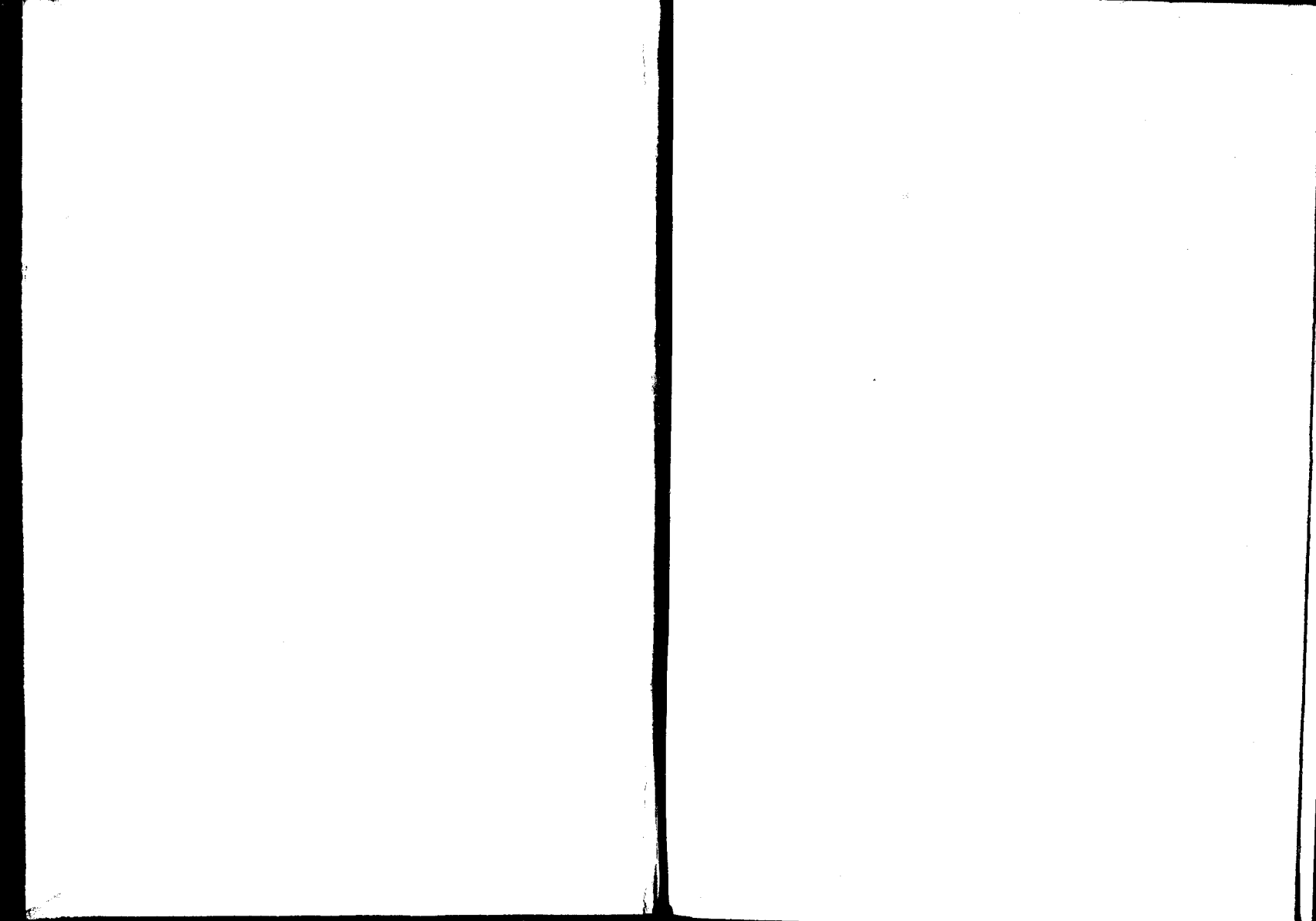


ENVER HOXHA

SPEECHES, CONVERSATIONS AND ARTICLES

1967-1968



WORKERS OF ALL COUNTRIES, UNITE!

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AND ARTICLES**

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THE KARLOVY VARY MEETING — A MEETING OF RENEGADES

Article published in the newspaper «Zëri i popullit»

April 13, 1967

In the resort city of Karlovy Vary in Czechoslovakia, a meeting of some European revisionist parties is to be held on the 24th of this month. On the agenda is the question of «European Security».

The modern revisionists, with the Soviet revisionists at the head, are all out to present this meeting as a «success» of their line, as a manifestation of «the unity» and «solidarity» of the revisionist ranks.

But all this is simply loud advertisement to sell a poor commodity. Its main aim is the obstruction of the proletarian revolution and the establishment of «bourgeois» socialism. The revisionists will try to make use of this meeting for the implementation of their European policy, which they have long been practising through official state channels. They are trying to strike a balance between their power and that of the US imperialists while, at the same

time, maintaining their alliance with the latter and setting up new alliances with other capitalist countries.

Analysis of the facts shows that the revisionist «European Security» is a catchword, a manoeuvre intended to camouflage the joint imperialist-revisionist plots against the European peoples, against the genuine anti-imperialist and anti-revanchist forces, and against the revolutionary uprising of the peoples.

By means of the «European Security» formula, the Krushchevite revisionists want to strengthen their relations with the capitalist powers of Europe, to speed up the process of the integration of socialism into capitalism, and to secure favourable conditions for the capitalist restoration which is now taking place in the Soviet Union and other revisionist countries. «European Security» has to serve the revisionists as a means to justify themselves before the public opinion in their countries, as well as a bridge to the West, to the expansion of their allround political and economic co-operation with capitalist countries. The first steps in this direction have already been taken. The Italian, French and British monopolies have begun to make big capital investments in the Soviet Union. The Soviet trusts are preparing to do the same thing in Western industry. During his visit to London, Kosygin openly sought the replacement of the «Common Market» with a «European Common Market». It is evident that under these circumstances both sides will make efforts to eliminate the obstacles to the free movement of capital, commodities, ideas, people and

so on. Whether this is called the «European Common Market» or «European Joint Security» matters very little. In any case it will be class collaboration between the old European bourgeoisie and the new revisionist bourgeoisie.

Intending to exploit the revolutionary and liberation struggle of the peoples, for example in Vietnam and elsewhere, which, in fact, they are undermining, the revisionists are trying to achieve that weight in the balance which will enable them to reach further agreements with US imperialism and world social-democracy. This can be attained, the revisionists think, by at least weakening, if not eliminating, the American «lunatics». In such a case, they think their demagogic victory would be enormous and that, together, they could combat the development of revolution with greater success.

The co-operation of the French revisionists with the French bourgeois parties, as a consequence of which the French revisionists finally gave up their independent policy, and are now playing a minor role in the traditional social-democratic-radical opposition, the Papal encyclicals, the ever more pronounced conforming of the Italian revisionists to the interests of the Italian bourgeoisie and the Vatican, the liberalism and the ideological and political disintegration in the Soviet Union and other revisionist countries, are the conditions and the premises upon which the new revisionist bourgeoisie is relying in its treacherous plans. It thinks and is hoping that «peaceful coexistence», which is being hindered by the US aggression, will extinguish the flame of the revolution.

The leaders of the Soviet Union and other revisionist countries think that their policy of concessions and capitulation to the capitalist countries of Europe has yielded sufficient proofs and guarantees and they are determined to go full steam ahead on this course. Now they are ready to make even more concessions to the reactionary bourgeois ideology, so that, together with the European countries, they can manage to balance the American influence.

This is plainly seen in the fact that the Soviet Union and the other revisionists are now being dragged along by the policy of the European capitalist countries, with the needs and demands of which they are co-ordinating their stand and initiatives. The contradictions between the western countries and the United States have become attractive to the Soviet revisionists as a light attracts moths, so that they are making approaches to, and entering the field of the complicated relations of, the present day capitalist world. But being lackeys of the bourgeoisie and capital, the revisionists cannot exploit these contradictions to create a situation favourable to the revolution. On the contrary, they are trying to create a new situation in Europe, which will help, especially, in strengthening the state power of the European capitalist countries to the detriment of revolution. They think that all the possibilities now exist to disguise this state power under «socialist» and «liberal-democratic» slogans, so that it will be more capable of combating the revolutionary forces.

The grand reception given to de Gaulle in Moscow, Podgorny's visit to Italy and the Pope, Kosy-

gin's negotiations in London etc., were all directed towards this main objective. During those bargainings, the western colleagues of the Soviet revisionists have apparently aroused among the Moscow traitors some hopes», of course dubious, but encouraging for their European policy. But, at the same time these «hopes» have cost the Soviet leaders and the other European revisionist partners major political, ideological and economic concessions which have weakened their economic potential and have introduced «the Trojan horse» of capitalist degeneration into their countries. Now the Soviet revisionists also want to provide the ideological colour for their official government activity in Europe which is based upon utopian hopes. Herein lies the real essence of the Karlovy Vary meeting behind the façade of what they call «European Security».

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This whole structure, with foundations of clay, which the Khrushchevite revisionists want to build up in Europe is being carefully watched by US imperialism and its partner in Bonn. They will never allow this undertaking to go beyond the bounds which will affect their major interests on this continent.

The Soviet revisionists' allies, the US imperialists, have lost neither their credit nor their influence in the capitalist countries of Europe. The latter have always considered and still consider the United

States as their permanent saviour from revolution. Without US imperialism, their days would be numbered. Of course, there are contradictions between them and the US imperialists and these contradictions may even become acute, but, at the present stage, they are mainly of a transient character; of the nature of blackmail, which the western countries use to extort greater economic benefits, to consolidate their national markets and to expand them at the expense of the more backward peoples and countries and, finally, to shake off the tutelage of the US policy of dictate to some extent.

In this direction, the capitalist countries of Europe also employ the Soviet revisionist blackmail against their US allies, of course, within certain limits, within the framework of their alliances, which they defend with determination, because, neither the US imperialists nor their capitalist partners of Europe have ever given up or will ever forget their main common aim — the destruction and the liquidation of socialism. In this contest for the destruction of socialism, the United States imperialists and their European capitalist partners always aim to weaken the Soviet Union as much as possible, even now that the latter is turning into a capitalist country, as well as to destroy the allies of the Soviet Union in order to isolate it.

This is the objective of Johnsons's «building of bridges», of the pour of the different US capitalists and the European capitalist bourgeoisie into the Soviet Union and the other revisionist countries. In this contest, naturally, the richest and

the most powerful partner always has the «lion's share».

The new agreement that is being prepared by the modern revisionists and the European capitalists, is encountering many serious difficulties. It is running up against the powerful will of US imperialism, the aggressive policy of West German capital, and the problem of the German Democratic Republic.

For the time being, the Soviet, Polish and Czechoslovak revisionists are not in a position to sacrifice the German Democratic Republic, for they would lose a great deal politically and would be utterly exposed. For them, the German Democratic Republic is a buffer state protecting their border. On the other hand, they are still using the GDR as a means of blackmail for further deals with US imperialism and the European capitalist powers, rather than being genuinely concerned about the revolutionary defence of the GDR. Their sacrificing of the GDR in the present state of international relations would mean the even greater strengthening of aggressive German capitalism, would hasten the process of the destruction of the allies of the Soviet Union in Europe and build up a direct threat to the new Soviet capitalism and the Polish national frontiers.

On the other hand, for US imperialism the German Federal Republic is an important base of support in the present situation for preserving the existing status quo in Europe, for maintaining the US influence on this continent. The German Federal Republic, is playing a particularly important role

in establishing US «bridges» to the Soviet Union and the other revisionist countries, the role of the fear of German revanchism.

The position and policy of the German Federal Republic today is of great interest to US imperialism, which is using it to cope with the contradictions it has with the other capitalist countries of Europe, to keep the Soviet Union under threat and pressure and to succeed in bringing about its political, ideological and economic degeneration.

But the German Federal Republic itself is a powerful aggressive capitalist country, an aggressive revanchist imperialism, with a definite policy of its own. We see that the German Federal Republic, without abandoning its main basic aims, is accelerating this policy and taking part in the race to penetrate economically and politically the countries where the revisionists hold power and which are very susceptible to the German credits from Bonn. This has greatly upset the Soviet Union, which sees its allies getting out of its control, and Poland, which has the problem of the Order-Neisse border. But this process is going to continue whether the Soviet and Polish revisionists like it or not.

The US imperialists also want to restrain Bonn's appetite in these directions, but they can do nothing about it. Their main interests dictate that they satisfy «both the goat and the cabbage», as the saying goes.

The line of political and economic penetration which Bonn is pursuing towards the revisionist countries of Europe, the establishment of diploma-

tic relations between Rumania and the German Federal Republic, and the interest which Hungary and Bulgaria are showing in approaches to Bonn, gave rise to a reaction on the part of the German Democratic Republic, the Poles and, to some extent, the Czechs.

The French revisionists, also, who are aggrieved that de Gaulle does not recognize the German Democratic Republic, are concerned about the revanchist policy of Bonn. Under these circumstances, the Soviet revisionist leaders were compelled to side with the Poles, the GDR and the French revisionists, and for the time being, to block the diplomatic relations with Bonn which the Bulgarians, Hungarians and Czechs sought to establish. Otherwise the Karlovy Vary meeting would fail, and this would mean a complete failure of the aim for which the Soviets are convening this meeting, while the aim of the French and Polish revisionist parties, which are the actual conductors of the Karlovy Vary meeting, would also be defeated.

On the other hand, the renewal of the bilateral treaties between the revisionist countries of Europe is part of this political plan for the downgrading, weakening, and elimination of the Warsaw Treaty, and the creation of possibilities for new alliances with the capitalist states of Europe, in conformity with the changes and the new situation.

Thus, for the Karlovy Vary meeting Bonn Germany has become the «black beast», because it is hindering the plans that the Soviet revisionists are cooking up with the capitalists of Europe. But to the latter, even though they show themselves to

be accomodating towards the new eastern friends, Bonn Germany remains a reliable ally, however difficult a partner it may be.

Now, the Soviet leaders and their revisionist partners are trying to persuade their USA ally not to give nuclear weapons to the German Federal Republic and to restrain its revanchist appetite towards the German Democratic Republic and the Oder-Neisse border. However, in this plan they have an ulterior motive. For the Soviet revisionists, the non-dissemination of nuclear weapons means maintenance of the monopoly of nuclear weapons by the Soviet Union and the United States. And the whole design of this «structure with foundations of clay», of «European Security» has been planned under this «umbrella».

So, the revisionist «peace» in Europe is based on the US-Soviet monopoly of nuclear weapons, just as their «European Security» is based on the US-Soviet alliance. Under this two-fold alliance they smile at each other, make concessions and compromises and hold debates and meetings in the hope that the goal will be attained.

All the Soviet revisionist propaganda is now concentrated on this point, and one of the main objectives of the Karlovy Vary meeting is «the political and ideological mobilization of the peoples of Europe» so that they abandon the revolutionary struggle against European and world capitalism, abandon the struggle against US imperialism, in order to consolidate the European bourgeoisie, old and new, politically and economically, and to relieve it of the fear of revolution, to consolidate class

conciliation, peaceful coexistence, and the bourgeois economic and ideological policy shattered and imperilled by Marxism-Leninism and the world revolution.

But the Karlovy Vary meeting is foredoomed to failure, a meeting of traitors to Marxism-Leninism, the revolution and the peoples. All those who are going to meet there are afflicted with this «cancer». Fortunately, they chose for their meeting a place where the sick go for treatment but their illness is incurable. Sooner or later they will be buried by the revolution.

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Why are the modern revisionists holding this meeting with no hope of success, and why with such a curtailed agenda?

The Khrushchevite revisionists' plan was not the plan of the present meeting, but by the time the chicken was carved up; only a morsel remained for the host. The Soviet leaders had other, much more ambitious plans, but they dropped them one by one. At first, they intended a broad meeting of the communist parties of the world, of course without the participation of the Party of Labour of Albania, the Communist Party of China and the other revolutionary Marxist-Leninist Parties and groups. There they had hoped to condemn our Marxist-Leninist parties and to expel them (as if this depended on them) from the international com-

munist movement. With this action, after so many resounding defeats in their dirty fight against Marxism-Leninism, the revisionists wanted, first of all, to get the nominal approval of other renegades for their line of betrayal and to proclaim this officially as «the line of the international communist movement».

They wanted to demonstrate, if not in fact, at least in form, «that there is unity» in the international communist movement and that the revisionists of Moscow remain at the head of it as always. In a word, they wanted reaffirmation of their «conductor's baton» in new forms under the new conditions of centrifugal trends on the revisionist front.

These were the objectives, which Khrushchev had failed to attain, that his disciples tried hard to achieve. But they encountered even greater obstacles and difficulties than their master. The defeats with which their treacherous line met in every field, in ideology, policy, and the economy, had greater need than ever of a smoke-screen that would deceive their own peoples and hold back the uprisings in their countries. And the Soviet revisionists thought that a broad meeting of the communist parties of the world would be the very smoke-screen they needed.

Second, the Soviet revisionists had planned to make a great fuss about the «defence» of Vietnam at this meeting. Their purpose was to conceal their betrayal of the Vietnamese people, as well as the shameful deals and secret plots which they are concocting with the US imperialists to force

heroic Vietnam to its knees and save the aggressors and themselves from ignominious defeat. On the other hand, they intended to use the issue of Vietnam as a means to deceive the peoples of the world and those of Europe, in particular, so that they would more readily adhere to their plans for «European Security».

And finally, the Soviet revisionists wanted to peddle the «European Security» plan referred to above, the concrete aim of which is to combat the revolution in Europe and to carry the flames of predatory imperialist war to Asia, Africa and Latin America.

But these open and secret intentions of the Soviet revisionists ran into opposition in various forms from their partners, who are pursuing their own individual aims and policies.

Some parties, which call themselves communist but which, in reality, pursue an opportunist course, wanting to stick to their so-called middle line, because they can see through the huckstering of the Soviet revisionists, and, wanting to maintain their freedom «to manoeuvre», are making efforts to pull out of participation in this meeting. They want to fight Marxism-Leninism, the Party of Labour of Albania and the revolutionary Marxist-Leninist Parties and groups, with their own two-faced methods, and to trade with, and get credits from, the imperialists without angering Moscow, Washington or Bonn.

As to the Vietnam Workers' Party, it did not agree to take part at this meeting of traitors.

It seems the revisionist parties of the capitalist

countries of Europe did not find the full agenda formulated by the Soviet revisionists opportune for the Karlovy Vary meeting. They are hesitating and expressing opposition because they fear the polemics and the ceaseless struggle of the revolutionary Marxist-Leninists of the world. Another reason is that their present activities are more dependent on, and co-ordinated with, the bourgeois and social-democratic parties of their own countries than with the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Their «independence» is dependence on their own national bourgeoisie, and their alienation from the CPSU has been turned into unity with the bourgeois and social-democratic parties.

In these conditions, it is quite clear why the initiative of the meeting was taken over by the Polish and French revisionists and why its agenda was reduced to the problem of «European Security» alone.

The French Communist Party, as an initiator of the Karlovy Vary meeting, expresses the will of the revisionist-social-democratic coalition recently established in France and which assumed organized form during the campaign for the election of the President of the Republic and deputies to the National Assembly.

On the other hand, the Karlovy Vary meeting is evidence of the realization of Togliatti's polycentrism, of the regrouping of various revisionist parties and their separate meetings, with separate plans and interests, that have nothing in common with the defence of Marxism-Leninism, socialism

and the revolution and the genuine internationalist unity of the communists.

The revolutionary Marxist-Leninists throughout the world, the progressive peoples and small states must understand this situation and must stand up and fight. «European Security» is not an isolated problem for Europe but a serious threat to the future of mankind. In Europe, the big capitalist magnates of the world, Americans, Soviets, British, French, the German revanchists and others, are attempting to come to terms with one another for a redivision of the world, to define their spheres of influence at the expense of other peoples and states. The new colonialists, under fresh disguises, with demagoguery and their mighty economic and military potential are seeking to oppress the peoples, to exploit them, to suppress their revolution. They are making threats with shells, napalm, and the atomic bomb, they are perpetrating fraud with their strangling credits, they are shouting allegedly for peace, they have unleashed their running-dogs, which are yapping all over the world. This is a big plot which must be destroyed before it is too late.

Hence it is plain for all to see what the modern revisionists, headed by the Soviet revisionists, are. They are embracing and exchanging kisses with the imperialists and capitalists all over the world, are furiously fighting Marxism-Leninism, the true Marxist-Leninist Parties and revolutionary groups, and fighting the peoples that have risen in struggle to liberate themselves.

All this is a further proof of the degeneration of the revisionist parties which are taking part in

the Karlovy Vary meeting. This is another stage on the way to the grave down which the Khrushchevite revisionists and their companions are rushing.

Taken from the collection of articles with the title «The Marxist-Leninist Truth Will Triumph Over Revisionism», Vol. 7, Alb, ed. Tirana 1968

**THE ALBANIAN POPULATION IN YUGOSLAVIA
IS NEITHER DECEIVED NOR DAUNTED
BY THE TITO CLIQUE**

Article published in the newspaper «Zëri i popullit»

April 15. 1967

Only a few days ago the President of the Yugoslav revisionists, Josif Broz Tito, suddenly left the quiet island of Brioni and went for a short visit to the most uneasy region of his kingdom, to Kosova and Metohia, which he had not seen for 16 years and which he has never included in his tourist itinerary. On some other occasion there might have been some doubts about what compelled him to make this long trip, but this time, in his endless speeches delivered in Mitrovitsa and Prishtina, in Prizren and Gjakova, in Peja and Zveçan, in his intimate meetings and at the lavish dinners put on with such pomp by his lackeys, he was quite unable to conceal the reasons.

The Tito clique is now in one of the most difficult periods of its domination in Yugoslavia.

Among the leading circles of the Tito clique a great and allround national-chauvinistic battle has erupted, and has reached its culmination in the head-on clash over the question of the language between two old rivals, the two most powerful groups — the Serbian group and the Croatian group. These quarrels are assuming an even more acute character due to the economic reform, which, by concentrating not only the economic, but also the political power, in the hands of powerful rival Serbian and Croat-Slovenian groups, has given rise to resistance and sabotage in the other republics. On the other hand, the state apparatus and that of the revisionist party which, up till recently was under the leadership and influence of Rankovich's men, showed no readiness to serve without hesitation and disruption, after the changes that were made in the supreme command of the Yugoslav leadership. If we add to all this the economic and political pressures, the clash of the separate interests of US imperialism and the Soviet revisionists on Yugoslav territory, it is understandable what grave days these must be for the Tito clique and how difficult it is for them to establish some sort of order, to cool the tempers and to avoid, or rather, to put off the inevitable catastrophe for a little while yet.

It was no accident that Tito chose Kosova to deal with and intervene in these problems. Kosova is the place where the chauvinistic policy of the Yugoslav revisionists has been implemented in the most radical and savage way and with the most barbarous means, against such a big nationality as the Albanian one, amongst which the economic con-

traditions arising from capitalist exploitation are very acute, where the state and party apparatuses do not trust the people at all, etc. Of course, Tito did not go there to change the situation, because he is not in the least interested in the fate of the population of Kosova and the other Albanians living in Yugoslavia. However, through his visit to Kosova he wanted to create an idyllic picture of the revisionist reality, a propaganda trick to deceive the Albanians of this region and all the peoples of Yugoslavia. By presenting the situation as though the national question has allegedly been settled in an «exemplary» way in Kosova and in the Dukagjin Plateau, where there are also some small Serbian and Montenegrin minorities living, as if the build-up of the economy, the development of culture, the progress in the social and other fields there have allegedly reached their culmination and there are no other worrying problems, he wanted to tell the peoples of Yugoslavia that «the example of Kosova» shows that the present nationalist quarrels, the economic chaos and other difficulties, have nothing to do with the line of the leadership, which is pure, but are allegedly temporary difficulties, misunderstandings, errors committed by individuals, consequences of the activities of Rankovich, and so on.

But for all Tito's efforts, although he wore himself out in Kosova talking from morning till night, he was unable to deceive either the population of Kosova or that of the other regions with his demagoguery and subtle manoeuvres. However much his aims were disguised, it emerged quite

clearly from his speeches that the Tito clique is determined to pursue the old great-Serbian chauvinistic policy of denationalization, the policy of national oppression and police violence against the Albanians of Kosova, the Dukagjin Plateau, Macedonia and Montenegro, the policy of preserving the colonial status in these regions and their exploitation as a source of raw materials and cheap manpower, just as they have done up till now. He went to Kosova to reassure and encourage the local great-Serbian chauvinists, to tell them that all the words about democracy, national equality etc., which have poured out in torrents since the Brioni plenum, are simply propaganda imposed by the situation and to warn the Albanians that they can expect nothing better, that things in Kosova will remain just as they have been.

What did Tito do and declare, in fact, during his visit to Kosova?

The Kosova region and the areas inhabited by Albanians, in general have major and preoccupying problems affecting the most fundamental questions of a people, such as the national, economic, cultural, educational and other questions. Recently, although these things were already known, the Titoites themselves have been compelled to admit the serious crimes of genocide which they have committed against the Albanians, to speak in open meetings and to write in the press about the terrible acts of the great-Serbian chauvinists in Kosova, Macedonia and Montenegro, to relate the most blood-curdling

events and stories, which outdo even those of the mediaeval inquisition. But Tito, who is no ordinary person in Yugoslavia, but the President of the Republic, Chairman of the LCY, Commander-in-chief of the army and personally bears the main responsibility for that country's policy, did not speak at all about these events, just as if nothing had happened. He did not even try to lay the blame on Rankovich as is usual these days in Yugoslavia, in order to deceive public opinion with regard to the national oppression, persecution and political terror perpetrated by the Tito clique. Tito's departure from this theme was not fortuitous. By failing to touch these things, by not justifying them, even demagogically, Tito wanted to tell the Albanians of Kosova, the Dukagjin Plateau, Macedonia and Montenegro, that the terror, the national oppression, the mass evictions and denationalization, were not a policy or error of Rankovich, which would be corrected, as has been said there until now, but a fundamental line of Tito himself, of the whole Yugoslav leadership, which would be carried on in the future, just as before, consistently and relentlessly. «We must not tolerate chauvinists in our ranks,» declared Tito at a meeting of political activists in Peja, having in mind the Albanians. Whereas, in a speech delivered two or three days earlier in Mitrovitsa he had said that the «Albanians, who are the majority here, must not look backward». He even spoke of the «irredentist obsessions» of the Albanians and of «class enemies», towards whom a vigilant stand should be adopted, and who must be resolutely combatted.

In a word, Tito repeated the same vicious slogans under which his janissaries in Kosova have hurled themselves in fury against the Albanian population and which they will certainly use in the future, too, to justify their crimes, murders, and all their other barbaric means employed for the denationalization of that population.

Tito's visit to the region of Kosova once again clearly revealed the old chauvinistic line of the Yugoslav revisionists for the denationalization and serbization of the Yugoslav regions inhabited by Albanians, a line that has been pursued relentlessly from the outset and continues right to this present day. This was especially obvious in the fact that throughout his stay in Kosova, Tito ignored it as a region which has all the national characteristics, just as Croatia, Slovenia or Montenegro do. He treated Kosova as if it were a piece of uncultivated land without an owner, merely as a field for investments and the exploitation of raw materials for Serbo-Croatian big industry. He even tried to cite it as an example of a country where nationality has been liquidated, where the national problem, the national feelings, etc., play no role at all, and have no importance. «In this region,» Tito declared, «there are several nationalities. But I should like to see this mixture of nationalities and their fraternization and unity in this territory become an example for the whole of our country... In this relatively small region with many nationalities, that unity which is so necessary can be achieved. I should like to see Kosova and Metohia become an example of a re-

gion where unity and fraternization are achieved in full measure».

Of course, Tito knows better than anyone else what kind of «unity and fraternity» exists in Kosova, and, moreover, by what methods and means this Titoite «achievement» is preserved. But this rabid chauvinist is not so much concerned about the present as about his criminal plans for the future. Apparently, he is seeking to completely liquidate even that little autonomy in that region which still allows it, however formally, to preserve a certain appearance of its national features, to create even more intolerable political and economic conditions, so that the Albanians abandon their lands, and Serbs and Montenegrins pour into Kosova, so that the Albanian language, Albanian customs, traditions and feelings, the Albanian physiognomy of its population, are eliminated in every way. Moreover, under the pretext of setting an «example of fraternity and unity» and its realization in practice, the Tito clique wants to justify its concrete actions aimed at denationalizing the Albanians, such as the eviction of the Albanians from their birthplace and the seizure of the peasant lands, the mass influx of Serbs and Montenegrins in Kosova in the form of experts, skilled workers, functionaries, etc., endeavours for the denial of the Albanian language and schooling, the persecution, torture and crimes committed against Albanians, etc. Speaking to a group of representatives of educational and cultural workers of Albanian nationality, Tito said, «You should try to instil in the hearts of youth, whom you educate

from their tenderest years, that national intolerance is a great evil for every individual and for the whole community». Tito regards as «national intolerance» the desire of the Albanian children to learn and speak their mother tongue, to study the history of their country, to learn the customs and traditions of their forefathers. And he is seeking to liquidate this «intolerance» so as to ensure that the Albanians are serbized at any cost, for the sake of «the community» and the Titoite «paradise».

However, the Albanians of Kosova, the Dukagjin Plateau, Macedonia and Montenegro, who have bravely resisted the barbarous pressure and oppression of the chauvinist gang in Belgrade, are not deceived by its demagogy, just as they have not been intimidated by the Titoite violence. They see that whatever measures the Belgrade rulers adopt, whether in the nature of violence or blandishments, they are aimed against the supreme interests of the Albanian population, against its life and future.

During his tour of Kosova, Tito had a great deal to say about the «Party, about the role of the LCY, about the role and qualities of a communist». Through this demagogy he tried to pose before the Kosova people as a Marxist and an internationalist, to conceal his chauvinism and treachery and the crimes that have been perpetrated in Kosova allegedly by Yugoslav «dogmatists» and not by «pure Marxists» like Tito and his gang! Of course, such demagogy does not fool the Kosova people whose bodies and hearts carry the scars

resulting from the inhuman crimes committed by Tito and company and they know full well that the League of the Communists of Yugoslavia has nothing in common with Marxism, that it is a nest of renegades and traitors, a band of criminals and chauvinists.

Although his trip to Kosova had a marked anti-Albanian character, Tito did not dare to refer openly to the Albanian communists and the People's Republic of Albania, for fear of the Kosova people who are well aware of the facts and the correct policy of our Party and Government, and are in a position to judge, on the basis of these facts, that, confident and indomitable, the People's Republic of Albania led by the Party of Labour of Albania, is flourishing and successfully building socialism.

During his visit to Kosova, Tito also spoke a great deal about the «economic development» of this region, but he looked at this problem in precisely the same way as a top-level representative of the metropolis looks at the situation of a colony. He was interested in and visited only those industrial centres and mines, such as «Trepcha» near Mitrovitsa, the «Kosova» chemical, power and mineral combine, the «Progress» agricultural-industrial combine of Suhareka, and some others, which serve to provide raw materials and are working exclusively for the big industry of the North. As for the countryside, where the Albanians live and work, all he wanted to know was the quantity of agricultural production which is taken from it.

It is characteristic that during his visit to the above-mentioned centres, where he met the Serbian leaders and cadres (there are no Albanian cadres there), he inquired about investments by, and relations with, the industry of the big republics and their prospects, but he brushed aside the fact that these colossal assets of Kosova are plundered and exploited, that not a single dinar from the great values produced there goes in favour of the people of Kosova and their economic and cultural progress. He even boasted that all the federal and Serbian funds allocated for the development of the economy of underdeveloped republics is now going into the construction of the «Trepcha» and «Kosova» combines, that means nothing for public education and culture, nothing for health, nothing for the improvement of the economic and living conditions of the people.

Tito tried to placate the people of Kosova by telling them, «at present, the ordinary person in your territory, is not enjoying the result of investments on these great projects in full measure. But he will do so in the future when these big combines reach peak production». But these are lies and empty promises. The Albanians in Kosova do not benefit from these industries today, nor will they do tomorrow. In the first place, the values created in these industries are not invested in the development of the economy and culture in Kosova, the construction of plants and factories which Tito calls «political factories», that is, unnecessary factories, where the people of Kosova could work and provide for their families, but they

go to Belgrade, which uses them for the needs of the Tito regime. In the second place, the overwhelming majority of the cadres, specialists, skilled and ordinary workers in these industries, is made up of Serbs and Montenegrins. The Albanians there can be taken on only for some mean jobs which the others do not want, so that, in order to live, the Albanians have no choice but to toil on some small plot of land left to them to grow a little maize that will barely keep their children alive. The only prospect that Tito offered the Albanians of Kosova is one of suffering, unemployment, national discrimination and oppression, displacement, and denationalization.

Now during his stay in Kosova, Tito issued the directive that the powerful economic groups of the North should be allowed to invest their capital directly and independently in new industries or in the existing ones in Kosova. This «reform» will further intensify the colonialist exploitation of Kosova. Apart from the fact that the industries and farms which these economic groups will set up, being more powerful, will gobble up the existing ones through free competition, they will by no means allow even a single dinar from their profits to go to the province for its economic and cultural development. The capitalist law that no investment is made if maximum profit is not guaranteed, if the capitalist is not allowed to use it as he pleases and where he pleases, will operate in this instance as it does in all others. The situation becomes even more serious if we bear in mind that now the Yugoslav

government has allowed the foreign capitalists of the West to make any kind of investment wherever they like within Yugoslav territory, to run their enterprises themselves, while at the same time, giving them the guarantee that they can draw the whole of their profits.

It is precisely these grave conditions and gloomy prospects that have brought the economic situation to an impasse. Kosova is now suffering from serious unemployment and economic insecurity. To give an idea of how acute this problem is, of the deplorable situation in Kosova and its future, we are mentioning here an example from Gjakova which is typical of the whole of Kosova, the Dukagjin Plateau and the other regions inhabited by Albanians. At the meeting which Tito had on March 27 in Gjakova with the members of the provincial Skupshtina, local councillors and the representatives of various social and political organizations, S. Batalli, the secretary of the Committee of the Commune, told him: «The possibilities of finding jobs are very limited because investments up until 1970 are allocated only to the modernization of existing capacities and their specialization. Today only 1 out of every 11 persons, in the total of 22 thousand inhabitants of the Gjakova Commune, has a job. The birth rate of the population is 3.1 per cent, which means that each year the number of inhabitants in Gjakova grows by 2,000».

According to Tito's speech in Kosova, which has a birth rate of 29 per thousand inhabitants,

from 1952 onward only 3,700 persons per year have been able to find jobs to start their working lives. A ridiculous figure indeed. The situation would be bad enough had they all been Kosovars, but the overwhelming majority of them were Serbs and Montenegrins. Tito himself, in his speech at Peja, was compelled to admit «the inequality of people in employment» and that «there are many Serbs employed, although the Albanians make up the majority,» that «the majority of the specialists and skilled workers are of the Serbian and Montenegrin nationalities» and so on.

The Tito regime is seeking to find a way out through the intensification and tightening up of their repressive and denationalization measures. They are now trying to remove the unemployed labour force, which is entirely Albanian, from the region through emigration either abroad to West Germany, the Scandinavian countries, France, Switzerland, etc., or to the northern Republics, which need cheap manpower. In order to encourage this forced displacement, the Titoites even organize special courses to give the emigrants-to-be some knowledge and information about where they can go and where they can find work. Through this method, which is no less barbarous than that used some years ago when the Albanians of Kosova and Macedonia were forcefully evicted and sent to Turkey, the Tito clique is trying to deprive the regions inhabited by Albanians of their younger generations — the most vigorous

force to perpetuate the population and the most capable of working and fighting.

The Titoites are trying to encourage and support this inhuman action with all their administrative means, as well as through discriminatory measures in the field of education and culture. They raise every possible and impossible obstacle to prevent the Albanians from finding jobs in their own country, from acquiring new skills and gaining qualifications. They try in every way to force the Albanian children to attend Serbian schools, alleging that in this way they will be able to find jobs, and when these children do not want, or are unable to do such a thing, they are expelled from school. A few days ago, the Prishtina newspaper «Rilindja», said that the Serbian director of the «Gani Çavderbasha» vocational middle school of Prizren does not allow lessons to be given in the Albanian language. Thus, despite the desire of Albanian pupils to become technicians and skilled workers, they encounter such obstacles that it becomes impossible for them to continue their schooling. It is even more difficult for the Albanians to be admitted to university. They are required, especially those who have graduated from middle schools in their mother tongue, to sit entrance examinations in the Serbian language, and the demands on them are much more rigorous than those on the Serbs from Belgrade and Zagreb. In this way, they are seeking not only to prevent education in the Albanian language, but also to prevent the Albanian children from receiving higher and middle school specialization.

For purposes of demagoguery, the Titoites pretend that they favour education in the Albanian language in Kosova, and Tito, himself, did not fail to boast of this. But what is the situation in the field of education and culture in Kosova? The Yugoslav authorities say that 40 per cent of the population are illiterate. The educational network is exceptionally weak: there is a shortage of teachers, and above all, of school buildings. Tito said that 6 per cent of the electric power for the whole of Yugoslavia, 8 per cent of the coal production, 50 per cent of the pure lead, 30 per cent of the magnesium ore, 90 per cent of the silver, and other minerals, not to mention the big agricultural production, are obtained from Kosova. But the Kosovar children do not have even a humble building in which to learn their ABC, and are compelled to remain illiterate for life, they have no doctors to save them from death when there is a measles epidemic, as was the case last year. It is not the lack of financial means that prevents Kosova from having its schools, as the Yugoslav revisionists lie, but it is the great-Serbian chauvinistic policy of the Belgrade rulers who mercilessly plunder the population of Kosova and seek, by every means to keep them in ignorance and backwardness.

It is true that from liberation onward, many cultural institutions have been set up. However, not only are they not Albanian, but they have been set up precisely with an anti-Albanian function, to oppress the Albanians, to eliminate their

culture, to serbize them. Why is there still no higher school in the Albanian language, no Albanian theatre or cinema? Why are publications in the Albanian language kept at a miserable level whereas Serbian publications in Kosova are being increased and extended with every passing day? Why is the Albanian language not an equal official language in Kosova, at least to the extent envisaged by the Yugoslav fundamental laws, but instead, as «Rilindja» reports, the Serbian officials immediately throw any letter written in the Albanian language into the wastepaper basket, under the pretext that they do not understand it? In these circumstances, is it not utter demagoguery for Tito to claim that the Yugoslav Federation is striving to bring «this region as close as possible to the educational and cultural level of other zones»?

In his many speeches in Kosova, Tito dwelt at length on the dispute that has now burst out in Yugoslavia between the rival Serb and Croat clans as to which language should prevail, which one should become the official language, Serbian or Croatian, an issue that has involved the top levels of the intelligentsia and the social organizations. Tito tried to exploit this dispute, too, which is a clear expression of the degeneration of the Tito regime, of the sharpening of the class and national contradictions, to attack the national feelings of the Albanians, and their efforts to preserve and speak their mother tongue. «We do not live on grammar, on this or that dialect,» he told them. But for the people of Kosova the issue of

the Albanian language is not one of grammar and dialectology. For them it is a major issue touching the most sacred things a people have, their national character, their history and traditions, their life. In Kosova the Albanian language is not and never will be merely a linguistic question, but a vital problem over which the people of Kosova are fighting dauntlessly to ensure that it takes its proper place.

Despite the efforts Tito made to leave the past in silence and to make empty promises, his visit to Kosova once again revealed to the people of Kosova and the whole world, that Tito's line is the line of denial of the Albanian nationality, that it is an anti-Albanian line, aimed at the allround national oppression and denationalization of the population of Kosova. And the people of Kosova realize that Tito went there not out of love for them, but in order to strengthen the shaky state power of his clique, to intensify the national oppression and capitalist exploitation, speed up the denationalization with even more barbarous and refined methods. From their long experience under Titoite rule, the people of Kosova know that whenever the top members of the Titoite hierarchy have been there, savage waves of terror and inhuman crimes have been launched upon them and endangering measures against their interests and lives have been undertaken. Therefore, the people of Kosova follow the developments very closely and know they must always be in a position to expose and strike back hard at the measures of chauvinistic violence and

the intrigues and demagogic frauds of the Tito clique.

The Albanians of Kosova, the Dukagjin Plateau, Macedonia and Montenegro are well aware that the architect, initiator and organizer of the crimes committed against them is Tito himself, that as long as the Tito clique is in power, as long as the country is ruled by the revisionists, there can never be security and democratic rights for them, their national rights and quality cannot be secured. Therefore, they will never fall into the traps set by the Tito clique. They know that they must continue their struggle, along with the other oppressed peoples of Yugoslavia, shoulder to shoulder with the Marxist-Leninists, for the exposure of the Tito clique to the end, in defence of interests which cannot be denied them.

Taken from the collection of articles with the title «The Marxist-Leninist Truth Will Triumph Over Revisionism» Vol. 7, Alb. ed. Tirana 1968

WHAT THE MEETING OF RENEGADES AT KARLOVY VARY SHOWED.

Article published in the newspaper «Zëri i popullit»

May 5, 1967

In an article published in the April 13 issue of our paper in connection with the Karlovy Vary meeting of the European revisionist parties, it was pointed out, «one of the main objectives it had set itself was the political and ideological mobilization of the peoples of Europe so that they abandon the revolutionary struggle against European and world capitalism, abandon the struggle against US imperialism, in order to consolidate the European bourgeoisie, old and new, politically and economically, to relieve it of the fear of revolution, to consolidate class conciliation, peaceful coexistence and the bourgeois economic and ideological policy, shattered and imperilled by Marxism-Leninism and the world revolution». The assessment and predictions of the PLA have been fully vindicated. The document for «peace and security in Europe»,

which the revisionists approved at the end of their treacherous meeting, is a desperate appeal for charity addressed to the US imperialists and the reactionary European bourgeoisie.

It lays bare, for all the world to see, the utter degeneration of the Khrushchevite revisionists and their complete capitulation to the bourgeoisie and other reactionary forces, their final transformation into a bunch of social reformists who have put themselves totally at the service of the capitalist system and counterrevolution. With tears in their eyes, like abject slaves, they are begging the European big bourgeoisie, the all-powerful monopolies and the top dignitaries of the church, the chiefs of social-democracy and of the yellow trade unions, the rulers of Western Europe and reaction, to accept their plea for integration and admit the revisionist «lost sheep» into their fold.

«Peace at any price» between socialism and capitalism, between oppressors and the oppressed, between revolution and counterrevolution, between colonies and the metropolises, between victims and imperialist aggressors — this is the leitmotiv that pervades the document issued at the conclusion of the Karlovy Vary meeting and the speeches the revisionist leaders delivered there. It would not be very difficult for the cardinals of the Vatican, the partisans for a Europe of nations and the fanatical integralists of Joseph Strauss, the Strasbourg parliamentarians and the new monopolist associations of the «Common Market» to attach their signatures to this appeal.

The revisionists wanted to camouflage their

irresistible desire to integrate themselves into the European capitalist concert under the stale slogan of «European Security». But this manoeuvre has lost its effect and can convince no one. From whom do the European revisionists intend to secure Europe? In a very demagogic and banal way, they are making a lot of fuss about the danger of German militarism and revanchism. But while their propaganda drums are loudly beating out this refrain, we see that the revisionist leaderships are frantically competing over who will be the first to establish all-round relations with Bonn, who will get the biggest credits, re-establish the broken friendships and let bygones be bygones. Brezhnev himself said in his speech at Karlovy Vary: «For our part, we have stated more than once and we repeat that the Soviet Union is not opposed to improving relations with the German Federal Republic and is ready to do everything necessary to this end». The only obstacle to this new course, for the time being, is the haste of the great Kiesinger-Brandt coalition which lacks the patience to await the complete revisionist evolution, but is demanding passage through the Brandenburg Gate to Berlin as soon as possible and to emerge on the other side of the Oder-Neisse immediately.

At Karlovy Vary, the revisionists called for unity with all the European and world bourgeoisie, allegedly, against the militarist and revanchist policy of the German Federal Republic. But the question arises: is it only the German Federal Republic that is a threat to peace and not the world reactionary bourgeoisie as well? But such is

the «logic» of the revisionists and such is their monstrous betrayal. Not only have they departed from the class positions of Marxism-Leninism, which they have betrayed, but they have lost even that «dignity» of the capitalist bourgeoisie which lives with the law of the jungle. The revisionists bleat like sheep among a pack of wolves. The «struggle» of the revisionists against the German Federal Republic is a bluff from start to finish, intended to draw attention away from their betrayal and the real course of their foreign policy, which is the line of collaboration with US imperialism and the reactionary bourgeoisie of the whole world, against the working class, the communist movement and the liberation struggle of the peoples.

In their statement, the revisionists speak of the uneasiness which «the ever greater penetration of US capital into Europe» is allegedly causing them. How ludicrous! The Khrushchevite revisionists, themselves, are flinging their own doors wide open to the entry of US capital. The European monopolies, which are now investing their capital in the Soviet Union, are financed, under authorization from the government of the USA, directly by the big American banks. It is known, for instance, that the sum of several hundred million dollars which the Italian firm «FIAT» will use to build the automobile works in the Soviet Union, will be covered by credits accorded it by the US «Export-Import» Bank. The other European monopolies which are investing their capital in revisionist countries are, likewise, very closely linked with the US

monopolies if not, in most cases, subsidiaries of them. The capital of the western monopolies which now is flowing into the Soviet Union and other revisionist countries may be in lire or francs, in pounds sterling or marks, but it is all paid out in New York in the banks of Wall Street.

The alliance with US imperialism, the line of US-Soviet collaboration, is the corner-stone of the foreign policy of Khrushchevite revisionists today. Recently, the Soviet Union has concluded a series of agreements with the United States and now in Geneva, they are jointly putting the finishing touches to the draft of the treaty on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons. Meanwhile, the representatives of both sides are conducting very cordial talks in Moscow on banning the production of anti-missile defence missiles. Johnson is persisting in his request to the Senate to lift any restrictions on trade with the Soviet Union and the Khrushchevite revisionists are eulogizing the cordial revisionist-US relations.

As to NATO, the revisionists claim that it has undergone «changes» and no longer constitutes any danger, etc. As a proof of this conviction they are trying to liquidate the Warsaw Treaty and pleading with the partners of the Atlantic bloc to follow their example.

Their words are «Europe for the Europeans» — an anti-socialist and anti-internationalist, slogan — but, in fact, they want and are working for the US to keep its spider's web over Europe. Their words are: «the United States of America constitutes a menace», but, in reality, they are its allies, as is the

German Federal Republic, on which they are allegedly keeping their guns trained, but with which they have relations, and from now on will have even closer relations, regardless of the Karlovy Vary statement.

But their «criticism» of the penetration of US capital into Europe has an ulterior motive. With this slogan, the revisionists want to divert the attention of their peoples from and conceal the penetration of European capital into the revisionist countries, and to minimize the danger of this penetration.

The Karlovy Vary statement says to the European capitalists, to «those bourgeois groups who maintain a realistic attitude towards the present day reality», that is, towards the real fact of the restoration of capitalism in the USSR and other Eastern countries, that the integration of the revisionist economy into the West will be carried out on a realistic basis, a basis of capitulation, on the terms laid down by London, Paris or Bonn. In short, the Khrushchevite revisionists are telling them openly: «we are eliminating any apprehension you may still have, any doubt about our determination to go through with the restoration of capitalism and the integration of socialism into capitalism». In fact, the real purpose of the statement is precisely to convince world capitalism that the modern revisionists are no longer communists. This is confirmed by the statement which, in their language, is a promissory note signed by the betrayers of Marxism-Leninism, socialism and revolution, who met at Karlovy Vary.

In fact, the question of European security, as the Khrushchevite revisionists conceive it and are striving to achieve it, is another capitulation on their part, another revisionist-imperialist plot, the aim of which is to wipe socialism and communism from the face of the earth, and to protect and guarantee the capitalist system. It is no accident that the revisionist propaganda and diplomacy have intensified their efforts about «European Security» precisely at this time when economic reforms are being carried out in the Soviet Union and the other countries of Eastern Europe. «European Security» and «European Collaboration» are slogans carefully chosen by the revisionists as a means to justify and speed up the restoration of capitalism in their countries, as well as its inevitable consequence, their integration in the old bourgeois economy of Europe.

The revisionist leaders of the Soviet Union and the other countries tried to invoke the blessing and get the seal of approval of an international «communist» meeting for this policy of betrayal. «The liquidation of artificially created obstacles to economic relations between the socialist and capitalist countries of Europe,» says the Karlovy Vary document, «would favour the establishment of fruitful collaboration which would include wide-ranging agreements in the fields of production and scientific research.»

They got their certificate — now they can race ahead. And in truth, when whatever divides the revisionist countries with the capitalist ones is all «artificial», when no essential distinction of class or principle is left between them, when the demar-

cation lines have long disappeared, what is to hinder the integration of revisionist socialism into capitalism so vigorously propagated by Tito and so greatly desired by Khrushchev? The clique of Brezhnev, Kosygin and Co. has proved itself to be their worthy pupil. It is openly carrying out the integration which, only a few years ago, was presented as a remote hope of the most extreme revisionists.

It is very characteristic that the Karlov Vary statement contains no call, even a demagogic one, for workers' revolutionary struggle against the capitalist yoke and exploitation, for their democratic rights and freedoms. Even when its authors do address themselves to the workers, the statement is confined to ordinary economic, reformist claims of a social-democratic character «for the preservation of peace and carrying out of democratic social transformations», «for a peaceful Europe», «for peace and social justice», «for freedom and progress, for the friendship of peoples», etc. Nothing about resistance, but only submission to the yoke of bourgeois monopolies, class collaboration and submission, obedience to the capitalist order and «peace with everybody». Nothing but pleas! Pleas to «the socialist and social-democratic parties which have wide influence among the European working class and participate in the governments of a number of European states», pleas to the «Christian forces, Catholic and Protestant, to believers of all religions», pleas to «bourgeois groups». It was not without purpose that Pope Paul VI issued his recent encyclical to which many orators at Karlov

Vary paid homage and sang enthusiastic praises. The statement of the Khrushchevite revisionists was a faithful copy of the Papal encyclical. The identical bell is tolling: «Capitalism is in danger, we must unite to save it, to prolong its life!».

Even the social-chauvinists of the 2nd International, whom Lenin fought, did not speak so openly, so cynically, and in such a disgraceful way as the Khrushchevite revisionists are doing. Now they are trying to convince others that only Europe exists in the world today, that its problems are the biggest and most serious issues of present day international relations, that the fate of all peoples is decided and settled here. As to the United States of America, it is left a free hand to act as it pleases in all other zones. By throwing «the European question» on to the negotiating table and making it the subject of international deals, the Khrushchevite revisionists are aiming at a very clear and well defined objective. They are trying to assure the US imperialists of peace in Europe in the hope that, in this way, they will build another basis for the practical application of the Soviet-US collaboration for the division of spheres of influence between the two big powers and create further possibilities to direct the attack of their military and political potential towards Asia. The western press has long been reporting that many military divisions located in Europe are leaving, one after the other, for Asia. And, no matter how much noise the revisionists may make about Vietnam, one thing is quite clear: their tales about European security have but one purpose, namely, to distract

the attention of the world from the war in Vietnam and from the anti-imperialist revolutionary struggle of other peoples.

The hypocritical statement which the Karlovy Vary meeting adopted on Vietnam is not worth tuppence. The card of Vietnam, which the revisionists intended to play, has already been trumped.

It has already been proven with incontestable facts that the Soviet leaders are striving to include the solution of the Vietnam problem within the framework of the Soviet-US collaboration, to make use of it in their anti-Chinese campaign. Moscow has now become the main lair where the imperialists, revisionists and various reactionaries from all parts of the world concoct plots against Vietnam, draw up plans to deceive it, and divert it from the right road of people's war against the aggressor. Indeed the Soviet and other revisionists have taken a position far to the right of many US senators who are demanding that their government put an end to the war in Vietnam and immediately withdraw the American troops.

The escalation of the US aggression is, willy-nilly, involving the revisionists into more openly anti-Vietnamese positions and a more openly pro-US stand. Therefore, further use of demagogical slogans about «solidarity to help the people of Vietnam», «unity of action», and so on, will be quite unable to cover up their betrayal of the people of Vietnam but, on the contrary, will make it more evident. For how long, or up to what level of escalation of the American aggression will the Soviet leadership support the USA and, on the

other hand, pose as if helping Vietnam? There comes a time when the disguise can no longer be maintained. The Khrushchevite revisionists are at precisely this lamentable phase.

An international conference so undistinguished, so stale, so monotonous, so false, so general and with such meagre results as the one the revisionists held at Karlovy Vary has never been seen before. The chiefs of European revisionism, headed by Leonid Brezhnev, mounted the rostrum one after the other, and repeated the same things, in the same words, without any spirit at all. It was evident that no one believed what was being said. Their speeches were contrived to conceal what they do not say, what they cannot say openly. It is true that the revisionist chiefs spoke from the rostrum of the former imperial palace of Karlovy Vary, but their thoughts were elsewhere. There they formulated the stale points of the joint statement, but each kept his real plan in his pocket. For the sake of appearances, in words and on paper it was made to look as though they were in unity, but they were squabbling, in tooth and nail struggle with, and bearing grudges against, one another. In fact, the mountain laboured and brought forth a mouse. Their statement contains nothing new. It is a mass of words compiled to please all revisionist groupings, to preserve appearances and avoid infringing the interests or plans of any of the participants.

The Karlovy Vary meeting was unable to close the gaps of the revisionist front, to strengthen

the Soviet positions of hegemony on this front and to overcome the disarray in the ranks of the Khrushchevite allies. The contradictions between countries and parties wherever the revisionists are in power are deep-rooted and are becoming more and more so. They are the inevitable consequences of the great power chauvinistic policy pursued by the Soviet leaders in their relations with other countries, on the one hand, and of the process of restoration of capitalism in the socialist countries of Europe, on the other. Of course, the Soviet leaders strive to keep them under rein and maintain the role of hegemony, but it is precisely this «concern», that constitutes one of the factors that impels the other revisionists to seek new alliances to escape from Soviet interference and to have more freedom to manoeuvre. The leaders in power in the former socialist countries are no longer willing to have the Soviet Union decide all major foreign policy matters, while they remain mere followers. The long and short of it is that relations of a completely bourgeois type have now been, or are being, established among them, and these are variable, according to the circumstances of the moment and individual national interests which no meeting and no operation can resolve. Of course, they are united in the fight against Marxism-Leninism, but even in this fight each has its own particular interests, each is seeking to attain those objectives that interest it alone, to win superiority, influence, to make deals, etc. The Soviet leadership is finding it very difficult to establish order, to create unified views

and attitudes in this basket of crabs and even more so to ensure that they fully conform to its own interests and aims.

For purposes of propaganda and to avoid coming away empty-handed, the Soviet leaders begged the other participants at the meeting to send them some kind of homage and, along with it, even compliments on the occasion of the 50th anniversary of the October Revolution. But speculation with the glory of the Great Socialist Revolution and the first socialist state can hold water no longer. The Khrushchevite revisionists have betrayed Lenin and those who, 50 years ago, overthrew Czarism and established the Soviets. They have betrayed the blood with 20 million Soviet citizens shed in defence of their country and to free Europe from the fascist plague. There is no doubt that some day, the black clouds which are hanging over the homeland of the October Socialist Revolution today, will be dispersed. The great and immortal ideas of Lenin and Stalin which live in the hearts of the ordinary people of the Soviet Union and which were emblazoned on the banners of the revolutionary battles of the genuine communists of the Soviet Union will certainly triumph over revisionism, which has usurped the leadership of the Party and state by force.

