uprising and for the organization of a regular national-liberation army. At this phase there were set up guerrilla units, regular partisan groups and battalions, territorial groups of volunteers for self-defense, and a general moral and political work was done with the masses of the people with a view to preparing them for an armed uprising. Partisan detachments liberated whole regions from the invaders and turned them into sound bases for partisan warfare.

At the second phase the fighting turned into a general armed uprising, the partisan groups and battalions were organized and formed a centralized National-liberation Army led by a general staff. The military power was likewise set up behind the lines. And so the people's regular army was set up.

At the third phase, the general uprising of the people led to driving the invaders away and to the complete liberation of the country, to the annihilation of the reactionary organizations and their armed forces, tools of the invaders, to the complete destruction of the state apparatus of the invaders and traitors. At this phase, the National-liberation Army was turned all of it into a regular army of the people and of the Albanian State of People's Democracy.

The uprising was inspired and began in urban centers. When it became more widespread, its center of gravity moved to the countryside. The rural areas became the main base of the uprising and the peasantry its main force. At the same time the uprising gained momentum also in urban centers. The first to be liberated was the rural areas which served as a starting point for the liberation of the urban centers and of the whole country. Nevertheless, the urban centers remained all along the inspirers and directors of the entire uprising.

Partisan warfare was the main form of armed fighting. Partisan military operations stood out for their offensive and uninterrupted character, for their skilful maneuvering with quick and repeated movements, for their surprise attacks, for the great initiative of its commands at all levels, for a perfect utilization of terrain. The masterful use of the tactics of partisan warfare, the high morale of the fighters, the support and direct participation of the people's masses in

the fighting neutralized and surpassed the numerical superiority of the enemy and especially of their military technique, spared the forces of the people's army and inflicted losses on or did short work of the enemy.

The people's armed forces which brought about the triumph of our revolution, served as a powerful and irreplaceable support for its uninterrupted and victorious development in all domains, for defending its achievements from the hostile intentions and activities of the internal reactionary forces, of the imperialists and modern revisionists. The people's army is one of the most important weapons of the dictatorship of the proletariat. The organs of State Security are the vigilant eye of the dictatorship.

With the consolidation and improvement of political power in the process of building socialism in the country, the armed forces perfected their organization, their armaments and military technique, their political training and military potential. The socialist State and the people have spared nothing for strengthening and modernizing the people's armed forces all along.

The Party of Labor of Albania has continually seen to it that our armed forces maintain and intensify their deeply popular character, their ties with the people, their political and ideological tempering and their being guided by our Party.

It is not only the stationary armed forces that stand guard over the achievements of our revolution but all our people in arms as well. The Party of Labor of Albania has given full play to the Marxist-Leninist principle of equipping the people with weapons, of training them systematically in all-round military preparedness to defend our socialist Fatherland. This principle is clearly expressed by the Party's motto «build socialism by holding the pick in one hand and the rifle in the other».

9. — The people's regime in Albania came into being during the war for national liberation as a dictatorship of the revolutionary democratic forces. It was established by destroying the political rule of the invaders, landlords and the reactionary bourgeoisie. Before the complete liberation of the country the problem of power was solved in favor and to the benefit of the revolutionary forces. Immediately following the liberation it began to fulfil the functions of the

dictatorship of the proletariat in the form of the State of People's Democracy.

Considering the problem of people's power as the fundamental problem of the revolution, our Party linked the National-liberation War closely to the seizure of power by the people's revolutionary masses. Therefore, the people's regime was extended and consolidated on the ruins of the old regime hand in hand with the extension and intensification of the armed struggle. The new regime, on its part, served as a sound support for the people's armed uprising.

By launching the slogan «the National liberation Councils are the sole power of the people in Albania», the Party prepared the ground for doing away the rule of invaders and traitors and for preventing the landlords and the bourgeoisie from re-establishing their old rule in the country. In this way it ensured also its sole leadership in the new regime it had set up. When the necessary conditions were ripe our Party organized at once the formation of the revolutionary democratic government as the sole Government of the Albanian people without waiting first for the complete liberation of the country.

By making use of its two powerful weapons, the Front and the National-liberation Army and losing no sight of the prospects of the development of revolution and the attainment of its ultimate goal, our Party never shared power with the bourgeoisie and kept intact the leadership of the working class in the new political power. It frustrated the pressure exerted by internal reaction and the U.S. and English imperialists during the war days and the earlier years following liberation in order to include representatives of landlords and the reactionary bourgeoisie in the leadership of the people's regime. It frustrated also the treacherous trends of opportunist elements in its leadership who succumbed to the pressure of the enemy and accepted to share power with the bourgeoisie.

The People's Councils, direct descendants of the National-liberation Councils, form the basis of political power.

The dictatorship of the proletariat served and continues to serve as a decisive weapon to secure the uninterrupted development of our socialist revolution and to protect its achievements. Through it we realize socialist democracy which is being constantly extended and strengthened in all fields.

Through it we have assured the active and broad-scale participation of the laboring masses in running the country.

The core of the dictatorship of the proletariat is the alliance of the working class with the laboring peasantry under the leadership of the working class. The Albanian peasants have always considered the dictatorship of the proletariat as their own Government for this is the only Government which has fulfilled their aspirations and age-long dreams, which has assured them freedom and land, which has pulled them out of misery and backwardness and has guaranteed to them speedy progress along socialist lines in all fields.

The Party of Labor of Albania has continually fought against the manifestations and trends of opportunist elements to liberalize the Government, to turn it into a «democracy for all» as well as against the malady of 'bureaucratism.

This fight has been indispensable if we are to preserve the proletarian nature of our people's power, if we are to avoid its severance from the people's masses, if we are to prevent the dictatorship of the proletariat from falling a victim to bourgeois and revisionist degeneration.

The Party of Labor of Albania views its fight against bureaucracy as an aspect of the class struggle. As such it will continue as long as the class struggle continues.

The dictatorship of the proletariat is a decisive weapon in the hands of the Party, in the hands of the working class for completing the building of socialist and communist society as well. The Party of Labor of Albania pursues the course of preserving and of continually perfecting the dictatorship of the proletariat until classes have totally disappeared, until the building of communist society has been completed and any danger to it from outside has ceased.

10. — In the economic domain the revolution has accomplished two main tasks. Firstly, it did away with the economic basis of the landlords and of the bourgeoisie, it abolished private property and established common socialist ownership of the means of production both in urban as well as rural areas. Secondly, it did away with economic backwardness and with the one-sided structure of economy composed mainly of small-scale production in agriculture and set up its new and many-sided structure composed of large-

scale industrial and agricultural production based mainly on the use of up-to-date technique.

In establishing socialist relations in production the Party did not wait for the forces of production which had lagged behind to be developed on a higher level first. It built these relations (at first in urban centers and then in rural areas) before the adequate material and technical basis of socialism was fully built, a task which will be accomplished at the stage when socialist society has been fully built. This way of building socialist relations in production serves as a sound support for and powerful incentive to the rapid development of the forces of production.

The survivals of feudal relations were done away with the application of the Agrarian Reform Laws which confiscated without remuneration the lands of landlords and distributed them among the landless and landpoor peasants forbidding, at the same time, purchases and sales of land. Since this reform was made under the socialist revolution, it affected also capitalist relations in the countryside.

Big and medium capitalist property in urban centers was socialized and turned into common public property. No use was made of the state capitalist form. Socialization was effected rapidly and in a deeply revolutionary way on the basis of confiscation without remuneration.

Private property of the urban small producers was turned to socialist property through the voluntary union of these producers into handicrafts cooperatives.

Private property of the small producers in rural areas was turned into social cooperative property through the collectivization of agriculture. Collectivization was begun and carried through without socializing first the lands under the possession of the small producers and without waiting for the country to be industrialized but hand in hand with the building and development of the new socialist industry. The material and technical basis of large-scale socialist production in rural areas was created during the process of the collectivization of agriculture and of industrial development.

The collectivization of agriculture was effected as a result of the peasants' conviction in the superiority of the socialist system of agriculture. They created this conviction with the aid of the Party from their own experience. The Party has strictly observed the Leninist principle of the free will of the peasants to join in cooperatives. The peasants of medium

and meager means embarked on the road of collectivization and joined 'en masse' in cooperatives. The only form used for collectivization was the agricultural cooperative of production based on social ownership of the means of production, on collective work and on distributing production according to the work done by each member of the cooperative.

The socialist industrialization of the country served as the principal key to the development of productive forces and to building a many-sided economy. Industrialization creates the tangible possibilities for setting up and developing new branches of economy, for setting up an advanced many-branched agriculture and for intensifying it.

In the socialist industry of the country priority is always given to the establishment and development of heavy industry. Consequently, the specific weight of the production of the means of production has kept rising. Special importance is attached at the same time to the rapid development of light industry. The Party has striven, at the same time, to ensure an harmonized development of industry and agriculture. It's only by standing on both feet — industry and agriculture — that a strong, stable and independent economy can be built and develop steadily and without interruption.

The management of economy and socialist construction has been a centralized, democratic one based on a single general state plan.

The establishment and development of our new socialist industry and the creation of the material and technical basis for an intensive development of agriculture have been accomplished by relying, first and foremost, on the internal forces, resources and means. A certain role in this respect has been and is being played by the internationalist aid of the socialist countries on the basis of reciprocity.

Thus, through the dictatorship of the proletariat, the Party of Labor of Albania has effected: the transition of the country from a backward, semi-feudal state directly to socialism overlapping the phase of advanced capitalism; the independence of people's economy; its rapid development along socialist lines.

11. — In working out its political line and in all its activity the Party of Labor of Albania is guided by the principle according to which the class struggle is the main motive force to bring about the victory of revolution, to

build socialist society and to cross over to communism. The class struggle is an objective phenomenon and, as such, it is inevitable, it develops in zig-zags, rising at times and lowering at others, becoming more acute at times and less so at others but never suspended or quelled down. It is carried out in all fields — political, economic and social, ideological and cultural.

The class struggle is: a fight against fascist imperialists and against the main exploiting classes of the country in order to annihilate their political sway; it is a fight against the exploiting classes in order to dispossess them, to break down their resistance, to ward off their hostile activity and to do away with these classes themselves; the fight against the survivals of the exploiting classes; the fight against the new capitalist elements and against the degenerated anti-party, capitulating and opportunist elements; the fight against alien, patriarchal, feudal, petty bourgeois and bourgeois concepts, mentality, customs and habits as well as against bourgeois and revisionist ideology in general; the fight against the hostile pressure and activities of the imperialists and other external enemies in order to frustrate their intentions and their aggressive and predatory attempts towards the People's Republic of Albania.

The class struggle on the home front has always been interlaced with the class struggle on the external front.

The principal class enemy during the period of the National-liberation War were the Italian fascists and German nazi, that is why the spearhead of the war was directed against them. By applying the line of uniting all the people in the National-liberation Front, without discrimination of classes and political convictions, the Party did its best to avoid turning the contradiction between the people's masses and the landlords and upper bourgeoisie into 'a main antagonistic contradiction. While the landlords and the reactionary bourgeoisie and their political organizations — the Balli Kombëtar (= National Front=) and Legaliteti (Legality) — considered the Communist Party and the National-liberation Front as their chief enemy. They took the field and fired against the Party and the National-liberation Front and tried to do short work of them by joining in a single front with the invaders. Under these circumstances the Party and the National-liberation Front were obliged to fight and totally destroy the organizations and armed forces of internal reaction

exposing their anti-national policy and activity and by using revolutionary violence. Thus, the war against the invaders was interlaced with the war against the main exploiting classes of the country, tools of the Italian fascist and German nazi enslavers. This is to account for the fact that the National-liberation War led not only to the liberation of the homeland from foreign intruders but also to the overthrow of the main exploiting classes of the country divesting them of all political power.

Following liberation the principal class enemies were: within the country — the overthrown exploiting classes and, after their elimination, the survivals of these classes; outside the country — U.S.-led imperialism. During this period, too, the internal enemies have acted in collusion with the external enemies, under their instigation and instructions. Therefore, our fight against the internal enemies has been closely linked with our war against the imperialists and their tools outside the country.

The Party of Labor of Albania has considered U.S. imperialism as the principal enemy of and the greatest danger to the socialist order in Albania, to the world socialist revolution and to world peace. Therefore, it has spearheaded the class struggle in the international arena against this enemy. Moreover, it has fought, at the same time, against other foreign enemies, collaborators and tools of U.S. imperialism, enemies not only of socialist Albania but also of other peoples and of socialism in general.

The Party of Labor of Albania has bitterly opposed modern revisionism, offspring and agent of imperialism. The principled and irreconcilable war it has waged right from the start against the Yugoslav revisionists has enabled it to gain a major revolutionary experience and sagacity to detect and fight Khrushchevite and other revisionist trends much better and with utmost determination. Modern international revisionism headed by the Soviet revisionists constitutes a big enemy of the class and the main danger to the international communist and workers' movement. The Party of Labor of Albania considers the fight against revisionism in the economic and ideologic field as an indispensable condition in order to fight imperialism successfully, in order to secure the ultimate victory of socialist revolution in Albania and on a world scale.

Relying on the high patriotism and readiness of the people to defend our socialist homeland and on the powerful world movement of the anti-imperialist revolutionary forces, the Party of Labor of Albania has never over-valued the strength of imperialism and modern revisionism from the strategical point of view, it has not been intimidated by nor kneeled to their pressures and blackmail. Under no circumstances and in no issues has it ever made principled concessions to nor has it accepted to barter revolutionary principles with them. At the same time and from the tactical point of view the Party has not minimized the great danger coming from imperialist and revisionist forces. It has trained the popular masses in an all-round way to cope with all pressures by the imperialists and revisionists, to frustrate all their hostile schemes and attempts.

The class struggle continues in intensity even after the exploiting classes have been done away with. In the country it is waged against the survivals of these classes as well as against the degenerated elements that spring up, but it centered especially in the domain of ideology and culture against alien concepts and manifestations of a patriarchal, feudal and bourgeois character. Such concepts and manifestations left over from the past are deep-rooted and survive for a long time in the minds of the people. These and the imperialist and revisionist political and ideological pressure from outside constitute a real basis for the emergence and ascendancy to power of revisionism and for the restoration of capitalism. A basis of this kind exists as long as communism has not been established in the country and capitalism is not wiped out on a world scale. Therefore, the class struggle in the field of ideology and culture — against alien concepts and attitude towards work and towards socialist property, against backward customs, against egoism and individualism, against religious dogmas and beliefs, against bureaucratic mentalities and manifestations, against concepts and customs that warp and oppress the personality of women, against bourgeois and revisionist ideology in general — is a «*conditio sine qua non*» in order to ward off the coming of revisionism to power and the restoration of capitalism, in order to complete the building of socialist society and to cross over to communism.

Outside the country, the class struggle continues bitterly against U.S.-led imperialism and modern revisionism headed by Soviet revisionism both in the political as well as the

ideological domain. This fight will continue until they are finally crushed.

By conducting the class struggle aright during all the phases of revolution against the internal and external enemies of the people and of socialism, the Party of Labor of Albania has been highly inured in this battle as a revolutionary party of the working class.

12. — The Party of Labor of Albania has always fought and acted like a detachment of the international communist and workers' movement. By securing the triumph of revolution and the successful edification of socialism in its own country, it has fulfilled, at the same time, its basic internationalist obligation towards the working class and the proletarian revolution of the world.

In its struggle for national liberation and social emancipation and for the socialist construction of the country, the Party of Labor of Albania has never detached itself from the world revolutionary movement. On the contrary, it has always felt the need of the powerful support of this movement, having assessed aright the significance of this support and has always relied on the aid of the fraternal communist and workers parties, of the liberation movement of peoples, first and foremost, on the aid of the socialist countries both in its war for national liberation as well as in its socialist construction.

The Party of Labor of Albania has brought up the communists and the Albanian people as a whole in a deep spirit of proletarian internationalism.