The Khrushchevite revisionists hope to exploit their meeting at Karlovy Vary for purposes of fresh demagoguery and deception. But the Marxist-Leninists and the revolutionary peoples are already well acquainted with revisionist tactics and know

how to make a correct analysis of situations and to draw the necessary conclusions. They are certainly wise to the fact that, faced with fresh conspiracies concocted by the revisionists, they must close their ranks even more firmly and fight harder to expose revisionism.

It is the duty of Marxist-Leninists and all genuine revolutionaries to draw a clear line of demarcation from the revisionist renegades who, with their treachery and conspiracies, have placed themselves outside the anti-imperialist front, outside the international communist movement.

Today, in a Europe burdened with revisionism, the revolutionary forces capable of leading the class struggle against imperialism, opportunism and the bourgeoisie are the Marxist-Leninists. The future belongs to them. For the sake of the future, revolution and socialism, they must unite all their forces and wage a resolute struggle against imperialism and its lackeys, the Khrushchevite revisionists.

On the eve of the Great October Socialist Revolution, Lenin courageously broke with the Russian social-opportunists and the treacherous 2nd International and fought them with great courage and determination. This important revolutionary measure was one of the fundamental conditions and guarantees for the triumph of the revolution. We must always remember this great lesson of history.

Therefore, for the revolution to triumph, we must fight to the end with all our strength, with determination and without hesitation, against mo-

dern revisionism, which constitutes the main danger for the international communist movement.

Taken from the collection of articles with the title «The Marxist-Leninist Truth Will Triumph Over Revisionism» Vol. 7, Alb. ed. Tirana 1968.

**THE MORE REVOLUTIONARY, MILITANT AND
PURER YOUTH, THE STRONGER AND MORE
STEEL-LIKE THE PARTY, THE SURER
ITS FUTURE**

*From a conversation with a delegation of the
Marxist-Leninist Party of Austria*

May 10, 1967

On behalf of our Party and people I welcome you and express the great joy we feel over the founding of your Marxist-Leninist Party, and from the bottom of my heart I congratulate you on this great historic event for the Austrian people. We have the conviction that, though still young, your Party will be constantly strengthened. Of course, as a new Party, it will encounter many difficulties on its road, and this, however, is a good thing, because difficulties on its road mean struggle, and it is through struggle and in struggle that the Party grows and is tempered, strengthened and purged of unworthy elements. In its revolutionary course, it will swell its ranks ever more with good, staunch

and trustworthy people; from the ranks of youth in particular, which is the future of the Party, the future of the homeland. Therefore, youth has first-rate importance.

Our Party has devoted constant and particular attention to this problem. It has taught us that the more revolutionary, the more militant and the purer the youth is, the stronger and the more steel-like the Party itself will be, the surer its future and that of the Homeland will be, because new and fresh blood from the ranks of the best and most revolutionary young men and women will be infused into the Party.

We of the older generation have suffered more in life, because for a long time we had to do with old concepts, had to live for a certain period of time in a different society, which now we have overthrown but which fed us with its old norms, hence the reason for the many unwholesome things we inherit from it. As a result, along with the overthrow of the state power of old society, we had to work for an overthrow in our people's minds and conscience as well. Our Party had to overcome many difficulties in this direction, and it is precisely these difficulties that enabled it to gain great experience, taught it to take care of youth, and above all, to see to it that it always remains pure.

You Austrian comrades should not despair of your youth having not yet attained the level our youth has attained. Our Party has had to carry out colossal work to raise youth to the present level. Besides, you must also bear in mind another rea-

son for it, namely, the different objective and subjective conditions of our countries. The conditions of our two countries are not the same. When we of our generation started the war, we were ourselves young. The young people of Albania, among whom our Party worked, were poor, politically and ideologically oppressed, but pure and, so to say, unaffected by bourgeois ideology, and this constituted another factor that counted in our favour. Bourgeois ideology and the degeneration of society, which influence the youth in capitalist countries, had not penetrated our country. And this was because capitalism was not developed in Albania. We were also assisted by the national factor — the war against occupiers. Therefore, we can say that we had a more favourable terrain to win the youth over more quickly. It is the merit of our Party that it knew how to avail itself of these factors, to exploit them to its advantage. Of course, in your conditions matters look complicated for your Party, and it will have to cope with obstacles and difficulties in its struggle to win the youth over in the shortest time possible. But herein lies the ability of the Party: to find the opportune moments, study them and draw lessons from them as to how it should go about its work and struggle.

Even today, in very favourable situations for our young men and women, our Party constantly studies the stages we have gone and will go through, analysing them carefully, drawing lessons from the past and tracing future plans. In carrying out these studies, we have based and always base ourselves on the objective development of our so-

ciety, on the concrete conditions of our country. In connection with the struggle against old prejudices and religious beliefs, for instance, appropriate measures have been taken on the spur of the moment, for at each stage, difficulties of different kind arise and, on their basis, the Party defines the method of its political, ideological and organizational activity. This is the only way revolutionary development is realized, obstacles are surmounted and difficulties overcome more easily.

You saw the youth of our country, and have already formed a general idea of it. I believe our youth has been as it is now, always revolutionary. The conditions of our two countries, as we already said, being different, you cannot create a similar situation among the youth of your country right away. The young people of our country live in socialism under a regime of freedom. They know what they are working and fighting for, and have reached a high degree of political and ideological maturity, they are linked so closely with the Party that whenever the Party issues a directive, they throw themselves immediately into labour actions, putting their heart and soul into its complete implementation.

A similar situation exists in our country as regards the woman. Her advance has always constituted a major social concern and continues to be so. The woman of our country, too, is closely bound to the Party. Marxism-Leninism teaches us that he who wins over the mass of women is sure to score victory, for women make up half the population. The woman plays an extremely impor-

tant role in the socialist construction of our country. Whoever fails to understand this role will not be able to build socialism. The problem of the woman cannot be tackled in the same way as Nietzsche, the Fathers of the Church, or Kaiser put it in their theories, but only in the Marxist-Leninist way. Marxism-Leninism, teaches us that if the woman is made conscious and understands that the objective of the Party's struggle is to guarantee her all her rights, that is to say, to put her on a completely equal footing with man, if work is done to make her self-confident of her forces, physical, moral and spiritual, then results will increase a hundredfold. With us, especially in the present moments, the woman is the principal factor of revolutionizing the Party and the people.

If the woman comes to understand that religion and backward customs are detrimental to her, and correctly understands what love, the family, socialist society, the socialist homeland really are, she will become a colossal force for and support to the Party.

Likewise, if women grow conscious and properly understand the importance of their participation in struggle and production (in capitalist countries women's participation in production is on a reduced scale and constitutes another object of capitalist exploitation), they can play an ever greater role in society, and revolution will certainly advance even more vigorously forward.

As a matter of principle, these problems face both your Party and our Party, with the only

difference that conditions in the countries where each Party militates are not the same. The foresight of a Party lies precisely in its ability to implement principles in its own conditions in a creative manner, and not in copying patterns blindly, because such a thing would yield no fruit at all, but cause only harm. The question is that you must know how to utilize the revolutionary drive of young people and women, and channel it into their own service.

Regardless of conditions the youth and women find themselves in, this predisposition exists everywhere. The Austrian woman comrade, for instance, enthused very much the 6th Congress of the Trade Unions of Albania with the fiery and correct revolutionary content of her address. The delegates to the Congress often recall her and speak with sympathy of her excellent greeting. Is this not proof enough that youth is ardent everywhere? Yes, it is, but a revolutionary Party is needed to guide it on to the revolutionary road.

Comrades, the future belongs to our Parties, for everything favours us. By this I do not mean to minimize the great difficulties lying ahead of us, which, under present circumstances, are colossal, by this I mean what we are witnessing for ourselves: the cause of the revolution is forging ahead. The founding of Marxist-Leninist communist Parties in Western Europe, in Asia and Latin America, as well as their struggle for principles and in practical matters clearly speak that the situation is in our favour. This upsets the revisionist enemies very much, just as it upsets the imperialists, except

that now the latter are going through a period of euphoria, because in the Soviet Union and the former socialist countries of Europe, their cause has triumphed.

The creation of new Marxist-Leninist Parties, which the imperialists frequently underrate, is a cause of great disquiet to the revisionists, who stand in great fear of them; indeed, recently the disguised revisionists made no secret of their apprehension. I wonder whether you have had the opportunity of reading these days a long theoretical article written by the First Secretary of the Central Committee of an out-and-out, though disguised, revisionist party. In his article, he puts forward an opportunist, revisionist, anti-Marxist and anti-internationalist thesis. He calls the new Marxist-Leninist Parties «factions», and according to him, these should maintain friendly relations with the old parties, that is, the revisionist parties! The writer of the article says that differences of viewpoint existing among Parties are allegedly unprincipled. These are nothing else but revisionist theses. Such «communists» try to make believe that they implement Marxism-Leninism in a creative manner, allegedly in keeping with the conditions of their own countries. In this article, the opportunists, the disguised revisionists, openly express their fear of the new Marxist-Leninist Parties, against which the revisionists, who by now have become publicly exposed as such, are waging a fierce frontal fight.

In spite of a favourable turn, nonetheless situations are difficult for us. However, our

growing Marxist-Leninist movement makes things hard for our enemies, and will make them harder still in the future. Contradictions between the revisionists and imperialists will grow sharper, but the road they are following will make the class struggle in the countries where they rule even more acute. We think that in the revisionist countries a gradual disintegration will take place within their parties. There are people who drop out of the Party, but among them there are also some who drop out on instructions from the revisionists, who, on their part, intend to employ them as «Trojan horses» to infiltrate the revolutionary Parties with a view to undermining and destroying them from within. We must be discreet with, and very vigilant towards, these elements. But we must also guard against sectarianism, for among them there are also honest people, who from the development of situations are beginning to understand that their leaderships are leading them to treason, and who are still in search of the road they must follow. Honest people, and we will certainly find many of them on our road, will understand that the only way out will be for them to abandon the revisionist parties, to revolt, to rise up. Others, perhaps only a handful of them, will follow the road of becoming lackeys to imperialism, and they will become provocators. This is what will happen and how this process is developing today. The situation cannot remain at a standstill and we are fully convinced that the future situations will be ever more difficult for our enemies, and ever more favourable to us. The process of disintegration of the revision-

ist parties has long since started, and today it is deepening more and more.

In our opinion the creation of your Party will help accelerate this process in Austria as well. In the course of this process your Party, too, will gradually be tempered, its ranks will swell, and its influence will ceaselessly grow.

To our Marxist Leninist Parties the number of their members has not so great importance as their quality. Our Party could not secure a large membership right from the beginning, as soon as it was founded, indeed, on the day of its founding it had only about 200 members. But when the political, ideological and organizational line of a Party is correct, it can grow rapidly. This will be the case of your Party, too, for it is built on correct Marxist-Leninist bases. This is the main thing. You were perfectly justified in preoccupying yourselves about the strengthening of the Party from the beginning, and in continuing to do so about this problem, because the beginning is always important; but first of all, alongside this, the Party should be purged of evil-doers by all means. No enemies, or waverers, or less so, camouflaged elements, who are most dangerous, should find room in the ranks of the Party. A wise saying of our people goes like this: «God guard me against the unknown enemy, for I can guard against the known one myself».

After acquainting yourselves well with the situation in Austria and its way of development on the basis of historical materialism, with the situation of local forces and classes, the disad-

vantages of the enemy and the advantages of the communist movement in your country, there is no doubt that, with multiplied efforts and relentless struggle, you will gain more ground.

This is also how our Party has gone about it right from its founding; and in the process of its first tempering it was assisted by a major favourable factor — the national factor. Nevertheless the problems facing our Party at that time were many, for it had to cope with a grave situation. The country was ruled at the point of bayonet by foreigners. Despite the difficult conditions confronting us, we tried to take up the fundamental problems preoccupying the people, those problems which reflected their immediate aspiration, namely, national liberation. This was what the Party tried to solve in the first place, and relegated the other questions, those which could be solved in a more distant period, to the second place. This we did in order to mass our forces, concentrate them and employ them in our attack on the main front.

Our ideology has materialistic bases, therefore, only when we take up problems in a concrete manner, can we find the correct road for their solution, even with compromises when the cause of the revolution necessitates them, but always proceeding from Marxism-Leninism and without affecting principles. There may be people who fail to understand permissible compromises, such as Lenin recommends, but if for instance, we want to win the youth over to our side, which has major importance to the cause of the Party and the future of the people, we are allowed to make even some tem-

porary zigzags, compromises, without encroaching on principles.

But, in this case, it is not a question of such compromises as the revisionists make. With their compromises, the revisionists violate principles. We are against such compromises, for they are fraught with danger to the revolution, they lead to opportunism. It is no easy thing to make compromises advantageous to the cause of the party, either. This calls for profound Marxist-Leninist knowledge and great experience of the revolutionary struggle. Only this will help you know when and where and with whom compromises should be made. This must be borne in mind well, otherwise, as Lenin teaches us, compromises would be made on unsound bases. A compromise which encroaches on principles leads to an opportunist pass. First, the Party must grasp well the significance of such compromises that do not violate principles, so that it can back them up afterwards; while making compromises, it must not lose sight of the objectives to be attained by them and make sure that its tactic is correct.

Parties employ various tactics, also, but principles must by no means be affected by them. There are Parties which call their opportunist actions tactics, but such tactics lead to an anti-Marxist strategy. If we see that a particular tactic yields no, or only doubtful result, due to unsuitable circumstances or its incorrect application, we must renounce it forthwith and never go by the thought that in so doing the authority of its author would suffer. This would be a mistake, it would be tantamount to letting the disease grow, affect your

arm, gain upon your whole body, and then take away even your life.

I think you are in a position to make these distinctions yourself, and, I believe you know the situation in Austria, hence you will surely strengthen the Party.

One of the principal means which helps strengthen a revolutionary Party is the Marxist-Leninist press, the organ of the Party, in particular, provided it succeeds in becoming a true tribune of the common people.

I was told that you will turn your periodical «Rote Fahne» into a weekly. That is very good. The press has great importance. Along with the publicizing of principles, our solid internationalist standpoints, the struggle to link the Party with the masses, which, among other things, will be waged also through the press, has great importance. At first, the masses may not be convinced of what the newspaper writes, but in our press, we communists must try to hit the nail on its head always, today, tomorrow and continuously. By so doing, the reader's trust in the problems the newspaper takes up is sure to grow gradually. Our theory is such that, through its correct and objective analysis of problems, it also helps people find a correct solution to their problems, as well as make correct forecasts about them. Thus, tomorrow, when the reader sees that what the «Rote Fahne» has written is being proven true, he will recall that, what the newspaper had long since foreseen, is being confirmed by reality. In this way his trust in the newspaper will grow, and he will be more closely drawn to the

newspaper. Thus the number of its sympathizers will increase.

As far as I could make out, your Party is now intensively working to increase the number of its sympathizers, whom it is organizing into groups. This is a question of great importance. From the beginning, immediately after the founding of the Party, we too, attached major importance to the work among sympathizers, from whose ranks many future Party members emerged, though when we first approached them we found out that they did not think along the same lines as we did. It is true that, with us, the question of national liberation convinced the sympathizers to unite with us. Nevertheless, I think that, at present, there are problems, such as, for instance, the fight against imperialism, or capitalist exploitation over which many people in your country may unite around your Party. Of course, the basis of your sympathizers should be made up of those elements who are at loggerheads with the class enemy politically and economically. They may not be fully agreed on your line as a whole, but this is precisely why they are called sympathizers; they may be in agreement with you only on some particular questions which, nonetheless, are very important, and this is what makes them your sympathizers. We must proceed from what we have in common with them in order to lead them on the road we want, the road of the revolution, which will also convince them of questions over which they were unclear at first, or on which they differed from us.

After hearing the Austrian comrade, Comrade Enver Hoxha said in conclusion:

I thank you very much for your appreciation of our Party. This encourages us, but at the same time we feel called upon to greater tasks. Without the least pretension, I can say that our Party is clear about its tasks. Its only wish is to fight in all conditions and against all difficulties unwaveringly. Our joint forces, the forces of Marxism-Leninism in the world, are great, hence we will win.

Published for the first time from the stenographic record of the conversation in the Central Archives of the Party

AN AGENT OF THE AMERICANS AND FALSE FRIEND OF THE ARAB PEOPLES

Article published in the newspaper «Zëri i popullit»

June 13, 1967

For several days now the attention of international public opinion has been centred on the Israeli criminal aggression against the Arab peoples, which was instigated, prepared, and actively supported by the US imperialists and their allies. The righteousness of the cause for which the United Arab Republic and other Arab countries are fighting, namely the defence of their freedom, independence, and sovereignty against US-British imperialism and reaction, has the powerful backing of the revolutionary and freedom-loving peoples, the true friends of the Arab peoples.

In these historic days of war against imperialist-Israeli aggressors, the United Arab Republic and other fraternal Arab countries also were victims of the betrayal by the Soviet revisionists. The entire world was testimony to the fear which had the re-

visionists in its grip, and to their participation, together with the US imperialists, in the heinous plot against the Arab peoples. But the events of the past days in the Middle East exposed another false friend of the Arab peoples; they laid bare before the world Tito's true face as a plotter, an agent in the pay of the US imperialists, a perfidious friend of the United Arab Republic, the Arab peoples and all peoples fighting for freedom and independence.

For years on end, the Titoite clique, this counterrevolutionary agency in the service of US imperialism, has not ceased noisily publicizing «its unbreakable friendship» with the Arab countries. But the latest facts revealed that this «friendship» of Belgrade for the Arab peoples was an outright bluff, a bluff prepared for ulterior ends. During the Middle East crisis, which was touched off by the Israeli-US imperialist aggression, Tito left his friends in the lurch. And this is quite plain from his official declaration on the Israeli aggression — behind which the USA and its allies are openly pulling the strings — and in which he does not say a single word against the real instigators of the aggression, against the Johnsons and Co.

To come out in defence of the Israeli aggressors and their US bosses, as the Yugoslav revisionist clique is doing at a time when the Arab countries have broken off diplomatic and all other relations with the US imperialists, is tantamount to lining yourself up openly on the side of the most savage enemies of the Arab peoples. This tactic of the traitorous Titoite policy in the service of imperial-

ism is not new to us, nor is it an accidental occurrence. With his hypocritical stand, Tito, this inveterate agent of the Anglo-Americans is doing nothing else but accomplishing his mission and playing his part, which are assigned him by the imperialist bosses in given situations.

As is known, Washington charged him with the mission of creating the so-called «third force» and placing it in the service of the US imperialists. For more than 20 years now the Yugoslav treacherous leadership has been pursuing a foreign policy of allegiance to the course of US diplomacy, in order to sabotage the anti-imperialist and liberation wars of the peoples.

With a view to realizing these aims, Tito with great ado and cock-sure of himself, has organized conferences and congresses out of number, has undertaken numerous trips and visits upon instructions by his bosses, the US government, passing himself for the representative of «a neutral power», «peaceful force», as a partisan of «peaceful co-existence in action», who allegedly keeps clear of blocs and conflicts. Under these cloaks, the Tito clique, together with other renegades, has been working without let-up for the organization of the so-called «third force», or as he often calls it for self-gratification, the «grouping of the non-aligned countries». Tito's «third force» has been loudly acclaimed and publicized by the mass media of US imperialism. Indeed, the Yugoslav revisionists have received billions of dollars from Washington in return for these services. Tito's third bloc, as the events of the recent years have often demonstrated,

has been nothing else but an indirect method, a fiendish manner of beguiling these countries into the tentacles of US domination.

It has been the unaltered aim of Tito and of the Americans to have the free, independent, and sovereign countries, fighting for the consolidation of their freedoms won with sacrifices and blood, subjected politically, economically and militarily to new US colonialists. It is not fortuitous that the chiefs of US imperialism have called Titoite Yugoslavia «the trusted and unshakeable ally that helps advance the objectives in which the interests of both sides coincide».

With his double-faced policy, Tito has posed as the friend of Nehru, Sukarno, Nkrumah and President Nasser.

All along this time and under this cloak, he carried on a spying activity in favour of the Americans, touched pulses, hatched up plans of sabotage, instigated double-dealing factions, with the only intention that either with treason and illusions, or with putsches and counter-revolutions, these countries be included in the American sphere of influence. By the first method, the Americans managed to put India under their dictate. By the second method, the white generals of Indonesia toppled Sukarno. In Ghana, the putsch organized by the plotters under the supervision of the Americans, toppled Nkrumah. In all these events Tito had the role of a spy, provocator, organizer of putsches for the Americans.

His next objective was President Nasser and the UAR. Here Tito and the Americans hit a snag.

Their plans were failing to come to a head. They could not dupe, take in, or overthrow Nasser.

Tito began to grow cold towards Nasser, and the latter understood what a liar, a traitor Tito was, and what plans he had been concocting at the expense of the UAR and other countries. Tito's fiendish game regarding the UAR was exposed. The Americans did not succeed here as they did in Indonesia and Ghana. Then, for the time being, they dropped Tito's card for Moshe Dayan's, Israel's card. The UAR and the Arab peoples had been posing a threat to US and British imperialism, therefore this time, instead of Titoite diversion, they resorted to the Israeli armed attack.

Facts and history proved once again the assertion which our Party has been making for scores of years to the effect that Titoism is nothing but a preposterous agency of the Americans, which seeks to split the peoples in their anti-imperialist struggle.

These days all the peoples, the Arabs in particular, saw for themselves what Tito was to them and what Titoism is; they, therefore, mercilessly spurned such false friends. Tito's going all the way to Moscow in order to participate in the meeting of the revisionists just to put his signature to such a demagogical document, in which their fear of imperialism rather than their support for the Arab peoples prevails, as the communiqué the revisionists published shows, is a manoeuvre which cannot dupe any one. It is dictated by his imperialist bosses, who, having beforehand information about what was going to happen at that meeting (the red teletype was frequently operating those days), found

it necessary to dispatch also their trusted agent to Moscow.

Tito's pro-American stand towards the recent events was another step on his long road of betrayal of, and plots against, the peoples, in favour of the imperialists. The Congo and Cuba, Korea and Vietnam, Laos and India, Hungary and the Middle East, and others, have proved that, whenever the imperialists and the reactionaries have fallen on the peoples, Tito has openly sided with the aggressors and reactionaries.

The so-called «third force» of the non-aligned countries has been already exposed and thoroughly discredited. Through demagogy and catchwords about the «third force», the United States of America managed to put some countries under its domination and its tentacles. But the staunch opposition of the Arab peoples to the US-Israeli imperialist aggression was a very significant fact which helped expose the demagogy of the «third force» in an important zone. It showed that the Arab peoples cannot be misled by the imperialists' and the Soviet and Yugoslav revisionists' demagogical slogans of «non-alignment», «neutrality» and «peaceful coexistence» with the imperialists; nor will they, for the sake of such slogans, sacrifice their national interests by lining themselves up on the side of the imperialists.

Now, modern revisionists, with the Soviet revisionists at the head, as a «second force» have been placed in the direct service of USA, and together, they have undertaken to enslave the

peoples, to mislead them and to make the law of the two powers in the world.

The peoples, however, are up and fighting. The Arab peoples have risen to their feet against US imperialism and reaction.

Now, having betrayed and left the Arab peoples in the lurch, Tito and other revisionists are scheming again, trying to see through the next plans of the Arab countries about the question of their opposition to the imperialist-Israeli aggression, Arab unity and unification, their stand towards the revisionists, and so on. Just like its Moscow counterpart, the Belgrade clique seeks to be present at, interfere with, and influence, the new processes of the definition of the future policy of the Arab countries, in order to channel it against the anti-imperialist, liberation struggle, especially, to avoid and cool down the Arabs' hatred of the revisionists.

However, the Arab peoples, who in these difficult days understood and knew these «friends» for what they are, cannot fall into new revisionist traps or believe the plans and cards which the latter intend to bring into play in the future. To trust Tito, means to let the wolf guard the lamb, to let US imperialism, Israel and others get an inkling of your plans and intentions, to enable them to attack you by surprise and give you a telling blow. Being on one's guard against the «friendship» and «advice» of Tito, Brezhnev, Kosygin and their ilk, is a premise to, and a condition for, the victory of the Arab peoples against their imperialist-Israeli aggressors, a condition for the protection

and strengthening of their freedom and national independence.

Foreign aggression and betrayal by the revisionists has done serious harm to the Arab peoples and their just cause. The present situation, however difficult, is only transient. The final victory of the Arab peoples over their enemies is inevitable. Their struggle against aggression continues and will never be put down even for a moment, because their ardent aspiration for freedom and independence, their determination to do away with the gross injustices done to them, will never be extinguished, because there is no force in the world to stop the Arab peoples from bringing into life their centuries-long aspirations.

Taken from the collection of articles with the title «The Marxist-Leninist Truth Will Triumph Over Revisionism» Vol. 7, Alb. ed., Tirana 1968

REVISIONIST PALAVER WILL NOT DECEIVE THE ARAB PEOPLES

Article published in the newspaper «Zëri i popullit»

June 14, 1967

The top leaders of the European revisionist countries held a meeting in Moscow on June 9, to «examine the situation in the Near East». Towards the end of the meeting, its participants, with the exception of the Rumanian leaders, who on this occasion, too, maintained their own particular position, issued a statement which summed up the results of their talks.

The statement, most of which is occupied by the official titles of the revisionist leaders, is another confirmation of their great betrayal of the Arab peoples, their fear of, and shameful capitulation to, imperialism and reaction.

The revisionist farce of the new Moscow meeting and its stale statement couched in general terms, with equivocal attitudes adopted for the

sake of propaganda, false solidarity and empty promises, are a desperate attempt to patch up the prestige of the Soviet Union which was dealt an irreparable blow as a result of its betrayal of the Arab peoples who have been stabbed in the back by the renegade Soviet leaders. Judging by the manner in which the meeting was organized and the time it was convened, with the majority of the Arab states having accepted the cease-fire and the Soviet Union having fully expressed its capitulationist attitude at the UNO, it is obvious that the revisionist leaders had no intention whatsoever of giving any concrete assistance to the United Arab Republic, Syria and other Arab countries to oppose Israeli aggression. Through a new demagogical campaign of solidarity, vain promises and boasts, their aim was to remove, as best they could, some of the dirt which had stuck to their hands and faces when they left the Arab peoples in the mud and stabbed them in the back. The breaking off of diplomatic relations with Israel on the part of the Soviet government and some of its followers, though a bit too late in the day, served the same purpose.

On May 23, the Soviet government issued a solemn and bombastic statement which read: «No one should entertain any doubt that whoever dare launch an aggression in the Middle East would come up against not only the united force of the Arab countries, but also the firm opposition of the Soviet Union and all the other peace-loving states». But, unfortunately Israel and its Anglo-US supporters «dared» launch an aggression in the Middle

East. These days the peoples of the world witnessed the heroic resistance of the Arab peoples. But what about the «determined opposition of the USSR»? This «opposition» was nowhere to be seen, on the contrary, the shameful revisionist betrayal, the joint Soviet-US collusion and conspiracy in support of Israel, which were expressed in their joint resolutions and unanimity at the Security Council, came out openly there.

Now the revisionist leaders come out again to tell us, «No one should entertain any doubt that, if the Israeli Government does not withdraw its troops behind the cease-fire line, the socialist states signatories to this statement will do everything necessary to help the peoples of the Arab countries give a decisive answer to the aggressor», and so on and so forth.

Enough with such palaver! The Arab peoples do not stand in need of consolations nor of such false support and solidarity. What they stand in need of is concrete, speedy, definite and effective actions which the revisionists can never do, since they are renegades, capitulationists, and swindlers.

The Soviet leaders are now striving to pass themselves off as the authors of the just demand for Israel to withdraw its troops from occupied territories behind the cease-fire line. But everyone understands that in the lips of the revisionists this demand is sheer speculation, as they intend to do nothing to put it through. Even if the Israeli troops withdraw, and this is bound to occur without fail, this will be due to the war, bravery and determination of the Arab peoples, and no one else.

Undoubtedly, Israel and its US partners will do their uttermost to impose their dictate on the Arab countries from positions of strength. This is the aim of Israel in its manoeuvres to solve the old problems and those arising from the recent conflict directly with the Arab countries themselves, basing itself on its temporary position of strength which it takes as a result of some battle it claims to have won. But a dictate of this kind, as it thinks, will be a new defeat for the imperialists, be it for the present or the future. Those who think they can impose such a fascist dictate on the Arab peoples, are grossly mistaken.

Matters will begin to be settled only when Israel completely ceases its aggression and withdraws its forces to the positions it held before June 4. Any other tactic, stemming either from the United Nations Organization or the Israeli aggressors themselves, is bound to be short-lived, because neither the United Nations Organization nor Israel have the right to begin negotiations before Israeli troops are first withdrawn from occupied territory as a result of their recent aggression against the Arab countries.

Coming out now with a bombastic statement on the Middle East, the Brezhnev-Kosygin clique and its followers seek to tone down the wave of indignation against the revisionists, which has burst out in all Arab countries, and which is taking ever broader proportions with each passing day. They try to pose as innocent, promise that they will do something about it in the future, pretend

that they are friends with the Arab countries, are anti-imperialists and the like.

But this is a desperate effort. The Arab peoples have now been convinced from their bitter experience how much such «friends» are worth. And this experience has to do not only with what happened those days, but also with the stands and aims of the Soviet revisionist leadership in the days to come. In their statement of June 9, the revisionist leaders said in no uncertain terms that they will try to introduce the solution to the Arab-Israeli conflict into the mechanisms of the United Nations Organization, that is, to put it on the table of the Soviet-US bargainings for the division of spheres of influence and the domination of the world. It is a very significant fact that Tito, this inveterate agent of US imperialism, also attended the Moscow meeting. As an almost official observer on behalf of the United States of America, he certainly did his best, and facts prove it, so that the results of this meeting should fall in with the US line. It is not casual, for example, that the «statement» does not openly admit or condemn the actual participation of US and British forces in military operations on the Israeli side.

On the eve of imperialist-Israeli aggression, the Soviet revisionist clique did all it could to demobilize the Arab peoples, to lower their vigilance before the impending danger. When the aggression began, they plotted with the USA to put down their resistance, and through the resolutions of the Security Council, strove to create favourable conditions for Israel to press on with its policy from the posi-

tions of strength. Now it is seeking to take advantage of the sufferings of the Arab peoples in order to consolidate the co-operation between the two superpowers and become a partner to, or to preside over, the coming diplomatic and political wrangle to settle the Arab-Israeli conflict on behalf of the Arab nations. But no matter what attempts and manoeuvres the revisionists resort to, the Arab peoples, as the Algerian President Boumedienne declared the day before yesterday, will never tolerate a second Munich to happen.

The Arabs, like all other honest peoples in the world, cannot fail to see that the Khrushchevite revisionists have degenerated into unprincipled politicians who trample underfoot the vital interests of the peoples, who buy and sell them out like any other ordinary market commodity. The betrayal of the Arab peoples by the Soviet leaders has been very great and caused them serious damage. But, on the other hand, it has also done a good service; it has demonstrated to the people how erroneous and dangerous is to rely on the revisionists and pin even the smallest of hopes on them. It revealed and proved by facts not only the existence of the imperialist-revisionist alliance but also its concrete activity. The torn mask of the revisionists, who posed as supporters of the liberation struggle of the peoples, was further ripped apart. Now the peoples can better see the real countenance of the revisionists as allies and collaborators of US imperialism, dangerous enemies of the emancipation, freedom and independence of peoples.

The present temporary difficulties which are

the result of the perfidious Israeli aggression, taught the Arab states a great lesson from which they will profit to better consolidate their solidarity against their imperialist and Israeli enemies. And there is no doubt that the day is not far away when the imperialists and the Israeli will come up against a steel-like unity which will condemn and crush them, when neither the surprise attacks nor the intrigues of the imperialists and Israel, when neither the treachery nor the demagogy of the revisionists will find a suitable soil to damage the freedom and independence, the undeniable rights and aspirations of the Arab peoples.

Taken from the collection of articles with the title «The Marxist-Leninist Truth Will Triumph Over Revisionism» Vol. 7, Alb. ed., Tirana 1963

SOVIET REVISIONIST — INTERNATIONAL ANTAGONISTS OF THE REVOLUTION AND THE NATIONAL LIBERATION STRUGGLE OF THE PEOPLES

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June 21, 1967

The waves of anti-US storm are surging higher and higher now on all the continents of the world. Enraged by the aggressive enslaving policy of US imperialism and its lackeys, the peoples of Vietnam and the Congo, of Laos and Angola, of Mozambique and Venezuela, the peoples of the Arab countries and Bolivia, are waging a heroic revolutionary struggle for freedom and independence, for their national liberation and social emancipation. In spite of enemy's superiority in armaments, in spite of the sinister intrigues of the imperialists and the treachery of the revisionists, the courage and valour of the peoples in arms are indomitable, their resolve to fight to the end and win is unbreakable. While seeking to encircle

and enslave the peoples, everywhere by force, US imperialism itself was trapped into a fire circle of revolutions and liberation wars, the flames of which are burning and scorching it.

Washington used to boastfully call the Latin-American continent «its secure rearbase». But times have changed. Latin America has turned into one of the centres of revolutionary storms, where the US imperialists and their lackeys are being dealt hard and direct blows.

Enraged by, and revolted at, the warmongering and enslaving policy of the Yankee imperialists, their two-fold oppression and exploitation, the peoples of this continent have hurled themselves into class battles and intensified their struggle for national and social liberation. The anti-imperialist movement against reactionary cliques in power is including now, in one form or another, nearly all the Latin-American countries.

What is the present situation like on this continent? In Bolivia, Colombia, Guatemala, Venezuela, Peru, Nicaragua, the Dominican Republic and other countries, armed struggles have broken out in various forms and to varying degrees, against US imperialism and its tools. To the counterrevolutionary violence the peoples of this continent are responding with their revolutionary violence. The national liberation armed struggle of the Bolivian people has assumed wide-spread proportions. Barriento's reactionary government, aided and abetted by US imperialism, has recently proclaimed a state of emergency, has launched mopping up operations

against the regions liberated by the partisans, calling for aid from the military juntas of Argentine and Brazil. But the strength of the people's struggle frustrated the plans of the Bolivian reactionaries to suppress the liberation movement. The military operations of the Bolivian «guerrillos» have now extended also to Santa Cruz and other districts.

The flames of people's war for national and social liberation have spread all over Colombia in zones of about 100 thousand square kilometres. In the fierce clashes in the regions of Guayanero, Bajo Pato, Medio Pato, in the Huila department, in the Santander district and so on, the «expeditions» organized by the local ruling clique with the participation of scores of thousands of soldiers armed with modern means of warfare have suffered heavy losses. The National Liberation Army of Colombia (ELN) has increased and strengthened its ranks. By their determination, courage and heroism, the Colombian fighters are showing that it is not modern armaments but the revolutionary consciousness of the people which finally decides the outcome of the war.

The partisan national liberation movement has gathered momentum also in Peru, Venezuela, Nicaragua, Guatemala and so on. In the recent months, bitter battles have taken place between the liberation forces and detachments of the Venezuelan army and police on El Bachiller Mountains 160 km away from Caracas. One thousand «Green Berrets» (US soldiers trained especially for partisan warfare), in addition to thousands of Guatemalan soldiers, were thrown into bitter battles during

April and May this year against the national liberation forces operating in the Jones and El Progreso regions.

Under the guidance of the Communist Party of Brazil, the Brazilian revolutionaries are waging determined and courageous battles against US intervention and internal reactionary oppression.

Two years ago the US government dispatched 30 thousand marines to reduce the armed uprising of the small Dominican people. For a time it looked as if «tranquility was established» there. But the people do not kowtow so easily. Of course, the revolutionary process does not develop in a straight line. It has its zigzags, it goes through attacks and retreats, with temporary successes and setbacks. Revolutionaries do not lose heart, do not lay down their weapons in the face of temporary defeats. On the contrary, they draw the necessary conclusions and lessons, regroup their forces to take new actions. This is what is happening now also in the Dominican Republic. The fires of the people's national liberation war have been kindled again in many regions of this country. The peoples of this continent, as a statement of the Communist Party of Bolivia also has it, see that «under the present conditions the only way to liberation goes through revolution, through armed struggle».

In Latin America, just as everywhere else where capitalist oppression and exploitation reign supreme, the question is posed: either to fight imperialism and local oligarchies or capitulate to them. This is a dividing line between the revo-

lutionary from the counterrevolutionary forces. But what stand do the revisionist leaders take towards this powerful revolutionary uprising of the peoples of Latin America, towards this broad extension of the liberation and anti-imperialist struggle? They have taken upon themselves the shameful role of counterrevolutionary firemen, of saboteurs and collaborators of the United States of America in order to extinguish the fires which have been set to the tottering neo-colonialist bastion of US imperialism in Latin America.

The Khrushchevite revisionists have been carrying out their divisive activity in the communist movement in Latin America and continue to do so. Through their slogans of «peaceful transition», «peaceful coexistence», «preserving peace at any cost» and of «bringing about democratic, social transformations», the Brezhnev-Kosygin group of traitors seeks to set the liberation movement in Latin America on the road to social-democratic pacifism, to class collaboration. They openly call for collaboration and alliance with anyone, with social-democrats, Christian-democrats, radicals, Peronites, provided they serve «peaceful coexistence», so much advertized by them, they serve the suppression of liberation struggles wherever they have broken out. The Soviet revisionist leaders call Latin America an incontestable zone of influence of US imperialism, and that is why they consider the liberation struggle on this continent something harmful which encroaches upon «the rights» of the USA, jeopardizing the ratio of forces and the common objectives of the two superpowers.

The ruling clique of the Soviet Union is openly at one with the pro-American puppet regimes in Latin America, thus, betraying the interests of the peoples of these countries. The allround collaboration between the oligarchies of the Latin-American countries and the new Soviet bourgeoisie is stepped up and growing stronger. The former are striving to do away with all kinds of obstacles to the free circulation of capital, commodities, ideas and so on. Last April, in an interview to a correspondent of the Italian news agency ANSA, the Soviet representative at the United Nations Organization, Fedorenko, stated, «the Soviet Union can help consolidate the economy of the Latin-American countries as well as extend their markets». In short, he implied that the Soviet revisionist leaders are willing to consolidate the positions of fascist dictators like Barrientos, Onganía and others, either by helping them with their capital or by flinging open the doors of Soviet markets to Latin-American merchants. The Soviet revisionist leaders have long shown their «generosity» in this direction. Last August they accorded the Brazilian fascist dictatorial regime a long-term loan of 100 million US dollars. Whereas, during this year they have signed trade and economic agreements with Colombia, Chile, Argentina and others. «Agreements with the Soviet Union,» the Colombian magazine «Apuntes Economicos» says, «are an essential necessity. They are directed towards the consolidation of Colombia's sovereignty which the government upholds.» Thus, through their acts, the Soviet revisionists come out as defenders and con-

solidators of the positions of anti-popular regimes which are tottering under the blows of liberation movements, as dampeners of the flames of the peoples' war for genuine freedom, national liberation and social emancipation.

The Soviet revisionists play their role of international antagonists of the revolution and national liberation wars not only in Latin America but also, and more so, in Cuba and Vietnam, in Indonesia and Pakistan, in Europe and Africa.

The Brezhnev-Kosygin clique brag that they are determined champions of the Cuban revolution, pretending that they oppose the attempts of US imperialism at intervening in Cuba by the force of arms and so on. But what is the truth? The new Kremlin leaders inherit and carry out with consistency Nikita Khrushchev's capitulationist policy towards Cuba. The first and ultimate aim of their relations with Cuba is to subject it to the line of Soviet-US collaboration and to turn it into a base area on, and a bridge of the Soviet revisionist policy to, the Latin-American continent. It is now quite plain that the Soviet venture of supplying missiles to Cuba was not at all meant to protect it from US attacks. This was an uncouth bluff of Khrushchev's which, as it turned out also from his agreements with Kennedy, was directed right at the start not against the USA, but against Cuba itself.

The aims of the Khrushchevite revisionists in creating the Cuban incident were very well-calculated and definite. First, by creating a seemingly grave and complicated situation, they sought to subject Cuba to their yoke and, through pres-

tures and economic blackmail, to dictate their own capitulationist policy to Cuba. Second, to force Cuba to come to terms with the United States, that is, to compel it to coexist with US imperialism, to capitulate to the USA, to finally give up the revolution. In short, they wanted Cuba to pose no longer a danger to the USA.

In addition, the Soviet revisionists wanted to create a situation in which Cuba would be obliged to follow them in politics as well as in ideology, to give up preaching the revolutionary armed struggle, and have its Communist Party aligned with the other revisionist parties of Latin America; to set it on the Khrushchevite capitulationist, opportunist, anti-revolutionary and anti-Marxist road which was being impatiently followed in the Soviet Union after the 20th and 22nd Congresses.

In pursuit of this perfidious and monstrous scheme, the Khrushchevite revisionists wanted to turn Cuba into a springboard for their interference in Latin America. This interference, as later events proved, was co-ordinated with, and approved by, the US interference, by permission of top circles in Washington.

In these conditions, it is natural and understandable that, sooner or later, Cuba will get wise to this trickery, it will not tolerate all these Soviet dictates and will rebel against them. Of course, its revolt will suffer from the characteristics and nature of the wavering and anarchical views of its leadership, but in any way, it is a revolt, though silent at first. Tomorrow this revolt will either break out with its full force or it will yield

to Soviet dictate and be wiped out altogether. There is no middle course. Nor can there be a «third force» as the Soviet revisionists wanted when they thought of using Cuba to pull the chestnuts out of the fire in Latin America.

The difficulties which the Soviet revisionists have come up against in Cuba, in achieving their aims and intentions in Latin America, are a clear expression also of the direct activity which Khrushchev's successors are carrying out in the countries of this continent. They have set to work on their own in two directions: on the one hand, they give direct aid to the reactionary bourgeoisie which is in power in South America to strengthen and consolidate its positions, on the other hand, they assist the revisionist communist parties there and, together with them, they are fighting the genuine Marxist-Leninist Parties, the revolutionaries and the revolution in Latin America. These are the counterrevolutionary firemen in action.

The Soviet revisionists have maintained the same reactionary stand to, the same capitulationist and pro-imperialist line of action also in, Indonesia. Here, too, they have been acting as zealous dampeners of the revolution, as saboteurs of the anti-imperialist front of the peoples in Asia, and continue to do so. For quite a long time they have unleashed a frenzied campaign of slanders and defamation against the Communist Party of Indonesia which stood for the freedom and independence of its country and which fought to save it from neo-colonialism and foreign intervention, they reproached it with sectarian «adventurism» and similar policies. The

Khrushchevite clique of the Soviet Union endeavoured by all manner of means, exercising various pressures and using the basest of blackmail and threats towards the leaders of the Communist Party of Indonesia to compel them to change their revolutionary, anti-imperialist and anti-revisionist stand, to betray the interests of its people, of the international communist movement. They openly threatened the Communist Party of Indonesia that if it did not submit to their dictate, the Soviet leaders would give all their backing to Adem Malik's Trotskyite party or would try to set up another communist party of the revisionist type which would obey Moscow.

The Soviet revisionists went further down the road of sabotaging, hitting and stamping out the Indonesian revolution, indeed so far as to become partners with US imperialists in supporting the putsch of the white generals who established the fascist regime in Indonesia. Now they maintain very hearty and friendly relations with the Suharto-Nasution clique which, under the banner of extreme anti-communism, has drenched Indonesia in blood and has turned it into a pro-imperialist, anti-Chinese and anti-revolutionary base. They continue to give the Indonesian regime considerable aid in armaments, especially by creating great facilities in supplying its army with equipment and spare parts. They showed extreme generosity in postponing the date of repayment of the loan to the tune of about one billion dollars and offered them more credits.

All these have no other aim except to keep the

present bloody Indonesian regime on its feet, to supply arms to it in order to kill communists and progressive people and to quell down the revolution.

The shameful rôle of the counterrevolutionary fire-extinguisher of the Soviet revisionists is becoming ever so clear by the stand they adopt towards the liberation, anti-US war of the Vietnamese people. Here they act precisely like assassins who kill you at night and weep over you during the day. On the face, they pretend to be friends with the Vietnamese people, as if they were at one with them, as if they helped them, as if they felt sorry that the Vietnamese are suffering and so on, but in reality they are busily sabotaging the liberation struggle of the Vietnamese people, they work for and desire their defeat, their subjugation to US imperialism. Now it is no longer a secret that the Soviet leaders bring all kind of pressure to bear on the Democratic Republic of Vietnam to abandon its brothers of the South and to accept the humiliating and enslaving conditions of the United States of America. Soviet diplomacy has been placed entirely to the service of the infamous scheme of Washington, «cease fighting through stopping bombardment». Moscow has become the centre of secret negotiations and of imperialist-revisionist plots against Vietnam. Harriman and Wilson, Indira Gandhi and Tito, Brown and the envoys of the Pope of Rome, all those who help US imperialism to escape the sure defeat awaiting it in the jungles of Vietnam, go to Moscow to talk about Vietnam. And there they are all welcomed and listened to

attentively, they co-ordinate joint plans to stab Vietnam in the back, hatch up new manoeuvres to compel Vietnam into the road of capitulation, resort to fiendish intrigues in order to peddle Johnson's «peaceful negotiations». And meanwhile, the revisionists call for «unity of action» to come to the aid of Vietnam for «a joint front against imperialism» and so on. What hypocrisy! Their only desire, the only thing they are after, is to bring the settlement of the Vietnam question within the framework of Soviet-US collusion for the division of the zones of influence and for the domination of the world by the two superpowers.

They view every stand of the Soviet leaders in connection with Vietnam, every political and propaganda step, from the angle of their friendship and alliance with the United States of America, from the angle as to how much it serves the consolidation of this new sacred alliance, as to how much it serves the purpose of putting down the struggle of the Vietnamese people, of completing the counterrevolutionary encirclement of People's China. Therefore, no matter what beautiful words they say, what refined jugglery they resort to, the stand of the Soviet leaders towards the liberation war of Vietnam is a capitulationist and pro-American stand. This is a manifestation of their activity as counterrevolutionaries.

But is there a country where the Soviet revisionists did not and do not actually act as antagonists of the revolution and of the national liberation wars?

For the sake of collaborating with US imperial-

ists and of not incurring their displeasure, they voted in favour of US troops being dispatched to the Congo, a thing which led to the murdering of Lumumba and drowning of the Congolese revolution in blood. The heroic war of the Congolese people, who took up arms to get rid of the old and new colonialist yoke, shook the very foundations of the neo-colonialist policy of the USA and the opportunist line of «peaceful coexistence» of the Khrushchevite revisionists. Lumumba's uprising which took place in the very heart of Africa was a great example of the awakening of the peoples of this enslaved continent, it was a torch which blazed the hearts of all the African peoples yearning for freedom and independence, which aroused resentment of imperialist exploitation and any kind of national and social oppression. But it interfered with the agreements and the policy of Soviet-US rapprochement and collaboration to divide the spheres of influence between these two big powers.

Now the Soviet revisionists try by all available means to split the liberation movements in the African countries, to encourage factionalism and advise reconciliation with, and capitulation to, colonialist and imperialist forces. Through their agents everywhere, they strive to arouse a defeatist spirit, to create the opinion that the African countries have no prospects for independent political and economic development, that for a long time they are doomed to remain sources of primary material for former metropolises and spheres of west-

ern capitalist investments. On the other hand, the Soviet revisionists, also, do not conceal their hope and do not even disguise the efforts which they are making for competing in the capitalist occupation of African markets.

The leaders of the Soviet Union are the authors of the so-called Tashkent spirit. When India attacked Pakistan, they went all out to help the Indian reactionaries and their rotten regime. They intervened in a brutal way and exerted all their efforts so that Pakistan be denied its rights, so that India be able to continue to hold Pakistan territories occupied and so on. But by organizing Tashkent, the Soviet revisionists wanted to create a general psychosis and spirit of renunciation of wars of national liberation and social emancipation, to create the impression that class conflicts on a national and international scale can be settled through negotiations and compromises with the enemy, that the two superpowers are good arbitrators and should be consulted in passing judgment on various conflicts which may arise between states. It is not fortuitous that the «Tashkent spirit» is often referred to by US propaganda when it tries to peddle Johnson's «peaceful negotiations» for stopping the war in Vietnam. Hence, the spirit of Tashkent is the spirit of the Soviet counterrevolutionary antagonists in action.

With a view to suppressing every revolutionary spirit, to opposing the class struggle and socialism, the Khrushchevite revisionists got

together at Karlovy Vary. The line which emerged from this meeting was one of collaboration and integration with the big European bourgeoisie, the line of pacifist tranquility in Europe, of giving imperialism and reaction a free hand to act in Asia, Africa and Latin America, to suppress the efforts and aspirations of the peoples for national liberation and social emancipation.

In order to preserve the status quo, their zones of influence and to establish the domination of the two superpowers, the Soviet revisionists together with the US imperialists manipulate the UNO and trifle with the vital interests of the small countries. Why do the Soviet revisionists insist on creating «the armed forces of the United Nations»? Is it for the sake of protecting the peoples from imperialist aggression? The aim of creating this international gendarmerie is precisely for these forces to be used by the USA and the Soviet Union, which dominate the UNO, in order to suppress the revolution and the liberation wars of the peoples, to intervene wherever the two superpowers see that their interests are at stake, for blackmail and threats against those states which refuse to submit to the Soviet-US dictates.

The Soviet revisionists have posed as close friends of the Arab peoples, they have even promised them protection from foreign aggression and so on. But now that Israel with the help of the imperialists committed aggression against them, they betrayed them and left them in the lurch. It was proved once again that for the Soviet revi-

sionists the preservation and consolidation of the Soviet-US alliance is more precious than the lofty principles of backing up and protecting the freedom and independence of peoples, the war they wage against imperialism and colonialism. It was proved that the Soviet revisionists were in for disrupting Arab unity based on anti-imperialism, for dealing a blow at the liberation movement in Africa, as a whole, which saw in the free Arab countries a good example and considered them a base area and vantage ground. They stabbed the United Arab Republic, Syria and the other Arab countries in the back in order to arouse among the peoples, who have taken up arms against imperialism, the spirit of diffidence in the future, of fear of imperialism, the spirit of withdrawal before, and capitulation to, the enemy. Now the Soviet leaders try to take up the question of the Arab-Israeli conflict for examination at the UNO. This is another manoeuvre on their part, together with US imperialism, to take into their hands the lofty interests of the Arab peoples in order to strike up bargains to the detriment of the Arab peoples, to curb their patriotic spirit of opposition to foreign aggression.

Towards imperialist-Israeli aggression against the Arab peoples the Soviet revisionists maintain an open treacherous and capitulationist stand, and no matter how much demagogical noise they make to cover up this infamy, it will remain a dirty stain in their conscience held out for sale.

The Soviet revisionists wage a base chauvinistic, anti-Marxist and anti-socialist battle against the Party of Labour of Albania. Towards our country

they have pursued the ruthless imperialist chauvinistic policy of the big state scrapping all political, economic and military agreements, pursuing the line of economic blockades, plots and provocations, of sabotaging socialism.

But the battle they wage against us, against genuine revolutionaries and Marxist-Leninists is a desperate and hopeless battle. The peoples of the world are being more and more convinced by their own experience of the base role the Soviet revisionists play as international wreckers of the revolution and of the national liberation wars of the peoples. They see that the line of action of the Khrushchevite revisionists aims at strengthening the new alliance between US imperialism and the revisionist imperialism to divide their spheres of influence and to put all the states of the world under the domination of the two superpowers. They have made common cause with imperialism against socialism, with the USA against the peoples, with all the reactionaries against revolutionaries, with Tito's clique and all other renegades from the working class against Marxism-Leninism and the Parties and forces which are loyal to it and to the cause of the revolution.

The base treachery of the Soviet revisionists to the cause of the revolution and to the national liberation struggle of the peoples is very great. It has caused and continues to cause great damage to them. But no matter how great the counterrevolutionary activity of the revisionists may be, it is too small and powerless compared with the gigantic wave of the strength and will of the peoples. Revolutionaries

tionaries, all those who fight for the freedom and independence of their countries, will certainly succeed in drawing very valuable lessons from the treachery and backstabbing of the revisionists. They will not only lay bare the real features of the Soviet revisionists, these friends of imperialism and enemies of the revolution, but they will be convinced that in order to successfully oppose imperialism, it is essential to oppose with equal determination and equal pathos the Soviet revisionists as well. This is an essential condition for the triumph of the revolution, just as it is an essential condition for safeguarding freedom and national independence.

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FIRST AND FOREMOST IS THE CAUSE OF THE PARTY, WITHOUT IT NO VICTORY CAN BE WON

*From a conversation with a delegation of the
«Red Guards»*

July 8, 1967

Comrade «Red Guards», your visit will remain unforgettable in the hearts of our youth and people, because you brought with you the revolutionary and pure feelings of the Chinese youth. During your stay in Albania you felt for yourselves, besides other things, the exceedingly great and sincere feelings of love our youth, people and Party cherish for the great Chinese youth and people.

In all modesty, we can say that we in our country have a glorious, heroic and revolutionary, undaunted and hard-working youth, educated and inspired by the Party with the principles of our Marxist-Leninist ideology and proletarian internationalism, ready for all kind of work and tempered in every direction. Our youth, united in steel-like

unity around the Party, is prepared for, and stands fearless in the face of, any danger, even the danger of an eventual war. This constitutes one of our greatest victories, and is due to the great and constant solicitude of the Party for the education of our younger generation.

You saw for yourselves how closely linked is our youth with the Party. At the same time, this reflects the sound ties existing between our people and Party. As our great classics of Marxism-Leninism teach us, the question of the existence of the Party, a genuine Marxist-Leninist Party rates first and foremost, because no victory can be achieved without the Party. The Party is the vanguard of the working class and the leader of the labouring peasantry. The Party is their heart and mind, our people say. Mind is lifeless without the heart, and without a clear mind man gropes in the dark, is disorientated.

Our people and youth have correctly and thoroughly understood this, and as you noticed for yourselves, they love the Party above everything. They know that without the Party, Albania would not be free, independent and sovereign, it would still be a colony of foreigners under the rule of the bourgeoisie and reactionaries. It was the Party which, with its clear, correct and revolutionary line, made the people rise to their feet against the fascist occupiers and traitors, and led the country on the road to socialism. It has been the inspirer, leader, organizer, and architect of our people's revolution and victory.

Our enemies, the reactionary bourgeoisie, the

imperialists and the modern revisionists understand and know but too well that their aims are rapidly achieved if they succeed in weakening and destroying our Marxist-Leninist Party. Therefore, their chief objective today is weakening, rotting and destroying the Marxist-Leninist Parties. Hereupon they have trained their batteries. If they succeed in weakening, rotting and destroying the Marxist-Leninist Parties, so that these come to distort the Marxist-Leninist principles on Party building, the ideology and the revolutionary class struggle of the Party, then they will have managed to disorientate the people, to throw them in a state of chaos and, ultimately, to put them under their yoke. Therefore, our first and foremost concern has always been about how to safeguard the Party, keep it always pure, revolutionary, as the irreplaceable leadership of the country.

Many enemies have been at work against our Party. They have invariably spearheaded their arrows at the most vital points in their effort to estrange our Party from Marxist-Leninist principles. But we have never allowed the enemies, internal or external, to have their way. We have always had the upperhand of the local enemies, forced them to work wherever and how we wanted them to, and whenever they were up to trickery we forced them to come out in all their rottenness, and dealt mercilessly with them. We have done so because we had to defend the Party, because the great interests of the people, the interest of socialism and communism, the interest of the revolution, called for it. Had we failed to act that way, we would

have been causing great harm to these lofty interests.

If traitors emerge within the Party, it is absolutely impermissible for us to let them go unpunished, let the worm eat its way into the red apple and, in the end, bring it to complete decay. We have never permitted nor will we ever permit such things. Because of all its ceaseless, principled and revolutionary struggle it has been waging against all its enemies, the Party is cherished most dearly by the people and in particular the youth, and this has enabled us to march always ahead.

In our country youth laid the foundations of the Party, because the communists were young when they created the Communist Party of Albania. And when we speak of youth, we mean the working, peasant and school youth, who played an important role in all the revolutionary struggle of our people.

While implementing the fundamental norms and principles of Marxism-Leninism and guarding them as the apple of our eye, we see that unity within the ranks of the Party, as well as unity of the people and youth around the Party are steel-like. Now the question is of protecting this unity and strengthening it every day, of being on our guard against enemies who might try to violate and weaken it, because as a saying of our people goes, «Waters sleep, the enemy does not sleep». Therefore, our Party and the entire people should never for a moment shut their eyes to the reality.

Organization and steel-like discipline both yesterday, in time of war, and today, in the con-

struction of socialism, have had very great importance to us. Reactionaries said that Albanians are unruly, and two of them can never be of one mind; therefore, they thought we could never achieve unity, or have one ideology and strict discipline in the revolution. But, contrary to their wishes and hopes we achieved unity, and did it only by implementing the principles of Marxism-Leninism. Our Party has always had the question of organization and discipline at the centre of its attention, for where discipline is lacking there is anarchy, confusion, and enemies penetrate more easily. The experience we have gained in war and at work shows that where ideological and political work is slack, where disorder is allowed, swamps form and mosquitoes breed. On the contrary, where revolutionary education is at the centre of attention, where there is iron organization and discipline, swamps are turned into fertile soil and mosquitoes wiped out. This is an incontrovertible truth proved in the course of our uninterrupted proletarian revolution.

As you also noticed, our youth, fighting and working under the constant leadership of the Party (preserving in its organization the particular features of youth, that is to say without the organizational rigidity of Party work), has been able to adopt from the Party the methods of its revolutionary struggle for the consistent defence of the principles of Marxism-Leninism. Our young men and women do well know that the Party is their soul and heart. They are quite clear about the constant concern of the Party and the Central

Committee for their revolutionary education. Our youth has unshaken confidence in the Party. And it has proven this with deeds. This is of great importance to the revolution.

Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin teach us that the revolution is very serious matter. Our Party has striven to make this teaching of Marxism-Leninism its own flesh and blood. It has never allowed the waters to be troubled, or when it could not help it, it has allowed none to fish in troubled waters. The PLA has promptly, severely and timely hit all those elements who endeavoured to do so. Had we allowed the waters to be troubled, especially in some particular situations our Party had to cope with, we would have been in great danger. When the situation is turbulent, hostile and traitorous elements, especially the revisionists, endeavour to gang up and organize themselves. Experience has shown that the more unprincipled talks and negotiations are held with opponents and enemies, the more some organizational forms, which inhibit the advance of the revolution, are resorted to for one reason or another, the longer a turbulent situation is allowed to continue, the greater the difficulties of the revolution, the greater the danger threatening it.

Therefore, as few negotiations and talks with opponents as possible, and even these only when they serve the interests of the revolution, without compromising on principles; absolutely no organizational forms impeding the revolution and no turbulent situations at all. Only in this way can the revolution march ahead.

Why should we do so? Because all these are manifestations of antagonistic contradictions, aspects of the class struggle, and we know that our class struggle is a revolutionary Marxist-Leninist struggle; therefore, our struggle against all the enemies, in whatever form or hue they appear, is and will be merciless. Concessions to the class enemy are impermissible. Tactical actions are allowed in this struggle provided they are Marxist-Leninist actions, aimed at bringing about the earliest possible liquidation of the enemies whose main objective is to destroy the Party. The sooner and more ruthlessly we liquidate the cropping up of counterrevolutionary groups, the better for the revolution; delays in taking drastic measures against them or mercy for them is to the detriment of the people, the Party, the revolution. This must be understood well. Raising the political and ideological level of the masses, using sharp and organized criticism which is by far the greatest and most popular trial, and lastly establishing conscious discipline — all this helps rapidly rout and liquidate enemies who crop up.

Our Party is small, hence its small experience. In the course of its history it has drawn great lessons in this respect. Thus, for instance, there were some forums on a district level which for a short period lacked revolutionary vigilance. This allowed the penetration of unworthy elements into some basic organizations. Implementing its principles and norms according to these particular situations, our Party acted with intelligence, wisdom, but also with promptness, for their liquidation. The main

thing was to purge Party organizations of hostile elements and to eliminate the consequences of their hostile activities. Unhesitatingly, the Party threw out of its ranks those who had become bureaucratic and gone off the right track, and when necessary dissolved even entire Party committees. Then it took up this problem with the Party basic organizations, differentiated between evil and misled elements, raised the political and ideological consciousness of the communists, admonished and educated the good ones and threw the recalcitrants out of its ranks, and organized elections for the new committee. In this case, first the former leaders were discharged, and then the best and most revolutionary elements were appointed at the head of the committee. Only after all these measures were taken, elections were held, as the situation did not allow acting otherwise. Thus we remedied the situation in a very short time. We have had one such case during the war and two during the post-Liberation period. In each case, however, we coped painlessly with the situation, indeed we scored successes: the political and ideological consciousness of the communists and the masses of the people was raised higher.

After speaking about the Chinese cultural revolution, Comrade Enver Hoxha went on:

Comrades, the situation in the world today is revolutionary. Armed struggle is growing widespread everywhere, in Asia, Latin America, etc. There are countries in some regions of which the Marxist-Leninist communists leading this struggle have taken power in their hands. Revolutionary

forces are fighting in Burma, Thailand, Indonesia and other countries. Although the Communist Party of Indonesia made mistakes and suffered a heavy defeat, it will overcome its difficulties. We see the revolutionary struggle in Latin America is growing with every passing day. The Marxist-Leninist groups in Europe are uniting and creating new Marxist-Leninist Parties, the number of strikes, demonstrations and other actions of the working people is increasing. They know that without struggle and revolutionary overthrow nothing old and reactionary can be wiped out.

The imperialists and the revisionists are relentlessly working to extinguish the fire of the revolution, to stop the revolution, but they will never reach their objective. The revolutionary struggle which is on the upsurge everywhere also reflects the nervousness of the imperialists and the revisionists, because their aim has always been to keep things quiet for themselves everywhere and let treason spread far and wide all over the world. Wherever the fire of the peoples' revolutionary struggle is kindled, the US imperialists and the Soviet revisionists intervene to put it down. This shows also that they see the ground is slipping from under their feet. But all in vain. The future belongs to the proletariat, to the peoples.

During your stay here, comrade «Red Guards», you felt the pulse of our people, the strength of sincere friendship and love everywhere you went, in the plains and mountains, among workers and peasants, students, soldiers and sailors. This friendship is based on our common ideology, Marxism-

Leninism. Hence our friendship is firm and invincible. Every victory we achieve is also yours, and every victory you achieve is also ours. We are comrades and friends in good and bad weather. But the weather will be always good for the peoples led by Marxism-Leninism. Of course, on our common road and in our joint struggle, we will come up against difficulties, and this is inevitable for they are part of the revolution. But they will be overcome. Hence, our ever greater devotion to the revolution.

During and after Comrade Enver Hoxha's speech, the members of the delegation of the «Red Guards» also spoke, raised toasts to the Party of Labour of Albania, the health of Comrade Enver Hoxha, etc., and, in the end, warmly applauding and chanting in Albanian «Friendship warrants victory!» «Friendship warrants victory!», they left the guests' hall.

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THE REVOLUTION TRIUMPHS ONLY WHEN THE MARXIST-LENINIST PARTY ROUSES THE MASSES AND MAKES THEM CONSCIOUS OF ITS INDISPENSABILITY

From a conversation with two Sudanese comrades

July 12, 1967

The Sudanese are modest, hard-working and valiant people. Through their centuries-long history they have fought and conquered the Turkish and British invaders. Nevertheless, today they are still living in misery. They feel it down to their marrow, that is why they have begun to organize and hurl themselves into the revolution. Naturally, they will do this well only when a true Marxist-Leninist Party, capable of mobilizing, organizing, throwing them into the revolution and leading them from victory to victory, is organized there.

From the very beginning, our Party attached particular importance, first of all, to the question of how to organize the masses in order to throw

them into the revolution. The question of the seizure of power by arms, by violence, is the essence of our Marxist-Leninist line. Any other theory outside this principle is revisionist. The bourgeoisie does not concede anything willingly, therefore, preparations should be made to topple it. To be clear about the line and, in the first place, about the need to organize the Party, one must be clear that one must be prepared, must be armed because the enemy is not overturned without rifle shots, without bomb explosions. And when it is clear about this, then it will be clear about the theory of Marx and Lenin that the revolution is a very serious question, which can not be toyed with, for once you begin it you must carry it through to the end. A well organized Party, which is guided by Marxist-Leninist principles in its life, is in a position to overcome with success any difficulty or obstacle emerging before it through war. The Marxist-Leninist principles are carried out in practice if they are organizationally and politically linked with the concrete situation. We have had the chance of meeting Comrade Stalin several times. He always instructed us to guard against distorting principles, to apply them and develop them on the basis of the concrete political and economic-social conditions of our country, of our people. When we were taking the first steps towards socialism, Stalin drew our attention several times to the fact that, while following the example of the Communist Bolshevik Party and of the construction of socialism in the Soviet Union, we must guard against adopting this experience in a stereotyped manner.

You are certain to reach the stage we are in today, he used to tell us, but you must always mind your steps. And we applied the teachings of Marxism-Leninism, the advice of Stalin, with accuracy and achieved successes in every stage.

In the beginning we organized the Party in the city with elements from the working class, youth, the petty office-workers, and some peasants, because those were our conditions. Therefore, we began the war in the city, because the principal forces of the enemy and its repressive administration were concentrated in the city. The Party hit these forces employing all forms of war, it strengthened self-confidence and showed the people that it was in a position to cope with this enemy superior in numbers and armed to the teeth. Thus, the Party was formed in the city, and in the beginning it attacked the enemy there, with the communists organizing the first demonstrations, attempts on the lives of enemies and acts of sabotage. On the one hand, these actions shocked the enemy throughout Albania; on the other, they showed the masses who was defending Albania, who would lead them into battles for complete victory. We were clear, however, that the Party could not go to revolution alone, or with the proletariat only, but it had to do so together with all the broad masses of working people, hence also with the peasantry. Therefore, by organizing the war inside the cities, the Party did not forget the countryside, either, because if we forgot it we would have been neither Marxists, nor realists, we would have been neglecting the people because the peasantry made

up the overwhelming majority of the population, we would have been overlooking the great factor of the national liberation and the task of liberating the Homeland, the land to which the peasantry was so closely linked had to be liberated with war against the occupiers.

All we Marxist-Leninists must understand well the major importance of the countryside to the revolution. How has our Party understood and gone about this question? Naturally, the moment of national liberation in our country was a positive factor which impelled the peasantry to give its prompt support to the Party, and this played a decisive role in the National Liberation War. Moreover, our Party was clear about Marxist-Leninist principles. Regardless of the fact that the working class was small in numbers and that the peasantry which was patriotic, valiant and revolutionary, constituted the majority of the population, the Party stressed from the very outset that the working class, armed with the ideology of the proletariat, Marxism-Leninism, should be in the leadership of the war, whereas the peasantry should be its ally. There were «theoreticians» who had misgivings. They asked: «Will the peasantry follow the working class?!». We responded: «Yes, it will!». Nevertheless, we reckoned to meet with waverings on its part, because this is typical of the petty-bourgeoisie.

The fact is that in our country, the Party, the main pillar of the working class, armed with the Marxist-Leninist ideology, led the peasantry into war and ensured victory. We know that without

the support of the peasantry we could not have secured victory. With the forces it had, the Party studied the characteristics of our peasantry, its strong and weak points. Its weak points were that our new bourgeoisie, capitalism and feudalism had their bases in the countryside; prior to the fascist invasion, many leaders of reactionary organizations were known as democrats, indeed some of them had even fought against the Italians earlier, of course, to further their own interests; another section of them, seeing that their interests were not satisfied under the regime of Zog, became hostile to it and went abroad as political emigrants. All these pseudo-democrats returned home after the Italian invasion of Albania. At that time we were young and the people did not know us. But as soon as the Party was founded and began attacking the occupier, the peasants saw that the communists were shedding torrents of blood, and said, «they are the right men for us, let their Party lead us!» Of course, not everything went smoothly. There were waverers, there were also such «patriots» who during the war strove to mislead the peasantry, but their dirty linen were exposed. With the arrival of the German nazis in Albania, especially, the demagogues shed their masks, whereas the honest patriots, under the leadership of the Party, did not lay down their arms till the complete liberation of the country. Thus, the differentiation between the patriots and the pseudo-democrats began as early as the wartime. This is how our Party acted with regard to the peasantry. Every Party must act

according to the conditions of its own country. This has great importance.

Situations are not the same in the countries where Marxist-Leninist Parties with great experience and strong positions, as well as new developing Marxist-Leninist Parties and groups, are militating. There are agrarian countries with almost non-existent industry, hence with a very small working class; there are countries with developed industry and working class; there are other countries where capitalist exploitation is great; elsewhere the peasantry is very conservative, etc. The situations vary from country to country. This requires that Marxist-Leninist revolutionary experience be utilized with great clarity by every Party in the concrete conditions of its country.

The Marxist-Leninist Party should clearly define its stand towards the various classes and strata of the population of its own country. When you knead the bread, first, you must have the flour, then you must also know the sort of flour which you will make it with, hence, it is necessary to have a profound knowledge of the classes and strata of the population which stand closer to the Party, which of them is its main pillar, which is the ally of the working class, which must be directed and led by the Party, etc. Everything, in every country, depends on the correct Marxist-Leninist assessment of the concrete situation and of the motive forces. Thus, in some country the proletariat of the countryside constitutes a large force, too. In my opinion, the proletariat of the coun-

tryside is very close to the working class, or we may say that it is even a component part of it, from the class standpoint, because, just like the proletariat of the cities, the proletariat of the countryside has nothing except its own hands to work with. These people live and work in the village, they aspire towards the overthrow of the tea and coffee trusts, e.g. of the agrarian capitalists, be they foreigners or local, in order to realize their dream of taking possession of the land. But the proletariat of the countryside is transformed into a great revolutionary force and into an important lever of the Party when it is led by the ideals of the working class in the concrete questions of the countryside.

Lenin teaches us that in order to go to the revolution, the communist party must attach importance to the trade-unions, so as to have them under its guidance, to influence them, create solid links with the elements of the working class, because they will be the staunchest, most determined and far-sighted pioneers carrying the line of the Party to the countryside as well. In the countries where feudalism and semi-feudalism prevail, life is very hard. There, too, oppression is harsh and varied. So, there, too, the masses are predisposed to the revolution.

Youth is the most valuable asset, our future. The purer the youth, the more secure the future of the Party. The better we educate the youth, the stronger the Party, because youth is the nursery of the Party. If youth degenerates, the future of the Party is dark as well. This is a vital

question to the people. Whoever loves the Party and the people, must see to it that youth is pure. Where did the revisionists begin their corrupting activity? Among youth. Today they are working will all their forces to corrupt youth, because in this manner they can corrupt the Party and do away with it altogether and, in the end, reach their objective of making capitalism rule all over the world.

Let us take the question of the Front. When we created our Party in Albania, indeed even after the creation of the Party there were no other parties in our country. The situation is different in your country. In Sudan, apart from the revisionist group, there are also other bourgeois parties. Therefore, we reckoned the creation of our Front in a different way, and you, as a matter of course, must reckon it differently, in keeping with your own conditions.

With the creation of the Front we called on everybody, regardless of religion or political views, to rally to the Front, with the one condition that everyone hurls himself into the war against the occupier. As a counterpart to the National Liberation Front, the organization of «Balli Kombëtar» was set up, which included the wealthier classes of the country, as well as misled ordinary people. This organization was not a party, either. We called on it to unite with the Front under the leadership of the Communist Party of Albania, but it did not and, of course, could not do it, because by so doing it would betray the aim it had been set up for. It was set up by the reactionary forces to fight us.

Yet, we exerted all our efforts to induce this organization to join the war against the occupier, but, being a representative of the interests of the exploiting classes, it considered the struggle against us, and not the war against the occupier, the principal contradiction. In the end, due to our efforts this organization was exposed as the collaborator of the occupier. Thus, the National Liberation War began and developed under the leadership of the Party, and no need was felt at all for the creation of any other party. This was a real and original development of Marxism-Leninism in our conditions.

In our concrete situations, this was most democratic, because all political, economic and military objectives were attained in the most democratic manner, within the National Liberation Front. In these conditions, ought our Party to encourage the creation of other parties? Not by any means! Ought we to stimulate the creation of other parties so that the bourgeoisie should not accuse us of standing for the establishment of a dictatorship? No, we ought not, because we do not deny that we are for the dictatorship of the working class which represents the broadest possible democracy for the working masses and oppression for the enemies.

What would we have done if there were other parties in our country as is the case with your country? We would have tried to come to terms with the most progressive ones on the points we would be agreed on, we would have carried out momentary joint actions or prospective actions, but

always we would have maintained the independence of the Party and its leading role intact, and never would have made concessions on questions of principle. And, if we were unable to take the leadership of the movement in our own hands from the beginning, we would have tried to take it later, at all costs. Thus we would in no way have remained at the tail end of the other parties, but we would have emerged in the vanguard and imposed our revolutionary views on them, fearless of enemy attacks.

In our view, you are carrying on a correct Party organizational work because, in order to avert the blows of the enemy, you are bearing in mind also the question of the underground work of the Party.

Communist groups which were bickering with one another had been set up as early as the period of the feudal regime of Zog in Albania. These bickerings ceased immediately after the Party was created, but not without struggle. Right from its founding, the Party defined a correct line for the armed uprising. This has great importance because the revolution can not triumph with roses, or with parliamentarism either, but with armed struggle. When we say that the victory of the revolution is achieved with struggle, this means that the revolution implies the danger of blows, bloodshed. What happened to the Communist Party of Indonesia is a bitter experience which resulted from waverings about the line, from some non-Marxist illusions entertained about bourgeois democracy, from failure to organize the Party in forms capable of

coping with any surprise. The revolution does not always advance along a straight line, it has its periods of advance, but it may also have its periods of retreat. It attacks but it may also be attacked. Therefore, the question for us is to hit harder and defend ourselves, and especially the Party, better.

In our opinion, the illegal organization of the Party in the countries where the bourgeoisie holds sway, is a very important problem. It is an art which the communists of every country as architects, must work out and combine with legal activity, according to the concrete conditions of the area in which they carry on their activity. In this direction, some progress is made in the Marxist-Leninist movement, but we think that this progress must be more rapid and linked more closely with the situations in which we are living.

There are various forms of organizing the legal and illegal work of the Party. But what determines the legal or illegal work? It is determined by the concrete conditions. Where should the centre be, in the city or in the countryside? This is also determined by the conditions. Who must work in more illegal conditions, the workers or the peasants? Those who are more resolved, more «dangerous» to the bourgeoisie. This is what I think. And life has confirmed this.

I want to stress that, as our Marxist-Leninist doctrine teaches us, everything occurs in space and time. This must be well borne in mind by the Marxist-Leninist Party, otherwise it will err; it must mind every step it takes, especially when the feelings of the people are concerned.

The Party must be a detachment organized and tempered with steel-like discipline. We have had such steel-like discipline as early as the war-time. At that time, our Party issued the directive that not even one plum of the peasant should be touched; women's honour should not be injured, otherwise, drastic measures up to execution, would be meted out to the offender. These, though falling into the sphere of moral-social problems, have also to do with the line because without steel-like discipline in the Party, in the revolution, anarchy ensues, and anarchy spells defeat for the Party, the revolution.

As for the question that everything should be done in proper time and place, I will quote an example. If immediately after Liberation we had implemented the policy which we are following today in the emancipation of women, in the struggle against religion and religious prejudices, going so far as to close down churches and mosques, monasteries and tekkes, we would have been making a gross mistake and, certainly, would not have had the steel-like unity existing today between the people and the Party, we would not have had this great revolutionary drive. Our people would have failed to understand the adoption of these measures if the Party had not prepared the ground, social opinion, beforehand.

Therefore, after the victory, as Marxists, we could not afford to be extremists, we had to be prudent, because the believers, and even some clergymen among them, had taken up arms and had joined the war, so they loved our Party, defend-

ed it and followed it in the construction of socialism. On the other hand, through its line and educational work, the Party made the people understand that in the conditions of the war and the reconstruction, the question of whether one believed in God, in a supernatural power, must be rated third or fourth in importance. Yet, our Party has always waged a systematic struggle against religion as a reactionary ideology. Naturally, it did not divide the stages through which the struggle over this problem passed artificially, but gradually, without much ado, by means of its anti-religious propaganda, the Party raised the masses of the people, and especially youth, the workers, then the peasants, the old and the women, politically and ideologically. The Party was able to make a correct analysis of these situations, because it was aware that it had to do with important ideological questions. It was convinced that, by imbuing the masses with the Marxist ideology, it would totally eradicate religious ideology and all other bourgeois ideologies without fail. But as I said, the Party did not overlook the fact that in this question it had to do with people who were closely linked with the Party. Eradication of religious world-outlook would follow the ideological conviction of the masses. Therefore, the Party had to enlighten the masses until, through its work, a situation like that of the recent months was created, when the Party judged that conditions were mature for taking this unprecedented qualitative step, and it did so with success.

Our comrades may have informed you that

during the launching and development of the movement against religion and backward customs, not a single untoward incident occurred. The Party was clear about it that closing down of churches and mosques, doing away with the practice of observing the Ramadan, celebrating Christmas and Bayram, the wiping out of the hangovers and outdated customs, which directly or indirectly are linked with religion, could in no manner be done through administrative measures, but only through persuasion. Only in this way did we triumph over darkness. Nonetheless, can we affirm that we have eradicated religion and all backward customs completely? No. This will take scores and scores of years, even longer perhaps. But the important thing is that they will be wiped out, and the younger generations will not feel the effect of the poison of this ideology.

In other words, we did not go about this important problem in a stereotyped manner, nor did we think that, as long as we were atheists, Marxists, wielded power and built socialism, we could issue a decree on the destruction of religious institutions which would have meant to proceed in a schematic and sectarian manner over so delicate a question affecting the people's feelings. No. In this struggle our Party has constantly been guided by the principle of freedom of conscience, i.e., people should be convinced through their own experience about the futility of religion and the damage it causes to socialist society. I don't quite know what the situation about this question is like in Sudan, you know better, but in our country, just like

elsewhere in Europe, where religion is widespread, though people believed in God, their confidence in the clergy was shaken, if not lost altogether. And this situation had its causes. It was caused by the betrayal of the clergy. As everywhere else, in Albania, too, the various religions have served as ideological weapons in the hands of the internal rulers or the foreign invaders in order to divide and enslave the people, and the clergymen were their tools. Thus, the Moslem clergy was linked to the Ottoman invaders, the Orthodox clergy to the Greek invaders, and the Catholic clergy to the Italian fascists. As a result, the Albanian people were never strongly linked with religion, and were never particularly fanatic about it, the clergy had no strong influence over the masses of the people as in many other countries, and it never enjoyed the trust of the people, being, on the contrary, in contradiction with them. Considerations taken of the history of the Sudanese people, I believe that the situation in your country, too, must be similar to that which existed in our country earlier.

Therefore, moments have great importance. Only a Marxist-Leninist Party which is clear about the principles, can analyze and utilize them in an objective manner, and, on their basis, determine the organizational, political and ideological work it has to carry out among the broad masses of the people, the workers and peasants, without hurting their feelings. Our Party always instructed that the religious feelings of the people should not be hurt, while insisting that the communists should

be atheists, that is, they must understand the essence of our materialist doctrine, which is in opposition to the idealistic theory, which has religion as its pillar. The Party had instructed the communists to avoid religious moral interpretations of religion, Moslem, Orthodox, or Catholic on the basis of Marxism, as some self-styled communist «theoreticians» in your countries are doing today, who claim that socialism can be built on the basis of the Moslem faith.

The theoretical basis of the Moslem faith, just as of the Orthodox and Catholic faiths, is idealistic. The intention of the founders of religions was, in the first place, to dupe the people while trying to adopt them to some objective conditions in which people lived. Therefore, having a good grasp of the materialist principles of our doctrine, it never occurred to our communists to interpret and explain Marxism in the spirit of the dogmas of the Koran or the Bible.

We can affirm that in the ranks of our Party there are very few communists who fall into contradiction with our materialist ideology and philosophy. In principle, even those few have understood this but at times, especially when it comes to practical matters, customs in particular, they may contradict themselves, as religion has very cleverly and cunningly insinuated itself into, and linked itself with, various manifestations of people's life, from the cradle to the grave. Today we are engaged in a struggle on a broad front for the further revolutionization of the Party and the whole life of the country. In order to carry out this process

of revolutionization we have created sound bases, the great trust of the people in the Party, in the first place, because the people have done and do whatever the Party says, because they understand that everything is done in their interest. Therefore, today we are hitting so hard and more vigorously on a broader front than ever at the idealistic ideology blended with backward customs.

In your country, I think, these problems are at the same stage as they once were in our country, but of course, in your country they have their specific characteristic, and your Party, would not be a Marxist-Leninist Party if it overlooked them. These great social problems exist in the city, and especially in the countryside. If I am not mistaken; the majority of the population in Sudan lives in the countryside, and these evils exist in the social life of the countryside, but as I said in the beginning, in your country, just as in our country, the countryside is an important base for the war and the revolution. Therefore, you must go about it cautiously there.

And now I want to dwell a little on the Arab question, too. In the UNO we upheld their cause with determination and, as some Arab leaders told us, we defended it as though we were Arabs ourselves, indeed there were friends who told us, «the Albanian Government said what our bourgeois governments could not say». Our correct and friendly stand towards the great Arab cause has helped notably improve the state of our relations with the Arab countries. The draft presented to the UNO by the Albanian Government on stopping

the Israeli imperialist aggression as well as on defending the rights of the Arab peoples to the Suez Canal and to the Gulf of Aqaba, tells the imperialists and the revisionists where they belong. We give public support to the Arab peoples against the aggressive attacks of Israel instigated by the US imperialists and the Soviet revisionists.

The first important question, we think, is that, on this occasion, the Arab peoples saw better who were their friends and who were their enemies. They saw that their chief enemies and the enemies to all the peoples of the world are the imperialists, with US imperialists at the head, and modern revisionists, with the Soviet revisionists at the head, as well as their allies. The Arab peoples saw this concretely when their interests were directly affected.

The second question, which is also important, is that the unity achieved in the beginning among the leaders of bourgeois governments, did not turn out to be as successful as expected, because it was a false, sham unity. However, regardless of all this, the fact that this unity was founded on the basis of the struggle against imperialism, though it is doubtful whether it will last for long, we are clear that it reflects the aspirations of the Arab peoples, their struggle against their chief enemy. Victory is achieved only by relying on the people.

The third, and perhaps most important question, is that these two achievements of the Arab peoples, their ability to tell their friends from their enemies as well as their unity, no matter how it is, should be consolidated. But how? This is the fun-

damental problem. These achievements must be consolidated by relying on the people, and intensifying the struggle against imperialism and modern revisionism, which brought about the defeat of the Arab peoples, as well as doing everything to achieve unity among the Arab peoples against their enemies. The help the Marxist-Leninists and the true patriots of Sudan and all the other Arab countries etc., to the achievement of this unity, should not be expected to come only from the bourgeois governments of the Arab countries, because if left to them alone, unity would be insecure, unstable. The Arab peoples, all the progressive forces and the Marxist-Leninist movement must bring continuous pressure to bear on the bourgeois governments to achieve genuine unity against the common enemy of the Arab peoples.

The war against Israel is linked with the national factor, with liberation, therefore, whether or not the bourgeois governments want it, they are compelled to take action, and it is precisely this that the Arab peoples must take advantage of and bring constant pressure to bear on their leaders. Thus, genuine unity can be achieved only if you rely on the masses and the masses, in turn, exert their pressure on this or that government, but it must be borne in mind that there are also such governments which, being afraid of the masses, without their knowledge, behind the scenes, concoct intrigues and make compromises, going as far as to sell out their own countries. Therefore, the peoples must be vigilant.

Some leaders of the Arab countries are reflecting somewhat better on the demagoguery of their so-called friends and their supposed military and political aid. The peoples of the Arab countries must draw the proper lessons and distinguish between their real and sham friends, they must know on what friends to rely and whom to guard against. Our people have a saying, «God guard us against the enemy who poses as our friend and stabs us in the back, for we can cope with the overt enemies ourselves».

In order to achieve their final goal, the Arab peoples and all the peoples of Africa must become confident that they are stronger than the imperialists, the revisionists and the local bourgeoisie, which tends to make compromises with everybody to the detriment of the interests of the peoples and for the preservation of their own interests, and that the Arab peoples are not isolated in their just war, but enjoy the support of all the peoples, their strength and solidarity in the international arena.

Therefore we think that the duty of our Marxist-Leninist Parties is to exert all our efforts for the Arab peoples to understand that their problems cannot be solved with the help of the Americans and the Soviets; they must understand that these two great powers are the enemies of the peoples, and in particular of the Arab peoples, that every action of the imperialists, especially of the Soviet revisionists (who indulge in more refined demagoguery) is to the detriment of the peoples,

directly affected, to the detriment of unity, to the detriment of the revolution in the Arab countries and in Africa.

We must arouse among the Arab and African peoples confidence in their own forces. It is true that you lack arms, and war cannot be waged without arms. But you have only to remember how your great-grand-fathers, grand-fathers, fathers, and brothers fought against the British and French colonizers, and how they sealed them off inside the castles which the colonizers had built in the desert. And they fought with their swords, on camelback and lances, while the invaders fought back with cannon, machine-guns, and all sort of other weapons. What did Abdel Kader¹ fight the French occupiers with? What did the Tunisians fight the Spanish occupiers in the 16th century with? And in our time, what did the Algerians fight with? What were the Albanians' weapons in their fight against the nazi-fascist hordes? Hence, in the desert, too, it is the people, with their technique, with their will, who frustrate all the intentions of the imperialists and revisionists. This can be realized when the leadership, the Party, is in healthy positions and is imbued with the teachings of Marxism-Leninism.

In order to achieve victory, of course, you must make great efforts. And war is no simple matter. But we do not step back before difficulties. The

1. A. Kader (1808-1883) — Leader of the Algerian uprising against the French occupiers during the period 1832-1847.

war of the Vietnamese people against the US aggressors is a wonderful example in the history of the world. A people small in number are waging a colossal war against the most savage enemy of mankind. Therefore, our Party is perfectly in the right when it affirms that the situations are in favour of the development of the revolution. All these local wars imperialism kindles reveal the weakness of the imperialists and revisionists. They want to suppress and exploit the peoples, they want to do it calmly, they want peace only for themselves, but they do not concede a minute of peace to the peoples, therefore they are compelled to fight the peoples and to lose.

Now, the Soviet revisionists carry on an intensive political demagogical activity in the Arab countries. The Soviet revisionists exert pressure on Nasser to snatch concessions from him. Rumours have it that many Soviet councillors are in Egypt. First of all, they want Egypt and the other Arab countries to remain subdued, they want to resume their relations with the Americans and the English, and they want the reins to remain in the hands of the Soviets. With these manoeuvres they suppress the great revolutionary feelings of the Arab and African peoples.

We know the Soviet revisionists for what they are. Before the 60's we asked the Khrushchevites to send their geologists here to search for phosphorites. The Soviet specialists came and saw and prowled into every corner of the country and, in the end, told us that they found nothing! We told them to see better, for we had indications that

our country was rich in them. But our «friends» did not «find» anything and sabotaged our work. Several years later our young geologists discovered mountains of phosphorites, which are not only sufficient to fulfil the needs of our country but also of our export. Another example. Once, when we were in Moscow, Khrushchev asked us how much bread grain we needed a year. When we told him about the amount we needed, he said: «Don't worry about bread, what you consume in one year, is eaten up by mice in our country». But then the time came when the Albanian people were threatened to go breadless, and he «forgot» what he had promised, and brought all sorts of pressures to bear on us in order to subdue us. But his trick did not work in Albania.

Khrushchev was an intriguer. After we exposed him at the Meeting of the 81 Communist and Workers' Parties in Moscow in 1960, Comrade Hysni Kapo told him: «Don't dare touch Albania, or if you do, you'll be doomed!» And he retorted: «You Albanians did me a dirty turn. Not even the water of the Volga can wash me clean of what you have done to me».

By the way, at that meeting the Soviet revisionists resorted to both flatteries and threats in an effort to make us give up our intention of attacking them, but, as is known, in the end, their efforts failed. It was Khrushchev's habit to always butt in while others spoke, whereas this time «his colleagues» — we put it in quotation marks because it was these very people who overturned him in order to snatch the throne from him—had bid him

not to interrupt us while we spoke, because, if you interrupt them, they had told him, the Albanians fling dirt at you. Therefore, when we spoke, and brought all the preponderant weight of Marxism-Leninism against him, he held his head between his hands.

Time will come when the Arabs, also, get to know full well what the Soviet Khrushchevite revisionists are. We are convinced that the eyes of the peoples of Africa, especially of the Arabs, will be opened to it. Right now overt reaction has begun. Quantitative ammassments are occurring everywhere. And, certainly, quantitative changes will lead to qualitative changes. This is a law of dialectical development. The question of quality has special importance to genuine Marxist-Leninist Parties. We may quote our Party as an example, which in the moments of the greatest exigencies, that is, during the time of war, was small as regards the number of its members, but the important thing was that all of them were resolute.

But, in the course of our fight against revisionism, imperialism should not be neglected either. US imperialism is the most savage enemy, it is the fascism of our times, the arch-enemy of all the peoples. To undervalue reaction and US imperialism, especially European old imperialism of longstanding traditions, is a mistake, to neglect the fight against US imperialism is an unpardonable mistake, because, in order to strengthen its positions, in order to lull the African peoples to sleep, it spreads the idea that America is far from Africa, and therefore, it has no intention of invading it.

These intentions are supposedly fostered by England, France, and West Germany. What demagoguery! Our people say, «all swine have the same snout», therefore, we must keep our eyes wide-open. It is known that the latter are also enemies. They must be also fought against with severity. Of course, if a strong revolutionary resistance is put up against imperialism in Europe, it will make it more difficult for US imperialism to suppress and enslave the peoples, and the more so now that all its forces are scattered over Africa, Europe, Asia, and not only in America. It has been and remains a gendarme and hangman of the peoples.

We are sure the future belongs to the new world, to socialism and communism. Victory belongs to the peoples. But we are realistic, we know that victory is not achieved without struggle, without efforts, without sacrifices; but, in the course of these wars and efforts, we will continuously win, whereas our imperialist and revisionist enemies will lose.

Excuse me if I talked too much: On this account, I wanted to speak in short about our modest experience and some problems which preoccupy the peoples, especially the Arab peoples as well as the Marxist-Leninist movement today. The communists must learn from one another's experience in order to enrich our theory and practice, whereas everyone must implement it according to his concrete conditions.

It is necessary that we maintain live contacts, discuss and exchange experience. You must not be content with this one visit, nor think that now we

saw each other and that's enough, and good bye, on the contrary, you can come whenever you wish. The doors of socialist Albania are open to all true friends.

Published for the first time from the stenographic record of the conversation in the Central Archives of the Party

IN STRUGGLE AND REVOLUTION THE MARXIST-LENINISTS BECOME STRONG AND INDOMITABLE

From a conversation with a delegation of the Communist Party of Brasil, headed by Comrade Pedro Pomar¹

August 18, 1967

COMRADE ENVER HOXHA: How are you, Comrade Pomar? How is Comrade Amazonas?

CAMRADE PEDRO POMAR: Thank you, we are well, all of us are well.

1. On December 1976, Comrade Pedro Pomar, Member of the Executive Commission of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Brazil, together with his brave comrades, Angelo Arrajo and Juan Battista Drummond, fell heroically fighting the fascist dictatorship of Brazil.

Comrade Pedro Pomar was an outstanding leader of the Communist Party of Brazil, an indomitable fighter against imperialism, modern revisionism and fascist reaction, a dear friend of socialist Albania. He

COMRADE ENVER HOXHA: It is a great pleasure to meet you, comrades of the heroic Communist Party of Brasil again.

We have the best recollection from the meeting we had with Comrade Amazonas when he was in Albania. Comrade Amazonas is a very resolute fighter for Marxism-Leninism, a capable man, strong in his spirit and thoughts, as well as in his correct interpretation of Marxist-Leninist knowledge. All our comrades were extremely pleased and considered it a great honour that Comrade Amazonas came to attend the 5th Congress of our Party. On that occasion he and the other comrades gave us a clear picture of the situation in Brazil and Latin America. This was of very great help to us.

We know that the two sides, both you and we, need to exchange opinions with each other, therefore your coming to Albania is of help to us.

COMRADE PEDRO POMAR: Your words, Comrade Enver, arouse very deep emotions in us. They are very warm and cordial.

Whenever we have come here we have been very happy and ready to exchange opinions with the Albanian comrades.

Comrade Amazonas left your country very satisfied and with the best impressions about the

was three times in Albania and cherished a great love and respect for the Party of Labour of Albania, the Albanian people, and their struggle against imperialism and revisionism for the defence of Marxism-Leninism and the construction of socialism.

comrades of the Party of Labour of Albania, and even more convinced of the correctness of the line of your Party.

Standing in the forefront of the struggle against imperialism and revisionism, the Party of Labour of Albania has given us the great example that, basing oneself on Marxism-Leninism, one can successfully face up to any enemy, no matter how powerful. Being united and closely linked with each other, no one can defeat us. Therefore, in the name of all our comrades, we greet you warmly and assure you that we will always be your true, brothers.

COMRADE ENVER HOXHA: You make a very high assessment of our Party, Comrade Pomar. Your words strengthen our confidence in our common struggle, they enhance the sense of the responsibility our Party has towards the international Marxist-Leninist movement.

Of course, our experience is not very great, nor is it the only one. We do not say this out of modesty, but proceeding from the truth that the struggle and the revolution are the great common cause of all the peoples, about which immense experience has been accumulated and is still being accumulated, which shows that only those Parties that implement Marxism-Leninism consistently can carry out the revolution and make it triumph. But where does the strength of the Marxist-Leninist Parties lie? It lies in the fact that they always look at life as it is, with its contradictions and zigzags, its tendency to perpetual advance, its inevitable progress through the revolution. This confidence

in the future enables the Marxist-Leninist Parties to orientate themselves correctly in their struggle, makes them unafraid of difficulties, and means that they do not despair before temporary setbacks, because Marxism-Leninism teaches us that the road of the revolution is not strewn with roses. Therefore, the Marxist-Leninists should lead with indomitable courage and determination, overcome all difficulties through struggle and efforts and, in the process of this struggle, gather the experience that will enable them to forge further ahead. Over its course of 25 years, our Party has learnt a great deal, but we see that we still have more to learn.

Now we are implementing the decisions of the 5th Congress of the Party, and I can tell you briefly that we have achieved successes in implementing the line of the Party. This does not mean that we are not encountering difficulties, but the question is that these difficulties, no matter how great, are being rapidly overcome in the situation created by the Party, because our Party, like your Party, is closely linked with the people, and its line represents the wishes and aspirations of the working people. On the other hand, it is working tirelessly so that the people understand, feel, and carry out the line of the Party, Marxism-Leninism, and interpret all the phenomena and the directives of the Party in the Marxist-Leninist spirit.

We see that the implementation of the directives of the Congress of the Party has brought results. The principal result is the high level of political consciousness of the communists and

people, which is expressed in the fulfilment of our economic plans as never before, whether in industry, agriculture, education, culture, or in the question of the defence of the Homeland.

After acquainting Comrade Pomar with a series of successes achieved in our country in the struggle for the further, allround revolutionization of the Party and the whole life of the country, Comrade Enver Hoxha went on:

In regard to the great common fight against imperialism as well as modern revisionism, also, we consider that we should never be satisfied with the successes we have achieved, for the reason that there is still a great struggle ahead of us. Even if some results have been achieved in Albania, and the main result is the establishment and strengthening of the dictatorship of the proletariat we must never forget that our comrades and the other peoples are fighting and shedding their blood, are making colossal sacrifices and going through innumerable hardships in extremely difficult internal and external circumstances. Therefore, we must not only assist them, but must also understand them, and have great trust in our comrades, in their heroism, struggle and Marxist-Leninist maturity, and never jump to erroneous conclusions, and claim that some one is in a position to show off and issue ready-made prescriptions for others to act in this or that way. This is not at all Marxist-Leninist. The comrades know the situation in their own countries very well. They know the situation and the mentality of their own people best. On the basis of this knowledge and being guided by the

principles of Marxism-Leninism, they are in a position to educate and mobilize the Party, to throw it into struggle and march ahead. This question is connected with the understanding and implementation of the Marxist-Leninist theory on the basis of the concrete situation of the country.

Some one may say that you may make mistakes. But where is that Party, big or small, old or new, which has not had shortcomings and made mistakes in its work? The important thing here is not to conceal them, but to recognize them, to analyze and correct them on the basis of Marxism-Leninism. This is Marxist dialectics. Hence, we learn from our struggle and our mistakes. If a people or a Party do not struggle, that Party and people have no history. History is not made without struggle. As you know, we face many enemies, imperialism led by US imperialism and modern revisionism headed by Soviet revisionism, who are very cunning and have great experience. But no matter how great our enemies' cunning and means, they haven't our strength, for our strength lies in the Marxist-Leninist ideology, in our confidence in victory, in our faith in the people. The people are with us, because the future, the truth is with us, but we must know how to educate the people for this future, how to organize and enthuse them, and then we shall certainly triumph over the enemies.

As you know, the Soviet revisionists have launched a furious attack on Marxism-Leninism and the revolution in general, because their positions are growing weaker and weaker while ours are becoming stronger. And we do not say this for

nothing, but judging from the concrete situation. The Soviet revisionists have become the most shameless allies of US imperialism. But why has this come about? Because they are in the position of traitors and cannot do otherwise. Why are we the stronger? Because the Marxist-Leninists of the entire world did not allow the Soviet revisionists to disguise themselves, but forced them into a corner and denounced them openly as agents of the bourgeoisie, which the communists and the masses of the working people all over the world are seeing more and more clearly, with each passing day. Their exposure led to the exposure of the revisionists of all the former countries of people's democracy as well. The contradictions between the Soviet revisionists and the revisionists of the former countries of people's democracy of Europe were made more profound.

Such is the situation in general. But, despite the successes the Marxist-Leninists have achieved, we still have a great deal to do.

Our help, about which you spoke, Comrade Pomar, is modest, but, as Marxist-Leninists, we shall help each other with all our strength. We have great admiration for the Communist Party of Brazil, the Central Committee of your Party and Comrade Amazonas. The fact that your Party is in a correct revolutionary position is of great importance, also, for the entire Marxist-Leninist movement and the revolution in Latin America.

We have contacts with the other Marxist-Leninist Parties of Latin America, and are sure that, despite the difficulties they encounter, the Marx-

ist-Leninists will overcome them through their struggle. The important thing is that the Marxist-Leninist Parties of Chile, Colombia, Bolivia and so on, should succeed in taking control of the situation in their own countries.

COMRADE PEDRO POMAR: Thank you very much for all you have said, Comrade Enver. I am deeply moved by your very warm and cordial words and the opportunity you have given me to listen to you personally once more.

Today you have given us a general outline of the situation in Albania. I have been in your country four years earlier. During this period you have passed through difficult circumstances. With this I do not imply that there are no difficulties now, but, since then, you have made evident progress. The successes you have achieved are exceptionally great. The results you have achieved from the political and ideological viewpoint are such that the capitalist countries of the world could not achieve in centuries. Many capitalist countries may be more advanced economically, but this is not the main thing, for the peoples of these countries are oppressed and exploited, and this economic development itself is not in the hands of the people but in those of the bourgeoisie. Whereas in your country the political situation and the morale of the people are extremely enthusiastic. And there is no doubt that all these victories are due to the correct leadership of your Party, to Marxism-Leninism, to your Party's loyalty to Marxism-Leninism, to the great unity of the people with the Party. Indisputably, all this is a great encoura-

gement for us to advance still further ahead in our struggle. Therefore, we shall struggle even harder against our enemies who are, at the same time, the enemies of the Albanian Party and people.

The further revolutionization of the country, which the Albanian people are carrying out under the leadership of the PLA, has great international significance. Indeed, I can tell you that it is reflected in our country as well. A few years ago our people had never heard of Albania and knew nothing about it, while now they know about and are showing continuous interest in Albania, learning about and rejoicing at the successes of the Albanian people. The people know that, in Albania, the revolution is going on uninterruptedly and with sure steps. So much so that this year even some bourgeois newspapers have been obliged to write about Albania, to publish news and informative articles on the courageous and independent stand of the Albanian comrades. It is the facts that make Albania known all over the world. We think that Albania is forging ahead successfully.

We are in complete agreement over the problems you put forward at the 5th Congress of your Party. It is not in the least accidental that all the Marxist-Leninists respect and visit Albania. The revolutionary peoples consider Albania a bastion, a citadel of their liberation struggle, the vanguard of Marxism-Leninism.

On this occasion we want to stress that your assistance to us has been exceptionally great. We are extremely grateful for it and will do everything possible to make our contribution, too.

At present the bourgeois propaganda is having a great deal to say about Latin America being one country, whereas in reality our states are very much divided among themselves, not only by their interests as separate capitalist states, but also by national interests. But the Marxist-Leninist Parties of Latin America have a common task, especially in the struggle against US imperialism and revisionism. Now a situation has been created that calls for the co-ordination of all our forces. We must get a thorough grasp of this situation, because the difficulties which the Marxist-Leninist movement is experiencing in Latin America are great, for, apart from US imperialism, the bourgeoisie and all reaction, the revisionists, too, are fighting against us.

The anti-imperialist and democratic movement in Latin America has suffered heavy blows in recent years. In these conditions we have to cope with the attacks of US imperialism and the revisionists, the Soviet-US collaboration and local reaction. All this creates a difficult situation for us.

Following the coup of 1964, the US imperialists have taken over all the key positions in Brazil. A government totally subservient to US imperialism seized power there, because, though the government in power up till then was one of the big bourgeoisie and the landowners, it defended some national interests. Whereas now the problem is quite different. The people understand that a new, grave situation has been created in Brazil, but the bourgeois and revisionist parties have worked and are working to create illusions among the people, telling them

that «the Marxist-Leninists exaggerate the problem when they accuse imperialism of neo-colonialism, for there is no danger of this happening!» etc. etc. We must cope quickly and correctly with these problems, because they are fostering illusions among the masses; the people are being misled, so that they are unable to understand the grave situation created as a result of the coming to power of the reactionary pro-American government. Before us stands the great task of making things clear to our people, of opening their eyes to the truth, and arousing them in the armed struggle to ensure national freedom.

Even the representatives of the bourgeoisie did not understand the new situation that was being created in Brazil. Thus Brizola, the brother-in-law of Brazil's ex-president Goulart, although a man of great prestige, did not make a stand at the time of the coup, but fled abroad, allegedly to stage a come-back. In fact, he had not understood the situation that had been created in Brazil.

The Americans saw that these politicians of the nationalist bourgeoisie were no longer useful to them, so they threw them out and brought to power, instead, those whom they had trained as officers for many years in the USA. This shows that they want to maintain the fascist dictatorship in Brazil by force of arms in order to have it as a reliable support and to utilize it in carrying out their neo-colonialist plans in other countries. In fact, Brazil sent armed forces to participate in the occupation of San Domingo. This is the first time

that our country's army has been sent to fight in another country.

We have denounced these events and are working to convince the masses that they must struggle against US imperialism; we are exposing the treacherous role of the Soviet revisionists, because not only have they recognized the reactionary government in power, but they have also concluded several trade agreements with it.

As regards the Brazilian revisionists, their situation is worse than before. They have suffered a great defeat. Prior to the 1964 coup they were in a favourable situation, because the Goulart bourgeois government supported the revisionists' policy, but experience showed that this policy, acceptable to the bourgeoisie, was a sham through-and-through. After the coup d'état, we strengthened our positions considerably, because we showed the people that only Marxism-Leninism defends their interests. Our Party emerged with great influence. The revisionists, however, are merely pinning their hopes on illusions, pretending that democracy can be re-established without armed struggle, and as a result their political activity is very weak. Now they have split into several groups. One of them is on a course bringing it closer to us, because it is for the armed struggle, but at the same time it maintains a centrist and opportunist stand. Another group is a group of adventurers and party liquidators. Then comes the Prestes group which is greatly weakened and with all the

characteristics of a group completely in the service of the bourgeoisie.

At present the position of the reactionary clique in Brazil is shaky and unstable. The country's sovereignty is in the hands of the Americans. The principal forces of the country, the working class, the peasantry and the petty-bourgeoisie, want progress and the economic development of the country, because the standard of living of the people is miserably low; all the assets, the mines and the land are in the hands of the Americans. The peasants not only have no land but they have become even more impoverished. The dictatorial regime has completely liquidated those few victories that the working class had previously managed to win; it is becoming more impoverished day by day. The hopes of the people for education and culture have been upset, a cultural terror has been established, the programs in the universities are adapted to the interests of the Americans, etc.

All these things have sharpened the contradictions, and in practice, if good work is done, there are excellent prospects for the development of the armed struggle. As Stalin said, in today's conditions the duty devolves on the communist party to raise the banner of national independence and democratic freedoms and, utilizing all the profound contradictions which have been created, to prepare for the armed struggle.

COMRADE ENVER HOXHA: Your exposition, Comrade Pomar, has added more to our knowledge of the situation in Latin America and in Brazil in

particular. We consider that your Party has made a very correct analysis of the situation in Latin America, in general, and in Brazil. We are convinced that such a serious analysis is a great assurance of the correct development of the revolution.

Revolution is a very serious matter, and once you have embarked on it you must carry it through to the end. The Marxist-Leninists cannot go about it as the bourgeoisie, the anarchists, the putschists do, for the revolution has to do with the life and the future of the people. On the basis of your Party's Marxist-Leninist analysis you will know how to determine the measures you must take for the development of the revolution, taking into account all the minuses and pluses. A good understanding of the situation also gives you the possibility to take the appropriate political and organizational measures, to create alliances and to interpret these alliances in the light of Marxism-Leninism, harbouring neither petty-bourgeois illusions nor sectarian concepts.

The fact that you are struggling to consolidate the Party is of primary importance. This is vital to the Marxist-Leninists. In our opinion, without a Marxist-Leninist Party there can be no revolution and true liberation for the people. We Albanians say that the Party must be a Party of the Leninist type. The situation demands this, because the enemy has big forces and it is very cunning with reactionary experience, and only a Party built on sound Marxist-Leninist political, ideological and organizational principles can cope with it. The objective, not only of capitalism but

also of modern revisionism, is precisely the disintegration and degeneration of the Marxist-Leninist Parties so that they will be unable to cope with their many enemies, and eventually, their destruction. For these and many other reasons the revisionists rose against and threw mud at Stalin, concocted all sorts of slanders which we Albanian communists entirely reject...

Therefore, for your Party, for our Party, especially for the new Parties and any Party that is determined to carry the revolution through to the end, the steeling of the Party is of prime importance.

We fully agree with your Party's view and analysis of the development of events. Perhaps some one who has not made a proper assessment of the development of events and alliances, may say, «Why do the comrades of this or that Party advance so slowly?»

I say this because such a thing has happened to us. But when the situation is looked at objectively and the necessary measures are taken to attain the objective decided, everything will come about in its own time. Of course, once begun, the revolution must be carried through to the end without fail. But those who want to accelerate the development of events artificially are lacking in correct Marxist-Leninist judgment, because the revolution is not organized and carried out in one day. It is not a wedding party, but a great people's war, and in war the enemies attack with all their savagery. However, the Marxist-Leninists are not afraid of fighting, although they may suffer tem-

porary defeats; on the contrary, in war and revolution they become stronger and more indomitable. Therefore, the line of your Party is correct.

The correct struggle of the Marxist-Leninist Parties of Latin America like yours, we think, is of great importance to the creation of a correct concept about the revolution there. If I am not mistaken, Latin America has putschist traditions, but there must be a break with these traditions because all the anarchist adventurers that pose as Marxist revolutionaries base themselves on them. If the Marxist-Leninist Parties do not make this question clear, we think that the anarchists, who come out with «ultra-Marxist» slogans, will do great harm to the cause of the revolution, because there are people who equate a putsch with the revolution and engage in adventures, calling on the people to take to arms at a time when the conditions for this have not been created. Your Party which has a correct Marxist-Leninist line is educating people to understand what revolution is, who should take part in it, and who should lead it.

A new Marxist-Leninist Party should not be disturbed by the fact that, initially, it does not have the necessary strength and authority, but, on the contrary, it should be thinking about how to strengthen its work and, on the other hand, how to secure its allies. Perhaps it may be weak, not well-organized, and still have little influence over the masses, but this should not make it sectarian and avoid contact with those to whom it can explain things, win them to its cause and throw them into struggle. At the same time, this Party

must not efface its individuality, enter every sort of front and destroy itself. On the contrary, it should always preserve its independence, principles and norms. It must, without fail, ensure its hegemonic role in the revolution through struggle and its correct policy. For the revolution to be crowned with success, it must be led by its Marxist-Leninist Party, but no one will give you hegemony: it must be won.

Our opinion is that the Marxist-Leninist Parties of Latin America, such as your Party, those of Chile, Bolivia and Colombia, etc., are very important factors of the revolution.

After speaking about the struggle of the Marxist-Leninist Parties against imperialism and modern revisionism, Comrade Enver Hoxha concluded:

In general, that is what I wanted to say, Comrade Pomar. Our opinion is that the revolutionary struggle is making progress and successes are being achieved. All of us have scored successes. The struggle, pressures, intrigues and blockades, which the imperialists and revisionists have perpetrated and are perpetrating, do not frighten the revolutionaries. Right is on our side, the peoples are with us, our cause will certainly triumph.

As regards contacts and relations between our Parties, I assure you once more, that the Party of Labour of Albania will always stand by the Marxist-Leninist Parties and forces, will always assist and help them in their just struggle, it will always fight shoulder to shoulder with them, consistently and unflinchingly, for the great cause of

Marxism-Leninism, the revolution and socialism. Please convey our most ardent greetings to the comrades of the Communist Party of Brazil! May you always score successes in your struggle.

Published from the stenographic record of the conversation in the Central Archives of the Party.