The Great October Socialist Revolution has always been highly esteemed by the Party of Labor and the workers of Albania. Its rich experience and socialist construction in the Soviet Union under the leadership of V.I. Lenin and J.V. Stalin are of universal significance. The immortal teachings of the October Revolution and the experience of the Bolshevik Party in general have blazed the way to the Party of Labor of Albania and the Albanian workers, they have inspired them in their struggle for freedom, independence and socialism.

The Party of Labor of Albania has implanted in the hearts of communists and of the people as a whole the sentiment of sincere and fiery attachment to the proletarians, to the revolutionary peoples and forces of the whole world.

Our Party and the Albanian people have nurtured unbounded love and loyalty towards the first socialist state emerging from the October Revolution and created by V. I. Lenin and J. V. Stalin. This love and loyalty has always been based on the principles of Marxism-Leninism. When the Khrushchevite revisionists who betrayed Marxism-Leninism and the October Revolution came to the fore in the Soviet State, the Party of Labor of Albania drew at once the line between the people on one side and the Soviet revisionist leadership on the other. It upheld the glorious course of the Bolshevik Party and of the Soviet State, it upheld J. V. Stalin and the teachings of the October Revolution trampled underfoot by the revisionists, considering this as its own internationalist duty.

The Party of Labor of Albania has considered the triumph of the great Chinese Revolution as the greatest triumph for the international working class and for the world proletarian revolution next to the Great October Socialist Revolution. The Chinese Revolution under the leadership of the Communist Party of China headed by Comrade Mao Tse-tung brought forth the People's Republic of China, bastion of socialism and a powerful support of the world revolution.

The Party of Labor and the workers of Albania have always considered the achievements of the peoples of socialist countries and of all the revolutionary peoples and forces of the world as their own.

Towards communist and workers parties and towards socialist States, the Party of Labor of Albania has always pursued the policy of establishing and developing fraternal relations of sincere collaboration and mutual aid on the basis of Marxism-Leninism, of proletarian internationalism and of fighting revisionism.

The Party of Labor of Albania has always expressed its solidarity with the revolutionary forces which fight for freedom, national independence, for people's democracy and socialism. It has unreservedly upheld their liberation struggle against imperialism and reaction. It has likewise supported the struggle of the international working class against capitalist oppression and exploitation.

The Party of Labor of Albania has fulfilled a great internationalist obligation also by waging a consistent principled battle against imperialism and modern revisionism. Through this battle it has striven to defend the socialist

camp and the international communist movement from the attempts of the imperialists and revisionists to break them up, it has striven to preserve and strengthen the unity of this camp and of this movement, to re-establish this unity, badly shaken by the Khrushchevite revisionists, on a revolutionary basis, without revisionists and traitors and in resolute battle against them.

At the same time, the Party of Labor of Albania has pursued the policy of collaboration and mutual advantage between the new Albanian State and non-socialist States regardless of their political and social system.

In its relations with all socialist and non-socialist States, the Party of Labor has observed the revolutionary principle of parity and respect for national sovereignty and has never tolerated others to intervene in the internal political, economic and military affairs of the Albanian people.

13. — Strict observance and revolutionary implementation of the basic principles to build a party of the new type and of the Marxist-Leninist norms in matters of organization have played a decisive role in carrying out the general line of our Party. Its correct political course and sound organization on Marxist-Leninist lines have constituted the unbreakable strength of the Party of Labor of Albania.

Democratic centralism has always been the basic principle on which our Party is built.

The internal life of the Party of Labor of Albania has been characterized by a steel-like party discipline equal for all members, as well as by principled criticism and self-criticism. Our Party has striven to use criticism and self-criticism as a means for the communist uplift of its members preventing them from erring and correcting those who err.

Party decisions, directives and instructions are the product of collective leadership ranging from the highest organs to the grassroot organizations.

One of the most important elements of the strength of our Party has been the strict application of Leninist rules governing admission to membership. In swelling its ranks the Party has always been guided by quality rather than quantity. The main requirements for admission to membership have been: loyalty towards the cause of the people and of communism, ability to set an example as a vanguard fighter in all lines, origin and social standing mainly from the working class and from the poor and cooperative peasantry.

The Party of Labor of Albania has always demanded of its members to think, work and live like consistent and determined revolutionaries.

14. — One of the most outstanding features of the Party of Labor of Albania has been its monolithic organizational and ideological unity.

It has forged and preserved this unity in irreconcilable principled battle against opportunism and sectarianism, against factions, against all internal enemies of the Party.

After smashing all liquidatory Trotskyite trends during the early months of its life, the views and activities of anti-Party groups and elements have never succeeded in turning into anti-Marxist ideological trends within the Party. This is due to the fact that they have been detected and fought in time and to the loyalty of the communists towards Marxism-Leninism and the Party line of action.

In order to preserve its unity and the correctness of its line all along, the Party of Labor of Albania has waged a battle on two fronts: against the opportunism of the rightists and against sectarianism and dogmatism.

Up to spring 1943 the principal danger threatening the Party of Labor of Albania lay in sectarianism. The roots of this danger lay: in the pronounced sectarian spirit that characterized the activity of the communist groups which penetrated into the ranks of the Party after their union, and in a slow understanding of the general line of the Party regarding the National-liberation War by the former members of these groups.

From spring 1943 to the end of the war as well as during the whole post-liberation period, the main danger threatening the Party of Labor of Albania has come from the opportunism of the right.

During the National-liberation War period the roots of the opportunism of the rightists lay: in the pressure exerted on the Party by the reactionary bourgeoisie outside the Front and the middle bourgeoisie within the Front and in the pressure exerted by the English and American imperialists intending to obstruct the victory of the revolutionary forces led by the Party.

After liberation, the roots of opportunism lay: in the pressure exerted on the Party by the remnants of the overthrown classes and kulaks outside the Front; in the pressure

exerted by the petty bourgeoisie and, first and foremost, by the masses of the peasantry within the Front, on matters pertaining to the Party's economic policy in rural areas; in the pressure exerted by the imperialists, by the U.S. imperialists in particular, to overthrow the People's Regime; in the pressure exerted by bourgeois ideology, by customs and ideas of a reactionary nature, by religious prejudices; in the pressure exerted by modern revisionism.

Another source of danger from opportunism during the whole life of the Party has lain in the petty bourgeois origin of many of its members and in the inadequate training of a large number of communists.

After liberation, though sectarianism and dogmatism have not been a major danger to the Party line, manifestations of them have appeared in the activity of the communists with regard to various problems of an economic and political character. If such manifestations had been undervalued they would have seriously jeopardized the application of the Party's general line.

Manifestations of sectarianism have had their roots mainly in the narrow views and in the haughtiness of a number of communists of petty bourgeois, peasant and handicraft origin.

Manifestations of dogmatism have had their source: in borrowing the experience of other countries without adapting it to the specific conditions of the country and without submitting it to a critical test; in the inadequate theoretical training and low level of education of a good number of communists.

The fight the Party of Labor of Albania has waged against opportunism, sectarianism, dogmatism, against alien manifestations, against anti-Party groups and individuals has always been a highly principled one permeated through and through by Marxist-Leninist party spirit. In this fight our Party has maintained a scrupulous and moderate attitude towards those communists who have acknowledged their mistake. At the same time it has maintained a severe and merciless attitude towards the enemies of Marxism-Leninism, towards deserters and splitters of unity.

The Party of Labor of Albania has always viewed its fight against opportunism, sectarianism and all alien manifestations among its ranks as an aspect, a reflection of the class struggle taking place in the country. Our Party considers

the development of the principled irreconcilable fight against opportunism and sectarianism, especially against revisionism within its ranks as law in preserving its proletarian character and in building socialist and communist society with success. This fight will continue all along the Party's existence, for the emergence of revisionism remains as an objective tendency and danger during the transitory period of socialism to communism and as long as capitalism has not been wiped out on a world scale.

15. — Eversince its founding, the Party of Labor of Albania has attached its greatest attention to the unity of its leadership on Marxist-Leninist lines, assessing this as a primary and essential condition for ensuring the ideological and organizational unity of the whole Party in working out a correct revolutionary line and in carrying this line out in practice.

In their attempts to do away with the Party of Labor of Albania or to turn it into a revisionist bourgeois party, the enemies of the class have always begun their destructive work by trying to create antagonistic trends and sow dissension in the leadership. But these attempts have always failed at last as the result of the consistent principled fight waged within the Central Committee and the whole Party against factions and against reconciling opposing views, against opportunism and sectarianism. Whenever it has occurred that members of the leadership have violated Party norms and principles, it has helped them patiently to correct themselves and proceed along the right way. But whenever it has been confirmed that one member or another of the leadership has backed up before difficulties or has yielded to the pressure of the class enemy departing from Marxism-Leninism or, what is worse, has turned tail and has become the agent of the bourgeoisie, of the Yugoslav or Khrushchevite revisionists, then the Party has expelled him without hesitation from the leadership regardless of his former merits.

Stell-like unity in the Central Committee has been achieved also by strict adherence to the principle of collective leadership in taking decisions.

The leaders of the Party and of the State have played a major role in scoring success in the people's revolution and in socialist construction. These leaders have emerged from the rank and file and have been trained and tempered

like political leaders and organizers of the masses in the revolutionary struggle. Through their wisdom, self-denial and consistent loyalty to the cause of the people and of communism and thanks to the aid and support of the Party and of the people's masses they have won high authority, a major experience in political management, the love and esteem of the people.

Comrade Enver Hoxha occupies a place of honor among the leaders. He is the founder of the Party of Labor of Albania and has guided it in all the historical stages of the revolution ever since it was founded. He has rendered the greatest contribution to the working out of its Marxist-Leninist revolutionary line. Through his keenness of mind, determination, farsightedness and revolutionary courage, Comrade Enver has ensured the consistent revolutionary application of the Party's Marxist-Leninist norms, he has never plunged it into a blind alley and has always brought it forth victorious under all critical and complicated situations. In his Works, Comrade Enver Hoxha has summed up the Marxist-Leninist theory of the revolutionary experience of the Party of Labor of Albania, rendering in this way a valuable contribution to enriching Marxism-Leninism.

Enver Hoxha is the most beloved teacher and leader of the Albanian people united by steel-like moral and political bonds around the Party and its Central Committee.

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The History of the Party of Labor of Albania portrays the relation and enrichment of Marxist-Leninist theory with the practice of the revolutionary struggle of the party of the working class and of the revolutionary struggle of the Albanian working class and laboring masses. It bears witness of the gigantic inspirational, motive and transformatory force of Marxism-Leninism when it is loyally applied in a creative way by a revolutionary party of the working class.

The great experience it has accumulated, the tempering and maturity it has attained all along its glorious course, help the Party of Labor of Albania to continue to carry out a correct Marxist-Leninist revolutionary course and to lead the Albanian people to the ultimate triumph of socialism and communism in the days to come.

RESOLUTION

OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE PARTY OF LABOR OF ALBANIA ON THE STUDY OF THE HISTORY OF THE PARTY OF LABOR OF ALBANIA

The publication of the History of the Party of Labor of Albania is an event of major significance in the ideological and scientific life of the country.

The History of the Party text describes the glorious path traversed by the Party summing up in a Marxist-Leninist scientific way the revolutionary experience of the Party and laboring masses in their struggle for national liberation and social emancipation, for building the new socialist society and for safeguarding the achievements attained.

The History of the Party of Labor of Albania is the history of a revolutionary party of the working class which has worked out and followed at all stages of the revolution a correct political line, which has carried out Marxism-Leninism in a faithful and creative way, which has guided the Albanian people in a highly mature and patriotic manner in major class battles and has ensured for them victories of historic importance.

The revolutionary line and activity of the Party of Labor of Albania are Marxism-Leninism in action reflecting its organic links with the practice of the revolutionary struggle of the Party of the Albanian working class and the laboring masses. Our Party's revolutionary experience is at the same time a further enrichment of Marxism-Leninism.

The Party of Labor of Albania has preserved the purity of its revolutionary line, its ideological and organizational unity on Marxist-Leninist lines in its resolute principled struggle against opportunism and sectarianism, particularly, against revisionism on a national and international level.

The Party of Labor of Albania has come to being, has grown and waxed strong as a revolutionary party of the working class in the heat of battle against Italian and German fascism, against local landlords, chieftains and the bourgeoisie, against U.S. and English imperialists and their lackeys, against Titoite and Khrushchevite revisionists, against bourgeois and revisionist ideology.

Taking into consideration that the course of the victorious revolutionary struggle of our Party is a great school of Marxism-Leninism in action and creative development for our communists and workers and that the text of the History of the Party of Labor of Albania which describes this course should serve as a sound and keen ideological and political instrument for the study of Marxism-Leninism by the communists, the working class and all the workers, the Central Committee of the Party of Labor of Albania recommends:

1. — That the study of the History of the Party should help impart a deep knowledge of the glorious revolutionary course of our Party, of the principles of Marxism-Leninism and its great teachings, forming and endowing the new man with communist ethics and proletarian ideology; it should help mobilize the communists and all the workers to exert their uttermost efforts in accomplishing their tasks of further revolutionizing the Party and the life of the country as a whole; it should help illuminate the path and prospects of completing the construction of socialist society and of communism; it should help intensify the struggle against imperialism and modern revisionism and enhance the spirit of preparedness to defend the country.

In particular, the study of the History of the Party of Labor of Albania should serve as a means:

— to impart knowledge of the Party's loyalty towards the principles of Marxism-Leninism, its high political clarity and maturity, its revolutionary courage and its ability to implement Marxism-Leninism in a creative way compatible with the conditions of Albania and under concrete international circumstances, drawing from this the lesson that loyalty to Marxist-Leninist principles and the ability to apply these principles with determination and in a creative way are a guarantee for the successful accomplishment of the

historic mission by the party of the working class and of the revolutionary tasks by every communist;

— to learn how our Party has succeeded in persuading the people's masses of the correctness of its political line, on this basis to establish steel-like relations with the masses, to maintain and continually strengthen these relations; to learn how the Party line of action has become a line of the masses and how the laboring masses, with the Party in the lead, have striven and continue to strive heroically to carry it out, to learn the great experience of our Party in setting up the Democratic Front as the incarnation of the unity of the people around the Party, in the struggle for national liberation and social emancipation and for the socialist construction of the country, drawing from this the Marxist-Leninist lesson that when the communists are closely bound to the masses, mix up with them, apply the mass line, keep learning everyday from them and teaching them, submitting to their control, then they are unbreakable; for the wider and more active is the direct participation of the masses in the revolution and socialist construction, in governing the country, in directing its economy and culture the more certain becomes the attainment of victory;

— to take cognizance of and grasp ideologically the principled fight the Party has waged to keep intact its correct line and its ideological and organizational unity on Marxist-Leninist lines, to apply in a revolutionary way Marxist-Leninist norms in the inner life of the Party of the working class drawing from this the lesson that the ideological understanding and revolutionary application of the Marxist-Leninist norms in the inner life of the Party of working class is the primary essential condition to prevent it from degenerating into a bourgeois-revisionist party, to keep intact its proletarian character and thus enable it to carry out its great mission of leading the revolution, of building socialist and communist society;

— to learn with what determination, ingenuity and creative spirit our Party has carried out the Marxist-Leninist principle of leading the working class in revolution and socialist construction, drawing from this the lesson that the working class can successfully accomplish its role of leadership only through its own political party and, with the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat, through this dictatorship, provided that the leadership through the party

and the dictatorship of the proletariat is accompanied by the direct supervision of the working class in all the phases of its life — in political affairs, in economy, in education and culture and everywhere — for the direct supervision of the working class is the decisive factor in warding off the bourgeois-revisionist degeneration of the dictatorship of the proletariat, in blocking the road to the emergence of revisionism and a return to capitalism;

— to get acquainted with the class struggle the Party together with the laboring masses has waged in the various stages of revolution, drawing from this the Marxist-Leninist lesson that the class struggle is an objective phenomenon, consequently inevitable, and includes all fields political, economic, social, ideological and cultural, in the international as well as external fronts; that it is a primary motive force, not only while the exploiting classes exist but also after they have been done away with, in the struggle to bring about the complete and ultimate victory of the socialist over the capitalist way throughout the world; that after the exploiting classes have disappeared, it continues in all fields but it is concentrated especially in the field of ideology and culture against alien manifestations, against bourgeois ideology in order to wipe out the «blots» of the old society; that renouncing the class struggle or slackening it leads to revisionism and to the restoration of capitalism;

— to get acquainted with the Party's policy and experience in building socialism, for establishing socialist relations in production and continually improving them on revolutionary Marxist-Leninist lines, for developing productive forces through the industrialization of the country, intensification of agriculture and the creation of a many branched national economy, for the continual uplift of the material well-being and the cultural and educational level of the masses, drawing from this the Marxist-Leninist lesson that the continual improvement of socialist relations in production wards off the emergence of a privileged bourgeois stratum and the bourgeois-revisionist degeneration of the socialist economic and social order of things; that the correct application of the principle of self-reliance assures a rapid development of the people's economy and guarantees the economic independence of the country; that the socialist way of production demands the application of the principle of harmonizing personal and immediate interests with the general and

prospective interests subjugating always the personal and immediate interests to the general and prospective ones; that raising the well-being of people conformable with the general level of the economic development of the country should mean the fulfilment of the material, cultural and spiritual needs of the people as a whole not of separate groups;

— to get acquainted with the Party's policy of establishing and strengthening the steel-like alliance between the working class and the laboring peasantry as well as the role of leadership of the working class in this alliance, in order to utilize the great revolutionary and patriotic energies of the laboring peasantry in revolution and the socialist construction of the country for fulfilling their dreams and aspirations and for the collectivization and all-round development of the countryside on socialist lines, drawing from this the Marxist-Leninist lesson that it is in the steel-like alliance of the working class with the laboring peasantry that the strength and inflexibility of the cause of revolution and socialism, that the guarantee for the ultimate victory of this cause lie, that it is only through the leadership of the working class and its party that the peasants can acquire their complete social emancipation, that the rural areas can develop rapidly towards gradually narrowing down and eliminating their basic differences with the city;

— to get acquainted with the Party's continuous efforts to create a new socialist intelligentsia, to train cadres for all the branches of economy and culture, attaching particular attention to imbuing them with proletarian ideology and to tempering them in revolutionary activity drawing from this the Marxist-Leninist lesson that the continual supervision exercised by the working class and laboring peasantry over cadres and intellectuals as a whole, the latters' continuous revolutionary class education and their amalgamation with workers and peasants are an essential condition to prevent them from becoming victims of the dangerous malady of bureaucratism, individualism, careerism, arrogance, idle life, intellectualism and technocratism, to make them lead a proletarian life of austerity and to strengthen in them the spirit of loyalty towards the cause of the proletariat and of socialism;

— to educate our youth to loyally pursue the heroic revolutionary path of their predecessors, to be loyal to the party of the working class and to socialism in order to

continually temper the younger generation as revolutionaries both through schooling and revolutionary activity so that they may be ready to make any sacrifice, prepared in all respects to serve the people, the country and socialism, worthy of carrying the torch of revolution further ahead along Marxist-Leninist lines;

— to learn what high vigilance the Party itself has shown and how it has implanted such vigilance among all the workers against the hostile designs and activity of our internal and external enemies, what constant concern it has shown to the defense of the achievements of our socialist Homeland, drawing from this the Marxist-Leninist lesson that vigilance and high moral, political and military preparedness, the training of all the people to defend our socialist Homeland are as essential to the successful construction of socialist and communist society as the accomplishment of the great tasks of the country's economic, cultural and social development.

Thus, the History of the Party of Labor of Albania should not be studied as plain history but as a course of the creative implementation of Marxism-Leninism, as a blending of dialectic and historical materialism with the political line and revolutionary practice of our Party. A study of this kind should give added emphasis especially to the great teachings of our Party so that these teachings may be grasped from the ideological point of view and may be used as a powerful weapon in accomplishing the tasks and solving the problems of the times.

2. — The study of the History of the Party of Labor of Albania should be accompanied with the study of the materials of the Congresses, Conferences, of the plenums of the Central Committee of the Party of Labor of Albania, with Comrade Enver Hoxha's Works, with reference to the period and the problem under discussion.

Through the study of the History of the Party of Labor of Albania one should study at the same time the laws of dialectic and historical materialism embodied in the line and struggle of our Party.

3. — The study of the History of the Party of Labor of Albania should serve as a means to improve all the Party's work of propaganda, in order to raise it to the level of the exigencies of the time, of the unparalleled revolutionary

drive of our laboring masses in order to place it on the forefront of the struggle for the further revolutionization of the country.

The organization of the work to study the History of the Party should help remove the shallow and formal nature of the work of propaganda, its stereotyped formulas, empty phrases emphasizing the theoretical argumentative side of phenomena, problems and tasks so as to create an ideological conviction among people.

Through the study of the History of the Party we should accomplish the task set by the Vth Party Congress whereby Marxism-Leninism, the scientific ideology of the working class, may not remain a privilege of certain people but that it may become the property of all the broad masses of people, that it may not remain an abstract notion but that it may turn to a major material force for the revolutionary transformation of the world.

4. — The publication of the History of the Party should serve as an incentive to the study of social and ideological problems, to revolutionizing and making these studies accessible to the masses.

The Central Committee demands a higher level of organization of the work to sum up the revolutionary experience of the Party and the masses on a district level and in every enterprise, cooperative and educational and cultural institution, mobilizing for this work the cadres of the Party, of the State, of the economic, social and cultural organizations and a large number of workers and peasants.

The study of ideological and social problems by the masses should help make the History of the Party of Labor of Albania more understandable in order to make the Party's work of propaganda more combative and efficient, to raise to a higher scientific level the work of management of the Party organs and organizations.

The summing up of the revolutionary experience of the Party and masses should help enrich and further elaborate the History of the Party.

5. — The study of the History of the Party of Labor of Albania should be organized in the Party, among the working class, the cooperative peasant masses, the intellec-

tuals, the youth and army, occupying a principal place in the whole system of the Party's propaganda.

6. — Various and most suitable forms of propaganda should be used for the study of the History of the Party, ranging from plain reading to deep study parallel with the Works of the classic authors of Marxism-Leninism, the documents of the Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha's Works. In the organization of this work attention should be paid to the various strata of population, the level of their ideological and educational training. Forums should be organized at all levels to take up for discussion problems raised in the History of the Party which is being studied.

The History of the Party should be studied in all secondary and high institutes of learning as a main subject of Marxism-Leninism.

In addition, Party Committees should open special courses of study of the History of the Party to be attended by cadres and advanced workers as the need may arise.

7. — In order to ensure as deep a study of the History of the Party as possible among the communists and laboring masses, the District Party Committees should attach special attention to the training of a wide circle of propagandists of the History of the Party in courses of study, seminars and other forms.

8. — Special courses should be organized at the «V. I. Lenin» Party School where as large a number of Party cadres as possible should take their turn and make a thorough study of the problems and lessons that emerge from the History of the Party as well as of the method of studying this History, the documents of the Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha's Works.

9. — The correct revolutionary line of our Party and the lessons that emerge from the study of its history will be more thoroughly grasped if the study of the works of classic authors of Marxism-Leninism is better organized. These works constitute the great thesaurus to form the materialist Marxist-Leninist world outlook of people. They have blazed and will always blaze the road to the Party of Labor and workers of Albania in their battle to achieve the ultimate triumph of socialism and communism.

May the study of the History of the Party of Labor of Albania help consolidate our faith in the immortal doctrine of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, to master the great lessons of our Party headed by Comrade Enver Hoxha and may it become a great source of inspiration to put these teachings into practice and to push ahead nonstop towards completing the building of socialist society and of communism!

THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE PARTY OF
LABOR OF ALBANIA

Tirana, November 19, 1968

THE HISTORY OF THE PARTY OF LABOR OF ALBANIA IS THE HISTORY OF REVOLUTIONARY VICTORIES

RAMIZ ALIA

**Member of the Political Bureau and Secretary of the
Central Committee of the Party of Labor of Albania**

The Communist Party (now the Party of Labor) of Albania was founded twenty-seven years ago, on October 8th, 1941. This marked the beginning of a radical turning point, the beginning of a new epoch in the centuries-long history of our country and people. It was for the first time that there sprang up from the ranks of our working people a leadership selflessly loyal to people's interests, an out-and-out revolutionary leadership capable of leading our people to carry their struggle against the internal and external enemies through to the end along the path of its war for the liberation of the country, for the establishment of people's power and the construction of the socialist and communist society.

The First Congress of the Party was convened twenty years ago, on November 8th, 1948. This Congress foiled the counter-revolutionary plans of the Yugoslav revisionist clique and of its Albanian agents headed by Koçi Xoxe, consolidated the victories of people's revolution and mapped out a scientific program to build the foundations of socialism in Albania.

The historic Fifth Congress of our Party wound up its proceedings on November 8th, 1966, the 25th anniversary of the founding of the Party. This Congress gave the orientation to further revolutionize the entire life of the country, to relentlessly carry our socialist revolution ahead in all fields and to ward off for the present and for the future the possible emergence of revisionism and the restoration of capitalism in Albania. All our development through these twenty-seven years is linked with November 8th, with the

name of the Party. It was under the leadership of the Party that our working people won their liberty and established their people's power. It was under the leadership of our Party that they are now forging ahead at a rapid pace not only in doing away, within a short period, with the centuries-long backwardness in their economic and cultural development but also in taking quick and sure steps towards the complete construction of socialism. Our Party is following in the wake of the glorious road opened to mankind fifty-one years ago by the Great Socialist October Revolution. On this great day our workers and peasants, our young men and young women, our soldiers and intellectuals, our people as a whole hail our heroic Party of Labor, the organizer of all our victories, and its founder Comrade Enver Hoxha, the beloved leader of our Party and people.

This year we celebrate the November 8th festivities with a particular joy. It is today, on this historic anniversary, that the text of the History of the Party of Labor of Albania is being put into circulation. This book has been prepared by the Institute of Marxist-Leninist Studies and has been published in compliance with a decision taken by the Central Committee of the Party of Labor of Albania. It is a worthy gift to our people on the occasion of this great anniversary.

* * *

The History of the Party of Labor of Albania is the history of a revolutionary party of the working class which has always pursued a correct Marxist-Leninist line, which has put the teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin into effect in a loyal and creative way. It is the Party that has assured freedom and socialism, the greatest and dearest of victories in the life of a people, to the Albanian nation.

The history of the Party is the history that the Albanian communists, that our working class and working peasantry, that our youth and our women, that our people's intelligentsia, that all those heroic sons and daughters of our people who fell in the field of honor for the freedom and prosperity of our socialist Fatherland, have written with their sweat and blood, in bitter struggle for the cause of the people and socialism, it is the history that has been written by all those who, putting the teachings and directives of the Party

into practice, are everyday working, learning and keeping an undaunted vigil so that our socialist Albania may live and progress through the centuries.

This book marks a most important event in the ideological and scientific life of our country. The communists and all our workers are being handed a fully scientific and rigorously Marxist-Leninist text describing the glorious way traversed by our Party since its founding up to this day, summing up in a scientific way the great revolutionary experience of our Party and our working masses at all the stages of development of our revolution. The study of this historic experience will and must help us, especially our younger generation, to get better acquainted with the past as well as to enable us to get a better grasp of the major problems and solve more correctly the present and future tasks laid before us by the development of our socialist revolution and the complete construction of socialism.

The study of the History of the Party will contribute to the revolutionary education of our communists, of our working class, of our youth and of all our working people, will draw many a useful lesson out of this scientific work which is indispensable for their revolutionary activity. What lessons are to be drawn out of the history and experience of the Party of Labor of Albania?

The primary and fundamental lesson deals with the unswerving loyalty to Marxism-Leninism which has always characterized our Party at every stage of our revolution and socialist construction and which constitutes the decisive factor of all its successes and victories. This has enabled our Party to detect and assess aright the fundamental contradictions and to work out and follow a correct revolutionary line through all the stages of its revolutionary activity. The History of our Party is the embodiment of the fundamental principles and teachings of Marxism-Leninism, it is Marxism-Leninism in action for the development of the revolution and socialist construction in Albania.

This is the merit of our Party of Labor, of its Central Committee and its leader Comrade Enver Hoxha. They have waged a relentless principled struggle against opportunism and sectarianism, against Trotskyism and revisionism both on a national and international level, in order to preserve the purity of Marxism-Leninism and of the revolutionary line of the Party. The entire history of our Party is the history of

a determined struggle against various anti-Marxist trends, ranging from Anastas Lulo's and Sadik Premte's Trotskyite and liquidatory, Ymer Dishnica's and Sejfulla Malëshova's opportunist, Koçi Xoxe's Trotskyite and Titoite trend to the opportunistic and Titoite Tuk Jakova's and revisionist and Khrushchovite Liri Belishova's and other trends. It is the history of a courageous, consistent and principled struggle in defense of the purity of Marxism-Leninism against modern revisionism, against the Titoite and Khrushchovite renegade cliques, etc. on an international level, as well.

The Party of Labor of Albania has always considered this struggle as one of the decisive conditions under which to fulfil its historic mission. Without such a struggle, without exposing the anti-Marxist deviations of all hues within its ranks, a party of the working class cannot carry successfully ahead the cause of revolution and socialism, is not capable of fighting effectively against and defeating its internal and external enemies. The more so, for, as the century-long experience of the world communist movement goes to show, those who abandon the struggle for the purity of Marxism-Leninism, for the defense of the principles of our revolutionary teachings, who avoid this struggle in the international arena, too, and try to take a neutral «stand» are destined sooner or later to slip down to anti-Marxist positions. A principled policy is the sole correct policy to follow in this matter of vital importance.

Consistently abiding by the principles of Marxism-Leninism, our Party has never considered the theory of the proletariat as a dead dogma but as a living and dialectical doctrine, as an effective method of revolutionary leadership to be put into effect in accordance with the concrete historic conditions of a given country and international conjuncture. In its revolutionary activity, our Party had derived great profit from the revolutionary experience of the fraternal parties, from the experience of Lenin's and Stalin's Bolshevik Party in the first place. But even this experience has been put into life always taking into account the peculiarities of our country and revolution, without copying the others in a servile and mechanical way.

The great revolutionary experience of our Party, an experience gained through creatively putting Marxism-Leninism into effect is, at the same time, a valuable contribution to the enrichment and development of the theory and practice

of revolution and socialism. This contribution, which finds a concrete embodiment in the History of the Party of Labor of Albania, is connected with a series of problems of vital importance. Among these of particular importance are: founding the proletarian Party and ensuring the leadership of the working class in a backward country where the working class were small in number and the workers' movement very limited; closely intertwining the national-liberation struggle with people's revolution, indissolubly linking up the struggle for national liberation with the struggle to smash up the rule of the exploiting classes and to establish people's rule; setting up the political army of the revolution through uniting the broad masses of the people in a broad front under the undivided leadership of the Communist Party; passing over from the first anti-imperialist, anti-feudal and democratic stage to the second, the socialist stage, of the revolution, ensuring the unceasing and rapid development of the socialist national economy in a small, backward country encircled by enemies relying chiefly on one's own efforts; finding out ways and taking effective measures to deepen and further develop the nonstop socialist revolution, to constantly and all-sidedly revolutionize men, the socialist superstructure, socialist social relations and production, to have them freed from any empeachment and influence of the old society, to block the way to the revisionist and bourgeois degeneration, to eliminate once for all time the danger of the emergence of revisionism and the restoration of capitalism, etc.