THE DOORS OF SOCIALIST ALBANIA ARE ALWAYS OPEN TO TRUE FRIENDS

From a conversation at a meeting with a friend from Turkey and his daughter

September 7, 1967

The meeting took place on the premises of the Central Committee of the PLA. After warmly shaking hands with each other, the Turkish girl handed Comrade Enver Hoxha a short message on behalf of several hundred girls of Ankara, as well as some symbolical presents.

COMRADE ENVER HOXHA: I am delighted you have come as guests to our country, to the Albanian people who are friends and brothers of the Turkish people for whom we cherish a great sympathy.

Your letter¹ gave me immense pleasure, because it expressed the pure feelings of the Turkish youth for the Albanian people and youth. As well, I was

¹ The Turkish girl's letter.

glad to receive my portrait you had done with your hands. What I liked most in it was your punctiliousness and skill in composition. On this occasion, I want to thank you from my heart both for what you sent me earlier and for the valuable presents you made me today.

My wife, Nexhmije, also wanted to be present at this meeting, but she is outside Tirana on business, therefore she begs you to excuse her absence. Maybe, she will have the chance to meet you some other day. Nexhmije was a partisan fighter, she has taken part, arms in hand, in the National Liberation War.

THE FRIEND FROM TURKEY: Excuse us for the simple but sincere presents we gave you, as is our custom in Turkey. We in our family have decided together as to their preparation, for we have great sympathy for Kemal Atatürk, as well as for your Excellency. We consider you not only the leader of the Albanian people, for whom you have made many sacrifices to restore and usher them to the road of progress, but also as a leader of an international stature, therefore we think very highly of you. We were very much favourably impressed by the sincere hospitality and kindly treatment on the part of all the crew of the Albanian ship on board which we travelled here. They laid themselves out to please us. Therefore, we presented the captain of the ship with a small gift. After an hour, in return, he made us a small present of a beautifully embroidered portrait of your Excellency, an Albanian flag and a flask of perfume. Thus, from the moment we set foot on board

the ship we saw the first signs of sincere friendship. We considered all these a manifestation of the love of all the Albanian people for our people and were convinced of the feelings of sincere friendship the Albanian people nurture for the Turkish people.

COMRADE ENVER HOXHA: Thank you very much for the good words you said for our country and people, and I want to tell you, on this occasion, that the Albanian people, who are bound by ancient ties with your people, cherish sincere feelings of friendship for them. Now that you have come to us, it is our wish that you should go on a tour of Albania, contact the Albanian people, because in this way you will be better able to see for yourselves how great and sincere are the ties of friendship of the Albanian people with the Turkish people, you will get to know also the noble and pure feelings of our people as well as of the Albanian women and girls. You, young lady, especially, will get in touch with our young girls at meetings that can be organized in Tirana or some other city, where our girls will talk with you, and you with them, too, and you can tell them about the girls of your country.

During your stay here, you will see for yourself the great progress and changes our country has made. Among other things, the great revolution of the Turkish people, with Mustafa Kemal Atatürk at the head, led your country and especially, your women, on to the road of progress, a thing this which had great repercussions outside Turkey, too. At that time this revolution was wel-

comed in Albania, too, for it was a democratic, progressive revolution.

Mustafa Kemal loved the Albanian people. Our history has it that his mother was Albanian. Somewhere I have read that during an evening party, when news spread that the then President of the Albanian Republic, Ahmet Zog proclaimed himself the king of the Albanians, Atatürk jumped to his feet with immense indignation saying that by this act Ahmet Zog showed himself to be a thief, a foul man. And he was not an inch wrong in his judgement, because that's what Ahmet Zog really was, he sold Albania out to the Italian imperialists. This act made the Albanian people rise up in war, in revolution and, with blood and innumerable sacrifices, under the leadership of the Communist Party of Albania, they succeeded in ousting the Italian and German occupiers, Ahmet Zog's henchmen, the feudal lords, beys, aghas, and in bringing the Albanian people to power.

We are trying to establish good friendly relations with the present Turkish government and we see favourable response on its part. Irrespective of the various forms of governments in power in our countries, we, on our part, will exert every effort to the benefit of our mutual interests, in order to strengthen our ties of friendship with the fraternal Turkish people more and more, to maintain normal economic and cultural relations, through the exchange of delegations of scholars, working people of culture, sports, arts, etc. The enemies of the Turkish people are also the enemies of our people. In the first place, the US imperialists are our most

savage enemies. The Soviet revisionists are likewise enemies of our peoples. They have been waging a continuous struggle against our peoples, but we do not fear them. It is true we are a small people, but if ever we are free today, it is due to the struggle we have waged all our life for the freedom of the Homeland. Freedom is won through war. When people rise to their feet to defend their rights, there is no force on earth to subdue them.

We know the Turkish people. They are very brave. By this we do not mean to flatter you, for life has confirmed it. We think no army and state in the world can do any harm to the Turkish people, or even if they dare attack them, we are convinced that the aggressors will lose and the Turkish people will win...

We tell the Turkish friends that the enemies can do no harm to democratic Albania. Not even a fly can cross our borders, and we have declared long before that whoever dares attack us will meet his death here. Let our enemies know this well. This the US imperialists, the Titoites, the Italian fascists the Soviet revisionists and Greek monarcho-fascists know full well. All these enemies have encircled us, but we shall fight them if they touch us and will annihilate them. Besides, we have numerous and powerful friends everywhere in the world, among whom the Turkish people, who are on our side, and we are convinced that if anything happens to the Albanian people, they will rise up to defend us. The people mean everything to us, therefore, always, all along our life, we will be their servants.

In their propaganda our external enemies say that in Albania there is dictatorship, there is no freedom, and so on, whereas with us there is broad and true democracy which you can understand only if you live here, take part in the meetings organized by the people. All economic, political problems, everybody's work, are thrashed out at these broad popular meetings, where every one has a right to speak his own mind to tell who works well and who does not, whether or not something is done well, whether the government has implemented this or that decision, etc. If they come to the conclusion that something is improperly done, the Party takes a decision, takes the problem to the people, and at broad meetings hundreds and thousands of ordinary people analyse the question and make their assessment of the work of each person. Our Party of Labour teaches people to judge everyone separately by the work he does. The best remedy for those who err, we think, is to go to the people and make a clean breast of it before them. This is what our Party teaches people to do. It tells ministers, armymen, directors, all functionaries; to go to the people and frankly tell them about the mistakes they might have made. And at meetings the people pull the ear of the person who has erred, and they tell the Party to forgive him when they see that he has erred unintentionally, but they warn him that if he errs again, he will be punished severely and will be replaced by another, better person.

In our country, the deputies and councillors are elected from bottom up. The people have

the right to remove any one of them who does not work well. With us, authorities, from the regional to the central level, are not nominated from above, they are elected. Neither the Prime Minister nor I, for example, have a right to lay off anyone on our own, for we decide everything in a collective way. Similarly, no one of those elected can be arrested. Only the people can remove a person elected, beginning from the village councillor to the deputy of the People's Assembly.

All states have maintained and still maintain today regular armies. Albania, too, has its regular and powerful army. But apart from this, Albania has something else which the other countries have not. All our people are soldiers. Everyone in our country has a rifle at home. Which state dare arm all the people? Only a state, a Party and a government which has close ties with its people does. And it is not only the men who can handle the rifle in our country. Women, too, are incorporated in battalions and brigades and have learned to handle not only the rifle but also the cannon and any other kind of weapons, so that they, men and women, as one, in case any danger threatens Albania, can rise to their feet at the very first call of the Party to defend their Homeland. With us, every family has the rifle hung on the shelf.

In our country, women have made great progress in the field of education, in particular. Today we have elementary schools in all the villages. In every region, we have many 8-year schools which are obligatory for all the children of the Republic, boys and girls up to 15 years old. The

educational system at all levels in our country is completely free of charge. Thousands of students, boys and girls, attend university and other higher schools in Albania, and apart from those young men and women from Tirana who attend studies living on their families, almost all the rest have state burseries. Boys and girls from highland or lowland areas, who have no middle schools in their regions, touch state burseries too. All I am telling you, you will see for yourself, therefore, I'll be very much obliged if you go to all quarters of Albania and visit everything you like, as our beloved guests, and make yourself at home, like in Ankara. We will try to meet every desire that you may express during your stay in Albania. You may go to the North of Albania, to Korça, Durrës, Vlora as well, you may visit agricultural cooperatives, schools, factories, too, and everything else.

However, let this not be your only visit. You may come whenever you like, without ceremony. In Albania the doors are always open to our dear friends. Now, before parting, let us raise this toast to your health.

Published for the first time from the stenographic record of the conversation in the Central Archives of the Party.

WE FEEL PROUD TO BE ABLE TO MILITATE TOGETHER WITH YOU FOR THE SAME CAUSE

*From a conversation at a meeting with Fosco Dinucci,
General Secretary of the Communist Party of Italy
(Marxist-Leninist)*

September 11, 1967

We are very glad you have come to our country. We follow the line of the Communist Party of Italy (Marxist-Leninist) and its struggle with attention, satisfaction and admiration.

I am sure our comrades have informed you about the successes achieved in the economy of our country in the course of this year. Agriculture is doing quite well. Almost all the targets of the production of bread grain and industrial crops, as well, as livestock raising, are attained according to plan. This has aroused great enthusiasm among the people. In the sector of industry, too, there are forecasts that the plan will be overfulfilled. All these successes in the field of the economy have been inspired by the directives of the Central

Committee, which are based on the line defined at the 5th Congress of the PLA.

The situation in our country, as a whole, is very good. There is great enthusiasm everywhere. A great revolutionary drive for the political Marxist-Leninist education of the members is on the upsurge in the Party. Its ranks are being swelled with young revolutionaries. Where our basic organizations were small, we have increased them, in the first place, with the blood of young girl and woman workers. In the education study groups, in courses and schools of general and professional education we notice an unparalleled improvement and advance. But this is not everything. Despite the fact that the Party is very monolithic, without a single breach in its ranks, despite the fact that the Party members are in monolithic unity of thought and action, we have very much to do for the Marxist-Leninist education of the communists and the masses. There is no end to ideo-political education, therefore, we think that in this aspect we are still lagging behind, and with every passing day we see that the ideological and political education of people plays a decisive role.

All the negative phenomena which are manifested among our own people stem from their low ideological level. There are communist militants who are ready to go through fire for the cause of the Party, though sometimes they fail to properly understand things and act in opposition to the decisions of the Party on the protection of common property, the struggle against backward customs, the attitude towards women, and other

problems. The Party frequently takes up for examination the ideo-political education of the masses and thereupon adopts due measures to raise their level higher.

We are very much satisfied to learn that your Party, too, its Central Committee, attach great importance to the Marxist-Leninist education of its members. Just as you, we also think that this kind of solicitude is indispensable in Italy. Italy is much different from Albania. There, the bourgeoisie is organized, strong, with its own ideology and a strong apparatus, whereas in our country the bourgeoisie did not exist as such, it was as yet in the making. In Albania, there were no political parties, either. The constant preoccupation of our people has been the question of their national liberation.

In these conditions, soon after its creation, our Party found a very favourable soil and worked to lead the Albanian people onto the patriotic, socialist road. The Italian people, too, have suffered and still suffer from many injuries and sore wounds, which continue to afflict them and have induced them to go through fire, to rise up in revolt, and this has helped them gain rich experience. The role of the Marxist-Leninist Party lies in it that it must know how to use this fire, this revolt and this experience of the peoples to its best advantage: hence, the importance of the great work the Party must do for the education of people with its own ideology. You were telling us yourself that you have attached importance to the question of education. This is fundamental. In order to find

your correct bearings in any situation, people's revolutionary consciousness must be well and seriously moulded. Only when they are ideologically enlightened, they can cope with any situation, grave though it may be. You know better than we do that the great Italian bourgeoisie resorts to a thousand and one tactics to win people over.

In our country great work is also being done in the direction of the struggle against religion, religious superstitions and backward customs. Of course, the situation in your country is different from ours, especially with regard to religion. But is not true, as some people claim, that in Italy there isn't anyone who wants to wage a principled struggle against such obscurantist, spiritual and temporal power as the Vatican is. There, too, there are indeed millions who oppose this strong centre of long-standing reaction. Religion had not had strong theoretical and organizational roots in Albania; it had not been involved in the revolutionary, progressive and liberation movements of the Albanian people. The clergy in general, and that of higher circles in particular, Moslem, Orthodox and especially Catholic, played an overt reactionary and anti-national role in favour of the Turkish, Austro-Hungarian, Greek invaders, and the Italian fascists and the German nazis, it had always been at war with our national question, the freedom of the people.

Before the liberation of our country the organization of various religions in Albania, except for the Catholic one, was almost non-existent. The activity of the institutions of Moslem worship was

almost formal, the Orthodox one was limited only to liturgical rites, whereas the Catholic Church strove to develop Catholicism as an ideology and to disseminate it, but it failed to do what it did in Italy, France, and in other countries. The Moslem and Orthodox clergy was quite unversed in religious matters, whereas, unlike the former, the clergy of the Catholic Church, was well trained. Confronted with the revolutionary struggle of the people, the clergy had at their disposal only the institutions of religious worship and nothing more. Therefore, the churches and mosques which after Liberation were still open, as means of disseminating religious ideology, were wiped out altogether. The few priests who were still practising, discarded their religious cloth and have got a job now. Many of them came out before the people with self-criticism of the wrongs they had done. We did not take all these measures in an administrative way, indeed the Central Committee instructed us to go about it very cautiously; but it was the people themselves who demanded to go further ahead, and they did so.

When I was in Shkodra recently, I saw that the largest centre of the Franciscans, the convent in which most of Catholic clergy were trained, was transformed into a palace of culture. In the course of meetings with the masses, especially with the peasants, I spoke much about religion. They listened to me all ears. I asked them what they thought of the things which had been done so far. Former clergymen and the masses spoke to me openheartedly against religion. Nevertheless, I thought

I had to talk a little apart with some of them. Thereupon, I asked some twenty women who happened to be near to stay behind and tell me, just as they would tell their brothers, what they thought of the fight against religion. They told me that, in my speech, I had said almost nothing compared with the evil deeds of the clergy.

In Trashan village of the Lezha district, for instance, they told me that before the liberation of the country, 50 per cent of the village land was church property, and the peasants were forced to pay twice as much taxes to the Church as they paid to Zog's government; and for wedding, birth, or death rituals, they also had to pay considerable sums to the Church. In fact, the Church gobbled up one fourth of half the amount of income that remained in the possession of the peasants.

There are comrades and friends abroad, who for lack of knowledge of our real situation, the objective and subjective conditions of our country, our Party line, say that we have been sectarian in dealing with this question. They forget that the circumstances of our country are different from those of their countries. I told some French comrades who were staying here last month, that in technical matters their country is ahead of our country, whereas as regards the liberation of people's consciousness, socialist Albania is years, indeed centuries ahead of their country.

I am told that your Marxist-Leninist Party is being strengthened and the number of its members is increasing with every passing day. Of course, many difficulties lie ahead of you, but in our

struggle to overcome them with success, unity in the leadership assumes first-rate importance. It is true that our Party has little experience, but based on it, nevertheless, it has come to learn that its enemies, especially internal ones, have always sought to disrupt unity in the Party and in the leadership, in particular. Their attempts have not taken definite shape at once; in the beginning, these appeared in the form of criticism, allegedly objective. The Party and its leadership have always taken it into consideration, accepting what was correct and noticing what was tendentious in it. This enabled it to discover the intentions of the enemies. At a time when our leadership faced up to any criticism like a revolutionary, took steps and did its utmost to overcome shortcomings resulting from the difficulties of development, the enemies carried on their activity with other intentions in mind, which they failed to keep secret to the end. They could not reconcile themselves to the revolutionary stand of our Party, because they saw it was to their detriment. Under these circumstances, when the enemies' tendencies became full-blown and came out in the open against the Party, it put them with their back to the wall, showed them the way they had to go; but then they filled the cup, and the Party put them in their place. Naturally, these were anti-Marxist elements, who had sneaked themselves into the Party; some of whom, as it turned out later, were agents in the pay of the Yugoslav revisionists, some in the pay of the Soviet revisionists, Greek monarcho-fascists, and others. They contemplated

the ideological disruption of the Party first, and then its division. But no one achieved his aim. All of them failed. The process of growth of our Party has proved that unity has great importance. It has been further steeled, and this accounts for the ever correct, Marxist-Leninist general line of our Party.

There must be discussions and debates in the life of the Party, but unhealthy debates have had no room in our Party. In 1947 we expelled from the Party a certain Sejfulla Malëshova, a self-styled theoretician and man of the Comintern. He came to Albania ready to make criticism, full of pretensions, superstitions and presumptuous manners. During the National Liberation War he did not carry out any activity. As early as the time of the war, we were suspicious of him, but only after Liberation he turned out to be a disguised Bukharinist. All his «theory» consisted in the defence and protection of merchant bourgeoisie and kulaks. He held that taxes on war profits should not be levied on the exploitative and other elements. The Party turned him out of its leadership and ranks, and now he works as an accountant somewhere.

The disguised Trotskyite, Bukharinist opportunist concepts upheld by bourgeois and reactionary elements, who had smuggled themselves into the ranks of the Party, were liquidated thanks to the healthy revolutionary line of the Party, and this helped strengthen unity in its ranks. You understand the major significance of unity as we

do, and we rejoice over the fact that there are no breaches in your Party and leadership.

You know your affairs better, but from the experience of our Party, I want to tell you that the comrades of the Central Committee and the Political Bureau have all along defended the Party line with Marxist-Leninist seriousness and sternness. We adopt Marxist-Leninist attitudes towards each other. Each and everyone of us states his opinion openly about work, results and failures; this practice is established long ago among us, and there is no misunderstanding about it. None of us is anxious lest his comrades may take amiss what he says. All of us come to the meeting with the only preoccupation of finding the best solution to the problem. This is one of the great successes of our Party.

Our Party has never allowed opportunism to be deeply rooted in our ranks. If our Party ever made any concession in its early years, it was because we were young, we lacked the experience we have today, we failed to understand some matters ideologically and this accounts for our mistakes. But no one is permitted to make mistakes now.

We do not cut off the heads of those who make mistakes, but only of those who turn traitors. Comrades of some other Parties accuse us of having done this to certain persons. This is untrue, for, if they read the documents of our Party and see how much it has striven to help and save those people long before they fell into the mud completely, then they will say the contrary, that we were overpatient with them. But that's what struggle is. Those who

desist from the struggle, be they people or Parties, have no history. The Albanian's life has been permanent struggle, such is his history, too, struggle throughout his life. A 90 years old highlander who knows nothing of Marxism-Leninism, told me when I met him 10 days ago, «The Albanian has not come from his mother's womb, but from the barrel of the gun». This idea sums up the centuries-long struggle of our people for freedom and independence.

After the friend from Italy spoke, Comrade Enver Hoxha continued:

We, too, thank you very much for the help you give us through open exchange of opinions. By so doing we help each other. We agree also with you that the recognition of the socialist development of our country in Italy not only contributes to the good understanding and strengthening of friendship between our two peoples, but also constitutes a help to the Italian communist comrades.

We always say that we have little experience, however we are fully agreed with you that we must give you this experience more often as it is, with its good and weak points, because it serves our common cause a great deal. Our Parties have gained experience on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and have applied and continue to apply it in conformity with the conditions of our countries. The implementation of the experience of other Parties in a stereotyped way, either by us or by you, yields no good results. We have had this lesson present in our mind, and we hope we have not been in the wrong. We must admit that besides having

benefited by the others' experience, we have suffered from it as well. In the first place, we have derived benefit from the experience of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (b). The Marxist-Leninist principles, the teachings of Lenin and Stalin have underlied the foundations of our Party. We have made use of the Yugoslav experience, too, in the years before 1948. At that time we were still young, inexperienced, however, we could see, though not very clearly, that there was something wrong in it. Later it became clear what it was.

Our Party has now its own experience in every direction, in the question of the links of the Party with the masses and, in particular, its integration into them. This is a well-known principle, a Marxist thesis of major importance. But for this principle to be applied correctly, it is necessary to bear in mind the situation of the country, because what was and is applicable in the conditions of our country may not prove fully acceptable to Italy. A Marxist-Leninist Party which bases itself on correct principles cannot fail to take into consideration the objective and subjective conditions and situations connected with this question, too. The chanting of the quotations of Mao Tsetung in chorus may be suitable for China, but not for our country. Moreover, we fight so that people do not learn in a mechanical way, but make a penetrating analysis and have a good understanding of the Party directives in all aspects. When you study them carefully, thoughts begin to crystalize. And when these, in turn, are analyzed and related to the situation well, they help you find your correct

bearings on every problem. This is an important question. We must always bear in mind that the Party may apply a certain method to a given situation, but a different situation necessitates the application of a different method.

My comrades told me you are interested in learning how the Party should integrate itself into the masses. This is a very important problem, especially to your country, where there are other Parties which, through their work, influence the masses. In Italy, almost all the masses are already «organized» in the other parties. In our opinion, in spite of the fact that the other parties have «snatched» the masses from the Marxist-Leninist Party before, it should fight to build links with the masses by all means, and spread the Marxist-Leninist ideology among them. In case the Marxist-Leninist Party sees that it has a problem in common with some other Party and both of them strive to mobilize the masses to solve it, then either it may come to terms with the other Party on the concrete problem, or, even without prior agreement, it may come out into the streets together with the masses. If the circumstances compel a Party to come out (or express itself) against US imperialism and in favour of the war of the Vietnamese people, although we know what aims it has and what circumstances induce it into joining us on our way, we can unite with it in this case and on this problem, but in this common struggle we do not hesitate to publicize our line, to acquaint the masses with the correct objectives of our Party and our slogans, which will not fail to pe-

netrate the organizations of the other Party; where, as a consequence, a struggle will ensue. This will be in our favour. It is not enough for the Marxist-Leninist Party to confine itself to the masses which the bourgeois and revisionist parties have not yet «organized», «drawn» into them. This too, must be done, though these masses are small in numbers, but, the important thing is to work among the masses which are under the influence of other parties.

Please convey to all the comrades of your leadership our best wishes for, and congratulations on, your great revolutionary work and the successes your Party is achieving.

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**WHOEVER ENDEAVOURS TO SABOTAGE THE
WAR IN VIETNAM TRAMPLES ON THE BLOOD
OF THE VIETNAMESE, AND IS A RENEGADE
AND A TRAITOR**

*From a conversation with the Ambassador
Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the
Democratic Republic of Vietnam*

October 21, 1967

Our people and Party harbour special feelings of admiration and love for your people, both of the North and the South. With the definite aim of keeping your people under their heel and using Vietnam as a bridge-head against the other Asian countries, the US imperialists are barbarously bombing North Vietnam, they are ravaging South Vietnam, putting it to fire and sword. We are following your war closely every day because it is also our war. We consider your great successes and sacrifices in the South or in the North to be ours. The liberation war in Vietnam is inflicting irreparable losses and defeats not only on the

US imperialists but also on the modern revisionists and will continue to do so. At the same time, it constitutes a great help to the liberation wars of the peoples, it is a symbol of bravery in the fight against a barbarous force, large in numbers, but actually weak, which is tottering under the blows of a small but heroic people such as your people are. It is clear to us that the shattering defeats that the heroic Vietnamese people are inflicting on the US imperialists and the modern revisionists, are forcing them to reckon with the difficulties and think twice before they dare kindle other fires like that of Vietnam, in the world, because such flames of a new war would be too dangerous to them and would hasten their final defeat.

Our Party teaches that not only we who are in the leadership of the Party and state, but the whole Albanian people should make these assessments. Thanks to the teachings of our Party, the Albanian people today clearly figure out our close ties with you, and, in their work and struggle, every day and every hour, they are with the Vietnamese people with heart and mind.

Our Party, government, and people have been and are constantly fighting against the US imperialists, Soviet modern revisionists, the Titoites and all the revisionists who have joined forces against socialism, communism and our countries.

You directly with arms, we with all other means, are fighting against imperialism, with US imperialism at the head.

It is many years now since our Party and

people have also risen to fight against the Khrushchevite and Titoite revisionist betrayal. Our Party and people have exposed and they will expose through to the end the so-called peaceful coexistence, the reactionary US-Soviet alliance and the treacherous and crafty acts of the revisionists in the background of innumerable acts of heroism and sacrifice of the peoples. Besides, we will not cease to expose through to the end their efforts to force or trick Vietnam out of the war, into opportunist positions, into concessions to, and agreements with, the US imperialists. We are optimistic and firmly confident that the Vietnamese people both in the South and in the North will never lay down their arms, but on the contrary will fight until their complete victory, as is your heartiest wish and ours.

We understand your position, and we are sure that you understand ours. If you understand our position, you will see that we are fighting and trying to help you along the correct road of heroic struggle. Whatever they do, the imperialists and the revisionists can never quell down the fighting spirit of your people. Many intrigues are being hatched up by them now, and many more will be concocted at your expense in the future, but they will all end in failure. The US imperialists are frightened to death by your struggle, they are struggling against great political, military difficulties and, in their great uncertainty, are groping for a way out of their disgraceful impasse. As we see it, there is no way out for them, only ignominious

defeat awaits them. Nevertheless, they are trying hard to find, and they go on seeking, a way out through deception, which is in their very blood. And they have been working at it for a long time. But you see, in spite of the great fuss about «peace», which they have been mawing for years, war in Vietnam is continuously in the ascendant and the imperialists are suffering continuous defeats. In this situation difficult for the imperialists, the Soviet modern revisionists are playing a vile role. They are coming to the rescue of the US imperialist aggressors with every means at their disposal in order to save them from defeat at all costs. This is evident. Were they with Vietnam, with its heroic people who are shedding their blood, not only would the Soviet revisionists not try to save the imperialists from their defeat, but on the contrary they would reject all connections, deals and peace negotiations with the United States of America. But why don't they do so? It is clear that they follow quite other aims, and the blood shed by the Vietnamese is of little account to them, provided these aims are realized, provided they can collaborate with the US imperialists. The stand of the Moscow revisionist renegades and traitors is very clear to us.

I don't want you to tell me this, but I am sure this is how you, too, see this question. What are you actually doing, going on a merry-go-round? No, you are shedding your blood day and night. And this means that you are fighting against the US imperialists day and night. Then, who other than traitors, would ever think of carrying on underhand activities in order to force you, heroic fighters, to

tone down your war against the US criminals who are trying to rob you of your freedom with fire and sword. No, you'll never do this by any means! This never crosses your minds. Only traitors can think that way. We are convinced that you will win, that the struggle against imperialism and its lackeys will go on until they are completely and finally smashed.

Our people greatly rejoice over the everyday news of the great victories of your people, in the South and the North. They rejoice over the heroic resistance of the Vietnamese people, the countless US aircraft shot down over Vietnam. This is catastrophic to the policy of the United States of America. It is true that the USA is a great power and can turn out a lot of aircraft, but the loss it is sustaining is not small, either; its aircraft are being shot down by the hundreds over the North, and even more so over the South. According to the news hundreds of US aircraft have been shot down over Laos, too. We don't know the exact figure, but until now, according to data; over 5,000 aircraft have been brought down over Vietnam which makes about 10 thousand pilots lost, killed or captured. The US imperialists are ever more being drained of their reserves, not only in air force cadres, i.e., soldiers and officers, but also in weapons and monetary funds. This is an encouragement to us and it helps hasten our victory.

You, comrade ambassador, like all the other Vietnamese ambassadors to Albania, should consider Albania, our people and Party your own country, your own people, your own Party. We

shall all love you as our comrade and brother. You should also consider us the same way, and we are fully convinced that it will be so. In you we see the representative of the heroic fraternal Vietnamese people. Therefore, you should make yourself at home in Albania, go everywhere, meet people, stay among them and feel for yourself how the hearts of our working people and the members of our Party beat for the war of the Vietnamese people. It is our duty as communists to acquaint our people closely with Vietnam, its people, their struggle and their sacrifices. This solidarity is being continuously tempered.

Your people have gained very valuable experience from their great struggle against the US imperialists. People's war is an art, which the people understand, because it is close to them, it not only inspires them to heroism and arouses their spirit of initiative, but also raises the political maturity of the people's masses to a higher level. Your war will make a contribution to the enrichment of the art of people's war. Unable to unleash a world war, US imperialism, in spite of its defeat, will still try to open up new war fronts and instigate local wars in different places and regions of the world. Your experience will be necessary and of great service to the peoples at present as well as in the future. This is because you have got to know the war machine of US imperialism, its force and its weakness, its methods of warfare, its strategy and tactics, and, on this basis, you have gained great experience for its destruction.

Let's raise this toast, comrade ambassador, to our Marxist-Leninist fraternity, to your heroic people, to your complete and immediate victory. I wish you success in your work.

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WHY THE SOVIET REVISIONIST LEADERSHIP INSISTS ON CALLING AN INTERNATIONAL MEETING

Article published in the newspaper «Zëri i popullit»

December 26, 1967

After the communiqué on the convocation of the «consultative get-together» of the revisionists in Budapest, the Soviet leadership is making a great propaganda noise about the alleged «international meeting of the communist and workers' parties».

It is understandable that the Soviet leadership continues to insist on the convocation of the meeting not out of its good will. With this meeting, it hopes to extricate itself from, or at least mitigate, the great internal and external difficulties it is coming up against and realize some of its counterrevolutionary intentions in the world communist movement.

The main and greatest stumbling block to the present-day Soviet leadership is that the anti-Marxist, anti-socialist, counterrevolutionary and

pro-imperialist line, which it has pursued and is pursuing in all fields, has been exposed before the eyes of the Soviet and other peoples, as a result of the principled, open and ruthless fight of the Marxist-Leninist parties.

The demagogical catchwords about the «construction of communism» in the Soviet Union, or the «construction of socialism» in other revisionist countries are no longer holding water. The Soviet people and the other peoples are seeing that communism and socialism in their countries have now been replaced by the processes of capitalist restoration in the economy and bourgeois degeneration in the whole social life. Capitalist profit has become the main interest of their life, bourgeois selfishness and individualism are poisoning people's minds, they are incited to run after money by all means and methods. Revisionist decentralization of the management of the economy, extension of individual plots to the detriment of collective economy in agriculture and other such «reforms» have been continuously leading to the undermining of socialist property, the revival and flourishing of private capitalist property. The revisionists are advancing further down the road of integrating their economy into the gears of the world capitalist economy, the road of integrating socialism into capitalism, as the renegade Tito preaches. The French, Italian, West German, Japanese and other capital is penetrating the economy of the revisionist countries with greater facility.

Bourgeois degeneration is spreading like black plague in the whole cultural life of the Soviet

Union and other revisionist countries. Western way of life, western fashion, bourgeois dances and music, decadent western art, are taking root in all possible fields and are being spread by the revisionist clique, especially among the younger generation with a view to corrupting them. They are ever more openly renouncing the glorious revolutionary traditions and ideals of the October Revolution that inspired the people in the period of Lenin and Stalin to selfless struggle and work in the service of the cause of the revolution and socialism. The revisionist cliques preach other «more practical and realistic» ideals — apoliticism, hankering after personal interest, comfort and ease, privileges and amusements, pacifism, bourgeois humanism and Christian fraternity, instead. Disproportion between the rising Soviet bourgeois aristocracy and the broad masses of the people is growing wider from day to day, and finds expression not only in the rapid enrichment of the bourgeois stratum but also in the economic exploitation and political repression which it is resorting to in order to preserve its privileges. It is obvious that where there is oppression and persecution there is also resistance and struggle.

Despite the severe censorship that muffles up the revisionist and the western press, reports have been leaking out about political demonstrations of students opposing the repressive policy of the revisionist government, industrial actions by workers who demand that their rights be respected, and finally, about some close-door trials that have taken place in the Soviet Union against some armed

groups allegedly striving «to overthrow the regime» in power there.

Irrespective of their degree of organization, consciousness and importance, these actions show that the bankrupt internal policy of the Soviet revisionists and of their stooges is rapidly heading for unavoidable clashes between the popular masses and the revisionist ruling cliques.

Not less difficult and helpless appears the situation of the Soviet revisionist leadership in the implementation of its traitorous foreign policy. Now, its «anti-imperialist» demagoguery has become a hackneyed phrase. Its closer criminal collusion with the most rabid enemy of the people, US imperialism and other imperialists and reactionaries, its out-and-out treachery to the freedom-loving peoples and socialist countries, can no longer be concealed with some threadbare slogans. Peoples have already learned better to judge the revisionists not by their words but by their deeds. And at every crucial moment, with its capitulationist and traitorous attitudes and acts, the Soviet leadership has always sided with imperialism. The bill for this treachery has been paid by the peoples of the Congo, Vietnam, and Arab countries, of Cuba and the German Democratic Republic, as well as by many other peoples and countries. To these must be added also the plots hatched up by the Khrushchevite revisionists jointly with the imperialists and the most rabid reactionary forces against China and Albania.

The traitorous line of the Soviet revisionist leadership and its supporters was certain to lead

to the emergence and constant sharpening of contradictions between the revisionist cliques and the Marxist-Leninist Parties, as well as the Soviet and other peoples. Doubts, unrest and resistance among genuine revolutionaries, the working people in the revisionist countries and all the peoples the world over, are growing with every passing day; they are fighting against the anti-Marxist and anti-revolutionary activity of the Soviet clique and its accomplices in the international arena. The Soviet-US alliance for the division of the world into zones of influence and its domination by the two superpowers is now a fact. In the face of seeing the vital interests of all the peoples of the world threatened by its expansionist and enslaving intentions, it is very probable that all those who are fighting for the freedom and independence of the peoples, all those who hate imperialism and do not tolerate servitude, will revolt against this alliance. And they are not few. They count hundreds upon hundreds of millions on all the continents, they are all the people who resolutely reject the dirty imperialists-revisionist deals at their expense.

In all the countries where the revisionist leaderships have led the proletarian parties to degeneration and liquidated them, including also the countries ruled by the revisionists, new Marxist-Leninist Parties and organizations have been and are being created, their ability of organization and struggle against the revisionist treachery is growing, their links with the masses are becoming stronger, they are courageously raising the banner of the revolution.

All this scares the revisionist cliques to death. That is why, despite previous defeats, the Soviet leadership pins great hopes on an international meeting of the so-called communist and workers' parties in order to extricate itself from this grave and very difficult predicament.

It needs the meeting of an «international communist forum» to mislead the Soviet and other peoples, trying to pass its revisionist and treacherous course as a «real Marxist-Leninist line» which has been approved also by a «high international communist forum». With this «certificate of good conduct» its aim is to justify the pressure it exerts at home on those who oppose its anti-Marxist and treacherous policy, who are struggling for the overthrow of the revisionist ruling clique and the return of the Soviet Union to the correct road Lenin and Stalin indicated.

The renegade Soviet leaders are seeking thereby to prepare the ground for, and ensure the support of, the international revisionist front for the next traitorous steps they are taking and intend to take in the future either towards capitalist restoration inside their country, or broader collaboration with US imperialism, in order to undermine the liberation struggle of the Vietnamese people and other freedom-loving peoples, to integrate socialism into capitalism, etc.

By approving some «joint communiqué», some «declaration» or other document of this kind at the end of their proposed meeting, they want to show off and boast that solidarity, unity and mutual aid among the revisionists allegedly remain

«strong» not only on party but also on state level, that they have made a «new step» towards further strengthening their links.

With such fallacious and deceptive enumeration of the aims and intentions of the «Budapest Meeting» the revisionist leaders try to reach some greater targets which comprise the vast field of the struggle waged in the world today between the healthy Marxist-Leninist forces and modern revisionism, between revolution and counter-revolution.

At the Budapest Meeting they will endeavour to «legalize» the orientations that will be given there presenting them as general orientations to the world communist movement, allegedly sanctioned at a «meeting of all the communist and workers' parties of the world». With such an allegedly international «Marxist-Leninist» document, they believe to be able to take in the peoples and to conceal from them the downright treachery they are committing and, in addition, they hope to get rid also of the Moscow Declarations of the years 1957 and 1960, which are an obstacle on their anti-Marxist and counterrevolutionary road.

Besides, the Soviet revisionist leadership needs the international meeting to organize the «international condemnation» of the Communist Party of China and of the Party of Labour of Albania, to «isolate» them, to hamper the process of growth and development of the Marxist-Leninist revolutionary movement in the world. The assurances of some revisionist leading groups that allegedly the aim of this meeting is not to condemn any party are a clumsy bluff. But, whatever happens, wheth-

er or not the Soviet leadership will be able to ensure the necessary support of the other revisionist groups for an open attack on the genuine Marxist-Leninist Parties, this will by no means affect the hub of the question, for as a matter of principle it is irrelevant whether the revisionist meeting will attack the Marxist-Leninist Parties directly or indirectly, countering them, even without mentioning their names, with the revisionist line as a line allegedly of the entire world communist movement. This has to do exclusively with the tactic that will be found most appropriate to pursue, while the essence, the aim, remains the same: the efforts to isolate the Marxist-Leninist Parties, to halt the process of the development of the Marxist-Leninist movement, to quell and put down their principled struggle against the revisionist treachery.

The complete exposure of their out-and-out treachery to Marxism-Leninism by the Party of Labour of Albania and other Marxist-Leninist Parties is the strong pincer that has irremediably gripped the revisionists by the throat. The Party of Labour of Albania and the other Marxist-Leninist Parties are the principal enemies of the revisionists, through their principled and consistent struggle they have brought to the fore and have ruthlessly exposed the revisionist treachery, have frustrated and are frustrating their treacherous plans, have baffled their demagogical and deceptive manoeuvres. The struggle of the healthy Marxist-Leninist forces has made the revisionists lose their sleep. Therefore, in Budapest, too, as on every other occasion, the Soviet leaders will certainly attempt to direct their

poisonous arrows against our Party, although, in the present internal contradictions of the revisionist front and fearing their further exposure before the world public opinion, they may try to sugar-coat them.

But the Soviet revisionist clique and its supporters are reckoning without their host and indulging in deceptive illusions. Try as they would, they will never be able to peddle their revisionist stocks under Marxist labels, even if they bear the stamp of the «international communist forum», nor will they succeed in isolating the Communist Party of China and the Party of Labour of Albania and halt the irresistible process of the growth and constant strengthening of the Marxist-Leninist movement in the world. With every passing day life is showing more clearly to the people that the only real Marxist-Leninist line is the one upheld by the Party of Labour of Albania and by the other Marxist-Leninist Parties; it is the line of revolutionary struggle for the overthrow of the bourgeoisie and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the line of the class struggle for averting the danger of revisionism and capitalist come-back, for carrying the construction of socialist and communist society through to the end. It is the line of the unyielding, tit for tat fight against imperialism and modern revisionism, against their leading heads, US imperialism and the Soviet revisionist leadership, the line of unreserved support for the revolutionary and liberation movements of the peoples. Their revolutionary line is capturing the minds of the

workers and peoples of the world. The clearest testimony to this is borne by the rising tide of the revolutionary struggle of the working people and the peoples on all continents, a struggle which cannot be quelled or put down either by aggression, or brutal oppression of the imperialists, or the demagoguery and deceptive manoeuvres of the revisionist renegades.

By their courageous stand in defence of Marxism-Leninism and exposure of the revisionist betrayal, the Party of Labour of Albania and the other Marxist-Leninist Parties have become the illuminating beacon of the revolutionary struggle in the world today, they are the standard-bearers and impregnable fortress of socialism and communism. Militating around it today are a growing number of Marxist-Leninists everywhere, who are organizing themselves into new Parties and intensifying their resistance, their fight against the bourgeoisie and for the revolution, exposing the modern revisionists wherever they happen to be and all their traitorous acts. By attacking our Parties the revisionists want precisely to thwart this revolutionary struggle, to impose their opportunist line and domination on the international communist movement. But whatever propaganda and deceptive manoeuvres the revisionists may resort to, the Marxist-Leninist line of our Parties is a source of inspiration for international communism on all questions, which exposes modern revisionism in all fields and will continue to do so.

The convocation of the Budapest Meeting is connected also with the grave situation on the

revisionist front, in the relations between the various revisionist groupings.

Soviet hegemony on the revisionist front has been badly shattered; whatever the efforts by the traitorous leaders of the Soviet Union, they will be unable to stop the large leaks of their sinking boat. Today it is no more a question of some tendencies to disobedience by various revisionist groups to particular political attitudes of the Soviet leadership, of nationalist and particularist manifestations even if strongly asserted ones; it is a question of a fierce and allround scramble in which all the revisionists are involved and in which each is seeking to impose its political solutions, narrow national interests, to snatch everything from the others, giving nothing in return.

The serious disputes and clashes which are corroding and wrecking the revisionist front more and more, are being justified by the revisionist chiefs with the allegation that different political stands and appraisals, contradictions and lack of co-ordination of actions, scrambling for supremacy and influence, are allegedly expressions of the concrete economic and national conditions in which various parties act, their unequal political and ideological levels; they are allegedly expressions of the freedom and independence each party enjoys in formulating its own policy, of the equality and democracy allegedly existing in the relations among them, etc.

But similar sophisms cannot disperse the stink from the dissolute, degenerate and rotten body of the revisionist system. The real causes of

these obnoxious phenomena lie mainly and wholly in the betrayal of the revisionist cliques to Marxism-Leninism, the camp of socialism and the international communist movement; they are to be found in the treacherous line of capitalist restoration in the Soviet Union and in the other countries where the revisionists are in power; they lie in the opportunist turn of some communist parties towards social-democracy and their transformation into an appendage of big monopoly bourgeoisie. The practice of the recent years has shown that the deepening of the process of departure from Marxism-Leninism is directly proportional to the increase of divergences, contradictions and differences, among revisionist parties and states, and tends to become more accentuated.

A proof of the deterioration and grave situation existing in the relations among the revisionist parties and on the revisionist front as a whole, is in the very campaign for the convocation of the Budapest Meeting. It is being frantically conducted in an atmosphere of uncertainty and confusion. The oppressive weight of fear, of failure, the uncertainty of many puzzles and unknown factors hangs heavy on the initiators of this proposed meeting. In spite of the decision and the summoning of 18 parties to the consultative get-together in Budapest, the revisionists are none too eager to take part in it. Some hesitate to go to Budapest, some try to find an excuse whatever to avoid attending it, some flatly refuse to participate, and so on and so forth. From this, it is inferred that the cause of these hesitations, waverings and refusals

is not related to any question of principle, as they are not less revisionist than their like-minded cronies. In the first place they mind their narrow national interests and, in this respect, want to have the greatest possible freedom of action in the future; in the second place, it is not at all to their liking to become mere tools of the political games and manoeuvres of the Soviet leaders, to become chess-pieces of the chauvinistic policy of Brezhnev and Kosygin. They can not be so naive as to fail to understand that the meeting which the Soviet leaders want so badly, is aimed at subjugating and holding others in check.

Now it is obvious that the Soviet leaders are striving to organize a general meeting of the revisionist parties in order to consolidate their revisionist positions, to dictate to, and impose upon others particular stands to their favour. At this meeting they want possibly to have the various revisionists slip completely on to the fold of capitalism, provided this process does not take place so very clamorously as to become very discrediting and defamatory for them. They would like to conduct and direct it exclusively by themselves, so that they can speed it up or hold it on according to the needs and interests of passing political situations and circumstances. The Soviet leaders want this meeting to organize this passage in a more orderly manner so as to create the false opinion that allegedly it is a «normal peaceful process» in compliance with the «further development of Marxism-Leninism», a process which is

supposedly dictated by the «real analysis» of the current development of the forces in the world arena.

But if these are the aims and wishful thinking of the Soviet leaders, the other parties think differently.

The convocation of an international meeting of the parties has a long story, replete with defeats and disillusion for the Soviet leading clique; it is a very clear mirror of the deep and irreparable split in the revisionist mob. The decision to hold the so-called «consultative» get-together in Budapest has not removed the difficulties in calling an international meeting of the parties, and cannot do so. This is borne out by the bitter experience of the failure of the ill-famed meetings of March 1, 1965, and the Karlovy Vary April, 1967. The revisionist partners of the Soviet leadership continue to express their doubts and hesitations about their participation in such a meeting, about its preparations, the questions to be discussed at it and the objectives it will achieve, because they want by no means to submit to the chauvinistic dictate of the Soviet leadership, or to comply with any decision and discipline whatsoever, even if they are based on the revisionist line. In the revisionist mob, with relations of bourgeois nationalism as its basis, unity, and solid and stable compactness is impossible, on the contrary, contradictions, disputes and centrifugal tendencies grow deeper and deeper with every passing day.

Many of these revisionist groups cannot any longer tolerate dependence on the caprices of the

Soviet policy, the complicated circumstances the Soviet leadership creates to tend and further its own interests. Suffice it to mention the confusion created in, and the divergencies dividing, the revisionist countries around their attitude towards the German Federal Republic, to understand the real gravity of their disobedience to the Moscow baton. Some have already established diplomatic relations with the German Federal Republic, some have only succeeded in establishing trade and consular missions there, some are merely waiting for the opportune moment to follow suit. The revisionist chiefs, who are seeking to preserve Democratic Germany as a token to be bartered in their large-scale jugglings with the Americans and western monopoly bourgeoisie, have exerted much pressure to get it through the rest, but nobody has lent an ear to them. Moreover, the rapprochement to, and the linking of the revisionist countries of Europe with the German Federal Republic assumed the form of an attempt on their part to throw away part of the burden of Soviet hegemony, to the same degree as their connections with the West as a whole, assume, among other things, the form of pressure on the Soviet Union to lose its grip on the Warsaw Treaty and the Comecon.

The situation with regard to their attitude towards the Arab-Israeli conflict is not any better. Many meetings have been held to agree on one co-ordinated stand, but as it seems, not everybody is willing to support the old Czarist policy of the present-day Soviet leaders in the Near and Middle East.

We can mention here the differences that have emerged on the revisionist front concerning the policy of a monopoly power pursued by the Soviet Union in the Comecon, the contradictions around agreements on trade and payments, the general strategy of the Warsaw Treaty and the relations among the armies and commands of the member countries, etc. But these would make up a chapter apart. The important thing is that at the Budapest Meeting, or at any other revisionist meeting, the dark clouds of these differences will always dominate. Great theoretical formulations are of very little value when such «minor» practical questions remain unsettled.

Another important encouraging factor which buttresses the centrifugal tendencies of the Khrushchevite revisionists is, no doubt, also the consistent and ever growing pressure of the bourgeoisie and imperialism, which are obstinately striving for a rapid and complete rupture from Soviet influence of the countries ruled by the revisionists. It is not in vain that Johnson built his «bridges» in Eastern Europe, just as the monopolies of West Germany, Britain, France, Italy etc. have done, which accorded generous credits to or invested their capital directly in the economies of these countries. And it is obvious that one of the chief aims of the «aids» of imperialism to the revisionist countries is to turn them away from the Soviet Union and hitch them to its own chariot. The manoeuvres which are being carried out by Tito, this inveterate agent of US imperialism, against the Budapest Meeting under the slogans

of «independence», «non-submission», etc., are a continuation of his old policy of detaching the East European parties from the influence of the Soviet Union and, jointly with them, to pass over definitely to the West. The imperialist states are also hard at work to make the projected meeting of the revisionist parties a success, but in the direction they are interested in, that is, in weakening the Soviet hegemony over these parties, in bringing about the reduction of the formal aid to Vietnam. They are working to ensure that this aid to Vietnam or the national liberation struggles of the other peoples remains at the present level, aid in words and sabotage in deeds - moreover, to intensify the fight against China and Albania, and, if possible to further enflame the differences between the other revisionists and the Soviets.

Finally, it is essential to take into account also the apprehension of revisionist parties and groups lest the Soviet leaders «excommunicate» China and Albania at a «general meeting». They know full well that such a step would entail greater difficulties at home, it would expose their treacherous anti-Marxist line, further incite the unrest of the masses and indignation at such shameful acts and finally, it would intensify the struggle of the healthy Marxist-Leninist forces and precipitate things for the overthrow of the revisionists.

Among the many waverings, hesitations about and fear of the meeting which the Soviet leaders are seeking to hold, the attitudes of the Italian revisionists are typical. While the leader of the Italian revisionist Party, Luigi Longo, was on

the tribune of the «jubilee» meeting in Moscow, from which the renegade Brezhnev called for a «new world meeting of the communists», the newspaper «Unità» of November 3, last year published an article by Longo. Referring to the difficulties on the way of such a meeting, he stressed: «We must admit that the reason underlying many reservations and doubts concerning the convocation of a world meeting of the communist parties is the fear, to a certain extent, due to the very nature of its preparation, organization, procedure and conclusions, lest it affects the independence of individual parties, as well as the fear lest finally, their demands, the special conditions of their work, are not taken into account». Luigi Longo quite openly declared that «in the future it will not be indispensable to establish common and rigid tactics, or even a common strategy at all».

Indeed, now far from wishing to be playthings in the hands of the Soviets, the various revisionist parties and groups are seeking to use the latter or others to further their own special interests and aims. The pilgrimages of Gromyko, Podgorny and others to the Vatican were not organized without encouragement by Longo and his companions, just as the rapprochement of the Soviet leaders with the dictatorial regimes of South America is not made without the insistence of the revisionist parties of Latin America which through these actions want to justify their own rapprochement and capitulation before the national reactionary bourgeoisie, their renunciation of revolu-

tion and their transformation into reformist, anti-workers' and anti-socialist parties.

The campaign and the preparations of the Khrushchevite revisionists for this now «famous» meeting show that they find themselves in a blind alley facing another inevitable great defeat, a still greater split of their ranks. A further weakening of their positions lies in store for them both in their foreign and home policies.

As a result of this situation the resistance of the communists and peoples in the Soviet Union as well as in the other revisionist countries will certainly grow into a more organized and stronger action, indeed even into armed actions. Similarly, the revisionist parties in the capitalist countries will rot and will be finally exposed, they will turn into open tools of the bourgeoisie, and true Marxist-Leninist Parties will be created and strengthened everywhere, which will keep up their struggle at the head of the working class together with the revolutionary peasantry and patriotic intelligentsia against imperialism, bourgeoisie, revisionists and reaction.

Such meetings as the one the Khrushchevite revisionists are trying to organize, are of benefit to the world revolution, international communism. They weaken and badly expose the traitorous revisionist cliques, isolate them from the masses of the communists and the peoples, contribute to the polarization of forces and the undoing of the revisionist cliques.

«Unity» as the revisionists loudly claim, far from being a Marxist-Leninist unity, a unity of

parties, indeed is not even a unity of cliques. It is a bluff, an attempt to throw dust into the eyes and deceive whomever they can. But now it is difficult for them to find many people to deceive; life will soon blow away also the smoke-screen of hackneyed phrases and stale demagoguery.

It is the important internationalist duty of all the genuine revolutionaries and communists to ruthlessly hit and unmask the new heinous plans the Soviet revisionist leadership is hatching up about the alleged meeting of the communist parties. The Soviet people and the Soviet Marxist-Leninists, in the first place, must no longer suffer the demagogic propaganda and deceptive clamour of the Brezhnev and Kosygin clique of usurpers who pose as though they are striving to strengthen socialism and world communist movement, and allege that their line meets with the approval and support of the communist parties of the world. They must rise up and revolt with courage against the loathsome revisionist demagoguery and activity which is aimed at concealing their betrayal of Marxism-Leninism, at lauding their reactionary alliance with US imperialism and incite the counterrevolutionary struggle against the Party of Labour of Albania and other Marxist-Leninist Parties. The interests of revolution and socialism call for this, the vital interests of the Soviet peoples, who have been deprived of the glorious October victories by the revisionist clique which is seeking to turn them back to capitalist bondage, also call for this. We are convinced that the communists and the peoples of the countries where the revi-

sionists are in power will ceaselessly intensify the revolutionary struggle and will raise the banner of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism from the mud into which the revisionists have thrown it.

*Taken from the collection
of articles with the title
«The Marxist - Leninist
Truth Will Triumph Over
Revisionism», Vol. 7, Alb.
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**THE SYNDICALIST TREND STRIVING TO
ADAPT THE PARTY OF THE WORKING
CLASS TO CAPITALISM MUST BE
EXPOSED**

*From a conversation with a delegation of the
Communist Party of Australia (Marxist-Leninist)*

February 1, 1968

The genuine Marxist-Leninist Parties are fighting today on a broad front against the bourgeoisie and revisionism. They are also fighting against the revisionist parties over the question of the correct understanding of the work among trade-unions. The objective of the Marxist-Leninist Parties is to turn them into revolutionary organizations. In this they proceed from the aim of winning over to their side the masses of trade-union members, of leading them to revolutionary actions against capitalism. But this cannot be achieved without vigorously exposing all political, ideological and organizational opportunist concepts on trade-unions upheld by the revisionist parties, concepts advocating, in the

first place, that the trade-unions must not fight against revisionism and the bourgeoisie, but bow down to them. The revisionist parties carry out their opportunist line towards the trade-unions through people whom they have placed at the head of the latter and who are also in the leadership of these parties.

Understanding these concepts correctly, fighting them uncompromisingly and systematically, abandoning economism, and trying to find suitable ways of working among the masses of trade-union members, has great importance. In several parties of Western Europe, there are comrades who discuss whether they should take part in the existing trade-unions or set up new ones. There are others who do not as yet raise the problem of the struggle to take trade-unions under their leadership, because their influence on the trade-unions is not strong enough. That is their own business, nevertheless. I say that a Marxist-Leninist communist Party must define its revolutionary strategy and tactic in this direction, too. It should fight to strengthen its links with the masses, to educate them politically and ideologically, for a correct understanding of the class struggle, rejecting false ideas of parliamentarism and bourgeois «democracy», explaining to the working class till it properly realizes that some rights which it has succeeded in securing are not a gift from the bourgeoisie, but are won through hard struggle. It should make the workers aware of the necessity of militating in the ranks of a revolutionary organization. It is only in this way that the Marxist-

Leninist Party combats all the political, ideological and organizational reactionary concepts of the revisionist party. Likewise it carries a resolute struggle, also, among its own members working in the trade-unions so that they, too, do not identify the trade-unions with the party. It should be perfectly clear to them and the entire Party that the trade-unions are not the Party. The Party is the leader of the trade-unions, the vanguard of the working class. I think that looking upon the trade-unions as organizations of the working class, communists should enter them, and inside them fight against all opportunist concepts deliberately fostered by the bourgeoisie and the revisionist party.

I want also to add another thing. I think it would be very good if a Marxist-Leninist Party succeeds in taking over the trade-unions of a given sector, metallurgy or transport, for instance, and throwing them into struggle, backing it up with other trade-union actions and activities.

The trade-unions have fine traditions from their activity among the working class. As I said earlier, in the course of the struggle waged through the trade-union, the working class has succeeded in winning some rights, but it should be made clear to the workers that, compared with the final objective of the working class, namely, the seizure of state power, these rights are not only curtailed and formal, but also minimal.

In our opinion, it is a loss of time to create new trade-unions, as some comrades, members of a new party in Western Europe, think. These comrades claim that the creation of new trade-unions is made

necessary by the fact that revisionists have usurped the existing ones. On their part, some other comrades oppose this idea, arguing that the communists should enter the existing trade-unions, work in them, and within them bring about a process of differentiation, just as they do within the Party. We think it wrong to break away from the already established trade-unions, and not be involved, along with the masses of their members, in the process of the struggle going on today in their midst, because workers' masses which should be led in the struggle for their rights up to the overthrow of capitalism, are militating in these organizations. Of course, for this purpose it is important to fight, in the first place, all political, ideological and organizational views of the revisionists in the ranks of the trade-unionists themselves.

It seems to me that it is wrong to claim, as some are doing, that it would allegedly be better if a trade-union federation, i.e., the leading head, were set up first. In our opinion, this is tantamount to having a general without an army.

Certainly, we know only too well that the problems of Marxist-Leninist education, a profound understanding of the task of the political and ideological education of trade-union members, of the role they play and the ways how to attract, organize and lead them, depend, *first*, on the stage of each country's economic development, its concrete conditions, because economic development of France is different, for example, from that of Australia or the Scandinavian countries; *second* on the stage of the ideological and cultural development

of the working class of this country or that; *third*, on various forms and methods of organization employed by local capitalism; *fourth*, on the rights, whatever they may be, the working class has won through its political and economic struggle against capitalism. On the basis of local objective and subjective conditions, each Marxist-Leninist Party works out, also, its own method of the ideological work it has to carry out among the masses and trade-unions, insisting on matters in which the hammer should strike hardest, for its work to be as effective as possible, for the working class to succeed in breaking the chains of capitalist exploitation in the shortest time possible.

The Marxist-Leninist ideology is against bourgeois parliamentarism, against revisionist and opportunist principles, against considering and building trade-unions as means of integration into capitalism, etc. In this «gilded» chain there are many weak links of capitalism which must be found out, examined and used in the interests of the revolution.

Published for the first time from the stenographic record of the conversation in the Central Archives of the Party.

THE BUDAPEST CARNIVALS

Article published in the newspaper «Zëri i popullit»

March 15, 1968

February is carnival month in a number of countries. People disguised in all sorts of fancy costumes amuse themselves by playing the most diverse roles. The carnival sponsors draw large profits from these performances. However, in history, there are carnivals and carnivals.

Voltaire, the renowned French thinker and author of the 18th century, wrote about the carnivals of Venice. He put various dethroned kings in the role of clowns and poured scorn on their ridiculous dreams and desires. This is a well known work in the treasure of world literature.

The present day world knows another kind of carnival, the Budapest carnivals. Precisely in the month of February, during carnival week, the modern revisionists, dressed up in various disguises, met in the Hungarian capital.

The Khrushchevite revisionists had gone to great pains in their preparations for the revisionist meeting in Budapest. Even before it opened, the first signs became apparent that this meeting would not serve the hegemony so greatly desired by the Soviet revisionist leaders. Under pressure from their partners, the Soviet revisionists were compelled to make certain liberal opportunist concessions on the eve of the conference and publicly declared, through a speech delivered by Brezhnev in Lenin-grad, that Moscow is no longer «the leading centre of world communism», that the unity which the Soviet leaders are seeking is allegedly based on the idea of «proletarian internationalism», on the «struggle against US imperialism», and is in the general interests of «socialist construction».

Of course, they covered all this with the «fig leaf» that they are the real bearers of Marxism-Leninism which they will apply according to the interpretation and «specific» conditions of each revisionist party. These were also the «conditions» imposed on the Soviet revisionists for the participation in the meeting of a group of revisionists who pose as autonomous and allegedly as the most «revolutionary» among the revisionists. Indeed this group, in announcing its decision to attend the meeting, also presented its own theses: no party should interfere in the internal affairs of other parties, no party has a right to criticize the actions of other parties which are «fully entitled» to interpret and implement Marxism-Leninism as they wish, to suit their own fancy.

These ideas, not only go beyond the revision-

ist idea of Togliatti's polycentrism, but suggest that each party should become a centre in itself. In other words, this means that not only one and two interpretations of our revolutionary theory will be permitted, but tens, if not hundreds of them. It is obvious that the aim of such ideas is to attack Marxism-Leninism from all sides, to sow great ideological confusion, to disorientate the political, ideological, military and organizational struggle of the peoples, and to discredit the socialist system and communism.

Thus, even before the meeting, behind the scenes, in principle and in practice, the following main question was put forward: should we go into battle against Marxism-Leninism using the classical methods and under the hegemony of the Soviet revisionists, or should we reject both the classical methods and the Soviet hegemony and adopt «newer, quicker, and more reliable» methods to smash and completely disintegrate the communist movement? The latter viewpoint was strongly supported by Tito, Longo and the «autonomous». Apparently it was very attractive, also, to new liberal groups of revisionists who have just come to power. The partisans of the one or the other thesis had their own supporters who canvassed for them behind the scenes and on the stage at Budapest, during the carnival week from February 26 to March 5.

The Soviet revisionists failed in their fundamental aim that the Budapest meeting should take up the main problem that is worrying them more than anything else: the total mobilization of all the revisionist parties obedient to them in the

fight against the Party of Labour of Albania and the other Marxist-Leninist Parties. Only the solution of this problem could relieve the Soviets of that heavy burden on their backs which is also the main cause of the further deepening of the split within the revisionist front.

According to the Soviet revisionist leaders, the fight against the CP of China, the PL of Albania and the other Marxist-Leninist Parties can have no success without the unity of all the revisionists and without the hegemony of the Soviet leaders in the leadership of this fight. This is what Khrushchev sought to achieve through the meeting of the communist parties which he proposed in 1964 and which failed; his successors also tried to achieve this at the revisionist meetings at Moscow in March 1965 and at Karlovy Vary. They failed in both instances and things went from bad to worse. Therefore, to extricate themselves from this situation, at Budapest the Moscow revisionist clique left no stone unturned to force the others to agree to the holding, as soon as possible in Moscow, of a meeting of the revisionist parties at which they hoped that the «decisions» they most desired would be taken, that is the coordination of the fight of the modern revisionists under the leadership of the Soviets against Marxism-Leninism.

The Budapest Meeting, which its sponsors hoped would be a meeting of revisionist unity, became a meeting of splits, quarrels and their further degeneration. The Budapest discussions brought out in the open that not everybody conceives the future meeting in Moscow as the Soviet

revisionists desire it, and that, although they gave their approval the various opponents have not renounced the aim of defending their own narrow interests, of fighting the Soviet leaders and imposing their own views on others. The preparatory period up to the end of this year will witness still deeper and more spectacular divisions. The Soviet revisionists will encounter the most diverse opposition because the other opposing revisionists do not want such a meeting and are in no hurry to hold it. The participation of the so-called great revisionist parties is more than indispensable to the Soviets, although in words they say that they will hold the meeting irrespective of who is missing. Everybody understands that they cannot hold the meeting they desire with the «party» of Guadeloupe, with Larbi Buhali, Koliaynnis, or with any other permanent resident of the Moscow hotels, for this would be an irreparable catastrophe for them.

Certain revisionists, who have interests opposed to those of the Soviet revisionists, have other objectives; they want to intensify the fight against the Marxist-Leninist Parties with their own forms and methods and without the Soviet hegemony, to strengthen their ties and relations with the bourgeois capitalist states, to reach agreements with the social-democrats and the other bourgeois parties, to take part directly in governing the country on the road of capitalist exploitation etc. Therefore, these revisionists are not in favour of the sort of meeting the Soviet revisionist leaders advocate but want a meeting without definite aims, allegedly to

«exchange opinions», to become better acquainted with what one or the other thinks about this or that problem, and all this should be done with open publicity, allegedly, in the most «democratic» forms.

To these revisionists those «democratic» and «open» forms of debate genuinely express their concrete plans of daily work for the achievements of the objectives we mentioned above. On these questions, too, they want to assert officially that bourgeois democracy, the «free and well-informed bourgeois press» are the objective of their efforts, are, so to speak, the embellishment of their line of the «specific, democratic», parliamentary road, in order to establish friendship with the capitalist bourgeoisie and come to power.

On the other hand, the «independence» of these parties is by no means to the liking of the Soviet revisionists who, leaving aside their hypocritical statements imposed by the circumstances, will do everything in their power, will use every form of pressure and blackmail to restrain the dissidents. Blackmail and economic pressure, the stirring up of trouble within disobedient parties and countries, the incitement of territorial claims in those countries where they exist, etc., are the usual weapons which the Soviet revisionism sets in motion in order to intimidate others and impose its views on them.

Naturally these weapons are not always ineffective, but the results cannot be to the advantage of the Soviet revisionists all the time and in all countries. The general trend observed is to their

disadvantage, and the number of dissidents and opponents of the Soviet hegemony in the revisionist camp is steadily increasing. However, despite all the failures they have suffered and are suffering, the Soviet revisionists will continue to use these favourite weapons whenever they can. In this respect they have the advantage of their economic potential and the bounds and chains which they have forged for their satellites, their military potential which terrifies the cowardly, and the network of agents which they have set up in the revisionist parties and the countries where they are in power.

The Soviet revisionists behave towards their satellites and clients just as US imperialism does towards its satellites and clients, which it keeps in chains. Just as the United States acts in the United Nations when it sets the voting machine in motion, so the Soviet revisionists set the voting machine in motion in their own «United Nations», which they are seeking to call the «international communist movement». But just as capitalist cliques break away from the US dictate, just as there are those that aim a few kicks at US imperialism, so there are also revisionist cliques that break away from the Soviet revisionists. And there are some who, being unable to break away, kick out at them at times, while there are those who are permanently abject slaves.

The carnival conference at Budapest was like a basket of crabs. And the Soviet revisionists sought to establish order there, precisely where order can never be established.

Now, after the preparatory campaign and the Budapest meeting, when the centrifugal, nationalist, and dissident tendencies in various revisionist groupings have become further crystalized, the dangers for the Soviet revisionists have become more numerous and more all-sided.

The main danger, the one which worries them most and which presents them with a fresh grave problem, comes from the revisionist cliques who are in power. It must be said that now none of them likes the Soviet revisionist yoke and they will not tolerate it much longer. In one way or another they are all trying to get rid of it as quickly as possible, although while keeping up appearances of their «friendship» and «alliance» as far as they are able, and aiming to extract the greatest possible economic and political advantages from the existing circumstances which compel the Soviet revisionists, under attack from all sides and in weak positions, to make concession after concession in order to pacify the «disobedient children».

However, as the centrifugal tendency is rapidly mounting, the revisionist cliques in power do not present a single united front in their opposition to the Soviet hegemony and in their claims for «independence» from it. At the moment, the Tito clique and its closest associates represent the section most aggressively for breaking away from and openly eroding the Soviet hegemony amongst the revisionists. With the support and obvious encouragement of US imperialism and of the big bourgeoisie of the West, who are interested

in further weakening the Soviet positions in Eastern Europe and re-establishing their old alliances with these countries, they are openly challenging the Soviet leadership and are opposing it as a new contestant for the leading role, if not in all directions at least in the political and ideological fields, over the revisionist parties of this area.

Other new followers of Tito's example have begun to advance on this road, too, but for the time being they prefer not to exacerbate their differences with the Soviet revisionists, because this would open a new front of struggle for them at a time when they have not yet consolidated their own internal positions.

The Gomulka clan is extremely anti-Soviet but at this juncture, on account of their immediate interests, which stem especially from the policy towards Germany, they are standing closer to the Soviet revisionists, while trying to preserve the authority of an «equal» partner. Likewise, the Germans cannot fail to have major contradictions with the Soviet and all the other revisionists, but the issue of the German Democratic Republic in the context of Europe is at the mercy of the Soviet revisionists and their satellites. The other revisionist cliques of Eastern Europe are floundering in more or less similar waters.

The second danger, less acute than the former one, threatens the Soviet revisionists from the big legal revisionist parties in the capitalist countries. The Brezhnev-Kosygin clique is making every effort and using every means to keep them on the leadrope and have their support. But even in these

parties, there is no single conviction about the question as to how far they should follow the Soviet revisionists, where they should part with them and where they should be opposed. For well known reasons the French Communist Party of Waldeck Rochet is closest to the Soviet revisionists and spares no effort to place itself at their service somewhat more than the others. Meanwhile, the Italian revisionist party, which, in comparison with the French, is like a poor relation to the Soviets, kicks out at them a bit more and tries to appear more «independent», as though it is maintaining its own «specific» standpoint. You might say it is the Titoite party in the capitalist countries.

The remainder of the legal revisionist parties in the capitalist countries, whose existence is dependent on the good will of Moscow, make up a large part of the revisionist «UNO».

As regards the other revisionist parties in the capitalist countries, where they are illegal, they do not cause the Soviet revisionists the slightest concern. The leaders of these parties are simply an agency of the Soviet revisionists, are totally at their service and provide an additional number of obedient votes in the Soviet «assembly». The first and last objective of these revisionist parties is to become legal, to be permitted, through the generosity of the capitalists of their respective countries, to act in the recognized forms of the legal bourgeois minority opposition.

Like all their revisionist associates, these parties have abandoned the revolutionary road, the

class struggle, the armed struggle, and have adopted Khrushchev's road of peaceful coexistence. Having betrayed Marxism-Leninism and lost any connection with the masses, they have pinned all their hopes on the support which the Soviet revisionist policy and its alliance with US imperialism and world capitalism might give them. They have now been reduced to the status of the scums of revisionism, a revisionist «bohemia» willing to sell itself for a penny. The Soviet revisionists desire the legalization of this contingent of agents with whom they act as they please, as soon as possible. This was the aim of the directive of the Soviet and Greek revisionists, that all the Greek émigrés, communists or not, should go back to Greece openly, at the time when Venizelos and his ilk were ruling there. The revisionist party of Spain has pursued and still pursues a similar policy. The Soviet revisionists achieved this by sending Bagdash to Syria. This policy of legalization and renunciation of the struggle against imperialism and the ruling oligarchies has been suggested to all the revisionist parties in Latin America, as well.

In this troubled and unstable situation of the revisionist herd, the Titoite trend, which is seeking to gain time in order to fully consummate the split, is openly opposing the Soviet aims of calling a meeting that would support their plans as soon as possible. The clan of the old and new Titoites think that time is working for them, and that is why they have taken enough courage to challenge the

Soviet revisionists at their most vulnerable points. For the Soviet clan the affair brooks no delay. They are trying to save the ship from sinking, to conclude something, as soon as possible, before it is too late. They think, and practice has confirmed, that through bilateral meetings between revisionist parties nothing is achieved but temporary deals, transactions and intrigues of small proportions. For home and foreign consumption, they need to organize from time to time, and the more often the better, some broad meeting of the revisionist parties to see how they are placed and to patch up the holes. Therefore, despite the stubborn opposition of the Titoite trend in Budapest, the Soviet revisionists took the decision that the coming meeting of the revisionist parties should be held in Moscow at the end of the current year. At this meeting, under the smoke-screen of unity in the struggle against imperialism, they would discuss the problem that is really worrying them: the coordinated fight against Marxism-Leninism, against the parties which stand loyal to it.

This objective of the coming meeting was quite categorically expressed by Suslov, not only behind the scenes and in the corridors, but also in the official speech he delivered in Budapest. The agenda and the aims of the meeting, so much desired by the Soviet leaders, were defined even more clearly by the Polish representative, Klishko. The clique of revisionist «hooligans» that made up the majority of the votes at the Budapest «UNO»,

enthusiastically cheered the meeting proposed by the Soviet leaders, because it is only at such a place that they can deliver some speech or other, so that their voices will be heard. At least they ought to bark occasionally for the bones thrown to them.

Thus, the obstacles raised by the neo-Titoites in the way of the coming meeting could not overcome the persistence and pressure of the Soviet revisionist leaders. The condition which they set for their support for the Moscow Meeting was merely a tactical manoeuvre and that is why it could not be very effective. When they said that all the parties should be invited to the coming meeting, everybody knew that they did not mean either the Communist Party of China, the Party of Labour of Albania, or the new Marxist-Leninist Parties, but the Yugoslav Titoite party, which has laid down as a pre-condition for its «deigning» to sit down at a revisionist general meeting, among other things, the repudiation of all that was said about it in the documents of the 1957 and 1960 Moscow Meetings. Now Tito is demanding not only that the Soviets should make a public self-criticism as Khrushchev did when he went to Belgrade in 1955, but that everybody should fall on their knees before them. The Soviet revisionists, on their part, have accepted such a thing in practice and in principle, but, as it seems, due to the complicated situation which they themselves have created, they are not yet ready to agree that the denunciation of Tito be officially and demonstratively revoked from the said documents and by the meeting they will hold.

The Italian revisionists, too, who are not very enthusiastic about the coming meeting, tried to raise obstacles to it, although of a different nature.

They want the coming meeting to be a bazaar in which all sorts of different parties should be invited to take part, just so long as they carry a placard proclaiming that they are «democratic», «progressive», etc. They want this meeting to serve as evidence of their first sincere step towards integrating themselves into capitalism and to serving the capitalists of their country with devotion. The French supported this «brilliant discovery», provided that such a meeting should take place after the one proposed by the Soviet revisionists.

All this shows that the Titoite trend was disposed not only to hinder the Soviet revisionists in their work in Budapest, but also to strive to prevent the coming meeting demanded by the Soviet leaders from taking place. This revisionist wing is thus seeking to play in two fields: to exert pressure and blackmail on the Soviet revisionists by threatening them with a new revisionist grouping in the ranks of modern revisionism. and, at the same time, to gain still more credit and support of all kinds from the various capitalist groupings.

The open splits that took place in Budapest will cause the Soviet revisionists further great troubles. But, of course, they will not be sitting with folded arms either. The consensus of revisionist opinion is that efforts must be made to bring the «lost sheep» back to the fold, either with gentle measures or with whatever kind of pressure that

might arise at the time and which would serve the preparation of the sham conference of «international communism» in Moscow.

The fact is that the so-called «third position» that appeared in Budapest and which has Tito behind it, seems to have divided the roles with its Belgrade boss to act in two specific directions: one in the direction of the secret revisionists and the other in the direction of the intermediate capitalist forces.

Although, as one Yugoslav commentator wrote, «many communist parties that will be represented in Budapest have views identical to ours», the Yugoslav Titoites were not at Budapest. However, despite their great glee and the broad publicity which they devote to similar occasions, this time they are not making much noise about the new splits at Budapest. This is not accidental, they do not want to jeopardize and compromise their followers. Having compromised themselves as open agents of US imperialism, they left it to the neo-Titoites to approach and win over the so-called «neutrals», «independents», and all the secret revisionists in the «international communist movement». And now it is beyond any doubt that the neo-Titoites have the support of these so-called «neutrals» when they raise the question of and call for the «cessation of polemics, against holding a meeting which would encourage attacks on China and Albania, against allowing the Soviet leaders to establish their leadership under any form at all». It is precisely the banner of these «neutrals» they raise when they oppose the Soviet revisionists. and

demand that a conference should be held but its aim should be the creation of a «broad anti-imperialist front» including revisionists, communists, socialists, democrats, pacifists etc., etc. In this way they come to the assistance of China's Khrushchev who supported these viewpoints.

Under attack from all sides and seeking to avoid a further deepening of the cracks on the revisionist front, the Soviet revisionists were obliged to give their approval to the calling of an open meeting later, of all parties of all shades, on the condition that this must not be confused with their meeting or eliminate it, as the Titoites, the Italians, and others are demanding.

Thus, two general tendencies were crystallized at Budapest: one to hold the meeting proposed by the Soviet revisionists and then, perhaps, to hold the other. The second tendency is not to hold the meeting proposed by the Soviets, but to hold another one without polemics, without ideological questions, purely a formal meeting, against imperialism, a meeting to which everybody could come, even the Pope of Rome if he wishes. The thesis of the Soviet revisionists prevailed, and upon this the Budapest fair came to an end. But this does not mean that the problem of the coming meeting, its character, agenda, and the question as to who will participate in it has been finally settled. Until it is convened, if it does take place at all, it is very possible that mutual concessions and compromises will be made again between rival groups, so that it may have an aspect and direc-

tion entirely different from what those, who have planned it, envisage at the moment.

Now, following the Budapest Meeting, some of its participants who, since they were not fully in agreement with the Soviet revisionists on all questions, are throwing out their chests and posing as the «brave men of the fair», making endless statements, writing articles and adopting decisions, to convince public opinion that their action and line are allegedly pure Marxist-Leninist. According to them the polemics against class enemies and enemies of the party must cease, the revisionists should not be criticized either for their foreign policy or for their internal policy, but should be left in peace to act as they like, whatever they do its their own business. And all this theory is presented as «living proletarian internationalism». In reality nothing could be more opportunist, more anti-Marxist and more anti-internationalist than this line of ceasing the polemics. Lenin and Stalin, like Marx and Engels, could not live even one minute without struggle, without polemics, without fighting most fiercely against deviators and betrayers of the cause of the proletariat and revolution. Their whole lives were nothing but a ceaseless struggle, the fiercest and most principled polemics, against all enemies of communism.

It is an axiom for all genuine communists today that without struggle, without polemics, there is no revolution, there is no Marxist-Leninist party, there is no socialism, there is no communism. But here we have certain gentlemen who pose as Leninists, as the purest Leninists, what is

more, who claim that there should be no more polemics, no more criticism. Tito, too, defended this thesis, when the Information Bureau put him with his back to the wall on account of his treachery. At that time he rose against the alleged «interference» in the affairs of his party. With this he meant, «leave me in peace to call myself a communist and to betray communism, leave me at my ease to become an agent of imperialism», as he in fact became.

Khrushchev, also, sought to follow this road but was unable to do so. In trying to play his anti-Marxist card of «the cessation of the polemics» he got his fingers burnt and his successors no longer try to use it. They prefer other tactics and means to close some people's mouths, but their old tactics which some present as new, do not work any more. One cannot remain for long on two chairs. There cannot be Marxist-Leninist communists who cease the fight against modern revisionists, just as there cannot be revisionists that do not fight Marxist-Leninists. Those who are now demanding the toning down of the polemics and who preach the peaceful line are scared to death by the other revisionists and want the aid and support of capitalists regardless of what betrayal may cost. And the capitalists will give them this support because this «tactic», that is, the «middle line» in the labour movement greatly serves their aims.

The revisionists say that the aim of their meeting is to unite all possible forces in struggle against imperialism, and its aggressions, threats etc. But this is the most shameless deception, utter

demagogy and an obvious fraud. Of what fight against imperialism can the Soviet revisionists speak, when they have made their alliance with the United States of America for the division of spheres of influence and the establishment of the domination of the two great powers of the world the fundamental basis of their entire policy? Can it be said that by undermining the struggle of the Vietnamese people and by openly and secretly supporting the Americans in the enslavement of the Vietnamese people they are fighting imperialism? Were they defending the Arab peoples against the imperialist aggression when they left them in the lurch at one of the most critical moments and struck behind-the-scenes bargains with their sworn enemies? Or perhaps they claim they are supporting the liberation of the peoples when, at the UNO, they approve the US armed intervention to suppress the Dominican insurgents, or when they grant credits and sell arms to the Indonesian hangmen, the murderers of hundreds of thousands of communists and honest patriots?

There is an endless series of acts of betrayal of the supreme interests of the revolution and peoples' liberation committed by the revisionists. Day by day the world is witness to hundreds and thousands of acts of the rapprochement and collaboration of the Soviet revisionists with US imperialism, but it has not seen even one single action of theirs opposed to its aggressive policy. Let us not go too far back in search of examples. While the Soviet revisionists in Budapest were making demagogical appeals for unity for the sake of the fight against

imperialism, their representatives in Geneva, jointly with their US colleagues at the 17 Nations Conference on the treaty about non-proliferation of nuclear weapons, presented a joint declaration in connection with the guarantees with which the Soviet Union and the USA will allegedly provide non-nuclear countries signatories to the treaty. The anti-China direction, the efforts to preserve their monopoly of nuclear weapons and to exert atomic blackmail against the peoples, is quite obvious. Of what anti-imperialism can one speak under these conditions?

«The anti-imperialism» of the revisionists has never had any concrete form, it is an empty phrase, a mask to camouflage their collaboration with imperialism. It is a piece of demagoguery with which they want to speculate, to deceive the peoples, to quell the flames of the struggle against imperialism which are spreading to all the continents.

At the Budapest Meeting the Soviet revisionists were able to wrest approval from the other partners to go to Moscow for the meeting fixed for the end of this year. The bosses of the Kremlin are now making a great fuss and are beating all their propaganda drums presenting this as a great success. But this «success» is a Pyrrhic victory. For one reason or another many of the revisionists do not want the meeting, but they are obliged to hold it, because our struggle, the creation of the new Marxist-Leninist Parties, the upsurge of the revolution and the peoples' national liberation struggle, compel them to do so. They are compelled

to raise a cardboard barricade, a smoke-screen against these successes and this powerful march of Marxism-Leninism.

But any effort of theirs will be in vain. Other greater defeats are in store for them, still deeper splits will take place. The forthcoming Moscow meeting, too, will end up in the waste paper basket as did the March 1965 meeting, that of Karlovy Vary and the Budapest Meeting which has just come to an end.

The revisionists' decision to hold a general meeting is one thing but what to raise there, how to raise it, what to decide, how to decide and communicate it, let alone how to implement it, is another sad story for the modern revisionists, and for the Soviet revisionists first of all. There are those who took the decision in Budapest, but there are also those who did not go there. In the first place there is Tito, for whom the Soviet revisionists have very great need, because if he stays out everything is ruined, while if he comes in, he demands great concessions. In their dilemma the Soviet revisionists are ready to make concessions to him, but not all that Tito would like, because he wants both the keys and the house, their mother and their father and the title deeds.

The not distant future will again confirm what our Party has stated, that the division, degeneration and bankruptcy of the modern revisionists are inevitable. There has not been and never will be unity between them. They can never establish order within their herd. History has shown that whoever raises his hand against Marxism-Lenin-

ism, whoever joins the enemies of the working class and the bourgeoisie against the revolution and the liberation of the peoples, is doomed to utter defeat, to the shameful end of all traitors. The revisionists are trying to turn back the wheel of the historical development of society, but that wheel is ruthlessly smashing and crushing them under its great weight.

*Taken from the newspaper «Zëri i popullit»,
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THE WORKING CLASS IN REVISIONIST COUNTRIES MUST TAKE THE FIELD AND RE-ESTABLISH THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT

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In all the countries where revisionists are in power, the dictatorship of the proletariat is being smashed and replaced by the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, the socialist regime is being replaced by the bourgeois capitalist regime and the party of the proletariat, degenerated from within, serves only as a smoke-screen to conceal this betrayal, to blunt the vigilance and suppress the legitimate revolt of the working class and the working people. *The vigilance and legitimate violence of the working class against the class enemies is what terrifies the revisionists. It is the only force that can beat them, it is the only way out from this disastrous situation in which socialism and communism are placed today in the countries where the revisionists*

are in power. Thus, the rekindling and fanning of the flames of the proletarian revolution in these countries is the «sine qua non» of the road of salvation. As events have developed, any other course can bring no lasting benefit to the dictatorship of the proletariat and socialism. It could only serve as a posture of harmful and temporary compromise with grave consequences for socialism.

Only the working class at the head of the masses, only the working class headed by its true Marxist-Leninist Party, only the working class through armed revolution, through violence, can and must bury the traitorous revisionists.

All the countries where the revisionists are in power without exception, whether those of the vanguard, such as Yugoslavia, the Soviet Union, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Poland, etc., or those that, with various disguises, conceal and camouflage their revisionist, anti-Marxist line, have turned into bourgeois-capitalist countries, or are rapidly sinking into this stinking morass.

The main issue on the agenda of the revisionist traitor cliques in power, amounts only to choosing the most reliable forms to attain the aim of the restoration of capitalism, of strengthening and stabilizing it, without arousing the doubts and vigilance of the working class and working people, so as to avert the blows and the turmoil of the revolution, and finally, to be able to suppress it when it does break out. This is a struggle to win the race.

The other item on the agenda for them, within the framework of this disintegration to attain the

aim of the restoration of capitalism, consists in the efforts of all the other cliques to escape from the tutelage of the most powerful one and yet to have its aid in general, particularly when they feel their positions are weak. Linked with this is the degree of one on another's dependence, while the most powerful among them is trying to prevail over the currents and channel them in its great state interests. Of course, now such a thing cannot be achieved completely with all of them or permanently.

Another item that remains on the agenda of these cliques is their tendency and great concern to find various means of camouflage and diversity of forms of action, which, sometimes, are more advanced and less camouflaged than those of their fellow cliques. These «pioneers» serve the capitalist forces, which inspire the revisionist cliques to urge others to speed up their course to the maximum, to break the resistance of those revisionist cliques which, of necessity, are more conservative because the sword of Damocles — the proletarian revolution — is constantly hanging over the heads of them all.

The revisionists try to camouflage all their counterrevolutionary actions for the seizure of power and the efforts they are making to consolidate this power, by creating and inculcating into the minds of the working class the illusion that their «Marxist-Leninist» party is allegedly in power, that it is guiding all this development and transformation on the «true course of socialism and communism». This is the most dangerous

disguise, with the aid of which the revisionists try to escape the decisive blow of the working class. *Therefore, they try to tell the working class that any criticism, any revolt against or opposition to their revisionist course is an anti-Marxist deviation, is a crime against Leninism, against socialism, against the party of the working class.* The revisionists administer this opium through the press and their false propaganda, which is fabrication from start to finish, administer it while divesting the party, in theory and practice, of any revolutionary characteristics; they administer it by making an allegedly Marxist interpretation of each of their political, economic and administrative actions in the direction of the restoration of capitalism. This false interpretation of their foreign policy, of their relations, alliances and their underhand dealings with the capitalists, also, is necessary to the revisionists in order to blunt the vigilance of the working masses of their respective countries.

In all these cunning actions the revisionists set in motion the new corrupted class of bureaucrats who impose themselves upon the working class and the masses with the force of their regime, their length of service, with the rows of medals hiding their false hearts. Thus they create the impression among the working class that «it is not possible that all these, 'fine fellows' could betray the party, the class and socialism».

We must draw some lessons, some conclusions, from this revisionist counter-revolution.

Let us start with Hungary. In the euphoria of the advent to power of Khrushchevite revisionism,

but at a moment when it had not yet consolidated its positions, world capitalism, its Titoite agency, and the internal Magyar reactionary bourgeoisie, launched the armed counter-revolution against the dictatorship of the proletariat and the Hungarian Workers' Party, thinking it was the weakest link of the chain of the socialist countries. And so it was indeed. Rakosi's party melted away like snow in the rain. But in their actions world capitalism and Titoism had not chosen the correct moment: they were confident of Khrushchev's line of betrayal, but they did not take account of the fact that his positions were not yet stabilized and, although he hesitated over sending in the tanks, in the end he was obliged to do so. Otherwise his course of betrayal could have been compromised. But in connection with the Hungarian counter-revolution the following facts must be pointed out:

1. The Hungarian counter-revolution began from a few intellectuals and students. Lacking the influence of a genuine Marxist-Leninist Party, those vacillating strata became reserves and the counterrevolutionary assault squads under the direction of the bourgeoisie. The Hungarian writers were in the vanguard of this counter-revolution.

2. Despite the revolutionary traditions inherited from the proletarian revolution of 1919, the Hungarian working class and that of Budapest in particular, did not know how to defend its power and gains. On the contrary, a considerable part of the working class, especially in Budapest, was activated in favour of the counterrevolutionaries, hence it became a reserve of reaction. This means,

in other words, that the work of Hungarian Workers' Party was superficial and without any real base. The working class did not fully recognize it as its own leader. This was the greatest and most dangerous evil.

3. The counter-revolution entirely liquidated the Hungarian Workers' Party within a few days, while the counterrevolutionary, Janos Kadar, issued the decree for its official dissolution.

4. During the few days of the counter-revolution in Hungary many bourgeois, capitalist and fascist parties popped up immediately, like mushrooms after rain.

Thus, the Hungarian counter-revolution was put down by means of Soviet tanks, a thing which can never be repeated. Under the dictate of the Khrushchevite revisionists, the same traitor who liquidated the party, issued the other decree for the refounding of the allegedly new «Marxist-Leninist» party, the Hungarian revisionist party, this being even more rotten than the previous one.

The Hungarian counter-revolution was put down by the counterrevolutionaries. Thus, the two wings of the putsch were bound to come together, as they did, to build «their own Hungary», as they did, to restore capitalism, as they are doing. Drawing lessons from the bloodshed and, after having paid an indemnity in blood for its hasty actions, Hungarian reaction is now carrying out its reforms of radical capitalist transformation at its leisure, regardless of and without any trouble from the Soviet forces and tanks which remain on Hungarian territory. The Hungarian bourgeoisie is, so to

speak, going about its business, this time under the protection of Khrushchevite tanks. Under the disguise and «banner of the Party», the Hungarian capitalist bourgeoisie, hostile to the working class, is lulling the working class to sleep while forging new chains for it. The capitalist bourgeoisie has the old intelligentsia and new revisionist intelligentsia, in complete identity of views and unity of action, as its vanguard.

Let us take Poland. As in Hungary, in Poland, too, bloody demonstrations started in Poznan in 1956 and were suppressed by tanks, this time Polish and not Soviet tanks. The Polish Church and reaction had a finger in it, and Khrushchev was terrified that Poland might break away completely from the Soviet Union at that time; therefore he threatened Gomulka with an invasion of tanks, but Gomulka resisted and Khrushchev, willy-nilly, smiled and embraced the fascist Gomulka, as he used to describe him behind his back while talking to others.

But now, in recent days, events in Poland are developing differently. They have assumed another aspect which is characteristic of all the revisionist countries. In Poland demonstrations are staged, and clashes, bloody encounters have begun between Gomulka's police and the writers, intelligentsia and students, who are demanding «freedom», «full democracy», «liberalism». This time, the Polish counterrevolutionaries, who have risen against the Gomulka revisionist counterrevolutionaries, are congratulating and displaying their solidarity with the Czechoslovak counterrevolutiona-

ries. The reactionary Polish intelligentsia, directed by world capitalism, the clergy and Jewry, are not satisfied with the Gomulka revisionist clique and want to get rid of it, as the new Slovak clique of Dubcek is doing with the Nowotny revisionist clique, about which we shall speak below. But in Poland, just as in Hungary, the reactionary intelligentsia and the students are in the forefront with their claims, the party organization is riddled with bore, the organs of the dictatorship are, for the time being, in the service of the Gomulka clique; and the working class is not reacting, is not coming out in the street to do the necessary cleaning. Will the Gomulka clique be able to hold back this mounting tide? We shall see. But the important thing is the ultimate tide which must be prepared in order to wipe all the overt and disguised traitors in Poland of the face of the earth. This salutary tide will be the proletarian revolution of the Polish working class led by a true communist Marxist-Leninist Party.

Let us take Czechoslovakia. The Soviet revisionists used to trumpet abroad that Czechoslovakia was their most powerful bastion, the most faithful country of the revisionists, and Antonin Nowotny the man closest to them, «the most earnest and most authoritative man» of the revisionist clan, next to the Soviets. And as we had forecast, this situation, too, counted for nothing, not because Nowotny and his revisionist clique were not a faithful agency of the Khrushchevites, but because they were quite unable to carry out the orders that the Moscow bosses gave them. In fact the

Soviets' dead horse, Antonin Nowotny, got bogged down in the revisionist mire which he himself created, while the other horse which replaced him, Dubcek, has taken the bit in his teeth and is now bolting towards Western «pastures», where the French and West-German capitalists are waiting to corral him as they did in the past with their notorious agents Massaryk, Benes, Tiso, Hacha, and others.

How is the new counter-revolution in Czechoslovakia developing? Openly, against Antonin Nowotny and his clique, hence against the Soviet revisionist yoke.

They are openly going over to capitalism, in the system of one party or many parties, to the capitalist system of state and the undisguised liquidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat, in the economic system, education and culture.

Not only coexistence, but solid ties with the Western capitalists are being advocated openly. Homage is being paid at the grave of the Massaryks, father and son, at the grave of Benes, everyone is being noisily rehabilitated, even the fascists, and all are being described as «distinguished men», victims of the «Stalinist terror» and result of the erroneous policy, not only of the Nowotny clique, but also of Gottwald, thus, of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and, of course, «of Stalin, and the Comintern».

In short, Czechoslovakia is going at a rapid tempo and without much subterfuge and demagoguery towards capitalism, to the complete political, ideological, economic and state restoration of the capitalist bourgeois republic.

By what means and forms is this process developing? The Czechoslovak process must not be taken in isolation from the whole process that is taking place within the revisionist fold. This is the result of the disintegration, of the major contradictions which exist within the revisionist clan, within the different tendencies which exist within the clan of each individual revisionist country, and of the international contradictions. Thus, the Czechoslovak disintegration and the course it has taken are nothing extraordinary. Nothing should surprise us. This is quite normal.

So is the overt manner of their actions, and this for two reasons: on the one hand, a part of the Czechoslovak people, indeed even of the Czechoslovak working class, are prepared for, are predisposed towards this «liberal» course, as the revisionists call it. To them communism has been merely a veneer, an incident, and during the whole period since Liberation the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia has not only failed to work on a sound basis, but, in fact, has made little impression on the nature, the political inclinations, the political and cultural gusto and taste of a part of the people, who, even under the socialist regime, preserved and developed bourgeois capitalist feelings in accentuated forms.

On the other hand, the new Czechoslovak course towards capitalism confirms the further decay of the power of Soviet revisionism which, wallowing in the morass it has itself created, is no longer in a position to threaten its opponents neither

politically, nor economically. It has become a slave of the system and betrayal it created. The Soviet revisionists are obliged to smile wanly at the misfortunes which are descending on them. The further course of the Czechoslovak revisionists now has the full support not only of the US, French and West-German imperialists, but, naturally, of the Titoites, the «neutral» revisionists and, «in petto», of the Hungarian revisionists as well. Thus, a more or less organized force is taking shape, always within the framework of the disintegration and «independence» from the Soviet, Polish, and other revisionists, who are very much afraid of the spread of the infection which has the tendency to clear the stables of the old revisionist horses and replace them with new ones.

The new Czech counterrevolutionaries are using new many-sided methods. They attach great importance to taking the internal situation completely into their own hands, without neglecting foreign policy. Naturally, for purposes of demagoguery they speak publicly about friendship with the Soviet Union, in order to completely undermine it. Their principal aim is the liquidation of Nowotny and his clique, which is pro the Soviet revisionist leadership, and the reduction of relations with the Soviet Union to mere trade relations. The campaign for the liquidation of Nowotny, to expose and compromise him, and, finally, to remove him, was carried out in a round-about way. In the forefront of this campaign were the Slovak nationalists with their anti-Czech feelings, the old bourgeois intellectuals and the new revisionist ones, as well

as the students and hooligans, who came out repeatedly in demonstrations.

The Nowotny group and their Kremlin bosses sent in the police against them, but to no avail. Aware that the noose was tightening around his neck, Nowotny called the tanks to Prague, copying the method of Khrushchev who surrounded the Kremlin with tanks and thus saved his head. But Nowotny could not attain this aim and lost his case, perhaps his head, too.

To cover its aims, the Dubcek group is using allegedly legal forms to clear out the Nowotny clique. First of all, this group made sure of the army through trusted cadres, arranged the defection of a certain army general, discredited Nowotny and Defence Minister Lomsky, and set the «convinced» party in motion which, with petitions, rallies and student demonstrations, should demand Nowotny's immediate removal or resignation. This whole operation is being carried out very quickly, with little obvious strife, amidst the stormy applause of world capitalism to whose fold a scabby goat has thus returned.

What will the Soviets do? Nothing except to take Nowotny for their collection, if they are permitted, and install him, too, in a villa as they did to someone else previously.

After this purge, in Czechoslovakia they will strive to stabilize the situation. However, this will not be the end of the matter. There will be great friction and fierce political and economic struggle.

Thus, in these two countries, Poland and Cze-

choslovakia, where the revisionists are in power, the same process of capitalist degeneration is thus taking place with the same aims, forms and methods, but with different outcomes, with different results. In both countries, the new revisionist cliques, which want to speed up the process of the transformation of their countries into completely capitalist countries, are striving to get rid of the Nowotny and Gomulka revisionist cliques which are old revisionist cliques.

The anti-Czech sentiments of Slovak chauvinism, the radical transformation of the Czechoslovak economy into a capitalist economy, the radical transformation of the existing Czechoslovak structure and superstructure to make them suitable to the return to capitalism, the more active and extensive economic, cultural and political ties with capitalist states, the anti-Soviet feelings, the weakening of all the ties with the Soviet revisionists — these are the things that inspire and guide the new Czechoslovak revisionist clique led by Dubcek.

The old clique and the old revisionist. Nowotny, are now completely isolated, smashed. Everybody is abandoning the sinking ship and embracing the «new road». Thus, the counter-revolution within the counter-revolution triumphed in Czechoslovakia.

The Soviet revisionists have completely lost their political authority in Czechoslovakia and their influence has declined. Knowing what the Soviet revisionists are, we can be sure that they must have exerted great pressure to save themselves from disaster in Czechoslovakia.

On the other hand, capitalist Czechoslovakia reinforces the capitalist position of Tito and his friends, assists the complete transformation of Kadar's Hungary, with or without him at its head, and assists the process in Poland.

This whole situation which is being created in Central Europe will shake the Warsaw Treaty and Comecon from its foundations. It will lead to bilateral and multilateral alliances in a spirit entirely different from that of the existing ones, and Comecon and their economic relations will change. They will break up and assume new forms in which amalgamation with the capitalist forms will take place.

All this capitalist transformation seriously endangers Democratic Germany, which the revisionists will drive, in various forms and ways, towards integration with the Germany of Bonn. This process is underway. The Soviet revisionists are completely paralyzed. Economic pressures are their only remaining weapons, but it is clear that these, too, have no effect. It is greatly in the interests of capitalism to finance those who break away from the Soviet Union and turn towards the West. It has capital for investment at its disposal, it is seeking new markets, new colonies and new satellites.

Thus, having seen little joy from the allegedly internationalist aid of the Soviet revisionists, the new revisionist capitalists are changing their bus.

This great defeat has been a stunning blow to the Soviet leaders. Although these events have

been going on for a considerable time, the Soviet censorship has not permitted any knowledge of them to leak out to the Soviet public at home. This simply shows how afraid they are of their own people, the revolutionaries, as well as the new revisionists, and the latter, infected by the Czechoslovak disease, may burst out in the streets against the clique, to overthrow it and replace it with another revisionist clique. In this case Kosygin and Brezhnev will act in the same way as the revisionist clan of Gomulka is acting in Poland.

The same process as in Czechoslovakia started in Poland, too, but, for the time being, with different results. The Gomulka clan temporarily checked this process, not because Gomulka is any cleverer than Nowotny, but because the circumstances are somewhat different in Poland, therefore Gomulka's tactics are different and may appear «cleverer».

In Czechoslovakia it started with the writers and students, but amongst them, in addition to everything else, anti-Czech Slovak nationalist sentiments and anti-Slovak Czech nationalist sentiments were predominant. The other things were complementary, apart from the anti-Soviet and pro-Western sentiments which were common to all.

The process started in the same way in Poland, with the same tendencies, ideas and aims as in Czechoslovakia. The Gomulka clan used police violence, too, just as Nowotny did, but with success. The Polish nation is not made up of two peoples, as is the case in Czechoslovakia, therefore that factor which played a role in Czechoslovakia, did not serve as an incitement in Poland. Gomulka

had to find a scapegoat as an object for violence and he found it in «Zionism». Thus, the «disturbances in Poland were created by 'Zionism'!». Gomulka does not mention the Church, because that carries the risk that the revolt might increase and take larger proportions. Gomulka is trying to keep the Church out of it and, in fact, the Church did not enter the arena, although, at other times, it had made fiery appeals and organized demonstrations against Gomulka. It seems that they have come to terms until this tide subsides. On the other hand, Gomulka, rabidly anti-Soviet, is seeking shelter at these moments under the shadow of the Soviet revisionists who, in the final analysis, when they realize that they have lost everything in Poland, may even dare to intervene allegedly to save Poland, allegedly to keep the communication lines open so that they can come to the «assistance» of East Germany, etc.

Willi Brandt, on his part, at his party's Congress, declared that «it is normal to recognize the Oder-Neisse borders». This was an offer to Poland to break away from the Soviets, it was «allegedly a support among the people» for Gomulka's «persistent» policy on the German-Polish borders and, finally, it was an attempt to complete the encirclement of East Germany and to form the «cordon sanitaire» around the capitalist Soviet Union.

The result of all these circumstances, the anti-Semitism, anti-Sovietism, etc., is that the process of capitalism in Poland will continue according to Gomulka. But this is provisional, temporary. The problem is still on the agenda.

The Marxist-Leninists, the Polish revolutionaries, the people and the working class, have not yet had their say. Gomulka even threw part of the working class into demonstrations. This shows what lack of clarity exists there, what an enormous amount of work the new Communist Party of Poland (Marxist-Leninist) has to do in order to put the working class on its true course, in anti-capitalist, anti-revisionist class positions, against Gomulka, against the Roman Catholic Church, against the Zionists.

There are also allegedly neutral countries and parties which are pursuing the revisionist course towards capitalism in comparatively calm internal situations, without noisy demonstrations, but certainly with accentuated contradictions in the leadership, among the people and in the party, which for the moment have the appearance of unity. This sham unity is the fruit of external fear and in the first place, of fear of the Soviet revisionists who have their own men, who are still in the minority, within the leadership of these parties. But in these «neutral» countries and parties cliques of bourgeois intellectuals predominate, and they rely solely on the anti-Soviet feelings. Therefore, a little differently from the Czechoslovaks, these revisionists lay the stress on foreign policy, on relations with the capitalist states, with Tito's Yugoslavia, with Dubcek's Czechoslovakia, to counter-balance the Soviet revisionist danger. In these circumstances these cliques are purging their internal opponents who might endanger them, and are making efforts to consolidate their bourgeois regimes, which are

being established in their countries by liquidating socialism.

Let us now take the Soviet Union. The Khrushchevite degeneration of the Soviet Union, and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, since the last years of Nikita Khrushchev's reign, and later on in even more accentuated manner, entailed great dangers for the Kremlin clique. Not only has it further deepened the contradictions of this clique with the Soviet people, but it has also created a section of new revisionists, opponents of the old revisionist clique, whose aim is to liquidate this clique and replace it with another of this nature, which would be more liberal and speed up the process of the restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union. The most putrid of elements of the revisionist garbage were not satisfied, displayed their dissatisfaction, and advanced further demands. Here, too, they were headed by the intellectuals and writers, which had become completely bourgeois, the men of revisionist art and culture. Dissipation had penetrated deeply among the youth, the students, and the hooligans. This was assuming forms disturbing to the clique. Khrushchev himself reacted several times after he sensed the danger, not because they are demanding to go over to capitalism, but because they are demanding to go there without him, with others, demanding more efforts and actions in this direction and less buffoonry and irregular methods.

The clique that succeeded Khrushchev tried to do something better than their master. They linked themselves more closely and more securely with

US imperialism, thus further wrecking the party and the socialist economy, and increasing the degeneration at home and abroad. But all this activity also created colossal difficulties and contradictions for the clique. The Soviet economy declined, the prestige of the Soviet Union reached its lowest ebb, the «friends» of the Soviet Union deserted it one after another, its alliances assumed purely capitalist, oppressive, formal and ridiculous forms and content. The resistance to the clique increased from all directions. Not to speak of the international arena, at home the Brezhnev-Kosygin group find themselves in the midst of many fires which are difficult to put out. The revisionist intellectuals, writers, and students have increased their protest demonstrations and the Kremlin clique is obliged to arrest and imprison them. Thus, the prisons and concentration camps are filled to capacity, not only with revolutionaries, but also with new counter-revolutionaries.

Of course, within the Soviet Union the proletarian revolution is being organized and on the rise. The clique are very much afraid of this and attacking it, trying to deceive the party of the class and the working class itself, trying to neutralize them as far as possible, by making them believe that it is allegedly their «Leninist» party which is leading, that «everything is proceeding according to the Leninist line and with Leninist norms» and so on. Amongst these illusions we should also include those «historically realistic ideas» about Stalin, which certain degenerate careerist army generals and marshals have started to write in order

to throw dust in the eyes of the masses and the **genuine** revolutionaries. But the Bolshevik revolutionaries and the Soviet working class are not to be deceived for long. They are becoming more and more aware that, in reality, power is being wielded by a clique of renegades and their bureaucratic anti-worker administration, that the party has been transformed into a bourgeois party and the dictatorship is a bourgeois dictatorship of the new capitalist class, which oppresses the masses and the working class, exploits them economically for the benefit of the new revisionist bourgeoisie, does not allow them for one moment to demonstrate their power and exercise their rights. The efforts of the revisionists to make the working class apolitical, to eliminate it from the political scene and orientate it towards economism, will fail.

Thus, as we see, all these processes have similar features, at present most obvious and loud in Czechoslovakia and Poland, tomorrow in Hungary and other places. These processes will further increase the appetite of the reactionary Soviet revisionist intelligentsia, and we shall see clashes, not **only between it and the ruling clique**, but also between the moderate intelligentsia and its Right-wing extremists, between the genuine Marxist-Leninist intellectuals and both the ruling clique and the two tendencies we mentioned. And, finally, the Russian Ivan will awaken from his heavy slumber. The Soviet working class, led by the Marxist-Leninist revolutionaries, must come out and will come out in the streets to have its say. It will bang its fist on the table and stage a second pro-

letarian revolution. We are convinced that this will certainly happen, because it is a dialectical process that is bound to take place, the circumstances, the events and their development will make the situation ripe for this. When? That is not for us to decide.

Learning from this course of events in revisionist countries, from the tactics, the forms and methods of the struggle waged by the modern revisionists against Marxism-Leninism, against the dictatorship of the proletariat, against the working class, its party and the socialist regime, in addition to what we have analyzed at other times, our Party has defined clear-cut tasks to ensure that modern revisionism or any other anti-Marxist disease will never be allowed to infect the healthy body and mind of the party and the dictatorship of the proletariat in our country.

With regard to the revisionist degeneration in a number of countries, mention must be made of some typical characteristics common to all the revisionist parties.

It is a fact that the working class, in the first place, and then all the working masses were caught unawares. They did not react immediately and energetically against the betrayal committed against their great cause, which had triumphed and been consolidated at such a cost in bloodshed and sacrifice. The traitor elements who usurped power in the party and the state, not only at the beginning of their subversive activity, when they knew how to hide and organize themselves, but even later, when their attitude and their treacherous ac-

tions had become obvious, did not encounter fierce resistance on the part of the working class and its party which, on the contrary, accepted the yoke of the traitors without any great opposition or, even when they did react, did so half-heartedly. The party and the working class, in the first place, had lost their vigilance and severity in the violence which is and must always be characteristic of them in the class struggle, in the struggle against every enemy of their class and socialism.

Why does this happen and what causes this apathy, this dying down of their vigilance and use of violence, not only in communist parties with little revolutionary experience, but even in the oldest and biggest party with colossal revolutionary experience such as the Bolshevik Party?

In general, there is nothing unknown or mysterious about the reasons for this occurrence, but in this article we shall emphasize certain reasons which appear to us to be the main ones, those most dangerous to a Marxist-Leninist party.

Let us consider this question in the Bolshevik Party, the oldest and staunchest revolutionary party, from the successes and mistakes of which all of us have learned.

First, and above all, stands the question of the Party. It is here we must try to find the shortcomings and errors which so tragically contributed to the emergence of revisionism and the seizure of power by the Khrushchevite traitors in the Soviet Union.

a) *Surprising as this may seem, the political and ideological education of the Bolshevik Party*

was not always carried out at each stage with the intensity and thoroughness required by the circumstances. Such education, moreover, had weaknesses of form and method and, sometimes, even of content. Although it was talked about, the linking of the theory with practical revolutionary action was not carried out as much and in the way it should have been over its whole range, in order to put politics first in the direction of the revolutionization of people, in keeping the proletarian revolutionary spirit of the whole party active, in ensuring that everybody understood and applied the line of the Party in a revolutionary way in everything. It is true that if you must have schools, training courses, forms, means, methods etc., for political and ideological education, you had them, in the Soviet Union. The same thing could be said, too, in regard to the training and education of cadres. The question is not that the study of the unerring Marxist-Leninist-Stalinist theory was neglected in the Soviet Union, but that something caused the political and ideological education to be defective. And this something was not only the forms, the methods and the tempo, which, as we said above, meant that the theory was not properly mastered and correctly put into practice. There was also a complex of other things that exerted a negative influence.

b) *The implementation of the norms of the Bolshevik Party or, to put it better, the profound ideological and political understanding and actual carrying out of them in a revolutionary way were not up to the mark.* All these norms were correct.

Lenin created and established them with a titanic struggle. Stalin affirmed them, defended them and carried them out. But in actual life, during the process of development, in the course of the work and the struggle, we see these norms, which at first were properly implemented, later falling into disuse, becoming rusty and, finally, distorted and turned into a harsh and very dangerous weapon in the hands of the enemies of the class and of the party. This was the case with all the revisionist parties. *In these parties, they speak loudly of democratic centralism, but that is Leninist no longer. They speak of «Bolshevik» criticism and self-criticism, but they are Bolshevik no longer. They speak of party discipline, but it is no longer Leninist, but fascist discipline; of proletarian morality, but the morality is bourgeois, anti-proletarian, anti-Marxist; of free expression of opinions within the Party, about everything and everybody, but the expression of opinions in the party spirit, in the proletarian spirit, in the revisionist countries now, leads to jail and concentration camp. The same may be said with regard to all the genuine Leninist party norms. Thus, the official norms, irrespective of how they are disguised, are anti-Leninist; they are bourgeois, reactionary, fascist norms. Such a departure from the Leninist norms, which constitute the strength of the party as a steel-like vanguard organization of the proletariat, and the adoption of revisionist norms, is the greatest evil that can befall a Marxist-Leninist party. It is a terrible weapon for the degeneration and disintegration of the party, making it deviate from*

its historic role of transforming society. The fact is that this retrogressive change on this issue has taken place in the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and in the other revisionist parties, and irrespective of the fact that not all the Soviet communists approve and observe these anti-Leninist norms, it is indisputable that the revisionist norms actually prevail in this party and in other revisionist parties and are destroying the parties and socialism in these countries.

Now the question arises: had the Marxist-Leninist policy and ideology been understood and implemented correctly, as we said above, had the Leninist norms of the Party, established in the Bolshevik party by the great teachers, Lenin and Stalin, been implemented in a correct revolutionary way and at all times, would this that has occurred have taken place? No! It would not have happened! But it did happen for the reasons given above and those we shall set out below.

c) *The Communist Party, as the organized vanguard detachment of the working class, must be the leader, the keen edge of the sword; it must preserve, develop and temper the finest virtues of the working class, it must be the first to properly master and implement the ideology of the working class, Marxism-Leninism. Above all others it must be vigilant to the extreme and unyielding towards the class enemy. And in order to be such, it must have, understand, and implement the Leninist norms that make it the party of the class, in order to lead the working class and its allies towards the aims of the class. This is a great*

unity, not any sort of unity, but what we call a Marxist-Leninist unity, a Marxist-Leninist unity within the party, unity of thought and action on the basis of the Leninist norms, between the base of the party and its leadership, unity within the leadership itself, a steel Marxist-Leninist unity between the party and the working class, a steel, harmonious, party-working class-people unity. And in this unity taken as a whole the fundamental idea, its basis and guarantee, is the party-working class unity, the decisive leadership of the working class headed by its party, inspired, tempered, enlightened by its Marxist-Leninist ideology.

This unity is not created in one day or one year. It must be tempered in the heat of many struggles and dangers with which they are faced by the class enemy which uses every means, objective, and subjective, political and ideological, repression and terror, coercive measures and economic troubles, open corruption and illegal subversive activity against the working class in general, against their party as an organization, against the party members and state functionaries, and the organizations of the masses in particular.