Our Party has always seen to it that communists assimilate the principles of Marxism-Leninism and put them into practice in a creative way. Studying Marxism-Leninism has never been with us a sort of academic and mechanical learning but a means to illuminate the way for actual revolutionary deeds. The principles of Marxism-Leninism have been assimilated in the heat of battle through work and revolution. Only in such a way can Marxism-Leninism be closely linked up with revolutionary practice, can it be tested in the heat of battle, can it become truly effective, making words tally with deeds, theory with practice, serving the cause of revolution and carrying it ahead. It was in this way that our Party acted during the past 27 years, it is in this way that it is acting now.

Taking into account the historic experience of our Party, the communists, the working class, the youth and all the

working people of our country should attach the greatest importance and attention to their Marxist-Leninist education. This is the only guarantee that our Party may hold ever aloft the unstained flag of Marxism-Leninism, that it may ever forge ahead solving the great tasks it is confronted with, accomplishing its historic mission as an unbent fighter for the cause of the people and socialism, that it may fulfil with honor its duty in the struggle against imperialism and modern revisionism.

Marxism-Leninism is not and should not be the privilege of a small élite, it is a weapon in the hands of the working people for revolutionary transformations of society and of themselves. And it becomes a real transforming force only if it is assimilated by the broad workers' masses. Making the elements of the Marxist-Leninist theory their own, the masses are capable of deeply understanding and carrying out the policy of the Party in the right way, they can ward off the all-out ideological pressure of the bourgeois ideology and defend the revolution against any revisionist distortion. This is particularly important at present, when our Party is waging a fierce struggle to implement the teachings of Comrade Enver Hoxha on further revolutionizing the life of the Party and of the country as a whole. For the study of Marxist-Leninist ideology the Party is putting into the hands of the communists and workers such materials of great ideological and scientific value as the History of the Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha's Works. These books should serve as a powerful weapon to raise the ideological and political level of the masses to a higher stage, to link up the teachings of Marxism-Leninism with our revolutionary experience, to have them thoroughly mastered by every communist and worker making them as hard as steel.

The History of the Party of Labor of Albania is the history of the class struggle. This runs like a red thread through the entire life and activity of our Party in all the phases of our revolution and socialist construction. It has sized up and assessed every problem, every question, viewing it from the class angle, proceeding from the present and perspective interests of the working class, of the people, of socialism.

In developing the class struggle, our Party has been guided by a Marxist-Leninist principle thoroughly tested in actual revolutionary practice. According to this principle ne-

gating the class struggle or weakening it leads to opportunism, to revisionism, to betraying the interests of the proletariat and of socialism. The class struggle is an objective phenomenon and, as such, it is inevitable. It develops through zig-zags, at times less and other times more intensive, but it never ceases nor dies out until the complete triumph of communism is attained on a world scale. The class struggle covers all fields: political, economic, social, ideologic and cultural.

Keeping always in mind these lessons of Marxism-Leninism, our Party has waged a class struggle on a broad front against all enemies, overt and covert, be they the fascist invaders or the treacherous organizations at the latter's service, the internal exploiting classes or their remnants, the various anti-Party and anti-socialist elements or U.S. and British imperialists, the Greek monarchic-fascists and the different reactionary forces, the Yugoslav or Soviet revisionist renegades and their stooges. At the same time, our Party has waged a relentless class struggle among the people and among its own ranks against all the traces of the old society and the poisonous influence of the bourgeois and revisionist ideology.

Considering the class struggle as an objective phenomenon and carrying it through, with persistence, our Party has never let itself fall into the pit of sectarianism and adventurism. It has viewed this struggle in a dialectical, not metaphysical way, it has developed it always in the same way and in similar forms, but in ways and forms appropriate to the various historic phases, to the concrete national and international circumstances, to the changes of objective conditions.

Carrying out the class struggle in a dialectical way has enabled our Party to assess the main class contradictions aright, to distinguish between antagonistic from non-antagonistic contradictions, to determine the main class enemies at every given historic phase, to unerringly direct the main blow in the class struggle on a national and international scale.

A particular merit of our Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha is that they did not let class struggle fall into oblivion even after the exploiting classes were overthrown and liquidated as such in our country. Summing up the historic experience of our country as well of the countries where the treacherous revisionist cliques have now risen to power, the Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha have demonstrated that

class struggle goes on without interruption through the entire historic period of transition from capitalism to communism, as a life and death struggle between the forces of socialism and capitalism and between the two trends, the socialist and capitalist ones. At the Fifth Congress of the Party of Labor of Albania Comrade Enver Hoxha emphasized that, «the class struggle remains one of the main motive forces of society even after having liquidated the exploiting classes».

Studying the experience of our Party which is clearly mirrored in the History of the Party, the communists and all the working people will draw many a valuable lesson making them to be ever vigilant, to consistently develop the class struggle, to never reconcile themselves with anything alien to the cause of the people and socialism.

Today, the class struggle is being waged with particular fierceness, especially on the ideological front, against the all-sided pressure of the bourgeois and revisionist ideology, against the remnants of capitalism and private ownership in the consciousness of our working people. The class struggle is spearheaded especially at the tendency to put narrow personal interests over general interests, at idealistic and religious world-outlooks and backward customs, at alien manifestations in arts, culture and education, as well as in family life, etc. The objective of our class struggle is the complete triumph of proletarian ideology in the consciousness of our working people and in all the spheres of the spiritual life of our society. And as long as this has not been attained, the victories achieved by revolution in other fields cannot be considered as definitive and assured once for all time. Therefore, until then, there will always be the danger of turning back to capitalism, as the bitter experience of the countries where revisionists hold sway goes to show.

Herein lies the vital importance of the directive given by the Party for the class revolutionary education of the working people so that they may not only accept but also actively develop the class struggle in all the fields, not only in others but also in themselves. A careful study of the History of our Party will help our communists and working people to get a better grasp of the great importance of the task the Party lays down to put always and everywhere proletarian politics in command, to master the method of proletarian analysis, to carry out the combative slogan of our Party «to think, work and live as revolutionaries».

The entire history of the Party of Labor of Albania bears a clear witness to the fact that one of the principal sources of its force and invincibility, of all its victories lies in the sound links the Party has established with the masses. This is another very important lesson which the communists have to draw from the History of our Party in their day-to-day practice.

Revolution and socialist construction are the work of the broad people's masses led by their proletarian Marxist-Leninist Party. Therefore, the History of the Party of Labor of Albania is, at the same time, a history of the revolutionary struggle of the masses. A proletarian Party detached from the masses remains a commander without an army. Under such conditions, it would be destined to slip into the quagmire of adventurism and fail.

The historic experience of our Party shows that the force of a proletarian Party does not lie in the number of its members but, first and foremost, in its links with the masses. The fact that within no more than ten months' time after the liberation of the country our Party was accepted by the broad masses as their sole leader and its line became their line bears ample witness of the intimate relations of the Party with the broad masses of our people.

The steel-like links of our Party with the masses have not been established accidentally. In the first place, the strength of these links is due to the fact that the line of the Party always expresses the desires and the interests of the masses. The other reason is that our Party has carried on such revolutionary activity as to convince the masses through their own experience of the correctness of its political line and of the leading capability of their Party.

The fiery, correct and combative word of our Party has always touched the problems that preoccupie the masses most. Our Party has always told the truth, with its good and bad sides, it has pointed out the only road that leads to victory, without hushing up difficulties and obstacles, sacrifices and efforts indispensable to the achievement of the desired ends.

The word of the Party has had and continues to have a great convincing force for it has always been accompanied by revolutionary deeds. Ideological and political work with the masses has always been accompanied with concrete actions, with the personal example set by the communists. This great principle was formulated by Comrade Enver Hoxha

as early as April 1942, at a consultation of the Party activists, when he said, «without actions there can be no communist party. . . It is action and struggle that make the party grow and wax strong. We can not be linked with the people unless we prove to them that we are capable of leading them.»

Our Party established its links with the masses on sound organizati^{ve} bases. It is for this reason that right from the beginning it attached the greatest importance to establishing various political organizations of the masses to be led by the Party such as the National-liberation Front, the Youth Organization, the Women's Organization and, following the liberation of the country, the Trade Unions Organization.

Both during the period of the National-liberation War and especially after the liberation of the country, during the period of socialist construction, our Party has done a great and consistent work to continuously strengthen those mass organizations as irreplaceable links connecting the Party with the masses, conveying the word of the Party to the masses, acting as schools of communist education for and platform of the voice of the masses and of their revolutionary self-activity.

As a result of the tireless efforts of the Party to educate and mobilize the masses for the struggle to liberate the country and to build socialism, the monolithic unity of our people around the Party was created and steeled in the Democratic Front. At the roots of this organization lay and lies the alliance of the working class with the working peasantry, which was the decisive force in the national-liberation struggle and which, after liberation, was to serve and is actually serving as a steel-like social basis for the development of the proletarian dictatorship and of our socialist order. Thanks to the work and efforts made by our Party, this alliance has continuously been made stronger and more solid, rising to a higher phase with the development of our revolution from one stage to another.

Steeled in the heat of revolutionary battles, the unity of our people around the Party of Labor of Albania has resisted all tests and storms. All the pressures, blockades and attempts of the enemies of our people and of socialism to make us stop midway have failed with utter shame in front of this unity. This steel-like unity is one of the main guarantees that the cause of socialism in our country will forge ahead at a steady pace in the future, too. That is why

the continuous strengthening of this unity is considered by our Party as its permanent and first-hand task.

Keeping in mind the decisive role played by the people's masses in revolution and socialist construction, the Fifth Congress of the Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha have recommended to further strengthen the mass line. The Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha have emphasized that the communists, intellectuals and, especially, the leading cadres at all levels should never detach themselves from the masses, but, on the contrary, they should continuously strengthen their links with the workers and peasants by working, living and tempering themselves together with them, lending an attentive ear to the voice of the masses and learning from them, resolutely uprooting any alien manifestation of bureaucratism and intellectualism which, as the Sixth Plenary Session of the Central Committee of the PLA emphasized, could serve as a basis of degenerating the people, undermining the proletarian dictatorship and the socialist order and of bringing about the emergence of revisionism. They have stressed the need for an ever broader and more active participation of the masses in governing the country, in administering its economy and culture, in sizing up the great problems that concern our Party and People's Government. Especially indispensable and decisive is the direct control that should be exercised by our working class over everything and everyone.

The experience of our Party teaches us to ever strive with greatest determination for raising the political, cultural and educational level of the masses, first and foremost, of the working class, in order that they may become fully conscious of the decisive role appertaining to them in our socialist society and that they may never slip into the quagmire of indifferentism and political apathy, but remain always combative, courageously criticizing everything alien and harmful, taking the cause of the further development of our revolution and its protection from any danger into their own hands. Studying the History of the Party of Labor of Albania and the revolutionary experience of the Party will help merge the communists and cadres still better with the masses, to be, first, their pupils in order to become, then, faithful servants of the people, ever trying to defend their interests and the interests of socialism.

The History of the Party of Labor teaches us that only

a proletarian party built on the basis of organizational Marxist-Leninist principles, with a steel-like unity and an iron discipline, always active and endowed with a high revolutionary spirit, always keeping its ranks pure, only such a party is capable of playing the vanguard role appertaining to the working class and of leading its cause to victory. The experience of the degeneration of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union has proven that renouncing the revolutionary meaning and the revolutionary fulfilment of the Marxist-Leninist norms is the greatest evil for a party of the working class, the greatest danger threatening it with dissolution and transformation into a revisionist party. It was this evil that gradually infested the Communist Party of the Soviet Union with bureaucratism, routine, formalism and sloth, it was this evil that divested it of the revolutionary spirit that characterized it during Lenin's and Stalin's time, that made it incapable of resisting the privileged bourgeoisified stratum, the revisionists, who had succeeded in depriving the working class of its State power, from establishing their domination over the working class and their party.

With us the Central Committee headed by Comrade Enver Hoxha has always attached the greatest importance to the strengthening of the Party; they have not let the party to get bureaucratic and inert, they have never permitted its norms and revolutionary features to be trampled upon and done away with but, on the contrary, they have kept them alive and keep perfecting and raising them to a higher stage. This is one of the most important factors which have made our Party strong and invincible, capable of coping with all difficulties and situations.

Our Party has devoted and devotes particular attention to constantly strengthening its unity on the basis of Marxist-Leninist principles. It has never permitted different anti-Marxist, opportunistic, Trotzkyite, revisionist and other trends to crop up their heads and strike roots among its ranks. Right from the beginning it has waged a merciless and principled struggle against them, has defeated them and resolutely cleansed its ranks from all deviationist and anti-Party elements. This is the sole correct road to prevent our Party from committing errors and from degenerating. Any deviation from this road is fraught with grave consequences for the proletarian party and its cause.

During the whole of its 27 years-long life, our Party has

seen to it that its ranks are swelled first and foremost with genuine revolutionaries closely linked with the masses, with men and women of deeds and not of specious words, with elements loyal to the last to the interests of the people and the cause of socialism, with men and women setting the example as unbent fighters against all class enemies, shortcomings or errors, against anything old and reactionary, with men and women exemplary in fulfilling their tasks, exemplary for their simplicity and honorability, being the first to make sacrifices and the last to have pretensions.

To see of what an importance is the example of the communists suffice it to bring forth one historic fact. Our party initiated its war when there were no more than 200 communists in its ranks. At the end of the National-liberation struggle this number rose to 2,800. But this handful of men and women armed with the lofty ideals of the Party aroused a whole people, organized the gigantic National-liberation War which led to the liberation of Albania and the establishment of People's Power. This is the most convincing proof of what Comrade Enver Hoxha says that, «it is not the quantity but the quality of steel that counts in the Party, and through their struggle to defend the principles of Marxism-Leninism the Albanian communists have become a truly unbreakable brand of steel».

At the same time, our Party has never forgotten, be it for a single moment, that communists themselves are not immune from alien influence, therefore it has never ceased working for the revolutionary education and tempering of its members. Summing up the experience of the struggle, work and behavior of the communist, Comrade Enver Hoxha laid out at the Fifth Party Congress the distinctive qualities which should characterize the member of the Party of Labor of Albania. Preservation and consolidation of these qualities by every communist is an indispensable condition for further revolutionizing our Party.

Likewise, the Central Committee and Comrade Enver Hoxha have attached equal importance to continuously enhancing and strengthening the leading role of the party organizations anywhere and everywhere, in order that the line and directive of the Party may always be correctly carried out. A series of important measures were taken to further strengthen and enliven the inner life of the party organizations, to turn them into self-acting organs and genuine

nesses of revolutionaries. More consistent work is being done to fill the ranks of the Party and to strengthen its leading organs with young revolutionary blood, in the first place, with vanguard elements from the ranks of the working class, for a Marxist-Leninist party should be proletarian not only in respect to its line, but to its social make up as well.

At present, the overwhelming majority of the communists are consistently fighting to temper themselves as revolutionaries, ever better assimilating the qualities that should characterize the communists, fighting in the van of the great struggle that is being waged in our country to revolutionize people's minds, work and life. The great majority of the Party cells are scoring important successes in improving their educational work and strengthening their leading role, in bettering the make up of the party, in carrying out the directives for raising their work to a higher level. The elections to the Party organs which are taking place these days, are further clear expression of these successes.

But the Party organizations and the communists have to do a lot more in this direction. Studying the history of the Party and its revolutionary experience will help them to get a better grasp of the vital importance of the work to consolidate the Party, it will inspire them in such a way as not only to get a better understanding of the recommendations and directives of the Party but to carry them out in the right way and with success.

Under the present conditions of the fierce struggle waged between proletarian and bourgeois ideology in a national and international scale the question of deeply understanding ideologically and carrying out in a revolutionary way the Marxist-Leninist norms on the inner life of the Party assumes particular importance. The better this question is comprehended and the more consistently it is carried out, the more invincible our Party will be in beating back the attacks of its imperialist and revisionist enemies, in coping with its difficulties of growth, the more it will preserve and strengthen its proletarian character, its proletarian policy, honorably accomplishing, thus, its great mission in the future, too.