We shall not dwell at length on these issues, but shall only point out, first, that the *preservation and tempering of unity are not something achieved once and for all so that the communists need not trouble about it again. Second, that unity in the social-democratic manner, unity "of comrades",*

outside the Marxist-Leninist principles and norms of the party, unity "to avoid upsetting someone or other by permitting the violation of norms and principles", is not our unity. Our unity is not unity for unity's sake, contravening principles. Therefore our unity, over the entire range we mentioned, is created through struggle, is tempered through struggle and preserved through continued and consistent revolutionary struggle. Otherwise there can be no Marxist-Leninist unity.

In the Bolshevik party of Lenin and Stalin there was unity. There was energetic struggle to temper this unity but it cannot be said that perfection had been attained in everything, for that would be a denial of the class struggle, within and outside the country, within the party ranks, that would make us forget the class enemy who wages a fierce struggle in every form and whose only aim is to smash the unity, to infiltrate the organisms of the party and the dictatorship, to riddle them with worms and destroy them, to infiltrate the consciousness and the world-outlook of the communists, to demoralize them and cause them to degenerate.

Thus, in the Bolshevik Party of Lenin and Stalin, — and the successes in the construction of socialism, in the construction of the first powerful socialist State in the world prove this — they were proceeding on the correct Leninist road. Stalin, at the head of the Bolshevik Party, fought correctly, vigorously, with deep understanding and without committing theoretical and political errors, on the

road of the working class, on the road of the Leninist Party, on its norms, to achieve the aims of the class and of its party, which were the building of socialism and communism in the Soviet Union and the world.

However, the question arises: if this is so, then why did the Bolshevik Party degenerate, after Stalin's death, into a revisionist party? This is a reasonable question which must be asked, and in order to answer it, one must discover the objective and subjective reasons. We have already pointed out in other articles that this question is as important as it is difficult to deal with fully and without mistakes, if we do not base ourselves on the documents, especially the internal ones, of the Bolshevik Party, documents which we do not possess and could hardly possess, especially in the present situation. But our ideology and the experience of our party and other parties, can help us to determine some of these reasons. We say some, because there are and must be many more. However these opinions, too, may be incomplete.

Presenting the problem as we put it above, it turns out that gradually, without being aware of it and on the basis of the great successes of the realization of the socialist construction, among the cadres of the Party and the socialist state there was created a certain self-complacency and legitimate pride, but which, unwittingly, and without knowing it, from their latent forms became more pronounced and were distorted into incorrect inclinations which were basically incompatible with proletarian morality. Marxist ideology and educa-

tion condemned them in principle and in practice, when they manifested themselves in a flagrant and dangerous way, but these trends were developing in their general form and this was not considered a dangerous thing. They entwined themselves with the norms of the Party and gradually gave them likewise, an anti-Marxist tinge. Later they became more pronounced and combined with other non-proletarian habits, added to the dangerous complex.

The members of the Bolshevik Party, who were led in legendary battles by Lenin and Stalin, were cadres of revolutionary class origin and drive, tempered in revolution, in struggles, in the building of socialism, in struggles against Trotskyism, deviators and other traitors. They were tempered ideologically and politically and had unshakeable and justified faith in their glorious Bolshevik Party, in Lenin and Stalin, in the correct line and norms that they had laid down.

To them the party was everything, it was their heart, brain and eyes, therefore they defended it, were educated by it and by their great leader. *But while the Soviet cadres tried to carry out the correct line and norms of the Party and Stalin, slowly, at first not among all of them and not in a clear-cut way, the feeling of stability, which is alien to the revolutionary sense of development began to emerge and crystallize.* So long as they held lower level functions, the cadres worked zealously to serve the cause of revolution in the best possible manner, rigorously implementing the norms and line of the Party, maintaining close connections with the masses and with the working

class. But with the passage of time, when the initial difficulties had been overcome, when the indispensable ideological, political and general education and culture had been acquired, having grown older and having gained seniority in the party in certain people bad tendencies began to emerge. *The successes in their work nurtured the feeling of self-satisfaction and, along with this, the Soviet cadres lost their proletarian simplicity. They began to raise unjust claims, which they described as «politically justified», because they had worked and fought. With their promotion to more and more responsible posts, the desire for personal ease and comfort developed in them and they became more and more infected by bureaucracy, intellectualism and technocratism. Thus, gradually, a separation and inequality between the cadres of the Bolshevik Party and Soviet State, on the one hand, and the masses of the Soviet people and working class, on the other, was created. Many cadres did not listen to the voice of the masses as they had done in the past. The idea began to prevail among them that they knew everything themselves, that they were specialists in everything, that they stood above the masses, above the working class politically and ideologically and were more far-sighted than they. These cadres confused the authority and prestige which the Bolshevik Party and Stalin enjoyed among the masses of the Soviet people and in the working class with their personal authority and prestige. All these anti-proletarian features led to deformation of the revolutionary concepts among these cadres, and from this the infection spread to*

the line of the Party and its implementation and the revolutionary norms of the party remained formal. The process of sclerosis had set in the life of the party itself and its organization, as well as in the whole Soviet State administration.

Therefore, the education, the equipping of the cadres of the party, the state and the administration with schooling and culture is one of the most important problems, but an even greater prime duty is their political and ideological education and their permanent revolutionization.

The danger of the development of bureaucracy in cadres and equipping them with schooling and culture only, can create in them a feeling of superiority and conceit, causes the features of intellectualism and technocratism to take root in them. This gradually places them above the masses of the party and the class, and thus gradually, a situation is created in which a stratum dominates the class and its proletarian party, scleroses the party and makes its revolutionary norms lifeless, propagates them without zeal and strips them of their revolutionary influence and action, hence the separation from the masses and from the control of the working class.

If the party and the working class do not devote special and constant care to the ideological and political uplift of the cadres, and not just through bookish methods, but through practical actions and in uninterrupted daily struggle, their promotion to leading positions, the disproportion between their educational and cultural level and that of the great

bulk of the party and the working class, their seniority in the party or in the state organs, the great disparity in salaries (a dangerous evil this) and the privileges to which they are allegedly entitled as cadres (another dangerous evil) ruin the cadre, willy-nilly impel him to progressively adopt features which are not of the proletarian class. Such a phenomenon may occur even with cadres of worker origin and status, but, it is an even greater danger among those from the peasantry and the intelligentsia. *The party of the working class must educate the cadres in such a way that they may advance and be promoted to posts of responsibility, but so that they understand properly when their stepping down from posts of responsibility is necessary, and this not only in cases when they prove incapable and inactive in the function with which they are charged, or for mistakes in their work and in life but even when they are capable and accomplish their tasks correctly. The cadres should be educated to realize that, even when they are in order, their removal from responsible functions and their going to work in the ranks of the working class and the working masses is a necessity for the good of the cadres themselves and the party, for the present and the future.*

The three features we mentioned above — bureaucracy, intellectualism and technocratism — brought about that, within the Bolshevik Party and the Soviet State, that revolutionary spirit of heroic times was not as evident as it should have been. This insidious disease did not openly attack the correct line of the party. The cadres remained

faithful to it and to Stalin. They were ready to go through fire for him, because Stalin was a man of the class. With his Marxist-Leninist class clarity, he did not commit errors of principle, either in policy or in ideology, in the economy or in the military field. He loyally defended everything Leninist and developed Leninism further.

However in this stagnation which was gradually building up, although the Stalinist energy of the party and the dictatorship of the proletariat was still carrying the work forward, the work of the party was losing its fire — the norms were implemented but not with revolutionary vigour, the line was carried out but not at that revolutionary tempo; Marxism-Leninism was being taught but in such a way that it was unable to purge these dangerous trends. Many top and middle cadres of the party and state equipped with diplomas were, so to speak, viewing the situation from above, and especially from the petty-bourgeois feeling of their own all-round superiority. They had come to believe that this was something natural, that they were superior to the bulk of the party. They were assuming the features of a class above the class and above the party. They considered themselves infallible because they were in the leadership, because they had long experience, because they possessed knowledge, and it was they who brought the sunshine and the rain. All these anti-Marxist viewpoints were developing, consciously or unconsciously, under cover of the party norms. There was talk about democratic centralism, criticism and self-criticism, party discipline, and elections from

below, but all these things had lost the revolutionary spirit. *And what must all this bring about? The gradual separation of the leadership from the bulk of the party, and of the party from the working class. Thus, in essence, that Marxist-Leninist unity which we mentioned above was weakened, Stalin had forged the Leninist unity and he fought to defend it, notwithstanding the stagnation. After his death it was proved that the unity in the leadership and in the Bolshevik party was split, and the revisionists seized power.*

Khrushchev and his traitorous associates had been working even when Stalin was alive, of course in very disguised forms. After Stalin's death, profiting by the situation that had been created, they seized power. They sought and are seeking to preserve the whole of the negative process and deepen it further, by carrying out the complete transformation toward capitalism and the liquidation of the Bolshevik Party of Lenin and Stalin. The attack on Stalin was an attack on Leninism, on Marxism-Leninism. That is why they have removed or are getting rid of those whom they call Stalinists and, masquerading as Leninists, they are striving to make the process of the liquidation of the party as a Marxist-Leninist party of the proletariat more thorough-going day by day and to isolate the Soviet working class, to lull it to sleep, to make it amorphous and apolitical, so as to avoid the blows which it could deal them.

Of course, there are other reasons, too, but we think that those we have mentioned caused the working class of the Soviet Union and hundreds

of thousand and millions of the Soviet party and State cadres to be caught unawares. They thought and still think (for they are not at a very high level politically and ideologically, and this should not surprise us) that what Khrushchev did was «in order and in accord with the Leninist rules». They were deceived by the slanders, the demagogy and the promises of the traitors, but of course this will not go on for long. The eyes of the Soviet working class and revolutionaries are being and will be properly opened and they will recover the fighting spirit of the revolutionary struggles through which Lenin and Stalin led them. They must come out in the streets arms in hand, and they will come out, if not today, tomorrow. The situation will ripen. Time is working for the proletarian revolution.

This process has occurred in the other revisionist parties too, but even more deeply, for the reason that, apart from the Polish party, the parties of the revisionist countries are parties which have not waged the struggle themselves, have not gone through that furnace, irrespective of their self-advertisement as allegedly old parties which have been through the fight. Their experience on this issue — and this is the main issue — is very slight, if they have any at all.

Moreover, these parties were revived, reorganized, and took power, thanks to the Soviet Army and the direct aid of the Bolshevik Party and Stalin. This assistance was vital to them, not only because they were re-established materially, but also because it helped them to create political and

ideological cohesion in their ranks. Later, in these parties, such as the Polish, German, Czechoslovak, Hungarian and other parties, an organizational, political, and ideological union was brought about between the communist, socialist, and social-democratic parties. Thus, instead of remaining outside, in the front, the social-democratic maggot was introduced within the party. The wine was watered down, and now it has turned into vinegar. While Stalin was alive, the social-democratic parties of Cyrankiewicz, Otto Grotewohl, Fierlinger, kept quiet, but they were working from within, corroding, demoralizing, and seizing important positions, to the best of their ability.

When Khrushchev came to power, of course these elements were overjoyed. Later the break began, and it was a radical one, since degeneration had become deeply implanted in these parties and these countries. Whereas the Marxist-Leninist, Gottwald, brought the armed workers out in the streets and made reaction tremble and scurry back into its rat-holes, now, the revisionist Dubcek has a part of the Czechoslovak working class on his side. This is what is happening in Hungary, too, but not entirely so in Poland, for the Polish working class has a more revolutionary tradition. But the struggle to win the working class and to arouse it in revolution should be the main objective of every Marxist-Leninist party. *There is not and there cannot be proletarian revolution without the working class and without the leadership of the Marxist-Leninist party.*

The students and intellectuals must be raised

in revolution and led by the working class and the Marxist-Leninist party. However the opposite can occur, as in the revisionist countries, if they are not put in their proper place in revolution and if they are not educated correctly in the revolutionary way. The youth can never assume and carry out the tasks and the role with which history has charged the working class. The working class and the party of the class must be at the head, in absolute leadership everywhere and in everything. The peasantry and the various social strata must advance on the road of the working class, in alliance with it, must be educated with its laws and its ideology, and whoever does not advance on this road and puts spokes in the wheels must be discarded, by persuasion or by violence, as may be necessary.

In the light of all that we have said, the correctness of the Marxist-Leninist road and line pursued by our Party at all stages of its development, even at the most critical moments, and its boundless loyalty towards the revolutionary ideas and work of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, stand out even more clearly. But our Party has never lost sight of the fact that no communist party, including our own, is immune to the danger of revisionism. It has always maintained keen vigilance against this danger, and has never rested on its laurels. Our Party has accumulated rich experience, and is elaborating it every day, on how to bar the way to revisionism and the restoration of capitalism. The measures which the Party has taken for the further revolutionization of the whole life of

the country, for the perfecting and the development of socialist relations in production and of the superstructure, in order to purge them of everything alien, are of decisive and vital importance to the cause of socialism.

It has waged and is waging the class struggle in the correct Marxist-Leninist way inside and outside the Party, and this is the motive force during the whole period of the transition from capitalism to socialism. It has attached prime importance to the revolutionary class education of the working people, the younger generation in particular, in various ways, especially through revolutionary action. It has waged and is waging a principled and consistent struggle against any form of bureaucratic distortion, for the constant deepening of the line of the masses in all fields, for the continuous deepening of socialist democracy. Above all, special attention has been devoted to the constant revolutionization of the Party and its cadres, so that they never become isolated from the people, lose their revolutionary features and spirit, or become bureaucratic and degenerate.

The Party has never lost sight of the dialectical action of various factors, with all their positive and negative influences. It has carried out, and continues to carry out in depth, all-round measures of revolutionization, of education, of work and struggle on all the fronts which give rise to a number of problems, great and small, but all important and closely interconnected, especially on the front of the class ideological education and the class struggle. Thus, it has continued and continues the struggle on

all fronts, without interruption, at an ever higher level, always learning from the successes and shortcomings, so that the shortcomings will not be repeated and the successes will not intoxicate it and put it to sleep. Our Party and people are advancing on this correct Marxist-Leninist road with unwavering confidence in the construction of socialism and communism.

In today's conditions, when the revisionist cliques are completely liquidating all the victories of socialism in their respective countries, the working class of these countries must clearly understand that the revisionist party in power is no longer a party of the proletariat, but an instrument in the hands of treacherous leaders for the restoration of capitalism, and the deception of the masses. Today there is no longer room for illusions, hesitation and procrastination. The working class of the revisionist countries is now faced with the historic necessity of coming out again on the battlefield, of hurling itself into a merciless and consistent fight to the finish to overthrow and smash the treacherous cliques, to carry out the proletarian revolution once again and to re-establish the dictatorship of the proletariat. This requires absolute determination, courage, sacrifices and a revival of the revolutionary spirit and traditions of the times of Lenin and Stalin. In the first place and above all, this requires the organization of the genuine revolutionaries into new Marxist-Leninist parties, which have to mobilize, organize and lead the general uprising of the proletariat and of the other working masses to victory.

At these important moments for the fate of the revolution, all the Marxist-Leninists and the world proletariat can not remain silent and idle in the face of what is happening in the revisionist countries. Proletarian internationalism demands that all revolutionaries raise their voices and wage a principled struggle, through to the end, for the destruction of the revisionist cliques in power and to give all support to the working class and the peoples that are under the revisionist rule today, to overthrow these treacherous cliques and to raise the banner of revolution and socialism once more.

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WHERE IS CZECHOSLOVAKIA HEADING?

«PEOPLE, BE VIGILANT»

Julius Fucik

Article published in the newspaper «Zëri i popullit»

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The process of the ultra-revisionist counter-revolution in Czechoslovakia is developing rapidly. The clique of Dubcek and other reactionary elements, which is based on various strata of the bourgeoisie, especially on Slovak nationalist and fascist elements, on all those who have «accounts» to settle with the dictatorship of the proletariat, on the liberal-revisionist intelligentsia and the students gone astray as a result of the bourgeois ideas and morality, as well as on the international bourgeoisie, have taken full control. Meanwhile, the supporters of the bankrupt Nowotny revisionist clique are striving to save their own positions through «sincere self-criticism» or are taking a «compulsory rest»

from political life and are cowering in some lair, dreaming of «better days» to come.

The theoreticians of the new ultra-revisionist course, such as Smrkowsky and others, are bragging that now Czechoslovakia «is blazing new paths in an unexplored terrain», that what is occurring now in Czechoslovakia is the «first experience of truly democratic socialism in the world». Bearing in mind what is going on there, and translating their phraseology into ordinary language, it becomes evident that capitalism is being completely restored in Czechoslovakia. The so-called «program of action» adopted at the plenum of the Central Committee of the Czechoslovak Communist Party in early April, a program that the Czech news agency «Ceteka» broadcast under the title «The Czechoslovak road to socialism», is further proof of this.

The Czechoslovak revisionists are quite right in calling this return to capitalism «their specific road», because while being in essence similar with that of the Titoites, the Soviet and other revisionists who are or are not in power, it has its own characteristics, its own specific forms.

The Titoites have long been elaborating their system of «workers' self-administration» which cannot attain stability, neither today nor in the future, not only because it is anti-Marxist but also because while trying to be an «original» disguised elaboration of the restoration of capitalism in Yugoslavia, it has caused indescribable chaos in the entire Yugoslav capitalist, political and economic structure, right up to the Yugoslav federal state

structure. The Titoites, seeking to embroil the working class, too, in their capitalist system, set up such an anarchic system in their capitalism that it is difficult for them, or it will take time, and even more draconian measures, to restore all the characteristic features of capitalist oppression and exploitation. Their system does not fully confirm to the commitments that they have to their capitalist masters nor to the requirements and commitments linking them with their revisionist partners. The Titoite system of «workers' self-administration», «workers» in name only, is creating strata of the new capitalists, is bringing about the concentration and polarization of the trusts and concerns. But at the same time, it is making the serious contradictions of the Titoite system, the contradictions between the working class and the employers, between the poor peasants and the kulaks, between the employers themselves, between the kulaks themselves, between the Republics and the various nationalities, and so on, even more acute.

As is apparent from the development of events, the Dubcek group is seeking to prevent the Yugoslav chaos occurring in Czechoslovakia. Therefore, it is aiming to achieve the restoration of capitalism in Czechoslovakia under the new conditions, by returning Czechoslovakia to the capitalist forms, methods and content of the bourgeois-capitalist Czechoslovakia of Masaryk and Benes, while taking advantage, at the same time, of the experience of the other capitalist countries, and their political and economic theories. Thus, the revisionist Dubcek is going straight ahead to attain what

he desires more quickly and to avoid, as he thinks, the contradictions and difficulties. Therefore, on this famous «Czechoslovak road to socialism» we are hearing demagogical talk about the regime being allegedly socialist and based «on the working class», but nothing is being said about Titoite «workers' self-administration».

Let us look more closely into this question.

They openly declared, right from the start, that the «whole existing political system of Czechoslovakia must be changed». It could not be put more clearly.

The new group that has seized power in Czechoslovakia is a group hostile to socialism, an anti-Marxist group, sworn enemy of the political system of the dictatorship of the proletariat. When this group says that the whole existing political system in Czechoslovakia is to be changed, this means that it will liquidate even those allegedly socialist or proletarian forms preserved by the pro-Soviet Nowotny group. This is not a matter of corrections which may be made to the «socialist regime» of the revisionist Nowotny group, to its «mistakes» and «hesitations». No, what we have to do with here is a radical transformation of the political regime in Czechoslovakia. In what direction is this political transformation being made? In the direction of the complete restoration of capitalism, the bourgeois capitalist regime, with all its fundamental features, is being restored there. But in order to disguise this restoration, they are calling it the «Czechoslovak road to socialism».

In essence this is Togliatti's notorious opportunist

thesis about the «Italian road to socialism», but: started from the other end. Both these anti-Marxist reactionary roads have a common objective; to serve capitalism. The Italian and Czechoslovak revisionists share identical views and fully agree with each other. The Italian revisionists, who long ago degenerated into anti-Marxists, reformists and counterrevolutionaries, are seeking to come to power, to participate in the bourgeois state power, through «structural reforms», the peaceful road, and alliances with the parties of the bourgeoisie. This they call the «Italian road to socialism», which, according to them, they will travel, not only with the Italian Communist Party, but also with the other parties of the bourgeoisie. This is a great deception of the working class, aimed at extinguishing the class struggle, and strangling the revolution, and is a special assistance to the monopoly bourgeoisie appropriate to the present stage of the development and decay of imperialism. This, briefly, is the course which the Togliatti renegades are following.

The Czechoslovak revisionists headed by Dubcek, on their part, are following the same Togliatti road but coming from the opposite direction. It is relatively easier for them, for they are not meeting resistance from the Czechoslovak revolutionary Marxist-Leninists, while Togliatti's group is encountering resistance from the bourgeoisie, which for the time being, in the present situation, does not accept them in the state power. Dubcek and company are following the course of the destruction and liquidation of the dictatorship of the prole-

tariat, of all its forms, organizations and laws as far as they existed. In reality, the Czechoslovak working class has not been in power for a long time. This is a fact. While the revisionist Nowotny group was in power, work was going on in depth in the direction of the capitalist restoration, towards liberalization, though, for the sake of appearances, some outward forms of the system of the dictatorship of the proletariat were still retained. Even these forms were liquidated by the Dubcek group after it had liquidated the Nowotny group completely, after they had purged their opponents, replacing, all of them with proven anti-proletarian elements. Instead of going to socialism by strengthening the positions of the Czechoslovak Communist Party, Dubcek and his clique are weakening these positions and sharing them with the parties of the bourgeoisie. The bourgeoisie is seeking to recover its lost positions, as is the case now with Czechoslovakia, but once in power it will not share it with others such as, for instance, the Togliattists, Longo and Co.

It is self-evident that in sharing the power with the bourgeoisie the political system will be changed, too, and this is precisely what Dubcek is doing. It is also self-evident in what direction this change of the system is being carried out: if it is to go towards the complete construction of socialism or communism, it will certainly not be either Dubcek, Nowotny, or their bourgeois capitalist henchmen that will do this.

Within the framework of the radical transformation of the system, the Dubcek group, is

naturally, changing all the political, economic, state, organizational and military structures. All these changes that are taking place to completely restore capitalism in Czechoslovakia are being enthusiastically approved and acclaimed by the Italian revisionists who, with this «living» example, want to tell their bourgeoisie: «We want to do the same thing here in Italy; we are and will be, similarly faithful servants of yours, therefore toss us a bone if you don't want the working class on your backs».

Meanwhile the Soviet revisionists can by no means agree to this development which is currently taking place in Czechoslovakia though they themselves are also treading the road of capitalist restoration in the Soviet Union.

They agreed with the Czechoslovak revisionists so long as their clique, headed by Nowotny was in power and Czechoslovakia was an obedient «satellite» of the Soviet revisionists, allegedly one of the «freest and most economically independent socialist democracies». Nowotny's Czechoslovakia had kicked out the dictatorship of the proletariat, just as the Soviet revisionists have done. The Czechoslovak Communist Party was allegedly in power, indeed as the only party in power, hence as «a party of the entire people», and its degeneration was being brought about through the same forms and at the same tempo as the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Here, too, everything was proceeding in a co-ordinated manner. The Czechoslovak economy, allegedly independent and advanced, had become largely dependent on the raw

material supplied to it by the Soviet leadership; the Czechoslovak foreign policy was decided in the offices of the Soviet Foreign Ministry. Hence, up to this point, they were in full agreement.

But Nowotny fell and the Dubcek clique came to power. All that we have just outlined was changed. The split occurred, contradictions arose over the question of the guise to be used for kicking out the dictatorship of the proletariat, over the question of the Party, the question of the economy, foreign policy, the state structures, and so on. These contradictions will certainly deepen, and the conflict will become bitterer.

Czechoslovak reaction, the Czechoslovak bourgeoisie which is an integral part of and linked by many threads with world reaction and ultra-reactionary European bourgeoisie, knows very well what the dictatorship of the proletariat is. The Czechoslovak bourgeoisie fought with arms and entire legions against the Soviet power established by Lenin in the Soviet Union. Today, it does not publicize this struggle against the dictatorship of the proletariat but carries it on consistently. As a general background it uses the grime and dirt that the Khrushchevites have flung at the dictatorship of the proletariat and its glorious work in the Soviet Union; it uses the just and unflinching struggle that the Bolshevik Party, with Stalin at the helm, and the Soviet power waged in an exemplary manner against the White Guards, the Trotskyites, the deviators, the traitors to the Party, socialism and Marxism-Leninism, as a spectre to frighten people in order to take its revenge.

The betrayal by the Khrushchevites has assisted and is assisting the Czechoslovak capitalist bourgeoisie to carry out its counterrevolutionary work, hence there is no reason for the Brezhnev and the Kosygin to groan when the Dubceks attack the Gottwald period, reopen the trials of traitors, rehabilitate the bourgeoisie, the fascists, robbers, criminals, the clergy, when apart from staunch proletarian elements who, of course, are the first to be attacked and persecuted, they also purge the people of the Nowotny group and of the Soviet revisionists. A climate of white terror, a climate of bourgeois revenge against the dictatorship of the proletariat has been created in Czechoslovakia. The most rabidly reactionary people, camouflaged as communists, have emerged in the leadership of the Czechoslovak Communist Party. In the streets, the spectre of the demonstrations by hooligan students, which have been given the false label of «people's demonstrations» prevails. The Czechoslovak Ministry of the Interior is now directed by a person straight out of prison, into which he had been put for hostile activity against the socialist regime. The Ministry of Defence, too, is directed by a person released from the political prison. According to reports, every day, workers of the Czechoslovak security force are committing suicide in their offices, others are being arrested, and many others from all sectors will certainly be arrested and condemned by the bourgeois dictatorship that is being established.

All this capitalist transformation, all this white terror: of purges and revenge, is taking place under

the cloak of alleged legality; allegedly Czechoslovakia is emerging from «a dark and troubled era of murders, arbitrary trials and so on», into a period of «peace on earth, true social justice, class peace and human freedom», and so on and so forth, slogans of the notorious propaganda of capitalism with its knives unsheathed.

Naturally, the Czechoslovak bourgeoisie which is seizing power and for which the bed has been prepared by the revisionist traitors, is advancing capturing key positions one after another, without making crazy gestures like those of the Hungarian capitalist bourgeoisie at the time of the counter-revolution of the year 1956, but «quietly and cautiously», so long as any opposition has been quelled, so long as no resistance on the part of the working class and the labouring masses appears on the horizon.

The Czechoslovak bourgeoisie which is taking power has no hesitation about using the term «socialism», which has become fashionable for everyone from Indira Gandhi to the fascist Franco, in order to deceive the masses. In this respect, it has received its diploma from the Khrushchevites and the Titoites. But at this point they part from the Soviets, who have declared that they «are going to communism», at a time when, in reality, they are making a determined switch-back to capitalism, are trying to preserve the forms and appearances of a socialist order. But the Czechoslovak revisionists do not indulge in such nonsense — they are openly for capitalism. Thus, in carrying out their «change in the political system»,

which means the complete destruction of the dictatorship of the proletariat and its laws in Czechoslovakia, the Czech bourgeoisie which has come to power is coating this bitter pill with talk of «good behaviour» towards its opponent class, the proletariat, and of «not returning to the old subjective methods». For the modern revisionists, the laws of the dictatorship of the proletariat are subjective methods while the bourgeois capitalist laws «are sacred, objective and humane».

The Czechoslovak bourgeoisie that is coming to power says, in the points of the program of «its communist party», that «better laws must be sought and enacted to ensure that all individual rights and private property are better and more resolutely defended». The gloves are off, here. Individual property, private property! This is not talking about one's toothbrush, watch, or bed at home, but about something big, anti-proletarian, anti-socialist, capitalist, about the capitalist private property which is being restored. For this property, which the dictatorship of the proletariat had destroyed, new laws have to be drafted and established, and these new laws must firmly defend these rights given back to the wealthy, the bourgeoisie of town and countryside.

How will they proceed in recreating this capitalist property? The program of the Czechoslovak revisionists explicitly states that «the existing methods of administration and the orientation of the national economy have become obsolete and urgently require amendments». This is not simply a question of new forms of administra-

tion of the economy, but of changing the class system of the economy through these forms. Of course, the Czechoslovak revisionists have great experience in the administration and organization of a capitalist economy, both large- and small-scale, and, now that they have taken the state power completely into their own hands and severed those old threads which were holding them back, they will carry out their radical transformation of industry, agriculture, trade and the entire economy, modelled on an advanced bourgeois capitalist state. On this course, they will be helped by West German and American capital in the first place, as well as by the return of the capital of the Czechoslovak capitalists from these and other Western countries. These credits cannot be ordinary credits accorded to one state by another at a set rate of interest, but will have a definite economic and political character. By means of these credits, the capitalist structure which the Czechoslovak bourgeoisie is rebuilding will be consolidated. The state capitalism being restored in Czechoslovakia will have its main support in the internal industry as well as the new support that the foreign capitalists will provide.

At present, the political positions of the various bourgeois capitalist cliques in power are being consolidated in Czechoslovakia. This process will continue until the coming elections, in which the rehabilitated bourgeois cliques that were overthrown by the revolution, hope to regain their lost citizenship and to take power completely into their own hands again. And of course, they are going

to take power, sharing it with one another, not out of the kindness of their hearts, but like ravening wolves. The law of the jungle will reign here, too, irrespective of the demagogical words of the program of the «Czechoslovak Communist Party» which states without a blush, «it is characteristic of the present stage that antagonist classes no longer exist».

Thus, in Czechoslovakia not only do classes and the antagonisms between them exist, and these will become more and more acute, but now the various capitalist groupings are being rehabilitated and are organizing and systematizing themselves politically and organizationally in order to perfect the organization and management of the new capitalist economy. The new law gives the bourgeois parties that are coming to power the right and duty, as «independent parties within the front, to have responsibility in the administration of the country and the society». The new law of the Czechoslovak revisionists expressively states that the «interest of social groups must be protected and their economic interests must be taken into account in the economic policy».

Thus, not only will the state economy be run by various groups of capitalists incorporated in various parties, including the «Czechoslovak Communist Party», but other socio-economic groups will spring up like mushrooms after rain, outside the sphere of the state economy. This means that small and big privately-owned industries will be set up, collectivization will be smashed and big capitalist farmers emerge, and capitalist banks,

both local and foreign that will finance this big capitalist enterprise which is being formed in the centre of Europe, will be established.

The Czechoslovak capitalists in power, quite openly are going to build a bureaucratic, technocratic state, a regime of big economic trusts and concerns, that will be at the level of the «modern» technology of the capitalist world market. To achieve this as soon as possible, they must get rid of the existing situation, must break with the existing «socialist» traditions of the economy, must destroy the links and present forms of work and co-operation with the Soviet and other modern revisionists, and integrate Czechoslovakia completely into the mechanism of the capitalist world economy.

The planning of their economy and the decentralization of its management, cannot fail to assume entirely new forms which must conform to the demands of the new political and economic situations created. These cannot be the same as those that have been and are being applied in other revisionist countries, and it is not possible that they could be. The modernization, on a capitalist basis, of Czechoslovak industry, which is already considered one of the most modern in the revisionist camp, will undoubtedly bring changes in the forms, structures and methods of management. Of course there are many specific conditions to be taken into account in this: not only the foreign market, not only the interests of foreign capitalist investors, but also the specific interests of the Czechs and the Slovaks and the interests of the

internal capitalist groups that have been formed or are in the process of formation.

In short, the anti-Marxist team of Dubcek placed at the helm in Czechoslovakia, is more rapidly leading it towards capitalism. It is carrying out radical purges of its opponents, who are sometimes called Nowotnyites, sometimes revisionists and sometimes «Stalinists», and is not going to tolerate any person of the Gottwald period or of the Nowotny period, in any key leading post. It is surrounding itself with and bringing to power the most notorious rabidly anti-Marxist elements, branded revisionists and clergy, individuals just released from prison under the new law they proclaimed «on the complete rehabilitation of communists and non-communists who have suffered victimization in past years».

While openly consolidating the positions of capitalism in Czechoslovakia, through these actions, the Dubcek clique is saying to the Soviet revisionists so that the whole world can hear: We shall not stop at your Khrushchevite norms; we have decided to go further, openly, even against your will, even to accuse and expose you in the eyes of the other revisionists, as conservative and outmoded revisionists who are not making any advance towards the «democratization and liberalization» you preach. While as to the capitalist world, the Dubcek team is giving it great guarantees, hopes and full confidence.

Of course, this team of traitors is going to carry out radical political, constitutional and economic reforms. Without doubt all these things

will come in due course, for, as the saying has it, «every fruit ripens in its own time». At the moment we see the leading role of the Czechoslovak Communist Party being reduced, see it becoming weaker ideologically and politically, deproletarianized and bourgeoisified, we see the role of the National Front being elevated to an unprecedented position, and the formation, rights and functions of the other bourgeois parties with which it is sharing the power and co-operating to consolidate capitalism sanctioned by law. On the other hand, this team is preparing for federalism, that is, allegedly to make both the Czechs and the Slovaks «equal» in all rights. Bearing in mind the course of the revisionist Dubcek clique, in fact, this means that it is inciting and keeping the weapon of nationalism and chauvinism poised to attack socialism and any revolutionary movement, in order to speed up the restoration of capitalism, to favour Slovak chauvinism in these circumstances and to have it ready at any time as a counterweapon.

Of course, the Dubcek team, using the pretext that Nowotny's Czechs had neglected «the poor sister», Slovakia, will finance it more in its capitalist development until it reaches the «advanced level of the favoured sister» without neglecting the modernization of the Czech industry.

Without doubt, there will be continual contradictions over this fundamental question. Stability will not exist and we shall witness continual clashes between the Czech and Slovak capitalists, between the latter and the foreign capitalist masters who have greater influence, because they have

more capital invested in one or the other part of this federation or confederation that bears the false name of «the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic».

The Czechoslovak group that will give leadership in the future, not only has to balance the Czech and Slovak forces on the nationalist platform, but it is also obliged to balance them in the leadership of the bourgeois capitalist political parties that are being rehabilitated and the others that will be created as new parties. All these parties are being organized; they are establishing their own press organs, their trade-union and youth organizations. Each of them is working to spread its own views among the masses. All the clamorous demands of these organizations, the students, the bourgeois writers and the unbridled journalists, for independence from the revisionist Communist Party, going so far as claims to have their own deputies and special representatives in the state organs, are nothing but an aspect of the revival of the various bourgeois groups, of their organizing and efforts to claim participation in the state power and running the country.

For the time being, everything is being done under the pseudo-socialist and allegedly traditional label of «the genuine democratic hegemony of the Czechoslovak Communist Party» which, at present, is the largest party numerically. However, such a situation is temporary. The strengthening of capitalism in Czechoslovakia will bring about the differentiation of the parties. It might bring the revisionist Communist Party of Czechoslovakia down from its pedestal and reduce it to a party with

completely social-democratic or western socialist features. Other parties may win supremacy and power. A party without the slightest socialist trace but which represents the strongest Czech or Slovak capitalist group, closely linked with the most powerful capitalist group abroad, may become the most powerful party.

The revisionist team currently at the head of the Czechoslovak Communist Party and the Czechoslovak state is now preparing this process of capitalist development under the guise of «socialism» in order to avoid the hegemonic blows of the Soviet revisionists, to keep the working class and the other working strata slumbering, in order to avoid and crush the eventual internal disturbances and blows. Meanwhile the capitalist world is quite clear about where the Dubcek clique is heading.

Dubcek's revisionists now claim that there are no longer any restrictions, no censorship, no entry or exit visas in Czechoslovak passports or those of the western countries, that no Czechoslovak citizen can be treated as a political fugitive or emigré if he goes away and stays outside the country. In a word, the Dubcek clique has transformed Czechoslovakia into an inn, in which people, goods and ideas can flow freely back and forth, between Czechoslovakia and the West.

The Czechoslovaks are boasting about the rights of the national minorities, as though they did not exist formerly. Apparently, the ground is being prepared for the return to Czechoslovakia of over one million Sudeten Germans. In other words, they are trying to strengthen contacts with the

capitalists of Bonn to ensure the inflow of capital investments from West Germany. Certainly, this will bring about a radical change in Czechoslovak foreign policy and in its political attitude towards the German Democratic Republic, towards the Warsaw Treaty, and towards the present policy of the states of Central Europe in general.

It is now being vigorously advocated in Czechoslovakia that, due to the country's geographical position it is destined to serve as a «bridge between East and West», and everyday there is talk about pursuing an active European policy, about a more active policy towards the «unification of Europe» and so on. The present ruling clique in Czechoslovakia is doing nothing to conceal its ardent desire for allround normalization of its relations with Boon. Its «assurances» that allegedly it will support and defend the interests of the German Democratic Republic are false, just as false, also, are its declarations that the key-stone of its foreign policy will remain its friendship with the Soviet Union.

The present line pursued by Czechoslovakia in the direction of its foreign policy is purely provisional. In the near future it will assume a clearer, concrete, pro-Western form. Its emissaries have already been sent to the United States, Britain and elsewhere. Neither the content nor the forms of the existing policy with the Soviet revisionists and the other revisionists can be durable. They will undergo changes, perhaps, «dramatic» changes.

All these changes which are taking place and will continue in Czechoslovakia, the decentralization and transformation of the economy, the poli-

tical and constitutional system, the internal and external alliances, the Czech and Slovak national rivalry, the modernization and linking of industry with foreign capitalist trusts, the return of agriculture to the capitalist road, the re-establishment of private property, the grouping of capitalists into trusts and concerns, the finding of new sources of raw materials and export markets, all these and other such transformations cannot take place without clashes, both internally and externally; cannot fail to have an effect within the Soviet Union and the other revisionist countries of Europe or fail to encounter their resistance.

The various imperialists will give special importance to the Czechoslovak capitalist bourgeoisie and will give it great assistance for the complete restoration of capitalism, proceeding from their own economic, political, ideological and strategic reasons, interests, aims and benefits. Czechoslovakia is becoming for them a pivot in Central and South-east Europe, where the interests of the Soviet revisionist imperialists and the Western imperialists clash, where there is the danger of a turning point in the revolutionary struggle, in the class struggle between the proletariat and the working masses, on the one hand, and the revisionist cliques who have usurped power in the party and state, on the other.

With the restoration of capitalism in Czechoslovakia, imperialism is seeking to avoid the bad example set by the Titoite chaos to achieve the liquidation of the economic and political dependence of Czechoslovakia on the Soviet Union as quickly as

possible, and at the same time, to bring about the bourgeois transformation of education and culture so that Czechoslovakia will become a support for and a revisionist country of a type attractive to Hungary, Bulgaria, Poland, etc.

It is not ideological ties which keep the revisionist states united with the Soviet revisionists, but rather economic issues and the Warsaw Treaty of mutual defence. If these knots are untied, then everything will be released from the dictate of the Soviet leadership. If American imperialism and the other imperialist states can manage to undo this knot, then the revisionist Soviet Union will be isolated, and left in the lurch by its revisionist allies.

Now there is some other revisionist country, not to mention Titoite Yugoslavia, which maintains only formal political and defence ties with the Soviet Union. These ties are limited to reciprocal commercial exchanges only and everything else is tense. Now it all depends on how things will go in Czechoslovakia and they cannot do other than take the course we mentioned above. Therefore what is happening in Czechoslovakia constitutes a great defeat for the Soviet leading clique, because it jeopardizes its whole policy towards its revisionist satellites. Once this road is opened, Hungary or Poland also, may follow the example of Czechoslovakia, and then the Warsaw Treaty, the political ties, and the so-called ideological ties would all collapse. The Comecon likewise. In that case the revisionist Soviet Union would experience a major political and economic upheaval. Such a pro-

cess will surely come to pass. It is in the making. All these loudly advertized political and ideological changes taking place in Czechoslovakia have and will have great repercussions in the Soviet Union, irrespective of how the Soviet revisionists try to disguise, conceal, minimize and distort what is happening in Czechoslovakia in order to help their cause, to reduce their effect and avoid the consequences. The truth will be out, if not today, tomorrow, the sun cannot be concealed with a sieve. This is a chain-reaction. Then in the Soviet Union, under the circumstances in which the allround crisis of the Khrushchevite revisionist regime has long been simmering, the shaken position of the ruling clique will become even more difficult, the contradiction between the present Soviet leadership, which is furiously angry with the Czechoslovak extremist clique (but is trying to devise ways and means to destroy it, by undermining it from within or by means of all sorts of pressure and blackmail), and the pro-Czechoslovak Soviet elements, who are likewise demanding freedom of action, «democratization» and changes, will become more acute. On the other hand and above all, the Soviet revisionist leadership is very much afraid of the rising tide of the revolution, because all these defeats are confirming the betrayal by the revisionist chiefs in the eyes of the masses and the working class of the Soviet Union. In this situation, so serious for them, the Soviet revisionist leaders, certainly divided among themselves, are trying to preserve the appearance of unity in the leadership, trying to make light of their external defeats, trying to

preserve the «status quo» and «ideological and political stagnation» internally, trying to fob off the party and the working class with allegedly revolutionary leftist slogans, to create the impression that «liberalization does not enter Soviet society». However, all these efforts cannot solve many issues. What they think they have repaired today will fall apart tomorrow. This is the dialectics of the things.

The storm is rising within the Soviet Union, and the waves are crashing against Soviet revisionism on all sides, from outside, too, in the first place from the genuine Marxist-Leninist Parties, and all the world revolutionaries who are watching, judging and fighting. But besides the struggle waged by the Marxist-Leninists against the Soviet revisionists, we are seeing and will see even more clearly later, how the «revisionist partners» of the Soviet revisionists in the capitalist countries will abandon them. At present they have two lovers: one of the heart and the other for his money. For the Italian, French and other revisionists of the capitalist countries, Czechoslovak revisionism will become the former, the true lover, because it has brought nearer and is realizing their dream, because they will boast of it to their capitalists and, on the strength of its example, they will beg a crust from the capitalist table. Whereas Soviet revisionism is the old lover who has to give them subsidies. The Italian revisionists, deputies and senators, at meetings and over television, are saying openly, «We are not for the establishment in Italy of a socialist regime like that in the Soviet Union, but for a

socialist regime such as has now been established in Czechoslovakia».

The Dubcek group, on the road to the restoration of capitalism, has now given freedom of action to all, with the exception of the proletariat, the revolutionaries and Marxist-Leninists. «Freedom of the press» for all reactionaries has been proclaimed, and in fact, in present-day Czechoslovakia there is no censorship even for the blackest reaction. While for the working class and the revolutionary communists, even freedom of speech and discussion within the Party has been denied, not to mention their right to go out in the streets to oppose reaction or to write in the press. Such a situation does not exist even in the capitalist countries where reaction is in power, but where, despite this, the Marxist-Leninists have the right to organize, to hold demonstrations and go on strikes, to hold meetings and have their press organs. Hence the Dubcek team is quite openly and unashamedly going further: all reactionaries, all the fascists, can speak how and wherever they like, while prison awaits the revolutionaries.

With this sort of «freedom» the Czechoslovak revisionist team is consistent in its course. It wants and is working to accelerate and activate the process of degeneration in everything from the past. On this course it enjoys the assistance of the bourgeois press in the capitalist countries, to which the doors have been flung open in Czechoslovakia to such an extent that its representatives are present even at the meetings of the basic organizations of the Czechoslovak Communist Party.

The counter-revolution within the counter-revolution in Czechoslovakia is striving to consolidate its newly-won positions and is celebrating its victory. However, the working class and the revolutionaries of Czechoslovakia have still not had their say. Will the genuine Marxist-Leninists and the workers of Czechoslovakia permit the betrayal which is being perpetrated against the Czechoslovak people and socialism for much longer?

Everybody understands now that the bourgeoisie, the fascists and the reactionaries, the hooligans with long hair, financed by the international bourgeoisie are making the law in Czechoslovakia today. Will the Czechoslovak working class and the revolutionaries allow such a thing?

The revolutionary communists and the working class of Czechoslovakia must reject the false «freedoms» of the Dubcek clique. How can it be tolerated that the fascists, traitors, and formerly imprisoned class enemies are free to speak and attack Marxism-Leninism, to sully the memory of Clement Gottwald and other Marxist-Leninists like foul-mouthed hooligans, and the revolutionaries of Czechoslovakia fail to erupt in anger against them and not have the right to defend the cause of communism? The revolutionary communists must smash all the pseudo-norms that have been established in the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, by Nowotny and Dubcek, with which they have bound the communists hand and foot, and establish the Leninist norm of Gottwald, who said, «The Party must be the leader of the masses, the organizer of

their struggle... The more acute the situation, the tenser the class contradictions, the more important and decisive becomes the role of the Party». Clement Gottwald likewise said, «Any opportunism, any wavering, any conciliation with the opportunists, any lack of principle, inevitably leads to liquidationism». Only by rising against them can the revolutionary communists and the working class smash the treacherous plans which the Nowotny and Dubcek cliques have hatched up against socialism in Czechoslovakia, the former with the assistance of the Soviet revisionists and the latter with the aid of international reaction.

The ultra-revisionist Dubcek clique is afraid of the people and the true communists; it is afraid of the old guard which keeps alive the spirit of the revolutionary class struggle, of the partisan war, and the events of February, 1948; it is afraid of the working class and the communists inspired by C. Gottwald according to the teachings of Marxism-Leninism. Because of this fear, Nowotny and Dubcek, both of them renegades and enemies of the proletariat, settled their accounts in behind-the-scenes deals in the gloom of Prague Castle, ignoring the working class and behind its back, avoiding and fearing its judgement. The Dubcek clique fears the workers' militia which has weapons in its hands, that is why this clique is trying to disarm the working class. Will the working class permit such a thing? Now the victories of the working class in Czechoslovakia, whatever they be, are under serious threat from the bourgeoisie, the fascists and the usurpers. Therefore, it is now or

never that the strength of the working class must be demonstrated.

The tragic situation through which Czechoslovakia is passing demands valour and courage. These are not the qualities of traitors and cowards but of revolutionaries. What are the brave men of Czechoslovakia, the genuine Marxist-Leninists and the working class doing? Why are they silent, allowing the cowards and the fascists to strut in the streets, to impose the white terror and fabricate grave situations that drive people to commit suicide? Whom do the revolutionaries fear? Is it that they want to respect the «legality» of their party and the laws of the dictatorship of the «proletariat»? But today in Czechoslovakia, legality does not exist, neither the Party nor the state power belongs to the revolutionaries and the workers any longer. They have been turned into a party and a dictatorship of the bourgeoisie.

The communists and working class throughout the world believe that the revolutionaries and the working class of Czechoslovakia will come out in the streets and fight to defend the interests of the people, socialism and the dictatorship of the proletariat. In the decisive days of February, 1948, the proletarian revolutionary, Clement Gottwald, issued the clarion call to all the Czechoslovak workers and people: «I call on you all to be vigilant and in combat readiness... Nip in the bud any act of provocation by reactionary agents. Be united, determined, and your right will win!». New Gottwalds and Fuciks will come out on the battlefield, talented revolutionaries and outstanding

leaders, who will lead the Czechoslovak working class and working people in battles to raze to the ground the rotten fortress of the Nowotny and Dubcek cliques. This is the only road which will bring no grist to the mill of the Soviet revisionists, Dubcek, or the imperialists, but responds only to the interests of the Czechoslovak people, the interests of socialism and world proletarian revolution.

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LET THE STORM OF REVOLUTION BREAK OUT WITH FORCE!

Article published in the newspaper «Zëri i popullit»

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The great changes that have taken place and are taking place in the world as a result of the struggle of the peoples have created and are continually creating a situation favourable to the revolutionary forces that are struggling for social emancipation and national liberation, for the building of a new world without capitalists and colonialists. The fundamental problem now facing the genuine communists and revolutionaries, both in the capitalist countries, as well as where the revisionists are ruling, is that they should act with courage and in a consistently revolutionary way in the fight against imperialism and its tools — the modern revisionists.

The world capitalist bourgeoisie has mobilized all its forces and is precisely striving to extinguish the revolution where it has started, to prevent it

where it is about to start, and to wipe it out where it has triumphed. The bourgeoisie has placed the modern revisionists, the basest and most diabolic traitors to Marxism-Leninism, in the vanguard of its brutal ideological and political fight. In these conditions, modern revisionism poses a great and immediate danger to revolution and socialism.

Why do the Marxist-Leninists insist on this issue, why have they described and are continually describing modern revisionism as a great danger to revolution and socialism, why do they always call on all the revolutionaries to close their ranks and to fight boldly and without compromise up to the complete ideological and political destruction of revisionism?

The answer is clear. Modern revisionism constitutes such a danger because it is headed by the Soviet revisionists who have usurped the helm of the Communist Party and the Soviet State, of the country where the October Revolution was carried out and where socialism triumphed for the first time. It constitutes such a danger because revisionism has seized power in many European countries of former people's democracy, because the revisionist cliques have seized the leadership and the apparatus of the party in many communist and workers' parties of the world, where the main cadres have become bourgeoisified. They exploit the traditions of organization of the working people for their own aims, keep the trade-unions of the workers and their bourgeoisified apparatus and cadres under their direction. The revisionists have colossal funds and materials at their disposal to

finance political, ideological and organizational diversion throughout the world, they have great propaganda means to distort Marxist-Leninist theory, to revise it and to present this distortion as an «actual and realistic development in the conditions of our epoch», in short to adapt in a camouflaged way the revised Marxism-Leninism to the interests of the bourgeoisie whom they serve with zeal.

In these conditions, the revisionists are striving to identify themselves with communists. According to the propaganda they conduct, they present their modern revisionism as «international communism». In the eyes of the revisionists the «alliance of the international proletariat» is but the alliance of the revisionist cliques, and «proletarian internationalism» is for them in fact the revisionist Trotskyite internationalism.

The evil is that the efforts for the identification of modern revisionism with international communism, putting them on a par, are not being made only by the chiefs of modern revisionism. The wrong viewpoints spread by them find a place even in many Soviet communists, indeed in a part of the Soviet working class. And precisely the Soviet revisionist party, which is in the lead of the strong anti-Marxist trend of present-day revisionism, greatly contributes to the preservation of these viewpoints, and what is worse, to mixing the wheat with the tares and hampering revolution.

Likewise, not all the communists of various countries and the world proletariat have as yet properly realized that there exists today in the Soviet Union a so-called communist party which

has nothing in common with the Bolshevik Communist Party of Lenin and Stalin. The present-day party in the Soviet Union is a revisionist, counter-revolutionary, anti-communist party. It is «communist» only by name, it poses as Leninist but it has distorted Lenin from top to bottom in everything. It pretends to be building communism, but in practice it is restoring capitalism and helping the other revisionist parties to tread the same road. If the Communist Party of the Soviet Union was formerly of the bolsheviks, today the revisionist party of the Soviet Union is of the new men-sheviks, Trotskyites and Bukharinists.

However, despite the fact that not all the communists and the working class of the Soviet Union see that their old heroic party has changed and degenerated, bolshevism cannot disappear and the bolsheviks cannot reconcile themselves with the tragedy they are living, they cannot sit by with folded arms. Some signs of their revolutionary revival are appearing, and they are encouraging.

The Khrushchevite Black Bands Are Striving to Close Their Ranks against the Bolsheviks and the Working Class

The Khrushchevite chieftains who are proclaiming like the Popes «urbi et orbi» that they are «building communism» in the Soviet Union, that the class struggle must be extinguished because antagonistic classes have allegedly disappeared, are now demanding from the party that it should «establish an iron discipline». For

whom and against whom is this iron discipline required on which the chief revisionist Leonid Brezhnev insisted at the party conference of the city of Moscow in the last week of March, and which is now clamourously trumpeted abroad by the whole Soviet revisionist press?

The «iron discipline» demanded by the Soviet leaders is a discipline of the black bands, of the new revisionist social-revolutionaries, which at first sight seems to be directed against the ultra-Rightist elements who, born in the atmosphere created by the Khrushchev course itself and encouraged now by the events in Czechoslovakia and Poland, have started to step up their activities. The Brezhnev-Kosygin group fears lest it should suffer the fate of Khrushchev, or Nowotny, lest one day these «liberals», if they are given much freedom, may overthrow the clique in power. By attacking the extremist revisionists, Brezhnev and company are seeking, on the one hand, to keep the latter in check, to control the process of bourgeois degeneration and, on the other hand, to take advantage of the hatred and contempt of the working masses towards these elements and to win them over and rely on them in every situation that would jeopardize their ruling position.

At the same time the Soviet revisionist leaders, by criticizing the ultra-Rightists, are striving to create the illusion that they fight not only against the «dogmatists», but also against the «revisionists», that they allegedly pursue the «Leninist» road of the struggle on two fronts. As a matter of fact, these tactics are aimed at consolidating the

positions of the clique in power and at intensifying, at their ease and with the least possible trouble, the fight against Marxism-Leninism, revolution and socialism. These are dangerous tactics which must be exposed and smashed. There should be no illusion that the degenerate Brezhnev-Kosygin clique, completely submerged in treachery, can be brought to its senses by the events in Czechoslovakia, Poland and the activation of the «liberals» inside the Soviet Union. The fight against the «ultras» is a fight among the revisionist cliques for power. Nothing can correct these cliques. Only the revolution for the overthrow of those in power or who are struggling for power, will put the Soviet party and state back on the correct road opened by the October Revolution.

It is precisely this revolution which is feared more than anything else by the Brezhnev-Kosygin clique. They fear the masses of the people more than the «liberals». They are well aware that an open activation of the ultra-revisionist forces in the Soviet Union of great revolutionary traditions cannot take place so easily as in Czechoslovakia. Such a process in the Soviet Union could not help giving rise to the resistance and revolt of the bolshevik revolutionaries, of the working class and of others, which would sweep away the Khrushchevite ruling clique together with the «ultras». Therefore, the «discipline» demanded by Brezhnev is directed, in the first place and above all, against the bolsheviks, against the people, against all those who dare or would dare to rise against the revisionist treachery.

The course of the recent events in Czechoslovakia and Poland has caused very serious headache to the Soviet revisionists. They are not only deepening the revisionist split, not only causing a lack of balance in political attitudes, disintegration in the mutual economic relations, but they are even causing non-observance of their military-political treaties.

With regard to the Soviet revisionists, these events seriously affect the very policy and internal structure of their regime. If the Brezhnev-Kosygin clique had thought so far that, after having got rid of Khrushchev, they had created a certain internal stability, the events in Czechoslovakia, Poland and in certain other countries created deep faltering within its leadership and showed that its «stability» was weak. Thus it was confirmed once more that there is not and there will never be stability in the Soviet revisionist leadership.

This great uneasiness is clearly evident in revisionist Brezhnev's speech. That is why he laid the greatest stress on the question of «unity» in the party, «Leninist unity» between the party and the working class, «iron unity» between the people and the «Leninist» central committee, and such other idle talk!

Real unity can be spoken of only in a Marxist-Leninist Party and is achieved on the basis of the correct line, of the undistorted Marxist-Leninist principles, on the basis of the pure Leninist norms of the party. But in the present-day revisionist party of the Soviet Union one cannot speak either of Marxist-Leninist unity or of any of those prin-

ciples which form, preserve and temper it. This happens because there is not and there cannot be identity of views and unity of action among the various revisionist cliques ruling in the revisionist party of the Soviet Union and in the Soviet state.

Bolshevik unity formulated and implemented by Lenin, Stalin and by the Bolshevik Party of Lenin and Stalin is the unity that the Marxist-Leninist Parties need, and it is precisely this unity that the modern revisionists fight against, seek to destroy and can never attain.

Bolshevik unity was achieved in fierce and uninterrupted struggle, led by Lenin, Stalin and the Bolshevik Party not only against the external enemies, the imperialists and capitalists, but also against Czarism and all the capitalist bourgeois parties of its regime, against the pseudo-revolutionary parties during and after the Revolution, against the Left social-revolutionaries, Trotskyites, Zinovievists, Bukharinists, and all the other opportunists, Rightists and «Leftists», agents of the bourgeoisie and reaction, inside and outside of the party.

Bolshevik unity eliminated the anti-Leninist factions in the Bolshevik Party. It did not allow and could never allow, either legally or illegally, the existence of factions in the Marxist-Leninist Party. If the opposite is the case and if they do not strive for the total smashing of all kinds of factions, the communist party can never be a Leninist Party and can never be called it, because on the main issue it will have then rejected these principles and those norms which make it the organiz-

ed Marxist-Leninist detachment of the proletariat. Such a party loses, eliminates the ultimate aim of its existence as a monolithic party of the proletariat, fighting for the establishment of the dictatorship, for the building of socialism and communism. Such a party is transformed into an arena where separate groups, with separate interests, with separate aims, struggle for supremacy, for power. Such a party strives to preserve only the disguise, the external aspect of a single party, with a view to deceiving and nothing else.

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union has degenerated today into such a party. There does not and cannot exist unity in the present-day revisionist party of the Soviet Union. Therefore the question arises: what unity do the Soviet revisionists headed by Brezhnev, speak about?

They call for a unity of the various cliques within the party and in the leadership of the revisionist party of the Soviet Union in face of the great dangers threatening them both from outside and inside.

The danger to them from within is great. It stems both from the split within their revisionist fold, and also from the good revolutionary traditions of the Bolshevik Party of Lenin and Stalin, traditions which the Soviet revisionists are striving to suppress, to cause them to degenerate or demagogically harness them to their own interests.

These traditions were created by the Great October Revolution and the fight of the bolsheviks, by the ideas of Lenin and Stalin, on the basis of which a great party was formed and tempered,

the dictatorship of the proletariat was established, the first socialist State of the workers and peasants was set up, socialism was successfully built up, the national question, so complicated in the Soviet Union, was correctly settled, too. In the process of the class struggle, energetically led by Lenin and Stalin, the dictatorship of the proletariat was strengthened, the consciousness of the working people was raised and tempered, the alliance of the working class and peasantry was consolidated, factions inside and outside the party were smashed and the possibilities of vegetation, be it in silence, or as a matter of form, of the nuclei of the other allegedly progressive bourgeois parties were removed. From the victory of the revolution and until now there has been and is only one political party in the Soviet Union too.

The Bolshevik Party of the Soviet Union laid down the traditions of a single party in power; since the revolution, the younger generations of the Soviet Union have recognized only one party, therefore they are connected with this tradition.

With the advent of the Khrushchevites to power, the socialist system built up in the Soviet Union was frontally attacked under the mask of passing over to communism. The dictatorship of the proletariat was attacked under the mask of the «State of the whole people», which means «liberalization» of the power. The traitors to the revolution, traitors of all shades were rehabilitated and the ground was prepared for the restoration of the new capitalist social basis, with a new structure and superstructure. The proclamation of the CP of

the SU as the party of the whole people is a bridge spanning the opportunist swamp and the elimination of all the revolutionary traditions of the Bolshevik Communist Party. All this creates favourable conditions for the liquidation also of the tradition of the single leading party, although this is not in the interest of the hegemony of the big Soviet revisionist State and of the connection of different nationalities living in the Soviet Union.

Soviet modern revisionism spells sure splitism, while strict implementation and defence of the teachings of Lenin and Stalin means unity. On the basis of these teachings the question of nationalities was correctly resolved and the Union of the Soviet Socialist Republics was created. Only the defence of the ideas of Lenin and Stalin can preserve the unity of the Soviet Union and of the nationalities which comprise it. Khrushchevite modern revisionism will smash the Union of the Soviet Socialist Republics and the Leninist unity among the nationalities.

The creation of other revisionist bourgeois parties in the Soviet Union will come about as a later result of the disintegration and degeneration of the Soviet Union, both from the political and ideological and moral viewpoint, as well as from the economic state viewpoint. The road of revisionism is the road of treachery to communism, of concessions to the bourgeoisie, of nationalism. Experience shows that the deeper the process of revisionist degeneration unfolds, the more concessions are made to the imperialists, to the bourgeoisie and to various nationalists. The new revi-

sionist cliques which come to power after upsetting the old cliques are ever more prepared to advance on this road. The Soviet revisionists are no exception. They too, will be compelled to make concessions both to the domestic bourgeoisie and to the nationalism of their various republics, just as they are doing with the imperialists and in their relations with their revisionist allies in other countries.

The Soviet revisionists pose as internationalists and accuse Tito and Dubcek of being nationalist and chauvinistic, as they are indeed, but in fact the Soviet revisionist leaders themselves are as much, if not more so, nationalist and chauvinistic. In order to camouflage their traitorous features they have rearranged the leadership by bringing in individuals from different nationalities, in order to give the impression that the different nationalities of the Soviet Union are represented. But in fact their entire activity is characterized by big State chauvinism, by the Russian-Ukrainian tendency to domination, by a reactionary nationalist policy which can only lead to domination by force, which will lead to the splitting of the Union.

Total degeneration will come about as a result of the division of the Soviet Union into different national states, ruled by capitalist bourgeois cliques that will seize power in them. The process of Titoite degeneration in the national question, not to speak of other aspects, the process of the disintegration of the party in Czechoslovakia and the revival of the national chauvinistic feelings of the Czechs and Slovaks are merely a prelude of the

great revisionist symphony which will be played in the Soviet Union.

The Soviet revisionists will strive hard, by all means, to avoid this thorough disintegration because such a thing is not in their interest as a big dominating capitalist state, but in such a case they will show themselves to be big nation chauvinists and they will be unable any longer to deceive anyone by the mask of a socialist state. They will continue to strive in their own interests to preserve the tradition of a single leading party, of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. The struggle of various revisionist factions within the party and in the leadership will take place for a long time inside the party, in the leadership, but it will pass outside of it too, to the parties of the Republics and to the Republics themselves.

In the struggle for power the revisionist cliques will not fail to exploit also the tradition of the Bolshevik Communist Party against factionalists and deviationists. Under this disguise Khrushchev and the Khrushchevites, in action to the preparation of the ground from the political-ideological and organizational viewpoint against Stalin and Leninism, attacked the Molotov group as anti-party. Later, the elimination of Khrushchev himself and his supporters occurred.

Nevertheless, at present in the Soviet leadership and in the whole party deep divergencies exist. There exist active groups struggling for domination, and as a result there also exists a fierce struggle among them. The clique that rules temporarily will strive to weaken the opponent cliques,

to neutralize them and, finally if they become dangerous, to eliminate them by attaching to them the «anti-party group» label, because the pseudo-party is for them, for the time being, the pivot which can deceive the masses of the Soviet people, accustomed to this tradition. Above all, the cliques that will win and rule will effectively rely on the weapons of their dictatorship, on their Security Forces and on their Army.

It is a fact that in all the revisionist countries the Khrushchevites, from the very outset, attacked the Security Forces, the Ministry of Home Affairs, systematically «purging» them.

Now, in general, the revisionists have purged the Security Forces of opponents and they have it for themselves. But whose is it, of which clique? Of the most powerful one. This is confirmed by the removal of Shelepin and Semichasny, two new revisionists who are, for certain, opposed to the others. They acted likewise in the Army, but here not so brutally. Considering it as a great and dangerous force, they acted and are acting cautiously, especially, through its leaders. There they caress the leaders, they remove cadres by tens of thousands, they decorate them, they give them villas, they pension them off, they expose them to suspicion, etc. The main tendency, as everywhere, in the Army, too, is degeneration and education with the anti-proletarian policy, attaching the leaders to the chariot of the most powerful clique with a view to using the Army as a weapon of counter-revolutionary oppression and violence.

The Soviet revisionists take great care so that

the degeneration of the party, of the State and economy should not occur in the chaotic way which the clown charlatan, Khrushchev, started. He was eliminated because he had been causing premature dangers to them. Khrushchev's successors, while causing the party to degenerate, in appearance preserve the forms of general organization. They effect many organizations and reorganizations in various administrations, but, to disguise themselves, preserve the general forms of the State, they speak of a «modification of the Constitution» and they are allegedly working for this, but they are not hasty. They are undermining the Soviet power, but at the same time they seek to disguise it, to preserve the socialist appearance.

As regards the organization of economy, the changes they are making in this direction, they are advancing more openly towards the liquidation of the socialist economy and its transformation into a capitalist economy. And it cannot happen otherwise as this is something which cannot be masked. This is required by the objectivity of the creation of the new capitalist revisionist class, it is required by the interests of the cliques in power, it is required by the new alliances with world capitalism and, in the first place, with US imperialism, it is required by the needs of their bourgeois dictatorship, which oppresses, and will always oppress more forcefully the masses of the people and revolution inside, and will activate the struggle for hegemony outside.

But it is not only the revisionist cliques that work and act in this whole process which is taking

place in the Soviet Union and in the fold of the revisionist party of the Soviet Union. True, they actually rule through a single leading party, as the bolsheviks were ruling previously, but this does not mean that in the fold of the revisionist party of the Soviet Union, and outside of the party, in the fold of the class and of the masses, bolshevism, too, is not working, though now it is in a minority, in semi-illegality or in complete illegality.

In the Soviet Union, unlike in other countries, the bolsheviks may have started or will start their work inside the party, as a still small faction and in complete secrecy, just as they may start or may have started it outside the party, or simultaneously from within and from outside, to re-establish the glorious Bolshevik Party of Lenin and Stalin. The Soviet revolutionaries will, for sure, also use the tested forms, methods and tactics of the Bolshevik Party. They will take into account the new circumstances and conditions and they will know how to take advantage of them. The experience that will be gained will certainly be of great importance to the future.

The course of events in the world and in the international communist movement has clearly shown that the Soviet revisionists, in close alliance with US imperialists, have become avowed and cunning enemies of revolution and of the liberation struggles of the peoples of the world.

In the international arena they claim to act on behalf of the Soviet Union, in the international communist movement they claim to act on behalf

of Leninism, on behalf of the Bolshevik Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

This is a great danger threatening the freedom of the peoples, the revolution, socialism and communism.

The Party of Labour of Albania has exposed, fought and will expose and fight these deceptive positions seized by the Soviet revisionists through to the end, for it thinks that this is the only Marxist-Leninist road of revolutionary struggle to distinguish between the Bolshevik Communist Party of the Soviet Union of Lenin and Stalin and the present Soviet revisionist party, to distinguish between the Soviet Union created and built by Lenin, Stalin and the bolsheviks, and the present-day Soviet Union which the Soviet modern revisionists have caused to degenerate.

Without making this distinction, and without waging this fierce uncompromising struggle against the revisionist trend and the means of its regime and power, the fight against the US-led world imperialism cannot be properly waged, nor can world revolution advance at the required speed.

The great interests of the Soviet peoples and revolutionaries, the interests of world communism, demand that the real socialist Soviet Union should be renewed, just as Lenin, Stalin and the bolsheviks created it. The interests of revolution demand that the real socialist Soviet Union should be strong, with inviolable international authority, as it was at the time of Lenin and Stalin. Now the Khrushchevite revisionists have lowered to the

ground the prestige and authority both of the Soviet Union and of its Communist Party. From this situation the real Soviet Union, the offspring of the October Revolution, must be rescued. But how can this be achieved? There is only one road and this is the road of the revolutionary struggle for the destruction of the revisionist clique now ruling in the Soviet Union. This is an historic task facing the working class of the Soviet Union, the real bolsheviks and Soviet revolutionaries. The tempest of a second great proletarian revolution in the Soviet Union will wipe the Khrushchevite revisionists from the earth's face.

The Contradictions Among the Revisionist Cliques Have Degenerated Into a Life-and-Death Struggle Among Them

It is now a fact that the hegemony of the Soviet revisionists in the revisionist camp is being split, as revisionism, being a bourgeois trend, has in its fold numerous contradictions and it encounters the oppositions of its partners and allies in practice. We are today witnessing the fact that the revisionist cliques, whether in power or not, are quarreling with, separating from, and opposing, the Soviet revisionists. The Marxist-Leninists had long since forecast such a situation, therefore, no communist, no faction of the working class of any country must allow itself to be deceived by the allegedly «independent», «sovereign» actions of any revisionist clique, and should not entertain the least

illusion that these cliques have become «sensible men», in as much as they have departed from the Soviet revisionists. Decisive in judging this phenomenon is the class orientation, the class struggle, the loyalty to the teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, and their implementation in a concrete and consistent way, bravely and without taking account of any sacrifice whatsoever.

We must bear in mind that the modern revisionists are not preoccupied so much now, as in the previous times, by the coordination among them of the revisionist stereotype formulas, fabricated in the Khrushchevite workshops of the Kremlin and zealously served at every supper by the revisionist neophytes. They became stale and were repeated so much that they are now worn out. They have all left the empty Khrushchevite phraseology in the lurch. Every revisionist group, whether in power or not, undertook, on behalf of «Leninism», to «liberate» itself for ever from every yoke, especially from the yoke of the «dictatorship of the proletariat» and of the «Marxist-Leninist» ideology. In their opinion, every theory, not only of the revisionists, but also of their new ideological or political allies, is now leading to socialism» with some impulses, with some slogans, with many lies.

Every revisionist group now began to be free and to build up its plans of detachment and reunion, of destruction and reintegration. It followed from this, of course, based on the «brilliant Khrushchev theory», that every country, in as much it has its own specifics, must build up also

a specific socialism. And each revisionist country began to lend a less attentive ear to the stereotype phrases issued by the Kremlin workshop, began to expound its own specific formulas, to formulate its own theories of how to organize the new capitalist State in its own country, how to adapt the economy to this State, how to liquidate the Communist Party, how to create the other bourgeois parties and share power with them, how to win over the Security Forces and the Army and change them from weapons of the dictatorship of the proletariat into weapons against the proletariat and the working people.

In addition to these main directions the revisionists in power in these countries were greatly concerned, in the first place, by the way and the form in which they would part with the Soviet revisionists. This was the big chain that had to be broken. They were bound by many overt and covert ideological, economic, political, cultural, military and other ties, state ties, interstate ties, ties of cliques, ties of individuals, espionage ties. A whole dirty network!

Of course, there would be a «settlement of accounts» among them, as among gangsters. And this settlement of accounts has already started, indeed it has considerably advanced. Therefore, it is no longer a question of «correcting the formulas of the theory», but of acting pistol in hand, «your money or your life», so to say. The revisionists have started a life and death struggle among themselves.

The notorious Moscow meeting decided upon

at the «Budapest Carnivals», as has now been shown by the other Budapest Meeting of the commission for the preparation of the «summit», hardly indicates the aim for which it is to be convened, to establish «peace» in Vietnam, or to establish «peace» in the revisionist camp, that is to reconcile the revisionist gangsters who have drawn their daggers against one another. This conference is intended among other things to conceal the whole miserable situation the revisionist party of the Soviet Union finds itself in, and the defeats of the Soviet revisionists. This is not a communist conference and the various preparatory meetings that are being held resemble the backstages of the horse markets, turfs, and trade exhibitions, where there have gathered all sorts of swindlers, traders, brigands, striking bargains, giving and taking signatures, words, rubles and dollars, to say this or that, this way or that way, to defend this or to insult that.

The new Budapest Meeting showed still more clearly the further rottenness and degeneration of the revisionist camp. Only a few weeks have elapsed from the previous meeting which was attended by 67 revisionist parties and hardly 54 parties were represented at the new session. Let us see how many will go to Moscow in November. There they will draw up a balance-sheet, but it is already obvious that it will be a deplorable one. The new revisionist Budapest Meeting, as to the number and quality of its participants, was a complete failure for the Soviet revisionists. That is why the major part of the participants were expelled and only

22 remained to prepare the hash to be served at the forthcoming Moscow meeting.

One of the main objectives of the meeting of these bandits will again be the fight against the Communist Party of China, of the Party of Labour of Albania and against Marxism-Leninism. They will never forget this in as much the struggle which the genuine Marxist-Leninist Parties are waging for the exposure of revisionism hangs over their heads like the sword of Damocles. The role of the revisionist parties, their very existence, is to suppress revolution in their own countries and in the world and, in the first place, to subdue those countries, which hold high the banner of Marxism-Leninism, of revolution and the liberation of the peoples.

Each day shows the weakness of the modern revisionists and precisely this year is becoming for them, and in the first place for the Soviet revisionists, a year of catastrophe. Czechoslovakia broke from the chains this year. Poland, too, is about to do so. Later it will be the turn of Hungary and other satellites. These problems of the Soviet revisionists will not be settled for certain, either by the «revisionist bohemia», or by the «number» of the revisionist parties of the capitalist countries that come to meetings — to fairs to receive the promised rewards.

The great contradictions corroding the relations among the revisionists are ever more expressed in the form of underground putsches and plots to overthrow one another and in the form of internal criticism in each party.

But all these troubles that have befallen the modern revisionists and in the first place the Soviet revisionists, are being covered up by the latter with the densest possible smokescreen so that neither the members of the revisionist Communist Party of the Soviet Union, nor the Soviet people can see clearly through them. And their propaganda is working precisely in this direction, trying to muddle the heads of the Soviet people, to make them more inert and more apolitical, to make them live and judge things by some formulas offered to them by the leadership, to make them see no further than their noses and, in case they manage to see something a little further, to make them see them through the glasses of a megalomaniac. By speculating on and purposely inflating what may be a lawful pride of the Soviet citizen as of «being born in the country where Lenin was born», the country «of the first man to reach the cosmos», «of the man who will be the first to go to the moon», etc., the Soviet leaders are seeking to make the Soviet people consider other peoples like flies, to think that others know nothing, that others are unimportant individuals, therefore, they should live under their shadow. In order to make people see things with the eye of a megalomaniac the Soviet leaders need time and again to organize some great spectacle to serve this purpose. For this reason, they are organizing the anti-communist Moscow conference decided upon at the Budapest carnivals.

Can the modern revisionists act otherwise with regard to their parties and peoples? Can the mo-

modern revisionists act otherwise in the international communist movement? No, absolutely not.

Modern revisionism is afraid of the genuine communists, of the people and of the international communist Marxist-Leninist movement, it is afraid to openly raise problems and to submit them to a serious criticism and a bolshevik analysis by the party, the people and international communism. It is afraid of being badly exposed and totally smashed. The revisionists serve up to their party what is in their interest, prepared, prettified, full of lies, distortions and calumnies. «Why did the Party of Labour of Albania enter into conflict with the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and with the Soviet revisionist leadership?» «Quite simply», the revisionist traitors told the members of their party: «the leadership of the Party of Labour of Albania and of the Albanian State sold themselves to the western capitalists», and so on, and so forth.

The revisionist cliques in their countries have thrown heavy chains on the political and ideological struggle of the revolutionaries, the Leninist polemics. The modern revisionists are attacking Marxism-Leninism with all their means and forces, they are distorting it. The Party of Labour of Albania, remaining faithful to Marxism-Leninism and performing its internationalist duty, speaks openly and exposes all these treacheries that are being committed with principled courage. It is precisely for this reason that the modern revisionists, jointly with their capitalist allies, attack the Party of La-

bour of Albania and have enforced their law of silence about the truth which it spreads.

But whatever efforts the revisionists may make, they cannot conceal the rottenness and the out-and-out degeneration of their parties, in the same way as they cannot prevent the destruction of the revisionist front and the failure of the Soviet hegemony over it. No meeting, no get-together whatsoever be they two-party, five-party or more, such as those which were held in Moscow recently, can bring order to the revisionists' herd. The great State chauvinism of the Soviet leaders, their efforts to dominate and subjugate their allies, favour and increase nationalist and centrifugal tendencies on the other side. Just as the struggle among the different groups constitutes one of the main features of the political life inside every revisionist country, the divisions and conflicts among the revisionist countries characterize the modern revisionists as a basket of crabs.

The present outburst of disputes between the clique of the Soviet revisionists and its revisionist partners, on the one hand, as well as the disputes about the political, economic and military issues among the cliques of various revisionist countries, on the other, can easily be seen. The contradictions among them are deep and can never be reconciled. In the not distant future we shall witness still greater clashes and disintegration the breadth and depth of which are already quite obvious.

Though the process of further degeneration of modern revisionism in various countries follows the same road and the same aims in general, it does

not have identical characteristics in particular. This is due to the specific features of each country where the revisionist cliques are ruling. The analysis of the events in each revisionist country in particular, the forms and methods used by each particular revisionist group against Marxism-Leninism for the degeneration of the Marxist-Leninist Parties and the dictatorship of the proletariat, are of special importance, which should not be underestimated.

The fight the Marxist-Leninists wage against the revisionists must be waged on a wide front, but they should not forget the particular fight against the particular revisionists, who use tactics which are not identical in attaining the same aim. Modern revisionism has its main common features, it has its identical strategy, but it uses different forms and tactics to which special forms and tactics of struggle must be opposed, for every situation, for every phase of its development, for every country and party in which it appears, seizes power, or takes the downward course.

Such an objective analysis is indispensable and must be made by all the Marxist-Leninist Parties, revolutionary groups and all communists and revolutionaries of every country that have seriously declared war on imperialism and its lackeys — the modern revisionists.

**It Is in Concrete Actions and Struggle
that the Marxist-Leninist Party Is Organized,
that the Working Masses Are Mobilized and
Educated for Revolution.**

The working class in the countries where the revisionists have come to power must become conscious of the socially historic moments through which the world and, especially, their countries are passing. They must realize that they are faced with a great catastrophe and their situation is more complicated and more difficult than that of the proletariat in the countries where capital is ruling. The proletarians of the capitalist countries can see who the enemy is, where he hides himself and how he must be fought, while the working class in the countries where the revisionists — these new capitalists who pose as «Marxists» — are ruling, are being deceived, hoodwinked, are being enslaved. This working class which is being placed under the capitalist yoke has not even the right to speak nor the right to strike as their comrades in capitalist countries have. Under the pretext that the workers cannot rise against «the regime of the workers», under the pretext that the dictatorship is «their own dictatorship, that the laws are theirs and thus they have no reason to rise up, to move», the new capitalist class in power in the former socialist countries is spending its honeymoon with the western capitalists on those territories where the proletarians and peasants, who fought for revolution under the banner of Marx Engels, Lenin and Stalin, have shed torrents of blood.

At the present stage of rottenness of imperialism we see the importance that the latter have placed on the stratum of the intelligentsia, the technocrats and bureaucrats, we see now that they have succeeded in corrupting a part of this stratum and have placed them in their own service, even in the van of their struggle to dominate the world, to suppress revolution and the national liberation struggles of the peoples. This corrupted stratum in service of capital is striving, by all the many means at their disposal, to corrupt, to deceive and neutralize the working class, the main and decisive force opposing capitalism. It is in this way and through this road that capitalism is seeking to lengthen its life-span.

This line is being broadly developed by modern revisionists both where they have come to power and where they have not. The corrupted intellectuals and bureaucrats have become and are becoming their mainstay to realize the transformation of socialist society into capitalist society. They are heading towards the subjugation of the working class, towards the restriction to a minimum of their historic role in revolution and socialism, they are advancing towards their decomposition, corruption and transformation so that they may no longer be a political force but a mere economic appendage, a means intended not to rule but only to work for others, to produce a little for themselves and much for the new capitalist bourgeoisie which is being formed, and precisely for the stratum of the intelligentsia, the bureaucrats, and the worker aristocracy.

In the countries where the revisionists are in power they are advancing more rapidly on this road opened up for them by world capitalism. But this general process likewise has its own differences in different revisionist countries which depend on the degree of the development of revisionism in each individual country.

The question may arise: how did this come about, this turning towards the Right of a quite important part of the intelligentsia in the Soviet Union and in the other revisionist countries? This turn, we may say, is a protracted process taking years, and it has not yet ended, the scales are still swinging. This has occurred, in addition to other things, as a result of the fact that the party in these countries has not sufficiently taken account of the question of the class ideological uplift of the intelligentsia in two directions. On the one side, while they were teaching ideology in theory they were not taking pains to tell those people, for example, what a pick was. This category of people that had schooling, whether they were sons of workers, employees, collective farmers, were swallowed up by the administration, offices, leaderships. They used to form the «elite», so to speak, of the proletarian regime, the new proletarian intelligentsia filling the offices, the universities, the deans' offices, the directors' offices, theatres, editorial boards, etc. These used to become distinguished people, philosophers, artists, writers and they all bore the title of proletarian. Some of them really were and remained as such, but others were degenerating jointly with the administration, for the adminis-

tration, from a means of the dictatorship of the proletariat, was turning into a monster that dominated, strangled and directed the power of the proletarians at will.

On the other hand, a large part of the intelligentsia went to production, living and working jointly with the working class and the peasantry. They acquired considerable technical skill, to which a special importance was attached, but little importance was attached to their ideological and political tempering.

On these two domains the bureaucratized «high proletarian intelligentsia», according to the tradition, had occupied the top positions and never thought of yielding them. They felt «very able», «unmatchable in knowledge», destined to lead and direct others, the masses, that is, the working class and the peasantry who «by nature» and «by functions» must only work, while the intelligentsia make the law, or more correctly, distort the proletarian law and use the dictatorship of the proletariat, the party, against socialism and against the party itself.

Thus, in the revisionist countries there are former proletarians or intellectualized, bourgeoisified, degenerate sons of the proletarians, who have lost the class sense, who have occupied positions in the party and the state after a long and complicated process, and now, through the strong apparatus of the party and state power, they have paralyzed the proletarian power and the party. As a matter of fact, in the revisionist countries, neither the

power of the dictatorship of the proletariat nor the party of the proletariat functions now.

In these circumstances it is indispensable that everywhere our Marxist-Leninist parties and revolutionaries in the world should, in the first place, awaken the working class, open their eyes, arm them and throw them as quickly as possible into revolutionary battle. The proletarian revolution is one of the most serious questions of the life of all mankind and it is, in the first place, a political revolution. It must be firmly led and firmly organized, for it is, without any doubt whatsoever, at any time and in every country a bloody clash between the working class and the capitalist bourgeoisie. Therefore, in the forefront of this revolution must be the proletarians and their communist party. Without a properly organized communist party, with clear Marxist-Leninist political, organizational and ideological principles there is no revolution whatsoever, no proletarian revolution can triumph. History does not record a victory under such conditions.

This is one of the questions of principle which the communists and the international working class must always bear in mind on their revolutionary road. The existence of really bolshevik parties of the Lenin and Stalin type is indispensable to the revolutionary Marxist-Leninists in the world, otherwise revolution cannot be organized and led. To succeed, it is indispensable that every communist militant in the world should become acquainted with the respective materials of the classics of Marxism-Leninism about the questions of the

proletarian revolution and of the building of the party, and faithfully carry them out in the concrete situation of his own country. All the considerations of the Khrushchevite revisionists and the bourgeoisie about these questions, who accuse us of being «Stalinists», «dogmatists», etc, are merely idle talk aimed at leading us away from the real road.

The teachings of Lenin and Stalin, the revolutionary experience of the Bolshevik Party, provide a brilliant example of how the party is built, of how to build the dictatorship of the proletariat, of how to build socialism, while everything of the Khrushchevites is to be discarded, exposed, mercilessly fought, for it is precisely they that are turning the Soviet Union into a capitalist country.

The modern revisionists now have in their hands the leadership and the apparatus of the workers' and communist parties as well as the trade unions. They are aware that the main danger comes to them from the working class, that is why they are striving to guard their game: preserves. The old social-democracy, whose slogans continue to deceive a part of the working class and keep it attached to its parties, is now allegedly indulging in polemics with the revisionist parties, but in fact it is only a question of dividing among them the crumbs from the capitalist dining table. Today there is no difference whatsoever between the revisionists and the social-democrats. They are all deceivers. They will strive in every way to deceive the working class in order to keep it under their domination and influence.

The revisionist parties, where they are in power, under the «legal» cloak, under the force of «democratic centralism», without democracy in fact, allegedly under the laws of the power of the «dictatorship of the proletariat», which in reality has been turned into a dictatorship of the new technocratic bureaucracy, bind the communists in heavy chains, while in the capitalist countries the communist and workers' parties which have been converted into revisionist parties are striving to keep the communists under their influence, transforming and breaking down party norms, making them similar to those of the bourgeois parties, so that their so-called communist has only the membership card but no obligations whatsoever. In a word, he is no longer distinguished from among the masses, he is not of the vanguard.

In these circumstances the imperative task is laid down that the Marxist-Leninists should break the revisionist-social-democratic encirclement of the working class, liberate the latter from the bourgeois and reformist ideology, imbue them with class consciousness, so that they may not lose either their bearings or their characteristic courage. The appraisal in due measure and in the proper way, both in practice and theory, of the role of the working class, and of the work and struggle in their ranks, is of decisive importance. It is from here, and only from here, that they should proceed, and not from a closed and narrow circle of some individual intellectuals or of some individual students.

The working class must close their ranks,

organize themselves. They must develop their own leaders from their own ranks, brave, faithful, militant men of sacrifice, and should not allow hypocritical, talkative elements to take over the leadership and use it for their own career-seeking aims or for the interests of the bourgeoisie. The working class needs tempered, steel-like and intrepid people having a good understanding of principles. They will love such people, they will listen to them and will follow them in grass-root organizations, on the barricades, in strikes and in revolution. It is in this way that the new revolutionary cadres will be trained and tempered, it is in this way that the working class and their allies will be won over, it is in this way that the modern revisionists and social-democrats will be exposed, it is in this way that imperialism and capitalism will be combated.

It is along this road that the working class will create their new bolshevik parties, loyal to the glorious revolutionary traditions and to the building of socialism, dedicated to the cause of Marxism-Leninism and capable of defending it from all external and internal enemies.

Real communists, revolutionaries, cannot shrink from this imperative duty. It is true that this requires selfless work and struggle, but they have never feared sacrifices, however great they may have been. There is no war without damage or suffering. The revisionists who have usurped power, of course will not allow the revolutionaries, the bolsheviks to organize themselves freely, to act legally, etc.; they will, for certain, persecute them, jail them, torture them and even murder

them. This however does not mean that communists must give up the struggle, the action. Communists defend their views openly, even before the gallows. They are not afraid, if need be, of coming out into the street to protest, to call together the workers in the factory to speak to them, to expose the traitors at conferences, to write books and distribute leaflets. The Lenin and Stalin bolsheviks were never frightened either by Siberia or the Czarist trials. The Marxist-Leninist party is organized in concrete actions. Through concrete actions the working masses are educated for war and revolution. Out of bold actions come the healthy elements of the working class who will lead them in the struggle to overthrow the revisionist cliques. Through the daily, concrete, revolutionary struggle, the bolshevik revolutionaries can and will build their clandestine organizations in the ranks of the working class, of the collective farm peasantry and of the Army, of the State Security Service, in the various apparatuses of the State etc., so as to attack the revisionist clique on a wide front from outside and from inside, to bring about their total destruction. The revolutionaries can and must defend themselves from revisionist attacks and make their struggle more effective.

Now the revolutionaries in the countries where the revisionists are ruling may not be in large numbers within the party itself. But they must learn from the example of the history of the Bolshevik Communist Party of the Soviet Union, from Lenin who, when he was in a minority, being convinced of the correctness of his line, preserved

himself the right and exercised it to call upon the working class to join him against opportunism or against the treachery of the various Right-wing or Left-wing factions.

The proletariat in many countries of the world must reorganize themselves, must guide themselves by their own real Marxist-Leninist ideology, they must launch an armed revolution and smash all the machinery of the capitalist, social-democratic and revisionist bourgeoisie, which are links in the chains of their enslavement. In their resolute struggle and in revolution the world proletariat will also have their allies who, in these revolutionary periods, will better clarify their positions and stands. These allies are awaiting their leader to take the battlefield. It is the battlefield, the drawn sword against imperialism and modern revisionism, that decides, and not the attitude of wait-and-see and of compromise. The latter always causes wavering of the possible and natural allies of the proletariat. The entire policy and the schemes of the social-democrats and modern revisionists jointly with the imperialists and world capitalists are aimed precisely at this.

A special historic responsibility, a particularly great role in the fight against revisionism is incumbent upon the Soviet working class and revolutionaries who are overtaken by the gravest treachery ever committed towards a people and the greatest danger threatening a great country with a glorious background as is the case of the Soviet Union. Do they not see the great abyss towards which their homeland is heading for? Do they not

see what great harm the activity of the Soviet revisionists is inflicting on the international communist movement and on the national liberation struggle of the peoples? Certainly they see it, and the Marxist-Leninists and peoples of the whole world have confidence that the working class of the Soviet Union, the Soviet collective farmers, people's intellectuals, soldiers and youth will overcome the temporary upheavals caused among them by the revisionists. They will discard the harmful illusions spread by the treacherous Khrushchevite leadership and will come down to the battlefield to overthrow the revisionist clique and to raise again the banner of Lenin and Stalin over the Kremlin and over the whole of the Soviet Union. The great Soviet people will for certain rise up one day and will again shake their powerful shoulders. The question is that the day should be advanced as much as possible, in order to cut short their sufferings, and to help also the other peoples who are under the revisionist yoke.

The Soviet bolshevik revolutionaries, as they put in their programmatic leaflet, have clearly defined their road: «To overthrow the bureaucratic order in the USSR it is indispensable to have an organization of the revolutionaries, it is indispensable to have a bed through which to channel the anger of the people and the popular struggle. And for this we do not have to search long. There lies before us the tested road of the reshaping of the proletarian party. . . . All those who are prepared to fight against bureaucracy, all those who dearly cherish the great revolutionary victories of

our people, must resolutely take this road. From the many and separate cells of the CP(B) of the Soviet Union and up to their merger into a powerful and invincible eruption which will sweep away the bureaucrats, — this is the road that the Soviet communists must traverse. The activities of the cells of the CP(B) of the SU, their slogans and leaflets must develop into a real partisan struggle. The earth should burn beneath the feet of the bureaucrats».

The Marxist-Leninists, the revolutionaries, the peoples of the whole world believe that the flames of revolution, the flames of bolshevism and proletarian internationalism, despite the efforts of the revisionists, have not yet gone out in the Soviet Union. They have not only the hope, but also the sure conviction that one day the bolsheviks, old and young, will once again fan out these revolutionary flames to burn up revisionism and to give new splendor to the glorious history of bolshevism, to the immortal revolutionary cause of Lenin and Stalin, of those millions of heroes who carried out the October Revolution, who defended their homeland from the Hitlerite hordes and who successfully built socialism.

Taken from the collection of articles with the title «The Marxist-Leninist Truth Will Triumph Over Revisionism», Vol. 8, Alb. ed., Tirana 1969..

THE SOVIET REVISIONISTS AND CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Article published in the newspaper «Zëri i popullit»

July 24, 1968

The Czechoslovak people are living through difficult days, threatened from within and without. This is the result of the treachery of the Khrushchevite revisionists, the Czechoslovak revisionists, the internal Czechoslovak reaction, the external revisionist coalition and the world imperialist-capitalist coalition.

Numerous enemies have attacked the Czechoslovak nation with a view to enslaving it for ever. All of them pose as «faithful friends», all of them speak of «giving the Czechoslovak people the freedom, the democracy which they are losing», but all of them are digging the grave for them. It was the Nowotny revisionist clique that started to dig the grave for the Czechoslovak people, by linking the fate of Czechoslovaks with the Khrushchevites. Nowotny was the beloved and honoured son of Khrushchev. After Khrushchev's «demise» Now-

otny's positions still remained firm, both within and outside the revisionist herd. Even when the centrifugal forces began the powerful movement away from the epicentre of modern revisionism, Nowotny and his clan stood unwaveringly beside Brezhnev-Kosygin as their ardent defenders and anti-Marxist fighters of the first order.

The attitude of Nowotny and his clan towards the German Democratic Republic, a very sensitive point this in the revisionist camp, was likewise «very good», that is pro-Ulbricht, and there was no sign of any rapprochement, like that of the Rumanians, with the German Federal Republic. Indeed, on this issue the Soviet revisionists, themselves, had many sins to account for.

No especially catastrophic internal crisis occurred in the economy and the process of the moral and political degeneration of the Czechoslovak Communist Party and the Czechoslovak Republic any more than was the case with the Soviet Union and the other revisionist countries. But something unexpected happened here: Nowotny's feet and those of his clan began to falter, and he was finally liquidated.

The removal of Nowotny and his clique, that seemed to be in the strongest positions in the revisionist countries, was effected by the clique of Dubcek, who until yesterday was himself unknown and had no authority. He was surrounded even by revisionists and ultrarevisionists released from prisons. Surprisingly, the men of the Nowotny clique did not put up the slightest resistance. On the contrary, they themselves contributed to their

own defeat, tendered their resignations and retreated like mangy curs, as if someone behind the scenes was commanding them to act in such a way.

All this shows that the Czechoslovak issue, in fact, cannot be quite so simple. Here, there is a big plot against a people, against a country that occupies an important strategic position in Europe. Thus, Czechoslovakia has been the chessboard, and the cliques that come and go, are only pawns in the hands of the Soviet revisionists and US imperialism. The international Maffia is acting freely in Czechoslovakia.

Long ago, the PLA predicted the process of the disintegration of the revisionist camp. The PLA explained the reasons for this in a Marxist-Leninist way, and it has not been mistaken. The events in Czechoslovakia, which are a part of this process, confirm our conclusions once again.

The modern revisionists in various countries are striving to break away completely from Soviet revisionism and are forging new ties, alliances and bridges with US imperialism and world capitalism. The greatest, most concrete, and real example in this direction is provided by Soviet revisionism itself which is bound neck and crop in an endless alliance with the United States of America and world capitalism. Today this alliance dominates the capitalist and revisionist world. The two great capitalist powers are striving to rule the world and to divide the spheres of influence, having the fight against Marxism-Leninism, socialism, and the revolution, as their first objective. The

question of keeping their satellites under subjection to them is part of their struggle for spheres of influence. Of course, this leads to the detachment of satellites from one power and making them dependent on the other. Thus, fight between wolves is raging, with plots and intrigues to the detriment of the peoples of many countries, among whom the Czechoslovak people.

Czechoslovakia, a revisionist satellite of the Soviet revisionists, is now striving to detach itself from the Khrushchevites and link up with the Americans and Western capitalism. In these efforts, the Czechoslovak reaction and revisionists have the aid of world capitalism.

The Soviet, Polish and German revisionists, in the first place, then to a lesser extent, the Bulgarians and the Hungarians, just sufficiently to be able to say, «we are in this, too», are exerting successive blackmail and pressures on the Dubcek clique to make it submit to them, and not break away from the flock, etc., etc. They are accusing the revisionist Dubcek clique of everything they themselves have done previously and on a colossal scale. In other words, they are telling the Dubcek clique, «You must not have ties with the United States of America, but we may; you must not have diplomatic relations with the German Federal Republic, but we may; you must not receive credits from the capitalists, but we may», and so on. The Soviet threats went so far as the intervention of their army in Czechoslovakia under the camouflage of the Warsaw Treaty and alleged «troop manoeuvres». And this brutal

threat has not ended yet. Now thousands of «tourists» from the Soviet Union and other revisionist countries, who in reality, are army-men, are invading Czechoslovakia and, in practice, are replacing the regular armies.

That the Soviet and Czechoslovak revisionists should come to such a point, does not surprise us at all, for we know and have said that bandits settle accounts among themselves in bandit-like ways.

But the question may be asked: Why did the Soviets drop their man, Nowotny, like an old cloak, while now they are exerting such scandalous pressures and blackmail? What could have happened?

Let us try to analyse those facts that are known at the moment. The crisis of the Nowotny clique began last year, but it was still a slight one foreshadowing nothing tragic. It seemed as if there was just the usual opposition among its members. A few students were making a bit of noise on holidays, some Slovak nationalists raised opposition from time to time, but there was no hint that what has happened was already in the making. Dubcek was to appear later from the «backblocks» of Slovakia and the «Party» School in Moscow where he had studied. The only «clash», if we may call it such, between Nowotny and Dubcek, occurred at a plenary meeting of the Central Committee of the Czechoslovak revisionist party, when the latter's name appeared for the first time. One by one, Nowotny's comrades and supporters like Hendrych, Koutsky, etc., began to desert him.

Why? And the Soviet leaders who followed the debates in the Central Committee of the Czechoslovak Communist Party in the finest detail, who had contacts and long, direct talks with the Nowotnyites and their opponents, who knew their thoughts and open and secret actions, who knew the country's political, economic and military situation perhaps better than the Czechoslovaks themselves did they not see what direction the events were taking? One can hardly imagine that the leadership of a great power pursuing an imperialist and chauvinistic policy should not feel which way the winds were blowing in its spheres of influence. Not only did the Soviet revisionists have full knowledge of what was happening in Czechoslovakia, but they were the instigators, plotters, organizers. The opposite version, that they could not have known, is absolutely out of question. Then, judging by events, it follows that the Soviet revisionist leadership abandoned Nowotny for someone else, for the Dubcek clique.

But, if we accept that Nowotny and his clique were closely linked with the Soviet revisionist leadership, how is such a thing possible? This seems contradictory. The key to the explanation must be sought in Moscow, in the struggle and compromises of various rival Soviet revisionist groups.

It seems that not all the Soviet revisionist leaders were for Nowotny and his clique. Some of them did not like Nowotny, they wanted to get rid of him, to get him off their backs, and replace him with another more liberal clique. Thus it

follows that the Soviet revisionist leadership is split on this key problem, that it is not only Czechoslovakia, but also the Soviet revisionist leadership that is at the cross-roads. Hence, we must accept the version that there were two trends in the Soviet revisionist leadership, one of which, the more liberal, dominated, organized the Czechoslovak intrigue, allowed it and helped it to develop and, finally, consummated it. Nowotny was overthrown, Dubcek came to power, the Soviet revisionist leadership «did not interfere in the internal affairs of Czechoslovakia», etc. However Czechoslovak reaction raised its head, activated itself, and Hungary was being repeated without firing a shot. Then, and only then, the revisionist conservatives and the army must have gained preponderance again and thus began the second phase of the scandal on the part of the Soviet revisionists.

Apparently the Czechoslovak revisionist clique of Dubcek had received firm assurances from the Soviet revisionist leadership about achieving its success. In its procedures it used the old Khrushchev tactics for the exposure of the revisionist Nowotny, whom they labelled a «Stalinist». They began to accuse Gottwald, Slansky was revived, they started to rehabilitate the traitors, to attack the events of 1948, to accuse Stalin of interference in the business of Czechoslovak courts, and other base things of this kind.

However, this revisionist plot created and supported by the Soviet revisionists, could not have been an isolated objective. The same process began to develop in Poland, against Gomulka and his

revisionist clique. In that country, it was the students that rose up, while the chiefs of the plot stayed «ostensibly» in the background.

Meanwhile there was nothing astir in the German Democratic Republic. We must draw the conclusion that the first stage was the encirclement of the German Democratic Republic by states with governments absolutely detached from the Soviet Union, or in agreement with the Soviet Union in which, at a second stage, following the successful outcome of the first stage of the plot, a new leading group, the one that organized the plot in Czechoslovakia and Poland, would have come to power there, too. Thus, if Dubcek were to come to power, if Gomulka were overthrown and the German Democratic Republic isolated, changes would certainly occur in the Soviet Union. The conspirators among conspirators were hoping for success.

In Poland, Gomulka suppressed his opponents for the time being; the plot against him failed. He «played» the card of the Soviet Army which is stationed on Polish territory — the card of the conservative Soviet revisionists.

It seems that the secret Soviet revisionist plot in Czechoslovakia and the overthrow of Nowotny was carried out without the knowledge of Ulbricht and Gomulka, who were one hundred per cent opposed to this plot, and this they made clear from the outset. The Dresden Meeting was held at their request, the exercises of the Warsaw Treaty armies on Czechoslovak territory were carried out on their insistence, and, of late, the meeting of the five, without the Czechoslovaks, who refused

to attend, also, was certainly held on their firm insistence.

The Soviet revisionists saw that the Dubcek clique had gone back on its word, which they had agreed upon jointly. Having subdued the Nowotny clique, the Dubcek clique gave freedom to the local reaction in order to secure the support of external reaction, which began to take a keen interest in supporting Czechoslovak liberalism, but **without openly burning its fingers** as during the Hungarian counter-revolution. The times were not the same. The Soviet-US alliance had to be preserved, for it was under its shadow that all these transformations were taking place. The impression had to be left that this was an internal affair of the Czechoslovaks, the normal continuation of the 20th Congress, the policy of coexistence and of «de-Stalinization». Because, in the final analysis, many secret threads of the plot were in joint **American-Soviet and American-West German hands.**

It was not fortuitous that Bonn so ardently welcomed the new revisionist team that seized power in Prague and that the leadership of the German Democratic Republic was the first to warn of this change. They felt that the changes in Czechoslovakia were very greatly and unexpectedly in favour of «the new eastern policy» of Bonn; that the step taken by Prague towards the Federal Republic was, not only a hopeful sign, but also a concrete gesture that had the approval and encouragement of Moscow. In fact, if not officially, the German Democratic Republic was put up for

sale and various prices could be offered. The fact is that the changes in Prague speeded up the conclusion of a series of important agreements between the United States and the Soviet Union which had been stalemated previously, such as the ratification of the Soviet-US Consular agreements, the signing of the Treaty of the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons, the establishment of the Moscow-New York Airline, the beginning of talks on the question of missiles and counter-missiles, and many others.

It is a fact, likewise, that on the Czechoslovak issue, the American press and that of Bonn, in general, are staying several steps behind, so as to give the impression of alleged non-involvement in this troubled situation, which is entirely to their advantage. Their actions in support of Czechoslovak revisionism and reaction are numerous and powerful, but under cover, so that the Soviet revisionists cannot seize on them and use them to make a fuss.

Seeing that the bird had escaped from their hands, that they were losing control over Czechoslovakia, the Soviet revisionists began their «heavy-handed measures», blackmail, threats, demanding a reckoning from the Dubeck clique, which did not retreat from its course, although it is clear that it ordered a lowering, to some extent, of the tone of the compromising shouts of triumph of the Czechoslovak reaction.

But Nowotny and the Nowotnyites could no longer be returned to power. It was a useless pro-

vocation when Chervonenko and the Soviet Embassy in Prague met the overthrown Nowotny. Leaflets began to be printed in the Soviet Embassy in the name of the «Czechoslovak people», the «Czechoslovak workers' militia», and the «Czechoslovak workers», who, allegedly alarmed that socialism was being endangered, were almost at the point of seeking the aid of the «Soviet brothers». This was entirely a revisionist affair of plots, blackmail, and threats. It was all to support the arrival of great numbers of Soviet marshals in Prague, of Grechko, of various delegations, and finally, of Kossygin himself, allegedly to spend his holidays, but in fact to exert pressure. But they achieved nothing apart from the military exercises of the Warsaw Treaty, which were a part of their overall plan of pressures.

However, being unable to achieve their aim, the Soviet, German, Polish, Bulgarian and Hungarian revisionists each addressed a threatening letter to Czechoslovakia and summoned it to the Warsaw Court. Dubeck did not go. He paid no attention to the threats of the other revisionists. The Soviet revisionists failed ignominiously all along the line. They not only lost their domination in Czechoslovakia, but also lost that faith which the Gomulka and Ulbricht cliques still had in them, not to speak of the Kadar clique, whose turn has come to «liberate itself» publicly from them.

The Czechoslovak revisionists enjoy the backing of imperialism and external reaction. They have the open support of Tito who, in the statement he made, hinted that he had knowledge of the threads

of the Soviet-Dubcek-imperialist plot. They also have the support of Rumania.

The Soviet revisionists sank still more deeply into defeat with the collective letter adopted by the Soviet leadership at the ridiculous meeting it organized in recent days in the Polish capital, with the revisionist leaders of Poland, the German Democratic Republic, Hungary and Bulgaria, through which they asked Dubcek and company not to overstep the bounds of what Moscow could permit in the internal and foreign policies of Czechoslovakia.

The hypocrites and liars who signed the Warsaw Letter are like thieves shouting that they have caught the thief. These betrayers of Marxism-Leninism and their peoples, accuse the Czechoslovak traitors of having betrayed Marxism-Leninism and Czechoslovakia. But the said letter clearly reveals the plot hatched up by the Soviet revisionists, the Dubcek clique and world counter-revolution against the Czechoslovak people. In this letter it is admitted that the Soviets had agreed with the Dubcek clique that the Nowotny clique should be got rid of. It says that the Dubcek clique did not keep its word over the dirty deals that had been struck behind the scenes. Thus, after accounts were settled with Nowotny, «the train did not keep to the pre-determined track».

The change of the revisionist guard in Czechoslovakia could not have been made without some major political reasons. One of these main issues, which the Soviet revisionists wanted to channel into a new course, was the German issue, the liquidation of the political disputes with the German Federal

Republic concerning the two German states. Antonin Nowotny cannot be judged more liberal than Dubcek on the German issue.

Then the question arises: Why «these brave» revisionists, who gathered in Warsaw, are so greatly alarmed that the Dubcek clique is endangering the security of the Warsaw countries and, at the same time, approve the purging of Antonin Nowotny? They fear a chain-reaction. What is going to happen to Ulbricht after the removal of Nowotny? Can it be said that the Soviet revisionist clique can find no fault with him? They can, for he has loads of them.

Nobody can doubt that the Soviet-Americans are preparing a big plot, clearing away all obstacles to the unification of the two German states, according to their agreements and plans. The shouts that the revisionists are issuing from Warsaw are also planned, because these fiendish Soviet-American plans do not always go the way they would like. They please some and displease others, some understand them quickly, others more slowly, some are deceived, others are not, some submit and others do not.

The Warsaw Letter, then, written by traitors, plotters and anti-Marxists, is a false, lying document. Nothing of what is said in it represents the truth. The whole thing is a piece of demagoguery. In admitting the plot in controlled «political, social, party» terms, the Soviet revisionists are seeking to anticipate events. Tomorrow, the Soviet people will call them to account for this vile deed. On the other hand, by admitting their plot in these terms,

the Soviets also admit their interference in the internal affairs of other parties and states. In Czechoslovakia they overthrew Nowotny, the First Secretary of the Party and President of the Czechoslovak Republic. Whatever they may say to the contrary on this issue, is a lie and sheer demagoguery.

The ill-famed Warsaw Letter clearly brings out that its anti-Marxist signatories fully agree with any structural and economic change whatsoever that the revisionist Dubcek clique has made and will make. A great horse-laugh would echo round the world if these revisionists, who have restored capitalism in their respective countries, were to recommend a *de facto* and *de jure* socialist regime to Czechoslovakia.

But what are these revisionist ideologists really demanding from Warsaw?

They demand that the Dubcek clique should follow the Moscow course as was decided behind the scenes, in a word, it could build capitalism in Czechoslovakia, but without making much noise about it, preserving the sham and demagogic forms, not allowing the Czechoslovak reactionaries to make too much fuss. Thus, the Soviet revisionists are advising the Czechoslovak revisionists «to roast the meat without burning the spit».

The Soviet and the other revisionists are scared to death by their successive defeats. Defeat in Czechoslovakia would cost them dear, that is why the Warsaw Letter, which reveals their great confusion and fear of defeat, can have no political, ideological and moral basis whatsoever.

The bankrupt traitors are striving in vain to

equate this epistle of traitors with the historic Marxist-Leninist letters the great Stalin addressed to the Yugoslav Communist Party in 1948.

Stalin's historic letters addressed to the Yugoslav Communist Party are immortal Marxist-Leninist documents, for they are based on objective reality, they are inspired by a lofty revolutionary spirit, by a great Marxist-Leninist, by a Bolshevik party, as the Communist Party of the Soviet Union was at that time, by the Soviet Union, the great Fatherland of socialism, as it was during Stalin's lifetime.

But by whom is the Warsaw Letter signed? By a certain Brezhnev, by Kosygin and Podgorny, three arch-traitors, who, themselves, are closely linked with US imperialism and accuse the Czechoslovak revisionists of linking themselves with the Americans, who, themselves, have caused the party to degenerate and advise Dubcek to observe «party rules and norms», who have established capitalism in their own country and tell Dubcek to do what they want, who, themselves, have relations and big deals with Bonn and tell Dubcek not to have relations with the German Federal Republic.

But the revisionists of the Warsaw meeting need this out-and-out demagoguery and this notorious letter for home consumption. They are especially afraid of the pressure from the revolutionaries and the healthy part of the Soviet Army and its officers, educated by Stalin and the Bolshevik Party, who are becoming aware that the revisionists have betrayed the behests of Lenin, the Bolsheviks and Stalin, that they have destroyed the victories won

through the October Revolution and the superhuman sacrifices of the Soviet people. Therefore, they have to tell the Soviet people, the Bulgarian and other peoples something. Thus, the opportunity, the diversion, was created so that numerous articles should fill «Pravda», «Izvestia» and even Bulgaria's «Rabotnichesko Delo», which carries an article entitled «The Counter-revolution Must Be Rooted Out», at a time when the prisons in Bulgaria are filled everyday with the most revolutionary sons of the Bulgarian people. But who does not know that in Bulgaria the worthless revisionist Zhivkov clique is kept in power only by Antropov's agents?

Revisionist Gomulka needs this letter to strengthen his shaky positions within the country and, at the same time, the Warsaw revisionists need it to warn their Soviet colleagues to think what they are about and not act towards them as they did towards the Czechoslovaks.

With their hysterical shouts against Czechoslovakia, with their breast-beating, the Soviet revisionists want to appear as zealous revolutionaries and conceal their plot. But their zeal went so far that this letter itself admits that, in the hands of the Soviet revisionist bandits, the Warsaw Treaty signed for other purposes, has been converted into a means of attack on, and aggression against, those members who do not obey the Soviet revisionists.

The Party of Labour of Albania and the Government of the PR of Albania, which long ago denounced the fiendish, aggressive and hostile aims of the Soviet revisionists, were not

mistaken. Woe betide those who fear the Soviet revisionists, whether alone or united with their associates of the Warsaw team, whether alone or united with the imperialists and capitalists of the world. The Soviet revisionists and any other enemy know full well what lies in store for them if they dare lay hands on Albania. The Warsaw Treaty has become invalid for the People's Republic of Albania. What accusations do the Soviet revisionists finally level against the Czechoslovak revisionists?

According to them, their mortal sin is allegedly the publication of their «2,000 words» statement. The Soviet revisionists are shouting that «socialism has been endangered in Czechoslovakia», because a certain Caesar has come to the top and because «freedom» of the press has been granted. But why has «freedom» of the press been granted? Why have these things come about? What is the source of them? Of course, neither the Soviet nor the other revisionists dare lift the lid on the secret.

The revisionists, headed by the Soviet ones, are accusing the Czechoslovaks precisely because they are going further and faster than they have done themselves, because they allowed the logic of their betrayal to act openly and rapidly, and did not know how, or did not want to keep under their control the propaganda which is flaunting their dirty linen to the Czechoslovaks, the reality about them, about what they wanted and what they achieved, and is likewise revealing to the Soviet people the reality that the revisionists are

striving to camouflage. Their radio, television and control of the press is one of the weapons which the Soviet revisionists and their satellites have left to deceive the world.