The history of the Party of Labor of Albania is the history of its consistent implementation of the principles and requirements of proletarian internationalism. It is a living example of how national and international tasks are to be

correctly combined, how socialist patriotism is to be linked with proletarian internationalism.

Our Party has always considered its revolutionary struggle for the freedom and independence of the Albanian nation, for the socialist construction of the country, for the defense of Marxism-Leninism as an internal part of the world proletarian revolution, of the struggle for the national liberation and social emancipation of the peoples. On the other hand, it has always felt the need for the powerful support of the world revolutionary movement, it has correctly assessed the importance of this support and has firmly relied upon the help rendered by the fraternal communist and workers' parties, by the national-liberation and anti-imperialist movement of the peoples, both during its war for national liberation and its struggle for the edification of socialism.

It is for this reason that our Party has closely linked the National-liberation War of the Albanian nation with the anti-fascist struggle of the other nations, first and foremost, with the Great Patriotic War of the Soviet Union. It has considered and considers the national-liberation war of the Soviet peoples against Hitlerite Germany as the main foreign factor for the victory of people's revolution in Albania. As early as the period of the National-liberation War, our Party made a clear distinction between the socialist Soviet Union and the imperialist U.S. and British «allies» who were doing their uttermost to sabotage and halt the victorious revolution in Albania and in the other countries.

After the achievement of the victory of the revolution and the establishment of the world socialist system our Party fought with all its might to establish and strengthen fraternal ties among the socialist countries. After the emergence of the Khrushchovite revisionists, our Party waged a courageous battle against their efforts to split the socialist camp and to impose enslaving relations upon the socialist countries.

The lofty internationalist spirit of our Party has found its clear expression through the whole of its history. At every important step it has proceeded not only from national but also from international considerations. Carrying out people's revolution, making socialist construction progress at high speed, consolidating and resolutely defending our victories against all the attempts of the enemies — all these things go to show that our Party has not only accomplished its national but its international task as well.

The internationalist spirit of the Party of Labor of Albania is manifested in a particularly striking manner in the unbent struggle it has waged and wages against the international enemies of Marxism-Leninism, of revolution and socialism. Our Party conducts with a high sense of responsibility its resolute struggle against imperialism led by U.S.-imperialism, its consistent and principled struggle against the Yugoslav Titoite clique which is made up of agents of imperialism as well as the great historic battle against the Khrushchovite brand of revisionism proceeding not only from considerations of defending the freedom and independence of the Albanian nation, but also from the general interests of the revolution and socialism the world over, in spite of all threats, pressures, difficulties, blockades that our enemies have resorted and resort to against our country. Our Party will never cease to wage this principled struggle until the day when imperialism and revisionism have been definitely defeated, until the day when Marxism-Leninism and socialism have triumphed on a world-wide scale.

The entire foreign policy of our Party and of our socialist State stems from the principles of proletarian internationalism. Its policy is one of resolute struggle against imperialism, revisionism and all counter-revolutionary forces; it is a policy of unreserved solidarity with and support to the revolutionary and national-liberation struggles of the workers and peoples, of the new Marxist-Leninist parties and groups all over the world.

The internationalist line our Party has consistently followed and follows has raised its authority and prestige, the authority of our country and people in the international arena. This line has won for them the friendship, respect and revolutionary support of the peoples of the other countries, has won for them sincere and sure friends all over the world. Our Party and people have felt this friendship and support at every step they have taken and they consider them as one of the important factors of their victories.

Our Party has cultivated a particular friendship with the Chinese people and the Communist Party of China which is led by the great Marxist-Leninist Comrade Mao Tse-tung. This is a Marxist-Leninist friendship growing and strengthening with each passing day to the benefit of our two parties and peoples, to the benefit of the cause of Marxism-Leninism, of the freedom of the peoples and of revolution.

The Party of Labor of Albania has consistently worked for educating the communists and workers in the spirit of proletarian internationalism. It has instilled into their hearts a strong and pure feeling towards the workers, peoples and revolutionary forces in the world. Our task is to make these pure feelings of our people still stronger. Studying the History of the Party of Labor of Albania and its revolutionary experience, its out-and-out internationalist stand, will fill our communists and all our people with a justified feeling of pride for the ability and resoluteness our Party has shown in carrying out the principles and requirements of proletarian internationalism, for the high internationalist spirit it has demonstrated at every moment of its life and will help our communists and workers to raise their internationalist spirit to a higher level.

* * *

The publication of the History of the Party of Labor of Albania is a great help to the communists and to all working people. This should serve as a powerful stimulus for all of them to make still greater efforts in studying the historic experience of our Party in a profound and systematical way. As a reflection of this experience, the History of the Party of Labor of Albania will constitute an effective help to link Marxist-Leninist theory still closer with our practice, to fight and surmount both the abstract dogmaticism and the narrow practicism, to make the high ideals of Marxism-Leninism understandable and accessible to the broad masses of the working people who, in the History of our Party, will realize that they themselves have put these ideals into effect.

The twenty-seven-year long road traversed by our Party is a glorious and heroic one. The history of this road fills the communists and all our people with a feeling of pride, is a powerful stimulus inciting them to new feats and victories. It will inspire them to exert still greater efforts for the benefit of the people and the cause of socialism, it will especially arouse our youth, the worthy reserve and heir of our Party, who will take the future of our Fatherland and revolution in their own hands.

«By publishing its history», Comrade Enver Hoxha has said, «the Party of Labor of Albania puts into the hands of

the communists and the working people of our country a sharp and powerful weapon for their political and ideological struggle. They should be proud of it. The History of the Party will open new and splendid horizons and prospects before them. It will still further knead our communists and people into true revolutionaries armed with the great Marxist-Leninist ideas of the Party, it will still better temper and inspire them in the struggle to defend Marxism-Leninism, to conquer all fortresses and score great and brilliant victories in the complete construction of socialist society and communism».

*(Reproduced from the «Zëri i Popullit» daily
of November 8th 1968)*

On the occasion of the festivities of the 24th anniversary of the liberation of our country, a Chinese Party, Government and Army Delegation led by Comrade Huang Yung-sheng, Member of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and Chief of the General Staff of the Chinese People's Liberation Army paid a visit from November 27 to December 3 at the invitation of the Central Committee of the Party of Labor and the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Albania. The following speeches were held on the occasion of this visit:

S P E E C H

DELIVERED BY COMRADE MEHMET SHEHU, MEMBER OF THE POLITICAL BUREAU OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE PARTY OF LABOR AND CHAIRMAN OF THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS OF THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF ALBANIA AT A RECEPTION GIVEN IN HONOR OF THE CHINESE DELEGATION ON DECEMBER 2, 1968

* Dear Comrade Huang Yung-sheng,
Dear Comrades of the Chinese Party, Government and Army Delegation,
Comrades and Friends!

The Albanian people feel highly elated at the great honor done to them by the glorious Communist Party of China, by the Government of the People's Republic of China and by the heroic Chinese People's Liberation Army in sending their Delegation headed by Comrade Huang Yung-sheng to take part at the great festivities of the twenty-fourth anniversary of our country's liberation from the fascist yoke.

Allow me on behalf of the Albanian people, of our Party, Government and Army to extend our wholehearted salutations and thanks to the Delegation of the Chinese Party, Government and Army headed by Comrade Huang Yung-sheng. .

We are particularly glad that the Chinese Delegation is headed by Comrade Huang Yung-sheng, Chief of the General Staff, of the Chinese People's Liberation Army. Let all Albania's external enemies, those flying the NATO flag and those flying the Warsaw Treaty flag, whoever they may be, know that the friendship between Albania and China finds its expression in fraternal internationalist relations not only in the ideological, political and economic fields but in the military field as well. We are united by Marxism-Leninism, we are united by our glorious Parties and by our glorious leaders — Comrade Mao Tse-tung and Comrade Enver Hoxha.

The friendship between our two peoples, Parties and States is unbreakable because it rests on the solid foundations of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. *«Our Party, Government and people», Comrade Enver Hoxha has said, «are bound to the Chinese Party, Government and people by strong ties of everlasting fraternal friendship. Neither the long distance of thousands of miles nor the mountains, seas and oceans that lie between our two countries can hinder us from standing side by side like blood brothers, in sunny days and in difficult times, for this friendship is rooted deep on the solid bedrock of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism»*

Your visit to our country, dear Comrade Huang Yung-sheng, is of great service to our people and helps a lot in further consolidating the unbreakable friendship between our two peoples, Governments and Armies.

In People's China's relations with the People's Republic of Albania one can see the picture of the correct relations that should exist among socialist countries. The relations and great friendship between our two countries brings reproach upon the modern revisionists. The Albanian people and their Party are proud of the deep militant friendship which links them with the great Chinese people and the Communist Party of China.

The Albanian people and their Party have followed with special interest the path great People's China has passed through under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party headed by the great Marxist-Leninist Comrade Mao Tse-tung.

The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution sponsored by Mao Tse-tung's Marxist-Leninist ideas and teachings has been crowned with great success and has attained its brilliant victory with the establishment of revolutionary committees in twenty nine provinces, towns and autonomous regions with the exception of the province of Taiwan which is still under U.S. occupation. Our Party and our people have warmly welcomed and enthusiastically hailed the major achievements attained by the fraternal Chinese people in their Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution.

The cause of the Great Chinese Proletarian Cultural Revolution is a great cause of historic importance for the destinies of socialism and revolution not only for China nationally but also on an international scale. The ultimate objective of this revolution is to defend and to further and continuously strengthen the dictatorship of the proletariat in China, to carry the socialist revolution through to the end and to prevent the advent to power of modern revisionism and the restoration of capitalism as happened in the Soviet Union and other countries of Eastern Europe.

It is Comrade Mao Tse-tung's great merit of historical significance to have sparked off and led with exquisite skill and Marxist-Leninist far-sightedness the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution which aroused the hundreds of millions of Chinese people, the working class, the medium and poor peasants, the People's Liberation Army, the young Red Guard fighters, the revolutionary cadres and revolutionary intellectuals of China to smash once for all time the bourgeois staff represented by Liu Shao-chi and to bring about the ultimate victory of this great revolution.

The U.S. imperialists and the revisionist renegade leadership of the Soviet Union had cherished fond hopes of diverting great China from the socialist road to the capitalist road through the revisionist action of Liu Shao-chi and his counter-revolutionary band who had spread their claws all over China. But all this is now dashed and buried once and for all.

The 12th Plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, which was held one month ago, is a great event of historic importance for the destinies of the Chinese people, of socialism and revolution in China and its importance goes beyond China's borders. While drawing a balance sheet of the achievements attained by the Great Pro-

letarian Cultural Revolution, this Plenum passed a decision to oust from the Party once and for all traitor Liu Shao-chi and to divest him of all functions in and outside the Party and, at the same time, it set before the Party, the working class and the Chinese people as a whole major tasks to promote the achievements of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in all fields.

Taking their clue from Comrade Mao Tse-tung's instructions and teachings as well as from the historic decisions of the 12th Plenum, the hundreds of millions of the Chinese revolutionary people are successfully striving to put into practice these decisions and directives so that the struggle, criticism and transformation may be promoted, so that the working class may really exercise its leadership in full everywhere, at every time and in all things, so that the dictatorship of the proletariat may continually be strengthened on all fields, so that the revolution may be carried out also in the sphere of education, so that the ranks of the class may be cleansed and the new directives on the Party may be put into effect, etc. Of exceptionally great importance is the fact that the 12th Plenum established that through the tempest of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, ideological and organizational conditions have been prepared for the convening of the Ninth Party Congress at an appropriate time.

The great People's China has emerged from the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution stronger than ever. The great successes it has scored in all the fields of life rejoice its friends and infuriate its internal and external enemies. The Albanian people rejoice to the utmost at the major successes and victories of the Chinese people, consider these successes and victories as their own and wish the fraternal Chinese people further and greater successes.

Today, People's China has become a powerful socialist State with up-to-date industry, highly advanced socialist agriculture, science and technology, with a glorious invincible Army, with a colossal defensive potential capable of coping with and smashing every aggressor or coalition of aggressors.

The People's Republic of China enjoys high international authority and prestige. It firmly and sincerely supports and aids the struggle of the Asian, African and Latin American peoples against imperialism and colonialism as well as the major revolutionary class struggle of the proletariat in capitalist countries.

The great victories of the Chinese people in all fields of endeavor are the result of putting Comrade Mao Tse-tung's teachings into practice by the Communist Party of China and the Chinese people.

Comrades and Friends!

The international situation is developing in favor of revolution and socialism and to the detriment of imperialism and modern revisionism. We are now in a new stage of the struggle against imperialism and modern revisionism, when national-liberation and revolutionary forces in the world are rising against imperialist and revisionist oppression, when imperialism is precipitating in the process of its irresistible decay while the Soviet Union has been turned by its revisionist ruling clique into a militarist State that has resorted to open aggression, a thing which has invoked the terrific hatred of the people.

In the imperialist camp, the antagonistic contradictions between labor and capital have sharpened in an unprecedented degree and this has led to the outburst of an irresistible tide of demonstrations and strikes of youth, students and workers in various capitalist countries. Economic, financial, political and military crises have become permanent concomitants in the development of the situation in these countries. The revolutionary movements and the national-liberation struggle of the people are developing in depth. The ground is scorching under the feet of the U.S. imperialists. Nothing can save U.S. imperialism from declining, rotting and plunging headlong into its irretrievable doom.

In the so-called «community» of States where the revisionists are in power, that is, in the revisionist commonwealth, a grave crisis has also broken out. Whatever the revisionists do, they will be unable to escape from their shameful doom. The revisionist commonwealth resembles a rotten barge letting water in from all sides. The rotten revisionist barge is letting in water which will surely drown it; revisionism will be buried without fail under the weight of its crimes against socialism and revolution and imperialism will share the same fate. The Albanian people and their Party of Labor are confident that the day is not far off when the genuine Bolsheviks and Soviet people will rise up, as at the time of the Great October Socialist Revolution, and will de-

feat and wipe out the revisionist clique that has betrayed them and is sucking their blood, and they will bring the Soviet Union back to the road of Lenin and Stalin. In this respect they have something to learn from China's Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution.

The military aggression of the Soviet revisionists and their satellites against the fraternal Czechoslovak people marked the emergence of the Soviet Union on the international arena as an aggressor State, as new imperialism, where the leadership is beginning to be dominated by fascist military thinking. This aggression has led to an intense sharpening of the international situation, the more so because this aggression is based on Soviet-U.S. collusion which has also brought about the further thickening of a big plot against the Vietnamese people.

A new factor with very serious consequences has emerged in the international situation, namely, the open statement of the Soviet revisionists about the «juridical right» which the revisionist renegade clique of the Soviet Union arrogates to itself in order to interfere militarily, without being invited by any one, in the other socialist countries, as it did in Czechoslovakia, allegedly, to «save the cause of socialism from the imperialist danger.» This is as imperialistic and fascistic as Mussolini's thesis expressed in the treaty concluded in 1926 between Ahmet Zog's feudal and Mussolini's fascist regimes in which Mussolini had arrogated to himself «the juridical right» to interfere in Albania at any time that he would see that the internal situation of Albania's regime of that time or the interests of fascist Italy would be «threatened» in other words, at any time he would see fit! And it was precisely on the basis of this fascist concept that Mussolini acted on April 7, 1939 when he invaded Albania, and it is on the basis of this same fascist concept that the Moscow Khrushchevite clique acted on August 21, 1968 when it invaded Czechoslovakia.

Therefore, the military occupation of Czechoslovakia by the Soviet revisionists has sounded the alarm to the peoples of the world: the Soviet Union has turned into a social-imperialist and social-fascist State which, acting in the same way as U.S. imperialism, endangers the independence of other peoples.

Now a new imperialist-revisionist plot is being hatched against the fraternal Vietnamese people. This plot is a result

of the aggression against Czechoslovakia: in exchange for Czechoslovakia the Soviet revisionists sold out Vietnam to U.S. imperialism. But the Albanian people and their Party of Labor are confident that the fraternal Vietnamese people will not bend their knees before the diabolic plot of the U.S. imperialists and the Soviet revisionists and that they, the heroic Vietnamese people, will decide the fate of their struggle not at the conference table in Paris but on the battlefield in Vietnamese territory.

Faced with this situation threatening the freedom and sovereignty of peoples, the peoples of the world and all genuine revolutionaries are called upon to join in a common combative front against imperialism and revisionism if they want to ward off the danger of sharing the same fate as Czechoslovakia and Vietnam. In the circumstances of the general crisis of imperialism and modern revisionism, U.S. imperialism and Soviet revisionism, like two wounded wild beasts in agony, will devour other peoples and nations wherever, whenever and in any way they can before they die. The union of the freedom-loving peoples around the militant anti-imperialist and anti-revisionist front begins with their friendship with Mao Tse-tung's great Chinese people because People's China constitutes the main force and the backbone of the international anti-imperialist and anti-revisionist front.

Comrades and Friends!

In the forefront of the struggle against U.S.-led imperialism and against modern revisionism headed by the traitorous revisionist leadership of the Soviet Union there stand also the Albanian people faithfully led by Comrade Enver Hoxha, side by side with the great Chinese and other revolutionary peoples of the world.

Our people are working and fighting. We are building socialism at great speed and we have built up the defense capabilities of our country into an invincible force which is in a position to cope with any external aggression wherever it may come from — from the NATO aggressive forces, from the aggressive forces of the Warsaw Treaty or from any other forces.

The People's Republic of Albania denounced the Warsaw Treaty and freed itself from every obligation deriving from it, dealing a hard blow at the imperialist policy of the Soviet revisionists. The Soviet revisionists are terribly upset

especially because we picked the time of their aggression against Czechoslovakia for denouncing the Warsaw Treaty, and they accuse us for this, claiming that we have allegedly slipped to imperialist positions. But the People's Republic of Albania used discretion in choosing the moment for denouncing the Warsaw Treaty: Albania denounced the Warsaw Treaty precisely at the most critical moment for the Soviet revisionists to deal them the hardest of blows at their most critical moment tearing off their mask as aggressors and coming to the aid of the fraternal Czechoslovak people at the most critical moment of their present history. And it is not we who have taken the imperialist road but they, the Soviet revisionists, and their stooges of Poland, the German Democratic Republic, Hungary and Bulgaria who have long taken the capitalist and traitorous road, who have become zealous allies of U.S. imperialism and who have finally emerged on the international arena as perfidious aggressors against the socialist countries.

We are fully aware of the intentions of the U.S. imperialists and of the Soviet revisionist leaders against the People's Republic of Albania for nothing has escaped and nothing will ever escape the revolutionary vigilance of the Party of Labor of Albania and of the Albanian people. We are prepared for any situation. The Albanian people will not strew flowers for the aggressors, be they revisionists or imperialists, but will welcome them with guns and, as Comrade Enver Hoxha has said, will shower bullets into their mouths, and Albania will become the grave for any aggressor. The task we have set ourselves is that whoever will dare to attack the borders of our homeland and set foot on our sacred soil should be fully and definitely annihilated and be unable to get away from here alive. And the Party of Labor of Albania and the Albanian people mean what they say.

Moreover, the possible aggressors against Albania should not forget that the cause of the Albanian people is shared by all the revolutionary people of the world. They should not forget especially the power of the great Albanian-Chinese friendship either. They should well bear in mind that an armed attack against Albania cannot be confined within Albania's boundaries and that, in that case, the flames of the war will spread over all borders and reach the aggressor's den.

In its revolutionary action to withdraw from the Warsaw Treaty, our country received support from all parts of the

world. In those historic moments, the great Chinese people and the great Mao Tse-tung were nearer than ever to the Albanian people. In their message to the Albanian leadership the leaders of the Chinese people forcefully and very clearly stated before the whole world: «If the U.S. imperialists, the Soviet modern revisionists and their lackeys dare to touch Albania even the least little bit, nothing but a thorough, ignominious and irrevocable defeat awaits them».

In their message of greetings sent to our leadership on the occasion of our National Day a few days ago, Comrade Mao Tse-tung, Comrade Lin Piao and Comrade Chou En-lai again declared forcefully and very clearly before the whole world: «We once again assure you that the 700 million Chinese people who have experienced the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution are determined to give a powerful backing to the Albanian people and will firmly and unswervingly support your struggle against imperialism and revisionism at all times and under all circumstances».

These historic statements which are living expression of the great Albanian-Chinese friendship and of international solidarity, have fallen like bombs on our enemies and have once more confirmed the true internationalist stand of the Communist Party of China and of Comrade Mao Tse-tung. We Albanians, together with all other revolutionaries of the world, thank great People's China and Comrade Mao Tse-tung for this consistent internationalist stand.

Comrades of the Chinese Delegation!

During your stay in our country you have seen on the spot with how much passion and revolutionary drive our people are working in order to carry out the tasks of the 4th Five-year Plan and to put into practice the Marxist-Leninist line of our Party.

Life in our country today is characterized by a great revolutionary enthusiasm of the working masses to turn into reality the grand program of the Fifth Party Congress and the teachings of the Party and of Comrade Enver Hoxha on the further and all-round revolutionization of national life. Our Party consistently pursues the Marxist-Leninist line for the building of socialism with a pick in one hand and a rifle in the other and relying on our own resources.

The Albanian people are building socialism with great

success in this corner of the Balkans on the Adriatic coast. Socialist Albania resembles a small island in the imperialist and revisionist ocean of Europe. The beacon of socialism on our Albanian island will never go out, irrespective of the tides which splash or might splash on our walls, and of the ominous clouds hanging in our sky. No force on earth can prevent us from doing what we like at home, from building socialism and communism.

We bother nobody. The People's Republic of Albania, as always, will pursue a foreign policy of good neighborliness, it is for normal relations with all countries, regardless of their social regime. But the People's Republic of Albania never allows anybody to interfere in the internal affairs of the Albanian people.

In their work for the building of socialism our people have always had the brotherly and internationalist aid of the fraternal Chinese people. This aid has never failed us; it has been generous, comprehensive and effective. This is proved also by the economic aid which has been extended recently by the People's Republic of China on the occasion of the visit to China of the Government Economic Delegation of our country headed by Comrade Adil Çarçani. This aid is of exceptional importance not only with regard to its volume but also with regard to its political content and its high quality. This aid will serve the further and vigorous growth of the productive forces of Albania, the further strengthening of the economic independence of our country, the development of the existing branches and creation of new and powerful branches of industry, and will give further, vigorous impetus to industrial and agricultural production.

Within the framework of the long-term credit recently accorded to the People's Republic of Albania by the People's Republic of China, there will be built in our country, within a relatively short period of time, industrial projects of great importance, such as: a steel mill with a capacity of 800,000 tons of processed iron-nickel ore a year, a complex factory for the thorough oil processing with a capacity of a million tons gross weight oil a year, another powerful hydro-electric station on the Drini river with a capacity of about 400,000 kw, a polychlorvinil plant and a caustic soda plant, a polygraphic mill, a factory for producing plastic articles, numerous plants for enriching chrome and copper ore, coal and asbestos, as well as many other plants and factories; at the same time,

the existing superphosphate fertilizers plant and the tractor spare parts factory will be enlarged; new mines will be build up and equipments and tools will be provided for further mechanizing work processes in geology, mines, building construction and agriculture, for enlarging our merchant navy and geological complex researches, etc.

On behalf of our people, our Party and Government, I avail myself of this opportunity to express our gratitude and sincerest thanks to the fraternal Chinese people, to the glorious Communist Party of China, to the Government of the People's Republic of China and to Comrade Mao Tse-tung, for the very valuable internationalist aid they gave us this time, as they have always done.

Our people and our Party are unremittingly developing revolution; they are working intensely to further deepen the ideological revolution, to develop the class struggle in the interests of the working class, to further revolutionize the inner Party life, to improve the method and style of work, to deepen the struggle against bureaucracy, to further revolutionize education, to strengthen the working class control, to achieve the complete emancipation of the woman, to thoroughly implement the mass line and place proletarian politics in command, to continuously strengthen the dictatorship of the proletariat, to develop the technical and scientific revolution and gradually narrow down the differences between town and the countryside, between industry and agriculture, between mental and physical labor, etc. The ultimate object of the movements for the comprehensive revolutionization of our national life is to carry socialist revolution through to the end in all the spheres of life, to further improve socialist relations in production, to develop the productive forces, to constantly improve the superstructure and to avoid the emergence of revisionism and restoration of capitalism in Albania.

Of late, since our withdrawal from the Warsaw Treaty, a high spirit of militant preparedness has been spreading all over the country and the revolutionary vigilance has been heightened more than ever for the defence of the victories of revolution and socialism in Albania, for the defence of the borders of our homeland against any possible aggression by the imperialists or the revisionists. Our People, united as one around their Party headed by Comrade Enver Hoxha, have turned their homeland into an impregnable socialist

fortress where any enemy daring to touch it will meet with sure death.

Dear Comrades of the Chinese Delegation,

Your visit is coming to the end and you shall soon return to your country.

On this occasion, I ask you to transmit to the fraternal Chinese people, to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, to the Government of the People's Republic of China, to the Military Commission and the Cultural Revolution Group under the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, to the most beloved friend of our people, Chairman Mao Tse-tung, to his close comrade-in-arms Vice-Chairman Lin Piao and to Comrade Chou En-lai the warmest revolutionary greetings and feelings of pure friendship and militant solidarity of our people, our Party and our Government.

Concluding, I express the deep conviction that the visit of the Chinese Party, Government and Army Delegation, headed by the Chief of the General Staff of the People's Liberation Army, Comrade Huang Yung-sheng, will further strengthen the everlasting militant friendship between our two peoples, two parties and two armies.

Allow me to propose a toast:

— To the great, unbreakable and militant friendship binding our people with the 700-million strong fraternal Chinese people!

— To the heroic Chinese people and the glorious Communist Party of China!

— To the health of the great leader of the Chinese people, the most beloved friend of our people, the great Marxist-Leninist, Comrade Mao Tse-tung!

— To the final and all-round triumph of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution!

— To the health of the closest comrade-in-arms of Comrade Mao Tse-tung, Vice-Chairman Lin Piao!

— To the Government of the People's Republic of China and Comrade Chou En-lai!

— To the glorious Chinese People's Liberation Army!

— To the health of Comrade Huang Yung-sheng and all members of the Chinese Party, Government and Army Delegation!

— To the health of all those present at this reception!

— To the triumph of Marxism-Leninism!

S P E E C H

**DELIVERED BY COMRADE HUANG YUNG-SHENG, MEMBER
OF THE CC OF THE CHINESE COMMUNIST PARTY AND
CHIEF OF THE GENERAL STAFF OF THE CHINESE
PEOPLE'S LIBERATION ARMY AT A RECEPTION GIVEN
IN HONOR OF THE CHINESE DELEGATION ON
DECEMBER 2, 1968**

Dear Comrade Enver Hoxha,
Dear Comrade Mehmet Shehu,
Dear Comrade Haxhi Lleshi,
Dear Comrades and Friends,

Following our attendance at the solemn meeting full of enthusiasm of the various strata of the people of your capital, Tirana, we are now taking part at this banquet. I express once more to you our heartfelt thanks on behalf of all the comrades of the Chinese Party, Government and Army Delegation.

During our visit in your country, our delegation was cordially received by Comrade Enver Hoxha, the great leader of the Albanian people and the closest friend of the Chinese people, and held important talks with the Party, Government and Army leaders of Albania. Together with the Albanian people, we joyfully celebrated the grand festivity of the 24th anniversary of the liberation of Albania. Wherever we went during our visit, we were accorded warm fraternal welcome by the Albanian people. This has fully demonstrated the profound and unbreakable friendship between the Chinese and the Albanian peoples.

We have learned from many of your valuable experiences since our arrival here. We have seen with our own eyes that the Party of Labor of Albania headed by Comrade Enver

Hoxha, the great Marxist-Leninist, enjoys the highest prestige among the Albanian people. The Albanian people with a glorious revolutionary tradition are a heroic people who defy brute force, fear no difficulties, dare to struggle and dare to win victory. The Government of the People's Republic of Albania is a revolutionary government which maintains close ties with the masses and has a high sense of responsibility towards the broad masses. The Albanian People's Army is a revolutionary army with a high level of political consciousness. Such a Party, such a people, such a government and such an army are certainly able to defeat any enemy and will never be overwhelmed by him.

We have seen with our own eyes that the revolutionization movement in Albania has scored brilliant victories and is now forging ahead in greater breadth and depth. Full of vigor and highly militant, the entire people of your country are relying on their own efforts to wage arduous struggles; they are resolved to build Albania into a still more powerful socialist country. A vigorous revolutionary atmosphere prevails in both urban and rural areas throughout the country. Just as Comrade Enver Hoxha has said, the Albanian people, *with a high revolutionary spirit, holding more tightly in their strong hands the pick and the rifle, are fulfilling all the tasks better than ever.* It is our conviction that your revolutionization movement will show more and more its great might and far-reaching significance.

We have seen with our own eyes that the Albanian people have a high consciousness of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism and that they uphold principles and draw a clear line of demarcation between what to love and what to hate. They are filled with revolutionary hatred for imperialism headed by the United States and modern revisionism whose center is the Soviet revisionist renegade clique. They extend greatest sympathy and support to the revolutionary struggle of the people of all countries in the world. You have made great contributions to the international communist movement and to the anti-imperialist and anti-revisionist struggle of the revolutionary people the world over.

This visit has left a deep impression on us. We shall never forget this. We shall transmit to the Chinese people and the Chinese People's Liberation Army the unbound friendship of the Albanian people and the Albanian People's Army for

the Chinese people and the Chinese People's Liberation Army, as well as the proletarian revolutionary spirit of the Albanian people. This will be a great inspiration for the Chinese people in their struggle for the all-round victory of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution.

Comrades!

The present international situation is increasingly favorable to the revolutionary peoples of all countries, but increasingly unfavorable to U.S. imperialism and Soviet modern revisionism. The Soviet revisionist renegade clique has shown by its own deeds that this clique and U.S. imperialism are jackals of the same lair. Soviet revisionism gives its tacit consent and support to U.S. imperialist aggression against Vietnam while U.S. imperialism gives its tacit consent and support to Soviet revisionist aggression against Czechoslovakia. Immediately after Albania's withdrawal from the Warsaw Treaty, Soviet revisionism deployed its troops in Bulgaria and, at the same time, stepped up its fleet activities in the Mediterranean. This has posed threats to the security of the Albanian people and the people of other Balkan countries and the Middle and Near East. Comrade Mao Tse-tung, the great leader of the Chinese people, his close comrade-in-arms, Comrade Lin Biao, and Comrade Chou En-lai solemnly pointed out in their reply dated September 17 this year to Comrade Enver Hoxha, the great leader of the Albanian people, and to Comrade Mehmet Shehu: *«The 700 million Chinese people, who have been tempered and grown stronger in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, will unswervingly stand on the side of the fraternal Albanian people at all times and under all circumstances. If the U.S. imperialists, the Soviet modern revisionists and their lackeys dare to touch Albania even in the least bit, nothing but a thorough, ignominious and irrevocable defeat awaits them.»* We must serve another stern warning to U.S. imperialism and Soviet modern revisionism as well as their lackeys: You will certainly be brought to account for the monstrous crimes you have committed throughout the world, and your sinister scheme for re-division of the world will never succeed.

The friendship between the two Parties, two peoples, two Governments and two armies of China and Albania is genuine

revolutionary friendship of the proletariat. This friendship of ours was born and has matured in the storms of international class struggle. It can stand the test of any tempest. We will always be united, will always fight together and be victorious together.

Long live the militant friendship between the two Parties, peoples, Governments and armies of China and Albania!

Long live the great leader of the Albanian people, Comrade Enver Hoxha!

Long live the great leader of the Chinese people, Chairman Mao Tse-tung!

SPEECH

**DELIVERED AT THE MASS RALLY OF THE TIRANA
WORKERS ON DECEMBER 2, 1968 BY COMRADE BEQIR
BALLUKU, MEMBER OF THE POLITICAL BUREAU OF THE
CC OF THE PARTY OF LABOR OF ALBANIA, DEPUTY-
CHAIRMAN OF THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS AND
MINISTER OF DEFENSE OF THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF
ALBANIA**

Dear Comrade Huang Yung-sheng,
Dear Comrades of the Chinese Party, Government and Army
Delegation,
Comrades!

The workers of our Capital and the army men of the Tirana garrison feel highly elated to take part at this mass rally of Albanian-Chinese militant friendship and to greet most heartily our closest comrades-in-arms and fellow fighters from Mao Tse-tung's great People's China, the Chinese Party, Government and Army delegation headed by Member of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and Chief of the General Staff of the People's Liberation Army of China, Comrade Huang Yung-sheng.

On this occasion, allow me on behalf of the Albanian people, of the Central Committee of the Party of Labor, the Government of the People's Republic and the effective of the Armed Forces of Albania, to express to the Chinese Party, Government and Army Delegation our deep feelings of sincere, fraternal and revolutionary friendship for the 700-million strong Chinese people, their glorious Communist Party, their great leader and most esteemed friend of our people, Comrade Mao Tse-tung, the heroic People's Liberation Army of China, the indomitable bastion of socialism and revolution in the world.

In these days of rejoicing of the great November festivities which our people awaited in an atmosphere of high revolutionary enthusiasm and with major successes in all the fields of socialist construction and national defense to their credit, we are happy to have among us our esteemed friends and comrades-in-arms, the Chinese Party, Government and Army delegation.

The participation of the Chinese Party, Government and Army delegation headed by comrade Huang Yung-sheng at our national festivities of November 28 and 29 is a living expression of the great Albanian-Chinese militant friendship, contributing a lot to the further strengthening and deepening of the fraternal friendship between our two peoples building socialism, our two Marxist-Leninist Parties and our two proletarian Armies. Our people, Party, Government and Army are highly honored by this visit and that's why wherever our workers, peasants, and armymen came into contact with the members of the delegation, they reiterated the respect and ardent love they cherish for the fraternal Chinese people, for the glorious Chinese Communist Party and Comrade Mao Tse-tung, for the everlasting combative and revolutionary friendship between our two countries.

During the nineteen years of People's Power, thanks to the self-denying efforts of the gifted Chinese people and the correct leadership of their Communist Party headed by the distinguished Marxist-Leninist Comrade Mao Tse-tung, great People's China has turned to a real socialist colossus with an up-to-date industry, advanced agriculture, highly developed science and technology, an insuperable defensive potential, a mighty proletarian army equipped with the most perfect means of warfare.

Mao Tse-tung's great China has witnessed two historically great revolutions which have shaken the world: the Chinese People's Great Revolution which, next to the great October Socialist Revolution in Russia led by Lenin and Stalin, dealt a hard blow at the bloody world imperialist system and the first great proletarian cultural revolution which smashed the diabolic schemes of world reaction led by U.S. imperialism and modern Soviet revisionists to restore capitalism in China.

The great Chinese proletarian cultural revolution shattered the dreams of world reaction to impede the impetuous development of the proletarian socialist revolution in China

and in the world as a whole. This is a deep political and ideological revolution unprecedented in history being unfolded under the dictatorship of the proletariat and according to the great strategic plan of Comrade Mao Tse-tung.

The hundred-million-strong masses of revolutionary workers, peasants, armymen and people's intellectuals, holding fast to and translating into life Chairman Mao Tse-tung's ideas, have waged and continue to wage a fierce class struggle, have exposed and defeated the bourgeois leadership represented by the rabid enemy of the Chinese Party and people, the running dog of imperialism and revisionism, Liu Shao-chi who, together with his agents, attempted to usurp the Party, Government and Army leadership. The frustration of this imperialist and revisionist conspiracy marked the decisive victory of the proletarian dictatorship and socialism over revisionism and capitalism enabling the People's Republic of China retain its red color and stand as a gigantic bastion of socialism and of the world revolution for all time.

The setting up of revolutionary committees in all the provinces, cities, towns and autonomous regions, except the province of Taiwan, marked the complete victory of Comrade Mao Tse-tung's ideas and revolutionary line over traitor Liu Shao-chi's reactionary course. This magnificent victory has given rise, throughout China, to an unprecedented revolutionary atmosphere, a nonstop drive and mobilization to march always ahead along the road to socialism and communism.

The basic feature of the present internal situation of the People's Republic of China is the great monolithic moral and political unity of the 700-million strong Chinese people around their Communist Party and Comrade Mao Tse-tung. This steel-like unity based on Marxist-Leninist principles, on Comrade Mao Tse-tung's thought, is at the root of all the present and future achievements of the fraternal Chinese people who as a body are marching proudly and triumphantly ahead along the road of uninterrupted revolution.

The great proletarian cultural revolution has turned the People's Republic of China into a big school of class political and ideological education where the hundreds of millions of revolutionary workers, peasants and armymen are zealously engaged in studying and putting into practice the teachings and directives of their leader, Chairman Mao Tse-tung in order to fulfil to the letter the tasks of the present stage of

the revolution, namely, to fight, criticize and transform, in order to enhance the role of leadership of the working class in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and in the socialist construction of the country in order to further revolutionize education, culture, and so on.

An immense contribution has been and is being rendered to this major class struggle by the Chinese People's Revolutionary Army which has become a strong and steady champion of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and the proletarian dictatorship in China. Embracing and upholding to the full the revolutionary line of their Party, the revolutionary fighters of the Chinese People's Liberation Army have written glorious pages in the history of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution by their heroism. They became a major source of inspiration for all the Chinese proletarian revolutionaries.

The Chinese People's Liberation Army, the armed flank of the Party and of the dictatorship of the proletariat, educated and guided personally by Chairman Mao Tse-tung, reared and tempered in the heat of fierce class battles against the internal and external enemies of the Chinese people, is a proletarian army of a new type, firm defender of its socialist homeland and of the cause of revolution striking terror to the U.S.-led imperialists and the modern revisionists headed by the traitorous Khrushchevite Soviet revisionist clique.

Through its important decisions, its exposure and expulsion of traitor Liu Shao-chi from the ranks of the Party, the 12th enlarged Plenum of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party marked the final victory of Comrade Mao Tse-tung's revolutionary Marxist-Leninist line over the counter-revolutionary line of the revisionist clique who aimed at turning People's China onto the capitalist way of development.

All the communists, revolutionary masses and fighters of the Chinese People's Liberation Army received these decisions with indescribable enthusiasm and have set to work to put into practice Comrade Mao Tse-tung's teachings and directives on the exercise of the leading role by the working class, on the continuous and all-round consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat, on the great revolutionary alliance and the revolutionary three-in-one combination, on the development of mass revolutionary criticism and mass

revolutionary exposure, on the simplification of the organizational structure which will bring about the ultimate victory of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, the continuity and ceaseless development of socialist revolution in the People's Republic of China.

The successful unfolding of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and the atmosphere it creates have given and are giving an unprecedented impetus to the development of the thought and creative energies of the talented and hard working Chinese people to the inculcation and enhancement of the proletarian sense of duty, to the development by leaps and bounds of productive forces, science and technology, to the increase of production and continuous consolidation of the defensive potential of the People's Republic of China.

The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution is of major importance not only for China but for all the peoples of the world. It has exerted and continues to exert an ever growing influence on the intensification of the revolutionary and national-liberation struggle of the people in all continents against imperialism and reaction, on the development of Marxist-Leninist forces and on the enhancement of the awareness of the working class in revisionist countries, to overthrow the revisionist cliques in power and to re-establish the dictatorship of the proletariat in those countries. It is precisely for this reason that the modern revisionists with the Khrushchevite clique in the lead have done and are doing their uttermost to fight Chairman Mao Tse-tung's correct Marxist-Leninist line and the brilliant achievements of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution by resorting to basest slanders, intrigues and trumped up charges. But the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution has scored and keeps scoring major successes and the People's Republic of China is forging ahead by leaps and bounds. There is no and there will never be any force in the world capable of halting for a moment People's China's triumphant march toward socialism and communism.

The great Chinese people's possession of atomic and hydrogen weapons has largely enhanced the People's Republic of China's defensive potential; it has dealt a heavy blow at the blackmail and nuclear monopoly of the imperialists and revisionists. Nuclear weapons in the hands of the great Chinese people who proceed firmly along socialist lines are weapons in the hands of all the revolutionary peoples of the world. People's China is the strongest bastion of so-

cialism and revolution. Its successes are the successes of all the world revolutionary peoples. «It is a great fortune for the people and their freedom, for world peace, for Marxism-Leninism and the destiny of socialism that especially under these circumstances», Comrade Enver Hoxha has said, «there exists the powerful and revolutionary People's Republic of China, that there exists the great Communist Party of China headed by its distinguished leader Comrade Mao Tse-tung, a militant Party unremittently loyal to Marxism-Leninism.»

The Albanian people, the closest comrades-in-arms of the Chinese people, greatly rejoice at the major achievements the People's China has attained in all the fields of socialist construction under the leadership of the glorious Communist Party of China headed by the great Marxist-Leninist Comrade Mao Tse-tung.

From the very beginning our people and the Party of Labor of Albania have firmly upheld and given full backing to the Great Chinese Proletarian Cultural Revolution welcoming the historic decisions of the 12th Enlarged Plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China. We sincerely rejoice at the magnificent achievements of the Communist Party and the fraternal people of China as well as at the brilliant prospects opened up for the People's Republic of China. Our Party and people regard these achievements as their own and as the achievements of the revolutionary peoples throughout the world.

Comrades,

We are living through a period when the international situation develops in favor of peoples and revolution and to the detriment of imperialism, revisionism and reaction. The legitimate struggle of the people's masses is growing stronger and stronger and the storm of revolution is furiously spreading against U.S.-led imperialism and modern revisionism led by the Khushchevite clique as well as against all other reactionaries.

The national-liberation struggle of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America is spreading with the fury of a volcano in eruption. Among the major class battles those of the proletariat in capitalist and revisionist countries are gaining momentum in establishing and re-establishing the dictatorship of the proletariat and bringing about a more solid compactness of the Marxist-Leninist forces.

The teachings of Marxism-Leninism on armed struggle and revolution, the history of the wars that have been waged and are being waged for national liberation and social emancipation are strengthening the conviction of the people and revolutionaries that it is only through the barrel of the gun that political power can and should be wrested from the bourgeoisie and the revisionist cliques in power, that it is only through an armed uprising and class struggle in all their external and internal aspects that real freedom can and should be won and the development of socialist revolution can and should be guaranteed. The growing armed national-liberation wars that the people are waging in many countries of the world against imperialist oppression and exploitation are the best proof that, despite Soviet-U.S. «Holy Alliance,» despite their conspiracies, blackmail and demagoguery, the people march ahead towards victory, towards freedom, independence and socialism.

At the present state of rapid development of revolution when imperialism and revisionism are being gnawed at by deep antagonistic contradictions and are meeting with one disaster after another, Soviet-U.S. collaboration, the collaboration of these two world gendarms, has assumed larger proportions in hatching up and coordinating plots against the people. This collaboration, aiming at dividing the world into zones of influence and at subjugating it to the domination of the two big Powers, is threatening the freedom and national sovereignty of the various countries of the world.

The main objective of the Soviet-U.S. collaboration is based on the strategy of encircling and creating a jumping off place for aggression against the People's Republic of China, for great revolutionary China is the principal and unsurmountable obstacle to their hegemonistic plans to dominate the world. But Mao Tse-tung's great China, tempered in bitter class battles for national liberation and in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, possesses today such an economic and military potential that it can shatter and turn into smithereens any kind of encirclement by the imperialist and revisionist enemies. The heroic Chinese People's Liberation Army, trained by the great leader Comrade Mao Tse-tung and under the command of his closest comrade-in-arms, Deputy-Chairman Lin Biao, stand vigilant guard over its glorious homeland and is prepared to make short work of any aggressor from whatever quarters.

The U.S.-Soviet plot to force the heroic Vietnamese to their knees aims at perpetuating U.S. occupation of South Vietnam as well as at transforming the latter into a major bridgehead for aggression against socialist China, against the peoples of Asia who fight for freedom and independence. The positive victory of the heroic Vietnamese people in their long-drawn war against U.S. imperialism is being jeopardized by the betrayal of the Soviet revisionists. Within the framework of their imperialist schemes and conspiracies, the U.S. imperialists and the Soviet revisionists have turned the cause of South Vietnam's freedom and independence into an object for bargain. Through their so-called peace talks and with the active assistance of the Soviet revisionists, the U.S. imperialists are trying to suppress the heroic fight of the Vietnamese people, to force them to their knees and to gain at the round table what they cannot gain in the field of battle. But we are fully confident that the fraternal Vietnamese people will not be hoodwinked by the imperialist-revisionist fraud and will carry their armed struggle through to final victory.

The treacherous Soviet revisionist clique, faced with repeated internal and external defeats, have crossed over from the demagogy of «the socialist State» to open aggression, first and foremost, against their allies. The fascist type aggression which they undertook against Czechoslovakia under the ill-famed banner of the Warsaw Treaty has shown not only the aggravated contradictions gnawing at the revisionist camp but also the common imperialist-revisionist strategic line of the Soviet-U.S. alliance to divide the world into zones of influence and to impose their control over their allies. What the Soviets did in the name of the Warsaw Treaty is not at all different from what the Americans do in the name of their aggressive imperialist pacts. The denunciation of this sinister treaty by the People's Republic of Albania was a further expression of the principled, consistent, Marxist-Leninist stand of our Party which, by its correct line, has defended and defends not only the interests of our country but also those of the revolutionary people of the world. The 700-million strong Chinese people and all the genuine Marxist-Leninists and revolutionaries in the world firmly backed up and supported this daring and revolutionary gesture of the Albanian Party and people.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung's, Comrade Lin Piao's and Comrade Chou En-lai's historic message to Comrade Enver Hoxha and Comrade Mehmet Shehu on the denunciation of this treaty expresses once again the strength of the militant revolutionary unity and friendship which exists between our two Parties and our two peoples.

Comrades!

A few days ago all our people celebrated the grand days of the November festivities in an atmosphere of high political enthusiasm and indescribable revolutionary mobilization. They drew up a balance sheet of the brilliant achievements attained during these twenty-four years of free life under the enlightened leadership of their glorious Party of Labor headed by Comrade Enver Hoxha. In steel-like unity around their Party and holding the pick fast in one hand and the rifle in the other, the Albanian people, endowed with unshaken confidence and revolutionary optimism, are doing their uttermost to carry out to the letter the historic decisions of the 5th Congress of our glorious Party of Labor to develop in depth and breadth the ideological and cultural revolution, to educate the workers with the great ideas of Marxism-Leninism, of the glorious history of the Party of Labor of Albania and with the teachings of Comrade Enver Hoxha of placing proletarian policy in command, of further strengthening the role of leadership of the working class, of revolutionizing the whole life of the country, of constantly strengthening the defensive potential of our socialist homeland.

United as firmly as ever round their Party of Labor, our people work in tranquility being confident of their brilliant future; they stand vigilant guard with rifle in hand and are prepared to give a smashing response to all enemies, be they imperialists or revisionists, who would dare encroach upon our beloved homeland, no matter how slightly.

We are proud that in the heroic battle in defense and for the triumph of Marxism-Leninism, for the lofty cause of revolution and socialism our people and our Party march side by side and in steel-like unity with the great Chinese people and the glorious Communist Party of China.

Our great and unbreakable friendship has been forged in the heat of battle against imperialism and revisionism

by the glorious Communist Party of China headed by Comrade Mao Tse-tung and by the Party of Labor of Albania headed by Comrade Enver Hoxha. Our everlasting Marxist-Leninist revolutionary friendship has demonstrated its strength and vitality in days of weal and in days of woe, in trials and tribulations our two peoples, Parties and People's Armies have lived through, in their resolute and principled fight against imperialism and modern revisionism. At any moment and under all circumstances, our two peoples and our two armies, like two genuine friends and inseparable comrades, will fight on the same side of the barricade against their common enemy, will march side by side, as always, in building socialism and communism and will always forge ahead through storms and difficulties in order to bring about the final victory of socialism and communism. Regardless of the fact that from the point of view of geography our two countries are far apart, their common ideal and Marxism-Leninism unite them, as pointed out by Comrade Mao Tse-tung in his Message to the 5th Congress of the Party of Labor of Albania: *«We have friends in this world, we are closely bound to them and, no matter how far apart we are from them, they are our good neighbors.»*

The recent visit of the Party and Government and Government Economic Delegations to the People's Republic of China, the extremely friendly and hearty talks conducted on the occasion and the warm reception extended to them by the great Chinese people were a powerful manifestation of and an important contribution to strengthening the revolutionary friendship and fraternal internationalist collaboration between our two peoples and our two Parties. The Agreement concluded during the visit of our Government Economic Delegation are a further great example of proletarian internationalism which characterizes our friendship, they are a major aid to the socialist construction of our country.

On this occasion, allow me on behalf of the Party Central Committee, of the Government and of the Albanian people, to express our sincere thanks to the fraternal Chinese people, to the Communist Party of China, to the Chinese Government and their great leader, the most beloved friend of our people, Comrade Mao Tse-tung, for the great, generous and uninterested aid that they have given and are giving to our people.

The present visit of the Chinese Party, Government and Army Delegation to our country is a further manifestation of the great friendship between our two peoples and two armies. The talks we had with our Chinese comrades were characterized, as always, by a complete unity of thought and action on all matters under discussion. We are certain that this visit will help in an all-round way to promote and further consolidate the friendly relations and fraternal ties between our two peoples, Parties and Armies to the interest of the struggle in defense of the great cause of Marxism-Leninism, socialism and communism throughout the world.

Long live the unbreakable and everlasting revolutionary friendship and combative compactness between the two peoples, Parties and Armies of our two countries!

Long live the heroic 700-million strong Chinese people!

Long live the glorious Communist Party of China!

Long live the great leader of the Chinese people, the most beloved and highly esteemed friend of the Albanian people, great Marxist-Leninist Comrade Mao Tse-tung!

Long live the heroic Chinese People's Liberation Army!

Long live the all-round and ultimate victory of the Great Chinese Proletarian Cultural Revolution!

Long live the Party of Labor of Albania headed by the beloved leader of our Party and our people, Comrade Enver Hoxha!

Glory to victorious Marxism-Leninism!

SPEECH

DELIVERED AT THE MASS RALLY OF THE TIRANA WORKERS ON DECEMBER 2, 1968 BY COMRADE HUANG YUNG-SHENG, MEMBER OF THE CC OF THE CHINESE COMMUNIST PARTY AND CHIEF OF THE GENERAL STAFF OF THE CHINESE PEOPLE'S LIBERATION ARMY

Dear Comrade Mehmet Shehu,
Dear Comrade Hysni Kapo,
Dear Comrade Beqir Balluku,
Dear Comrades,

It is six days since the Chinese Party, Government and Army delegation entrusted by the great leader of our Party Comrade Mao Tse-tung and his close comrade-in-arms Comrade Lin Piao came to heroic Albania at the invitation of the Party of Labor of Albania headed by Comrade Enver Hoxha, the great leader of the Albanian people and the closest friend of the Chinese people, and at the invitation of the Albanian Government. Together with the Albanian people we celebrated the great festivities of the 24th anniversary of the liberation of Albania. We visited Tirana, your glorious capital, Vlora, the hero-town, and Berat, the historic town, we visited industrial establishments and military garrisons, we met broad working masses, commanders and fighters of the People's Army of Albania. Our participation at this meeting which is flooded by the revolutionary proletarian friendship has greatly elated us.

Please allow me to convey to Comrade Enver Hoxha, the great leader of the Albanian people and the closest friend of the Chinese people, to the Party of Labor of Albania, to the Government of the People's Republic of Albania, and the People's Army of Albania, and to the people of Tirana and all

the Albanian people the highest regards and the warmest greetings of Chairman Mao Tse-tung, the great leader of the Chinese people, and his close comrade-in-arms Vice-Chairman Lin Piao, the highest regards and warmest greetings of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, the Cultural Revolution Group Under the Party's Central Committee, the Chinese Government and the Military Commission of the Party's Central Committee, and the highest regards and warmest greetings of the Chinese people and the Chinese People's Liberation Army.

Since the first day we set foot on the soil of your country, we have plunged into a sea of Sino-Albanian friendship. We receive the warmest welcome wherever we go; and hear everywhere the cheers of «Enver-Mao Tse-tung!» and «Mao Tse-tung-Enver!» This is a most concentrated and vivid expression of the revolutionary friendship and militant unity between our two Parties, our two peoples, our two Governments and our two armies. We are deeply moved and thankful to you.

Holding high the banner of armed struggle and relying on their own efforts during World War II, the Albanian people, under the leadership of the Communist Party of Albania (today the Party of Labor), headed by Comrade Enver Hoxha, drove out the Italian and German fascist invaders and set up the people's regime.

Since liberation, the Albanian people have brought their fearless revolutionary spirit into full play and, pick in one hand and rifle in the other, have been marching forward courageously along the broad road of socialism. You have smashed the plots of the overthrown exploiting classes for the re-establishment of their regime and have battered the undermining and sabotaging activity of imperialism, of modern revisionism and of their lackeys. So far you have carried out three Five-year Plans and are successfully accomplishing the tasks set by the Fourth Five-year Plan. Within a short period of 24 years you have turned the poor and backward Albania into a flourishing, advanced socialist country with modern industry and collectivized agriculture.

In recent years, the glorious Party of Labor of Albania, persevering in the Marxist-Leninist line, has led the people throughout the country in launching a mass revolutionarization movement. In this movement, you have carried out class struggle, given prominence to proletarian politics, combated bureaucracy and launched a fierce attack on all the enemies of socialism and

on all exploiting class ideologies. You have carried out the mass line, persisted in the policy of cadres taking part in manual labor, armed the broad masses with Marxism-Leninism, and promoted the revolutionization of people's thinking. This year, Comrade Enver Hoxha set forth his ideas on educational revolution and working class supervision; this has further enriched the content of the revolutionization movement. Today, a revolutionary atmosphere prevails throughout your «Land of Mountain Eagles». Your Party, your army and your people are united as one; with boundless enthusiasm and high fighting spirit, they are determined to carry the socialist revolution through to the end. This revolutionization movement is of great and far-reaching significance for consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat. It is an outstanding contribution by Comrade Enver Hoxha, the great leader of the Albanian people, to the enrichment and development of Marxism-Leninism. Albania, the great beacon of socialism in Europe which is shining with ever more dazzling brilliance, illuminates the road of advance for the revolutionary people.

The Party of Labor of Albania and the Albanian people, by holding aloft the great revolutionary banner of Marxism-Leninism and of proletarian internationalism, have fought a tit-for-tat struggle against U.S.-led imperialism, modern revisionism, with Soviet revisionism at its center, and against the reaction of various countries and have scored successive victories.

The Party of Labor of Albania and the Albanian people have set a shining example for the revolutionary people of the world in adhering to principle, fearing no brute force and daring to struggle and to win victory. Not long ago, you resolutely denounced the Soviet revisionist renegade clique for its monstrous crime in brazenly making use of the Warsaw Treaty to commit armed aggression against Czechoslovakia and occupy it; you solemnly announced your withdrawal from the treaty. This revolutionary action is a tremendous encouragement to the revolutionary struggle of the Soviet people and the people of the East European countries and a heavy blow to the Soviet revisionist renegade clique which is zealously making counterrevolutionary deals with U.S. imperialism.

The Soviet revisionist renegade clique has long since betrayed the great Lenin and Stalin, the Great October Socialist Revolution and the Soviet people and the people of the

East European countries. The Soviet revisionist renegade clique's flagrant dispatch of hundreds of thousands of troops to occupy Czechoslovakia and carry out a policy of undisguised aggression has completely exposed its counter-revolutionary features and proclaimed the total bankruptcy of modern revisionism. The Soviet revisionist renegade clique is a bunch of social-imperialists and social-fascists. It is the new tsar riding roughshod over the Soviet people and the people of the East European countries. The Soviet revisionist renegade clique and its lackeys are the ferocious enemies of the Soviet people and the people of the East European countries.

Having occupied Czechoslovakia, the Soviet revisionist renegade clique moved its troops into Bulgaria to tighten its control of the country and set its fleet to the Mediterranean to threaten the security of socialist Albania and the people of other Balkan countries; it has also stepped up its betrayal of the people of the Middle East. In Asia, the Soviet revisionists have carried out provocations along the Sino-Soviet and Sino-Mongolian borders and further intensified their counter-revolutionary collusion with U.S. imperialism and the Indian reactionaries in rigging up a ring of encirclement against China. All this by no means shows the strength of the Soviet revisionist renegade clique but only its weakness. This Soviet revisionist trickery is nothing new to the peoples of Albania and China. The Albanian and Chinese peoples have long seen clearly that Soviet revisionism, like U.S. imperialism, is a paper tiger. If they dare invade Albania and China, nothing less than a thorough, ignominious and irrevocable defeat awaits them.

Riddled with contradictions and beset with difficulties both at home and abroad, the imperialists headed by the United States and the modern revisionists with the Soviet revisionist renegade clique as their center are disintegrating. They are at the end of their tether and are having a harder and harder time. However, they are not resigned to their defeat. They are both collaborating and contending with each other in a vain attempt to redivide the world. In its war of aggression in Vietnam, U.S. imperialism gets the tacit consent and support of Soviet revisionism, while in turn the Soviet revisionist renegade clique has the tacit consent and support of U.S. imperialism in openly dispatching troops to occupy Czechoslovakia. They hatch up coordinated plans and shamelessly resort to counter-revolutionary dual tactics, alternating

military suppression with political deception, with the sole aim of maintaining and expanding their spheres of influence and controlling their so-called allies. The acts of aggression of U.S. imperialism and Soviet revisionism have aroused the discontent and alarm of their partners and deepened the internal contradictions between the imperialist bloc and the revisionist bloc; thus the struggle between control and opposition to control has become more intensified. The acts of aggression by U.S. imperialism and Soviet revisionism have tremendously raised the political consciousness of the oppressed people in their own countries and aroused stronger resistance from the revolutionary people the world over. In the United States, the people have for the first time taken to the streets to oppose the U.S. presidential «election» fraud. In the Soviet Union, the «Stalin Group» has raised the banner of overthrowing the rule of the Soviet revisionist renegade clique and reestablishing the dictatorship of the proletariat. In Czechoslovakia, the masses have held a series of demonstrations and parades in opposition to the Soviet revisionists' armed occupation. In West Berlin, the youth have demonstrated with placards inscribed «U.S. imperialism and Soviet revisionism — the main enemies of the people throughout the world». A new, high tide is rising in the great struggle against U.S. imperialism and Soviet revisionism. The world revolution has now entered a great new era. Let us, the peoples of China and Albania, unite, let the genuine Marxist-Leninists throughout the world unite, and let all the people oppressed by the U.S. imperialists, the Soviet revisionists and their lackeys unite, form a broad united front and march forward courageously to completely smash the plot of U.S. imperialism and Soviet revisionism to dominate the world and thoroughly overthrow the reactionary rule of the imperialists, the modern revisionists and the reactionaries of all countries!

Comrades,

The great proletarian cultural revolution initiated and led personally by the great leader of the Chinese people Chairman Mao Tse-tung has won a great and decisive victory. The recent Enlarged 12th Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee of the Communist Party of China has summed up the great revolutionary practice since the 11th Plenary

Session and charted the course for seizing all round victory in the great proletarian cultural revolution.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung has pointed out: *The current great proletarian cultural revolution is absolutely necessary and most timely for consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat, preventing capitalist restoration and building socialism.* In the past two years or so, holding aloft the red banner of Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's thought, and under the guidance of Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line and the leadership of the proletarian headquarters with Chairman Mao as its leader and Vice-Chairman Lin as its deputy leader, the people throughout China have smashed the bourgeois headquarters represented by Liu Shao-chi together with its agents in various places, which vainly tried to usurp the leadership of the Party, the Government and the army, and have seized back that portion of power they usurped. The Cultural Revolution Group Under the Central Committee of the Party has played an important role in the struggle to carry out Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line. With the establishment of revolutionary committees in 29 provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions, that is, throughout the country with the exception of Taiwan Province, the whole land has now become red.

Liu Shao-chi is a renegade, traitor and scab hiding in the Chinese Communist Party and is a lackey of imperialism, modern revisionism and of the Koumintang reactionaries who has committed innumerable crimes. He is the mortal enemy of the Chinese people and of the other revolutionary people throughout the world. The recent Plenary Session unanimously adopted a resolution to expel Liu Shao-chi from the Party once and for all, to dismiss him from all posts both inside and outside the Party and to continue to settle accounts with him and his accomplices for their crimes in betraying the Party and the country. The resolution represents in a concentrated way the most fundamental interests of the Chinese people and their most ardent aspirations. It has also been enthusiastically acclaimed by the revolutionary people the world over.

Never before has our whole Party been so united as now. To greet the Ninth National Congress of the Chinese Communist Party and to seize all-round victory in the great proletarian cultural revolution, the hundreds of millions of people throughout our country, who have been called upon and are

inspired by the Communiqué of the 12th Plenary Session of the Party's Eighth Central Committee, are full of revolutionary enthusiasm in marching forward courageously to carry out the tasks of the different stages of struggle-criticism-transformation set forth by Chairman Mao.

From the outset, China's great proletarian cultural revolution has enjoyed the resolute support of the Party of Labor of Albania, the Albanian Government and the People's Army and the Albanian people. You are again the first to have warmly praised our Party's recent Plenary Session and its communiqué. For this we extend to you our most heartfelt thanks.

The revolutionary friendship and militant unity between the two Parties, the two peoples, the two Governments and the two armies of China and Albania have stood the test of fierce international class struggle and are based on Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. The friendship and unity between the two Parties, the two peoples, the two Governments and the two armies of China and Albania are the greatest in the world. The great Marxist-Leninist Comrade Enver Hoxha has pointed out that *real Marxist-Leninist unity is a force which can never be defeated, which knows no distance to act and win*. Our friendship and unity have been further strengthened by the recent visit to China of the Albanian Party and Government delegation headed by Comrade Beqir Balluku and the current visit to Albania of the Chinese Party, Government and Army delegation. We are convinced that the friendship and unity between the two Parties, the two peoples, the two Governments and the two armies of China and Albania will surely be further reinforced and consolidated in the struggle against their common enemies. Whatever the circumstances we will always be united, will always fight together and be victorious together.

Concluding, let us cheer:

Long live the revolutionary friendship and the militant unity between our two Parties, two peoples, two Governments and two armies!

Long live the hardworking and brave Albanian people!

Long live the heroic People's Army of Albania!

Long live the glorious Party of Labor of Albania!

Long live the great leader of the Albanian people, Comrade Enver Hoxha!

Long live the great leader of the Chinese people, Comrade Mao Tse-tung!

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