Following the scandalous letter they sent to Czechoslovakia from Warsaw, having lost the first round and being discredited, the Soviet revisionists are now asking for a friendly tête-a-tête with the Czechoslovaks alone. The intrigue to find a compromise, to save the face of the Soviets is continuing but in fact, they will be even further disgraced.

The bankrupt Waldeck Rochet who went to Moscow over this business and then to Prague, demanded a meeting of the European revisionist parties to adjudicate on the Soviet-Czechoslovak dispute. The head of the French revisionists had the approval of the Kremlin chiefs for this proposal. But when they saw that the majority of the revisionist parties of Europe came out in support of Dubcek, they hastened to advise their lackey that he should withdraw his proposal, for a meeting in such conditions would mean a failure in advance of the Moscow meeting, which is supposed to be held in November.

Tito, also, personally took the field. It is rumoured that he, too, may go to Prague. A «fine» prospect! We shall witness new clashes.

The positions of the Czechoslovak revisionists are being consolidated, the Soviet revisionists can do nothing but discredit themselves further or be overthrown, so that others will emerge who will have to «accept the existing status quo» and alle-

gedly «settle» the conflict. The crisis in the ranks of the revisionists is becoming deeper. This is fine for the revolutionary forces in these countries and the world.

All the fuss of the Khrushchevite revisionists is an immoral issue and merely froth and bubble. The Dubcek clique, while manoeuvring, is going ahead in its reactionary business. Its letter in reply, allegedly moderate and explanatory, dots the «i's» and crosses the «t's», makes accusations and answers the charges made, explains the situation and circumstances and feigns astonishment with regard to what is said and demanded of it. The two sides are preparing for the extraordinary congress of the Czechoslovak revisionist party, the Czechs as the masters of the house, the Soviet as interlopers. During this period there will be polemics, appeals and secret organizing activities, with each striving hard to gain ground.

What will be the outcome of all this? — It is difficult to foresee completely, but many things are clear already.

For the Soviet revisionists this is a major defeat which cannot fail to have grave consequences for them. The Czechoslovak plot and the loss of Czechoslovakia cannot remain unpunished within the ranks of the revisionists themselves. The persons mainly responsible for this defeat will be sacrificed. But the matter will not end at that: either Czechoslovakia will be further liberalized or the contradictions will become even more acute.

The loss of Czechoslovakia will not assist the theses of modern revisionism. With the breaking

away of Czechoslovakia, with the movements and instability in Poland, the borders of the Soviet Union are becoming less defended; now they are directly threatened. The German question will certainly lead to a further squabble, hence to the weakening of the defence of the Soviet Union. The Warsaw Treaty has become a tattered rag, a treaty which no longer defends the «friends», but attacks them and plots against them. The conservative revisionist wing in the Soviet Union will react and will resort to lies, but its reaction will even further expose the treachery of the Soviet revisionists. And in the Soviet Union itself there are forces, there are revolutionaries, who are not asleep and who will put this situation to good use. Within the Soviet Union, nothing can be expected from the changes that may be made in the ranks of the clique. Every improvement will come only from the revolution, from the barrel of the gun, from a radical purge of the revisionist filth and rot.

While undergoing a deep internal crisis, the Soviet revisionists will strive to give the impression that they have internal unity, especially now, on the eve of the «international» conference in Moscow which they are preparing for November, a conference which, as we predicted, appears very much compromised.

The Soviet revisionists are in trouble: they want to dominate Czechoslovakia again, but at the same time they are quite unable to take measures to mend their blunder over Nowotny, Gomulka, Ulbricht and, as it seems, the Soviet army, are for an «iron fist» in Czechoslovakia.

But this has no chance of success, it would be a major world scandal. All the revisionists in the world are against such a measure. Rochet, Pajetta, and others hurried to Moscow, certainly to tell the Soviets not to do such a thing for otherwise they, too, would abandon them. Then there would be neither a Moscow conference nor anything else. Blackmail upon blackmail. Thus the Soviet revisionists have been caught by the throat by their own treachery. They will try to come to terms with Dubcek and to save their honour, they will find a *modus vivendi*. The latter, on their part, will pursue their own course; they will take credits from the Soviets, will become absolutely independent, will ally themselves with the Americans, with Bonn and with anyone they choose and, for the time being, they will prattle about their «friendship» with the Soviet Union, etc.

Later, we shall witness the realization of new plans framed up by US imperialism and by Bonn. Their principal aim is to have the German Democratic Republic swallowed up by the German Federal Republic. This will be achieved without war, through the capitulation of the Soviet revisionists, under the shadow of the US — Soviet Holy Alliance and the transfer of the epicentre of the counterrevolutionary struggle to Asia.

This whole plot of the Soviet revisionists, aimed, at the first stage, at liquidating the Nowotny clique and bringing the Dubcek clique to power, at the second stage, at overthrowing the Dubcek clique, with the whole notorious range of blackmail, threats and the ill-famed Warsaw Letter, at the

third stage we will see the crowning of the defeat of the Soviet revisionists and their enforced penitence, which, no doubt, will end with a high-sounding communiqué stating that «the culmination of the sincere and everlasting friendship between the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia» has been attained. Their plot brought the Soviet revisionists only one victory — that their lackey, Todor Zhivkov, Prime Minister of Bulgaria, expelled the Ambassador and all the officials of the Embassy of the People's Republic of Albania from Bulgaria. This may be some small comfort for the loss of Czechoslovakia, and when the other satellites are lost, too, they may continue to reap such victories, because it does not matter at all to the People's Republic of Albania. Our mountains soar higher.

With Dubcek's advent to power, in the dubious diplomatic circles of the Yugoslavs, Rumanians and Hungarians, there was talk of the revival of the old pacts of the Little Entente. Yugoslavia and Rumania established diplomatic relations with Bonn and are receiving credits from it. De Gaulle is welcomed as a God in Rumania, while Tito praises him for his wise economic policy. Now they will work so that reaction in Czechoslovakia will be stabilized. Czechoslovakia will gradually take the road of Yugoslavia and Rumania, and abandon, *de facto*, all the alliances and agreements with the East. During this period, they will work in this direction towards Germany, too, to get rid of Ulbricht and of his clique, bringing in place of him someone more «liberal», who may strike bolder arrangements with Bonn, and the Soviet

Union, like it or not, will find itself caught in the spider's web it has woven itself.

All these actions which the Soviet revisionists are taking towards Czechoslovakia are intended to persuade the Dubcek group to preserve at least the appearances of a formal friendship with them, if not more. And they will do everything in their power, through all sorts of flattery, manoeuvres and lies, in order to draw the Dubcek clique nearer to them and normalize the situation to some extent, at least temporarily.

The Soviet revisionists are living in hopes from day to day. Through flattery, threats or diversion, they will strive to mend the tragic error they committed by abandoning Nowotny, so that while they are unable to bring him back to power again, at least, they will ensure a big Nowotny majority, their partisans, in the new Czechoslovak leadership that will emerge from the Autumn Congress. But this is sheer daydreaming. Right up till this Congress the Soviet revisionists will make many scandalous attempts to attain their ends. That is why they will expose themselves even more in the eyes of the world and their revisionist friends will be even more in revolt against them.

Thus, scandals and defeats are in store for the modern revisionists and, in the first place, for the Soviet revisionists. The same people who criticized and threw mud at the correct actions of Stalin, which were in order and well weighed up, when he wrote a letter to the Yugoslav Communist Party and invited it to the comradely meeting of the Information Bureau, are today threatening

military intervention precisely over those things of which these traitors are the initiators, creators, advocates, defenders and greatest executors, in theory and practice.

Time and their actions are exposing their betrayal. And time is raising high the glorious Marxist-Leninist deed of Joseph Stalin who, by condemning Tito and Titoism, condemned all this garbage.

The Soviet people and all the peoples of the countries where the revisionists are ruling, cannot fail to see where the treacherous revisionist line is leading the Soviet Union itself and the other revisionist countries. The Czechoslovak events are helping them to understand that the centre of the betrayal of Marxism-Leninism, the revolution and socialism is in Moscow, that its leadership is the Brezhnev-Kosygin-Podgorny clique and the other revisionist chiefs, and that, without liquidating this centre, the danger which threatens the land of the October Revolution and the Soviets cannot be removed. The treachery of Gomulka, Dubcek and others is nothing but a component part of this great treachery. Therefore, in order to fight the ruling cliques of the various revisionist countries successfully the spearhead of the fight must be directed, not only against the local revisionists, but, at the same time, against the Soviet international centre of modern revisionism as well.

The situation for the Czechoslovak people is grave, but not a cause for despair. Only confidence in their own strength and in the healthy international Marxist-Leninist forces will open the way to salvation for them. The Czechoslovak revo-

lutionary Marxist-Leninists must create their new, genuinely Marxist-Leninist Czechoslovak Communist Party, which must open merciless war on the Dubcek revisionist party, on all other parties of the Czechoslovak bourgeoisie and strive to rally the Czechoslovak working class and people for struggle, for armed revolution against all the internal revisionists of every hue and party, against the Czechoslovak bourgeois reaction and its parties, against the Soviet, Titoite, Polish, German, Hungarian and other revisionists, against US imperialism and the bourgeoisie and capitalism of the whole world.

This road, which is the road of freedom, of Marxism-Leninism, is the one which the hard working Czechoslovak people and the genuine Czechoslovak Marxist-Leninists must follow. The alternative road is that of compromise and slavery. We advise them to choose the former, for we wish them well and we shall help them on this road with all our strength.

A people, who, even for a short period, lose their revolutionary vigilance, weaken or lose their militant spirit and do not defend their independence and their rights, are faced with many evils plotted by their internal and external enemies. We are living and fighting in times such that the peoples must not allow themselves to be caught asleep, must not be lulled like babies in the cradle by the demagogy of a handful of traitors who are forging heavy chains for them. The peoples must become aware of their strength and role and must allow this strength to be used as a protection for a group

of swindlers, renegades and traitors, who have sold out to the local bourgeoisie and foreign capital. The peoples who lacked vigilance and, as a grave consequence, lost their freedom and rights won with sacrifices and bloodshed, must be made conscious that not only in themselves, and themselves alone, exists that colossal force which can save them, but that they must organize this force as quickly as possible and, in a militant way, deal an immediate deathblow at the internal enemy and his external ally.

To be conscious of one's own strength means to distinguish between one's own forces and those of the enemy, means to organize one's own forces and wage merciless and uncompromising war on the forces of the enemy until complete victory is achieved.

To gain confidence in one's own strength means never to soften one's heart towards the enemy, not to place the slightest trust or hope in him, not to fall for his manoeuvres and tricks and not to be generous towards him even after victory. One must always strike off the head of the snake.

The peoples of the Soviet Union and the other peoples of the countries of people's democracy of Europe, with the exception of the Albanian people, lost their vigilance, and the enemy of the peoples, of Marxism-Leninism, of socialism and communism — modern revisionism, has caught them by the throat, is oppressing them, is selling them out to world imperialism.

The Czechoslovak crisis is neither an unexpected, accidental phenomenon, nor an isolated crisis. It is a part of the deep-going crisis of modern revisionism, the epicentre of which is in the Soviet Union. This crisis is being felt also on the periphery of the Soviet Union, among its satellites, which are seeking to throw off the yoke of Soviet revisionism.

Soviet revisionism is undergoing a number of grave crises for which it is paying dearly, and it is precisely in the great Khrushchevite treachery that one should look for the major evil which must be burned out with fire and revolution.

The betrayal of the camp of socialism was initiated by Tito, was strengthened by Khrushchev and is being consummated by the Brezhnev-Kosygin clique and by all the modern revisionist traitors who follow them or who have escaped their control and are acting in full freedom.

The traitors to Marxism-Leninism rose like ravening wolves to strangle the voice of the Party of Labour of Albania which mercilessly exposed their treachery. The Party of Labour of Albania heroically braved the storms, exposed and routed its ideological enemies, forecast of what is now happening and, basing itself on Marxism-Leninism, is predicting the further development of the revisionist crisis and the outbreak of the second proletarian revolution in the Soviet Union.

The Soviet revisionists will render account to

the Soviet and world proletariat. This accounting will be demanded of them and will be paid in blood.

The Soviet people will call them to account over what has been done to the cause and heritage of Great October, of Lenin and Stalin, what has been done to the real friends of the Soviet Union and of the Party of Lenin and Stalin, who are fighting imperialism and modern revisionism blow for blow, who are defending Marxism-Leninism, the revolution and socialism, what has been done to Dimitrov's Bulgaria, to Rumania, Hungary, Poland, and the other countries where the revisionists have come to power.

Is it the Dubcek clique that brought about this situation? The Dubceks, the Gomulkas and the Nowotnys are active participants in a great tragedy which has been played at the expense of communism and the peoples, following the death of Stalin. But it was the Soviet revisionist traitors who began and led the great orgy of betrayal. They began it with the 20th Congress and with Khrushchev, with the monstrous slanders against Stalin, with the Soviet-US counterrevolutionary alliance, with the perfidious treachery against the PR of Albania and the PLA, and with a thousand and one other treacheries.

We do not forget this, nor do the Soviet people and the Marxist-Leninists throughout the world forget it. The orgy of betrayal is being kept up

by the Soviet revisionists, with US imperialism as their main partner in crime. These are the biggest and most dangerous enemies in the world. They have kissed and embraced each other. The Soviet revisionists, with utter shamelessness, are crying that the Dubcek clique is endangering socialism, that it is joining the capitalists, while they themselves together with American imperialism, have put the Soviet Union and the satellite countries where they are still ruling in bondage and together are fighting to put the whole world under their yoke.

We ask you: Have you ever put those questions which you are putting to the Dubcek clique in the ill-famed Warsaw letter to yourselves? For when the day of the great trial of revolution against you comes, the questions asked will surely not be like those, but as piercing as daggers.

However, everything you do means exposure for you, because everything of yours is a bluff, is unprincipled, you are foundering in internal and external contradictions, every step you take is one step nearer the precipice where you will break your neck. Your own betrayal has caught you by the throat and there is no escape for you. Nobody loves traitors. The noose or the bullet will be your fate. For the moment you are strutting and you think that you are strong, because you have the force of the arms of a great state. But you are mistaken. You are of the most despicable cowards, and with your weapons you can intimidate only those with weak nerves. You know full well how much your strength and your bragging are worth

matched against the strength of the peoples, the strength of the proletariat, the strength of the bolsheviks, who one day, and that is not far off, will wipe you from the face of the earth.

Taken from the collection of articles with the title «The Marxist-Leninist Truth Will Triumph Over Revisionism», Vol. 8, Alb. ed. Tirana 1969.

THE DEFEAT OF THE SOVIET REVISIONISTS IN BRATISLAVA

Article published in the newspaper «Zëri i popullit»

August 10, 1968

A few days ago, the long and difficult talks held at Czerna na Tissu, in Eastern Slovakia, between the Political Bureau of the CC of the revisionist party of the Soviet Union and the Presidium of the revisionist Party of Czechoslovakia, as well as the meeting held in Bratislava, with the delegations of the revisionist parties of the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia, Poland, the German Democratic Republic, Hungary and Bulgaria, were concluded.

In our article, «The Soviet Revisionists and Czechoslovakia», dated July 24, we forecast that the revisionist leadership of the Soviet Union, labouring under the consequences of its own betrayal, would endeavour to strike a compromise with the Dubcek clique and, in order to save its face, would find a modus vivendi. We warned that, despite the notorious arsenal of blackmail and the intentions of the ill-famed Letter from Warsaw, the whole scheming of the Soviet revisionists against

Czechoslovakia, which, in the beginning, was aimed at liquidating the Nowotny clique, enthroning the Dubcek clique, and then at dethroning the Dubcek clique, would end up, in the third stage, with the utter defeat of the Soviet revisionists, with their coming to Canossa, which would be concluded with a pompous communiqué alleging that, «the acme of sincere and immortal friendship between the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia» was achieved.

It would not be worth while now to take up for analysis an ignominious issue as is the Bratislava Meeting which lies exposed to all attacks. We want to point out, however, that the statement of the six in Bratislava is one of the most hypocritical and demagogic documents revisionists have ever issued, it cannot appease the strifes and squabbles which they have had among them in the past, or avert the further degeneration and disintegration of the revisionist front.

Though it lavishly repeats the known demagogical phrases of the revisionists on collaboration among them, on their common interests and destinies, though it also has the signature of Dubcek, the statement of Bratislava is a confirmation of the scandalous failure of the Soviet revisionists and their cronies.

The opposite was ruled out. Their military threats, the economic and political pressures they brought to bear on the revisionist group of Prague, the hysterical outcries of the Soviet press, etc. turned out to be a poorly disguised bluff which burst like a soap bubble. The talks at Czerna and

in Bratislava once more proved that the Soviet revisionists are rabid anti-Marxists and blackmailers.

The rulers of the Kremlin found themselves isolated and abandoned by the Italian, French and other revisionists, who sided with Dubcek, and this raises uncertainties about the future meeting of the revisionist parties in Moscow.

In these conditions, they chose the road of the Bratislava Meeting as the least evil, though, evidently, it is outright capitulation. Now they are endeavouring to present it and the Bratislava statement as a success, though a success of formulas only. Similar hackneyed phrases and formulas had been used in Dresden by this same lot, who had attended the meeting in the capital of Slovakia, not very long before they had been mentioned over and over again in declarations and speeches in the course of the Soviet-Czechoslovak official meetings, and on other occasions. Well, who ever needed another solemn «pledge» of allegiance to «socialism and the socialist camp»?

The Soviet revisionists did; they needed Bratislava in order to cover up the failure of their plans, to effect a somewhat honourable withdrawal from the blind alley they had entered, as well as to extort a formal declaration from that meeting and use it as a means of propaganda for home consumption. What answer can they give to the Soviet people, if they, in their right, ask what happened to the Warsaw Letter? With the solution of formulas they found, they agreed to go on together, as they are, with the Czechoslovak and other revisionists, in order to avoid the further aggrava-

tion of polemics and to preserve the façade of «unity in the socialist family» as long as they could.

In order to beguile the public opinion in the Soviet Union, the Khrushchevite leaders have not forgotten to couch their statement in a lot of general and stale phrases on the threat American and world imperialism poses. But the Soviet revisionist are wasting their breath speaking against American imperialism, because the latter has got wise to it that the clamour, in this case raised by the Soviet revisionist propaganda against it, is only for form's sake, is aimed at taking in the naive. In Washington and other Western countries they know full well under what circumstances and for what aims the Bratislava Meeting was convened. And the Americans could not have disliked the road of Bratislava which the Soviet revisionists chose. Seen from every standpoint, it is evident that Bratislava has helped the American imperialists score some points to the detriment of the Soviet revisionists.

First, the Dubcek clique retained state power intact, and this favours the imperialists. Second, now on the eve of the presidential elections, the American ruling circles averted fomenting of public opinion against them in case the Soviet revisionists intervened by force in Czechoslovakia. They would by no means want to be compelled into lending support to either side, because, by so doing, they would have to lay their cards on the table and many of them might be beaten. Third, the settlement of this question in Bratislava enables them

to protect the Soviet-US alliance and their Soviet partner. Besides, after its defeat at the Bratislava Meeting, the Soviet Union grew weaker. So, it will be the weaker partner in the deals and conspiracies it prepares for world domination together with US imperialism.

This explains the benevolent attitude of the US imperialists towards the Soviet revisionists during the recent events in Czechoslovakia. Several times in the past days, Dean Rusk publicly declared that Czechoslovakia falls to the Soviet sphere of influence, hence «it is up to the Czechs to settle their internal affairs». The US officials, as the news agency UPI confirmed, have advised Czechoslovakia «to toe the line of the Warsaw Treaty».

The revisionist group of Dubcek came out with flying colours from Czerna and Bratislava and now, with the backing of the imperialists, the Tito clique and other revisionists, it will advance on its road of breaking away from the hegemony of the Soviet revisionists and its westward course. Even at this moment, it is obvious that Czechoslovakia is becoming a pivot attracting the revisionist groups that refuse obedience to the conductor's baton of the Kremlin, a new centre opposed to the Moscow bloc which is in utter decomposition.

The Bratislava Meeting did not and could not possibly settle the contradictions among revisionists. On the contrary, they grew more acute and will become more so with the approach of the extraordinary congress of the Czechoslovak revisionist party and the November meeting of the

revisionist parties in Moscow. The Dubcek clique called this congress in order to further stabilize its positions and sanction its revisionist course. But the Brezhnev-Kosygin clique will not sit still and look on while its positions are being demolished, either. In their quality as revisionists, the Soviet leaders cannot help dreaming of revenge, they cannot live without bringing pressure to bear on intriguing and conspiring against the Dubcek clique. Thus, the congress of the Czechoslovak revisionist party next autumn will be another field of more exchanges, scrambles and clashes, it will embitter old enmities and create new ones.

Meanwhile, the Bratislava Meeting is over, but the direction the forthcoming revisionist conference of Moscow will take under the gales blowing in the revisionist quarters, is not yet clear. The Khrushchevite leaders of the Soviet Union are looking forward to it, and they will exert themselves to convene it, and, as we have had the opportunity of emphasizing on other occasions, it will inflict a fresh defeat on its organizers. After several years of feverish and painstaking efforts, at the beginning of this year, they managed to bring some big revisionist parties round to attending it, though no agreement was reached as to its agenda. Following the events in Czechoslovakia, the outburst of quarrels among the various revisionist groups, and their new alignment, this key problem becomes more of a puzzle. It is no longer a mere supposition that, even if they go to Moscow, the revisionist parties which sided with Dubcek, are not going to help re-establish Soviet hegemony in

the revisionist camp, which is one of the chief objectives the Soviet revisionists are after. On the contrary, they have now more arguments to tell the Brezhnev-Kosygin clique and the ilk where they belong; and they will do their utmost to weaken and eliminate the little Soviet influence still lingering in some revisionist parties and groups.

The trusted allies of the Soviet revisionists are anything but enthusiastic about going to Moscow for the November conference. The puppet show in Warsaw and Bratislava, to which they kowtowed, could not have left them unconcerned about their own destinies. For in the development of events in Czechoslovakia, they see also their own destiny.

The Soviet revisionists' scandalous retreat from the conflict with their Czechoslovak cronies is an encouragement for the ultra-revisionist forces, in the countries still tied up to Moscow and in the Soviet Union itself to take action. They have all the encouragement of world imperialism, in general, and of Tito, in particular. It is not fortuitous that both the New York and Belgrade newspapers harp on this same string.

The process, which was begun in Czechoslovakia, and which stemmed from the betrayal of the Soviet chiefs themselves, will not remain within these limits. We will witness other clashes, more serious defeats for the Soviet revisionists, still greater quarrels and scrambles among revisionist cliques. The possibility of peace to exist, unity to be established and mutual faith to exist, is ruled

out among them. This is the logic of the development of their traitorous line. With their principled and resolute struggle, our Party of Labour and other Marxist-Leninist Parties have exposed the roots of the traitorous policy of modern revisionism, with the revisionist Soviet leadership as its centre, and are hastening its ideological and political ruin.

The situation created today in the ranks of revisionist cliques is favourable for the Marxist-Leninist and revolutionary forces in the Soviet Union and other revisionist countries. Events in Czechoslovakia and the recent clashes among revisionist cliques, the gross political blunders of the Soviet revisionist leaders, and the defeats they suffered, will by any means be exploited to the maximum by the healthy elements, the bolsheviks and the revolutionary Marxist-Leninists in order to lay naked before the broad masses of the people the hostile and treacherous nature of the revisionists represented by the Brezhnev-Kosygin clique, the great harm they have been doing to the revolution and socialism in their own country and throughout the world.

Every Soviet citizen cannot help asking now about the international prestige of the Soviet Union, about what has happened to the great authority of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union which is due to Lenin and Stalin's work and the legendary struggles of the Soviet revolutionaries. The answer is not an enigma. The Soviet people, the Soviet communists have been betrayed, they are being oppressed by a clique that has fiend-

ishly got hold of the reins of the country, and has turned the homeland of the great October Revolution into a centre of counter-revolution, an imperialist power which hatches up new plots, maps out predatory and aggressive plans against other peoples in close collusion with the ominous forces of international reaction, with the most rabid enemy of mankind, US imperialism at the head. Only its violent overthrow, only a second proletarian revolution, can restore the former glory to the Soviet Union, and the former lofty authority to its party.

Taken from the collection of articles with the title «The Marxist-Leninist Truth Will Triumph Over Revisionism», Vol. 8, Alb. ed., Tirana 1969.

**THE IMPERIALIST AGGRESSION OF THE
SOVIET REVISIONISTS AGAINST THE
CZECHOSLOVAK PEOPLE — AN UGLY
CRIME AGAINST THE FREEDOM OF
THE PEOPLES AND SOCIALISM**

Article published in the newspaper «Zëri i popullit»

August 24, 1968

These past few months the Czechoslovak revisionists, the treacherous leaders of the Soviet Union, US imperialism, and international reaction, played a cruel tragedy on Czechoslovakia. Its epilogue was the imperialist aggression by the Soviet revisionists and their military occupation of the Czechoslovak territory. The same troops which twenty-four years ago shed their own blood in the streets of Prague and raised the flag of liberation there, now, betrayed and corrupted, entered the Czechoslovak cities and villages as occupiers, perpetrators of a shameful fascist-type mission imposed on them by the traitorous revisionist leaders of the Kremlin.

This is very shocking but not unexpected. The Czechoslovak tragedy, which is at the same time

the tragedy of the Soviet Union, Poland, Hungary, the German Democratic Republic, and Bulgaria, as the Statement of the CC of the PLA and of the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Albania describes the aggression of the Soviet revisionists and their allies against the Socialist Republic of Czechoslovakia and the Czechoslovak people, dates back to the 20th Congress of the CP of the Soviet Union which reversed the Marxist-Leninist line of the CP of the Soviet Union of Lenin and Stalin, and replaced it with the Khrushchevite reactionary revisionist line which led to the revival of the revisionist forces even in Czechoslovakia, and to the catastrophic consequences in the Soviet Union itself, and raised difficulties before the whole international communist movement.

Imperialism, fascism, and revisionism are political notions and trends different in form, but they all have the common bourgeois ideology of capitalist exploitation and oppression of the peoples as their basis. They can engender nothing but interferences in the internal affairs of other states, aggression and war. Czechoslovakia is the fresh case which confirms this already tested truth.

The pretexts of the renegade clique of the Kremlin for its hideous aggression against the Czechoslovak people are as banal as they are cynical. It brazenly pretends that it ordered its tanks to Czechoslovakia on behalf of the Warsaw Treaty, allegedly, to rescue socialism from imperialism, from internal counterrevolutionary forces. What socialism can the Soviet revisionist leaders speak

of, when they themselves have long since betrayed socialism in their own country and re-established capitalism, when together with US imperialism, they are openly plotting against socialism and the freedom of the peoples in order to share the spheres of influence and the world domination between themselves as two great powers?

The armed intervention of the Soviet revisionists in Czechoslovakia is the outcome of the transformation of the Soviet Union into an imperialist state, its flagrant and most brutal application of a chauvinistic and revisionist great state policy. It is the result of the political and ideological degeneration of its treacherous leaders, which drives them from one adventure to another.

Their military occupation of Czechoslovakia bears all the characteristics of an imperialist aggression. They trampled underfoot and trod down not only the principles of socialism but also the elementary international right, and came out before the whole world with their true face of typical representatives of the imperialist policy from the positions of strength.

The revisionist chiefs of the Kremlin ordered their armies upon Prague in order to make the law and establish their hegemony of a great power, to overthrow one revisionist clique which refused to dance to the tune of Moscow, and to set up another which pipes in tune with it. The mission of the Soviet armies which have just occupied Czechoslovakia, and which are doing the same thing in Poland, Hungary, and the German Demo-

cratic Republic, is to ensure the incontestable influence of the Soviet revisionist great power.

The Brezhnev-Kosygin traitorous clique and its partners declare that they are committing this fascist aggression, this monstrous crime against the Czechoslovak people, against the freedom and independence of the people and the cause of socialism on behalf of the Warsaw Treaty. This once more confirms that the Warsaw Treaty has long ceased to be a defensive alliance of socialist countries, that it no longer serves the original purpose of defence against West-German revanchism with which all the revisionist cliques have become friends and are openly or secretly striking numerous deals at the expense of socialism, or against US imperialism with which the traitorous clique of Moscow has concluded a many-sided counterrevolutionary alliance. As the Party of Labour of Albania and the Government of the PR of Albania have long declared, this treaty has become a weapon of pressure, interference, and aggression of the stronger against the weaker, of the Soviet revisionist leaders against the other member countries of the Treaty.

The Soviet revisionists conducted their military operations in Czechoslovakia with great rapidity, and their operational plan was carried through punctually. But their military «victory» over Czechoslovakia will taste very bitter to them. If they still had some sort of prestige somewhere, now, with their aggression against Czechoslovakia they lost it altogether. Now, after the aggression against Czechoslovakia, even those revisionist par-

ties of the capitalist countries, which until recently obeyed the conductor's baton of Moscow, have backed out. Pressed by the public opinion of the masses of indignant workers, they are dropping the Soviet leaders, leaving them to sup themselves the Czechoslovak broth they made. They not only refused to comply with the Soviet actions in Czechoslovakia, but are also greatly worried about how to conceal the support they have given to the Moscow line hitherto, and prevent their ranks from disintegrating after the shock the Soviet-led aggression caused among them. In these circumstances, they will be only too reluctant to go to the November conference in Moscow at which they are invited. The revisionist camp is not only shaken, but we can even say that now it is disintegrated.

The recent events in Czechoslovakia further tore off the various masks which the Soviet leaders were clumsily trying to patch up. Now, everybody can see that the policy pursued by the renegade Soviet leaders is an imperialist policy, that their power is a bourgeois power which oppresses its own people and threatens others, that the Soviet Union has been transformed into a centre of counter-revolution against socialism, against the freedom and independence of the peoples. Everybody can see what their fascist intentions, and methods of interference and oppression of the peoples are.

The peoples of the world cannot fail to see that a well-devised imperialist-revisionist plot it being hatched up against their liberty, that a Soviet-American plan to share the spheres of influence

between the two great powers is being co-ordinated. The aggression against Czechoslovakia is the direct product of the Soviet-American counterrevolutionary collusion, of their global strategy of interference in the internal affairs of other states, of their aggressions and attempts at world domination.

Now, after the intervention of the Soviet revisionists, the situation of the Czechoslovak people has become worse. They have been betrayed from inside and outside, they have been saddled with another yoke. The various revisionist cliques, each fostering its own narrow interests, are trying to lead them by the nose and to win them over. But they cannot fail to see the treason committed against their homeland and socialism in Czechoslovakia. Dubcek and his clique, who capitulated before the occupiers, could not possibly defend a socialism which they had betrayed and a homeland which they had sold out long before. This cannot be done either by the new collaborationists of the revisionist occupiers who will follow in the wake of the aggressors' tanks and who hide behind their bayonets.

Only the Czechoslovak people themselves, the working class and the genuine Czechoslovak communists are in a position to defend their homeland and socialism. The Czechoslovak people met the invaders with hatred and deep indignation. They are manifesting their anger in protests and demonstrations which have been organized throughout Czechoslovakia these days, in the boycott and complete isolation of the Soviet revisionist troops,

in the numerous strikes and other forms of struggle against the invaders.

The Czechoslovak people have great revolutionary and freedom-loving traditions and cannot suffer to be trampled underfoot, oppressed, and tortured under the revisionist yoke. It is true that so far, because of the betrayal and the blows they have been dealt at, both from inside and outside, they are still confused and disorientated. But they can no longer remain passive and watch the Soviet revisionists and the instruments in their hands lead the dance of occupiers in their own towns and villages; they cannot stand apart with folded arms when they see that their country is being turned into a chess-piece of the imperialist-revisionist game, when their honour and dignity as a nation and as a people are trampled on, when the grave of socialism in Czechoslovakia is being dug deeper and deeper. In the crucial moments which Czechoslovakia is going through, any hesitation can spell fatal consequences. The history of the Czechoslovak people furnishes other examples when they have been hesitant and have had to pay dearly for it. Now or never it is essential to take action, to fight with determination and selflessness, with every means and in every possible way, against the Soviet revisionist occupation. Prayers and petitions do not help them subdue the enemy. When he breaks into your house, gun in hand, you must also drive him out, gun in hand.

With its armed intervention in Czechoslovakia, the Khrushchevite clique added another great blemish to the Soviet Union and the Soviet Army,

did serious injury to the honour and good name of the Soviet people. But we are confident that the Soviet people, the Soviet Army, the Soviet bolsheviks not only will not approve the ugly act of those who have usurped state power and betrayed the ideals of the October Revolution and the glorious deed of Lenin and Stalin, but also will act with courage and daring to clear their country's name of this fresh ignominy which the Brezhnev-Kosygin clique laid at their door. They will be taking a great responsibility upon themselves and before history if they any longer permit the usurping clique to use the arms, which the people have produced for the defence of their own country, in order to oppress other fraternal peoples. If the Soviet soldiers, the sons of the heroes who destroyed nazism and liberated Prague, Berlin, Warsaw, Bucharest, Budapest etc., return there as aggressors and invaders, if the Soviet Union, once the stronghold of socialism and of the peoples' freedom, becomes an imperialist and reactionary centre, the ally of imperialism against the freedom and independence of the peoples, against socialism and the revolution.

The Albanian people denounce the occupation of Czechoslovakia by the Soviet and other revisionist troops with indignation and condemn this unpardonable criminal act of aggression with the greatest vehemence.

The statement of the CC of the Party of Labour of Albania and the Government of the PR of Albania on the aggression of the Soviet revisionists and their allies against Czechoslovakia,

explains the origin and causes of the events in Czechoslovakia in a penetrating Marxist-Leninist manner, it puts the finger to the wound and publicly exposes the revisionist aggressors, and their logic of aggressors and traitors.

With a profound sense of responsibility before our people, socialism and the revolution, before history itself, the Albanian communists, the Albanian people affirm their correct principled and consistent revolutionary stand towards the events in Czechoslovakia, the fates of socialism and of the peoples in the revisionist countries.

This is the attitude of a party and a people that have a long experience of victories in the struggle against modern revisionism, that long since have forecast the present catastrophic consequences to the former socialist countries of Eastern Europe, that have stood and will always stand by the fraternal peoples of these countries, sincerely and to the end, in days of weal and woe.

In the name of socialism, proletarian internationalism and the freedom of the peoples. in the name of the high revolutionary ideals which have been inspiring our long struggle against imperialism and revisionism, we denounce and condemn the imperialist aggression of the Soviet revisionists against Czechoslovakia. We have confidence that the revolutionary communists, the working class, the entire Czechoslovak people will not tolerate the foreign enslaving fascist-revisionist occupation and the capitulation of the Czechoslovak treacherous revisionist leaders, that they will rise against the old and new revisionist traitors at home, a-

gainst the imperialists and reactionaries of every hue, in the name of freedom, socialism, and Marxism-Leninism, in order to re-establish their lost freedom and the dictatorship of the proletariat. In this struggle, the Czechoslovak people enjoy the support of all the revolutionary peoples of the world who are in solidarity with them, and will certainly win in this new liberation war.

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ON THE PRESENT INTERNATIONAL SITUATION

*From the report to the 5th Plenum of the CC
of the PLA*

September 5, 1968

Dear comrades,

At its meeting of September 3, 1968, after examining and analyzing the international situation, in general, and, in particular, the tragic events which happened recently in the Socialist Republic of Czechoslovakia, and after studying the political, military and juridical situation in the Warsaw Treaty in the light of the fascist aggression committed by the Soviet, Polish, East-German, Hungarian and Bulgarian governments, against Czechoslovakia, the Political Bureau decided to call this session of the Plenum of the Central Committee of the Party and to present for discussion and approval the conclusions reached on this, now, aggressive treaty. Comrade Mehmet Shehu will acquaint you with the decisions and proposals of the Political Bureau.

Before giving the floor to Comrade Mehmet, I

want to stress some aspects of the present international events, and the task emerging before our Party, people and state in these situations. In these very favourable political moments with all the political, ideological, juridical and other rights and reasons on our side, the denunciation of the Warsaw Treaty by the People's Republic of Albania will certainly raise the prestige of the Party, people and Government of the People's Republic of Albania higher in the eyes of all progressive peoples of the world. On the other hand, in denouncing this aggressive treaty from which it was *de facto* expelled a long time ago by the revisionist members of this treaty, the People's Republic of Albania strengthens its positions and staves off a possible danger of aggression of which we were aware long ago in our struggle against the Soviet revisionists, a danger which was fully confirmed in the case of Czechoslovakia.

I want to stress that when the Warsaw Treaty was signed (in 1955) the situation was different, but now it has completely changed because, due to the betrayal of the Soviet revisionists and others, the character of this treaty has been completely transformed politically and ideologically, as well as militarily.

At the time the Warsaw Treaty was signed, that is, after Stalin's death and before the Bucharest Meeting, about February 1956, when the revisionist viewpoints of the group of Nikita Khrushchev had not yet come to light to their full extent, there were evident signs of some sort of encouragement towards political and ideological liberalism

in the Soviet Union and especially of a rapprochement with the Yugoslav revisionists. But, at that time, the Soviet revisionists had not yet come out openly with their theses though, and, besides, the political moments were such that they called for the signing of the Warsaw Treaty, which was created to safeguard the independence of all the socialist states, in particular, and the socialist camp, in general, against the imperialist aggression and the aggressive bloc of NATO and to prevent interference in their internal affairs. Hence, it was a correct and progressive act to sign the Warsaw Treaty, as it was required by the situation, therefore our Party and Government endorsed and signed it.

But it should be pointed out that, at that time, for us, the Warsaw Treaty existed only on paper because military relations concerning the defence of our country, our supply of armaments in the context of this Treaty, and the relevant agreements were concluded only between two states, the Soviet Union and Albania, while in regard to other questions, as a member country of the Warsaw Treaty, we were treated only as figure-heads in the full sense of the word. Other member countries of the Warsaw Treaty were in the same position. It is probable that the Soviets may have held separate meetings with the other member countries of this Treaty without the participation of Albania, but we noticed that even the joint meetings were purely formal, as was the case of the meetings held from time to time to elect the general secretary of the Political Consultative Committee and the commander-in-chief. Hence, in a few

words, the Warsaw Treaty did not function as a collective organism of the member countries.

Only when we exposed the great betrayal of the Soviet revisionists and all other modern revisionists, then the hostile attitude of these traitors towards our Party, Government and the People's Republic of Albania in all fields, political, ideological, economic and military, was laid bare. Thus, far from being a means of defence for our Party and people, the Warsaw Treaty constituted a threat to the freedom and independence of the country. Even then the revisionists had *de facto* expelled us from the Treaty. The Political Bureau and the Central Committee of our Party were long since clear about this political and military situation in the Warsaw Treaty, and upon the breaking off of relations with the revisionist countries, all our defence was built as an allround and circular defence, expecting the danger of attack both from imperialist and revisionist countries.

In fact, although *de facto* excluded from the Warsaw Treaty, we always opposed its incorrect acts and did not fail to advance our views, but the member countries never accepted them. They may have taken some secret decision and may have expelled us from the Warsaw Treaty, but even if they have not taken such secret decision, we were actually expelled from it.

The recent events in Czechoslovakia confirm what we had foreseen long before, namely, that the Warsaw Treaty has no longer the character it had when it was created. All the member countries of the Warsaw Treaty, where the revi-

sionist cliques hold sway, with the exception of Rumania, attacked Czechoslovakia in a perfidious fascist way, i.e., they used the Warsaw Treaty as a means to oppress and enslave a member country of this Treaty. It so happened that the predictions of the Political Bureau of our Party proved true, and the political situations were created for us to denounce this Treaty. The denunciation of the Warsaw Treaty in this international situation will have the complete support and endorsement of the entire Albanian people, of our Party, of the progressive democratic elements of the world and of the true Marxist-Leninists, who will approve of this political action of the People's Republic of Albania. In this way, our defence will be strengthened, the sympathy for, and authority of the Party, the Government and the People's Republic of Albania in the international arena will be increased, because in these moments, when the Soviet revisionists are threatening the countries of the Warsaw Treaty themselves with the fire-brand, we tell them so bluntly, and expose their fascist acts publicly and courageously.

But, is the denunciation of the Warsaw Treaty in our favour in this international conjuncture? In the situation created by the Soviet revisionists, in the conditions of the sharpening of the crisis which has gripped the capitalist countries, with the further strengthening of the Soviet-US alliance to suppress the liberation struggles of the peoples of the world, we say that this denunciation is in our favour. We think that the existence of the Warsaw Treaty played no positive role in the

defence of our country, on the contrary, it was a danger which will remain so even after we have revoked this Treaty. So, in this case we lose nothing. The other enemies, too, the imperialists, will not give up their attempts; they are the ones who endeavour to attack and enslave us, therefore, nothing is changed in this direction. As for the threats to, and the defence of, our country, the denunciation of the Warsaw Treaty alters nothing.

Up till yesterday, the US imperialists and their friends, in theory might say that they should not attack Albania because the forces of the Warsaw Treaty might be set in motion. This theoretical supposition falls through because Albania's participation or non-participation in the Warsaw Treaty can have no effect on the strategy of NATO in the Balkans, that is to say, the imperialists may attack us in both cases.

But, in these junctures the denunciation of the Warsaw Treaty by the People's Republic of Albania assumes special importance. Now that we denounce the Warsaw Treaty, the member countries of NATO cannot pretend that, «we attack Albania because it is a member country of the Warsaw Treaty», but if they do so, they will be attacking a country which is not a member of the Warsaw Treaty, so we deprive them of this argument. In both cases, the denunciation of the Warsaw Treaty does not harm at all the cause of the defence of our country. This act is one hundred per cent in our favour. The propaganda of the modern revisionists will shout itself hoarse, pretending that, «Albania is linked now with NATO»,

etc., but this does not hold water, let them bark as they have done till now, because the life and the revolutionary determined attitudes of our Party and people will certainly expose them mercilessly. Therefore, comrades, it is good to discuss and decide on this question of great importance.

The Central Committee of the Party has full knowledge of the development of events in the international arena and especially, of the events in the Socialist Republic of Czechoslovakia, and in other revisionist countries. «Zëri i popullit» and all the press of our country have given detailed information on these events, adopted a proper revolutionary attitude towards them, and made penetrating analyses of the origin of the revisionist perfidious and aggressive acts, like those by the Soviet revisionists and their aggressor satellites, as well as those by the Czechoslovak revisionist traitors and capitulationists. Therefore, we think that it is not necessary to treat events chronologically.

I want once again to stress what our Party and its Central Committee have correctly foreseen, namely, that the great crisis in the camp of the modern revisionists is being confirmed and growing deeper. All these events, and those which will take place in the future, which will be even more catastrophic to the revisionists, are the result and consequence of their betrayal of Marxism-Leninism, of the capitalist course they adopted in ideology, policy, economy, in the organization of the party, state and the economy.

The liquidation of the victories of socialism in their countries, the transformation of the Marx-

ist-Leninist Parties into bourgeois social-democratic parties, the transformation of their economy into a capitalist economy by the Soviet and other revisionists, brought about as an inevitable result the alteration of their internal and external policy into a chauvinistic, oppressive fascist policy, a policy entailing the rule of peoples through violence and terror, the alteration of the objective of the various alliances concluded among them into enslaving political, economic and military alliances in favour of the most powerful revisionist state, which is the Soviet Union, and to the detriment of its satellites, and lastly, a policy tending to the conclusion of a Soviet-US alliance for the division of spheres of influence, the domination of the world by the two great powers, the violent and non-violent struggle of the international communist movement, socialism and national liberation struggles of the peoples.

The road of betrayal traversed by the Khrushchevite revisionists and their lackeys, from the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union onwards, is an uninterrupted sequence of resounding defeats for them. The pyramids they have set up along this road are built on shaky and rotten foundations, erected as they are with great desperate efforts which have exposed them totally and in an allround manner not only before the eyes of the revolutionary communists, or the international communist movement, but also before the eyes of all the honest people of the world.

All this feverish treacherous activity of the

Soviet revisionists and their servants was carried on when the allround crisis of world capitalism, with US imperialism at the head, was in the process of its deepening. Precisely with a view to saving world capitalism from the grave crisis and the revolution, the Khrushchevite revisionists and their servants took upon themselves the role of scabs and traitors to the revolution and to the national liberation struggles of the peoples, going under the ill-formed slogans of a «world without wars, world without arms», «peaceful coexistence», etc. Naturally, in the favourable revolutionary moments, with the great and allround crisis of world capitalism, the crisis in the fold of the modern revisionists, of these new capitalists, would grow even deeper and sharper.

In the first place, the Soviet revisionists would lose their hegemony and absolute political, ideological and economic control over their satellites and all revisionist chiefs of various parties. Their smash would be brought about not only by the influence of their anti-Marxist ideology and the new forms which they would adopt, but also by US imperialism, in the first place, and world capitalism, each separately and all of them together, would undertake, as they did, to «build bridges» in order to undermine Soviet domination, to activate polycentrism and centrifugal tendencies from Moscow, to encourage liberalism in the life of the countries where the revisionists rule.

The Soviet revisionists suffered colossal loss of prestige, authority as well as economic damage from this development, and the greater the loss,

the more the treacherous clique of the Kremlin linked itself with US imperialism, which, thanks to its alliances with the Soviet revisionists, was able to overcome the Indonesian, Dominican and Indo-Pakistan crisis, the crisis in its relations with France and other upheavals.

The desperate situation of the Soviet revisionists is very easily imaginable. They are caught between fires. On the one hand, a fierce, merciless and principled struggle is waged against them by the Party of Labour of Albania and all the new Marxist-Leninist Parties and true revolutionaries the world over. This struggle has exposed them thoroughly. On the other hand, they have to muzzle, gag and mislead public opinion inside their own country and, at the same time, carry out capitalist transformations, link themselves with the United States of America as closely as possible, and together prepare the war against the People's Republic of China, and all this while seeking to stave off the threat of US «peaceful» invasion as long as possible, which is intended to undermine their power completely.

Lastly, the Soviet revisionists are greatly worried over how to hold in check all the revisionists of the world, whom they need so much to say ditto to them and set up a smoke-screen. Above all, the Soviet revisionists are trying to preserve their political, ideological, economic and military hegemony over their satellites in Europe.

The big game which is being played in Europe is centred around the unification of Germany.

Unification is what Bonn and US imperialism are after. On their part, they are endeavouring to liquidate the German Democratic Republic without war. All their efforts are aimed at wiping the German Democratic Republic off the map of Europe and the creation of a new Reich, at liquidating Soviet influence over its European satellites, and encouraging the latter's friendly relations with Bonn. Bonn's offers are going down well with the revisionist cliques. The Soviets, Zhivkov, Gomulka, Tito, even Ulbricht, and others, are very keen on the huge credits they receive from Bonn, and are welcoming German tourists with joy. All this induced the Soviet Union, Yugoslavia and Rumania to establish diplomatic relations with Bonn. The Czechs and Bulgarians, without mentioning the Hungarians, were ready to follow suit.

The Soviet revisionists do not dare to sign the peace treaty with the German Democratic Republic and sacrifice it for the sake of the interest of the Soviet US alliance. Then what do they confront the solution of this basic problem with? With nuances! With the meeting and the unfeasible proposals of Karlovy Vary, the ideological degeneration in their camp, and the coming and abortive Moscow Conference!

The Czechoslovak crisis, which was in a state of ferment for about a year, broke out precisely in this international conjuncture. It was an internal crisis of Czechoslovak revisionism, in which the Soviet revisionists were involved elbow-deep. We have already analyzed it and facts have proved that generally we were in our right.

The Dubcek clique overthrew that of Nowotny and took a galloping course towards the West. The strategic-military balance of the defence of the Soviet Union was tipped over. In the opinion of the Soviets, the German Democratic Republic and the People's Republic of Hungary were jeopardized not only politically but also militarily. Thus, events were precipitating. The Soviet, German and Polish revisionists were in great trouble. After the example of Czechoslovakia, demonstrations against Gomulka began in Poland. Nothing could stop the Germans of Ulbricht, they were waiting only for the signal.

The Dubcek clique stood up to its opponents in Dresden who met later in Warsaw and presented the Dubcek clique with the ultimatum we know and which the press of our Party has correctly analyzed and adopted a resolute and principled attitude towards.

You know of the meetings the Soviet revisionists and their lackeys organized later in Czerna na Tiszu and in Bratislava, and the communiqués they issued. You know also of the military manoeuvres of the five member countries of the Warsaw Treaty in Czechoslovakia and, later, along its borders; you know of the «triumphal» visits of Tito and Ceausescu to Prague. You are informed about all these things from our press, which commented on them broadly, in the true Marxist-Leninist way.

The articles, the comments of our press and Radio Tirana have been followed with great interest and have raised the authority of our Party

high because of its heroic, determined, correct Marxist-Leninist stands. They have made great impression, especially on the Czechoslovak people, because of their clarity and objectivity.

The fascist attack on, and occupation of, Czechoslovakia by the Soviet revisionists, tore down the mask of the Kremlin clique completely. Let alone this, but even the methods they used, ranging from their pressure, blackmail, Judas' kisses in Bratislava, down to their surprise attack, in the dark of night, without taking at all the trouble to excuse, no matter how formally, their brutal armed intervention, serve to reveal its real meaning of a fascist, imperialist intervention. They blemished the prestige of the Soviet Union as the first socialist country!

The Soviet revisionists have been acting systematically according to a fiendish plan precisely to lower the colossal credit the Soviet Union has won in the eyes of the world as the first socialist country. This is the greatest loss communism has suffered, and it will take time, blood and sweat for the true Soviet communists and all the Marxist-Leninists of the world to win it back. As for the Soviet revisionists themselves, they lost even the little credit they may have had with the revisionists of other countries, the opportunist and vacillating elements, because, at least in appearance, all this dirt, this scum of international communism does not reconcile itself to the brutal and aggressive acts of the Soviet revisionists, just as it does not reconcile itself to Soviet imperialism and hegemony, either. This scum is a component part of

national capitalism which aims at strengthening its hegemony over others. This scum was hoping that, at least, the Soviet revisionists would not transform their policy of «peaceful coexistence» into a policy of brute force which would jeopardize the hegemony of the other capitalist countries which the revisionists serve.

Thus, after the brutal occupation of Czechoslovakia we see that nearly all the revisionist parties of the world, wherever they are, with the French Communist Party and the Italian Communist Party at the head, are openly expressing themselves against the armed occupation of Czechoslovakia by the Soviet revisionists. The split in the fold of the modern revisionists, as we had foreseen it, is growing deeper, though they will not break off relations with each other, they will even strengthen them formally. Anyhow, the basis of these parties is deteriorating, it is rotten, shaky, almost non-existent. Their national bourgeoisie will work havoc among the ranks of these parties, it will weaken and liquidate even that relatively small influence they still have.

For some months at least, the revisionist Communist Party of the Soviet Union will be alone, isolated, it will have on its side only those four parties which followed it in the attack against Czechoslovakia, and some toadies of the apatride¹ emigration, who have only themselves as «followers» and the Soviet ruble as their sole ideal.

1 Without homeland.

Thus, as we have foreseen, the revisionist Moscow conference is compromised, but even if the Soviets manage to hold it, they would do it only by means of threats and by the force of the «ruble», and this would be utterly ridiculous.

The armed attack against Czechoslovakia was, above all, a catastrophe, suicide for the Soviet revisionists. It is a fact that this act is a blow to their policy of «peaceful coexistence» and a paid defeat of their liberal revisionist policy. The revisionist Left in the Soviet Union or the «revisionist conservatives», as they insist on being called, forced the liberals into silence, and here considerations of strategic defence and prestige are mainly responsible. The enemy had come to their door, and they felt the knife at their throats.

There are rumours that there will be a change of «guard» in the present Soviet revisionist leadership. Naturally, the crisis in the Soviet revisionist leadership will grow deeper. But no illusion must be entertained about those who may eventually come in. They will be just like those who may be going out, they are all putschists and revisionists.

But a change of «guard» will, to some extent, shake the slumbering «Ivan» awake. Under the pressure of events, somehow he will begin to think about why such things are happening and what he must do about them. This is the positive aspect of the possible changes. These changes will weaken the revisionist leadership, and stir up resistance against it. In the midst of satellites, too, a change

of «guard» in the Kremlin may and must touch off a chain-reaction of changes, if not immediately, at least gradually, if not everywhere, at least among some of them.

Nevertheless, some months prior to the attack against Czechoslovakia, the «conservative Left» took peripheral military measures to ensure the «rear» and «vanguard» of the Soviet Union. On this occasion, it strengthened its forces of occupation in Poland, the German Democratic Republic and, after the military occupation of Czechoslovakia which the Soviet troops will never leave, reinforced its garrisons in Hungary and Bulgaria where Soviet armymen wear the uniform of the Bulgarian army. All this was dictated by the Soviet revisionists' fear of a total disintegration and complete break-away of their satellites from the Soviet Union, as well as of an analogous or revolutionary outbreak in the Soviet Union itself. Thus, we may also suppose that all this operation may have had this objective.

So, whether or not there is a change of «guard» in the Kremlin, the Soviet revisionists are panic-stricken over events both inside and outside their country, and they have put forward the question of maintaining their grip even by force of arms, even through the armed occupation of Czechoslovakia, although they know and are convinced that neither the Polish, nor the East-Germans, nor the Hungarians agree with them. The present changing circumstances force them, at least for the time being, to be allegedly in solidarity with these acts of the Soviets.

So, from now on, solutions to problems and

contradictions which will be sharpened and deepened between the Soviet revisionists and their satellites, member countries of the Warsaw Treaty, will be imposed by force on the part of the Soviet Union and, eventually, end up in armed clashes. There is no other way out for them.

Of all the satellites of the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia is the most typical example. It was occupied only recently, when the others were already occupied. The Soviet troops of occupation will make the law in the Czechoslovak Republic, will appoint the leadership of the Czechoslovak party and government. The congress of the «Czechoslovak Communist Party», if it is ever held at all, will carry on its proceedings according to directives from Moscow. Thus, Czechoslovakia is transformed into a Soviet colony. So will Poland, the German Democratic Republic and Hungary, without speaking of Bulgaria which has been transformed into a Soviet colony long before. This is their road, and this road goes through armed conflicts among different cliques; it is a road which endangers only the Soviet colonial yoke. *while the proletarian revolution is the best means to put a definitive end to this tragedy and the intrigue hatched up by the Soviet imperialists and world imperialism.*

Therefore, these moments favour much the true Marxist-Leninist revolutionaries, everywhere in the world. They should organize and mobilize the peoples in resistance and armed struggle against both modern revisionism and imperialism.

With the fascist-type aggression they commit-

ted against the Czechoslovak people and Czechoslovak Republic, the Soviet revisionist aggressors suffered a grave and ignominious defeat. The entire world public opinion is turned against them. Theirs is an immoral, cynical, fascist act. It lacks all political, ideological, or juridical basis. All the facts they bring forward to justify their aggression, are ungrounded and fallacious. Traitors to Marxism-Leninism and precursors of the revisionist betrayal cannot accuse the Czechoslovak revisionists of having betrayed Marxism-Leninism or embarked on the revisionist road.

The Soviet revisionist traitors, the political and ideological partners, friends of and allies with US imperialism, cannot accuse the Czechoslovak revisionists of going towards a close alliance with world capitalism.

The Soviet revisionist traitors, who have reduced the Bolshevik Party to a dispirited party, a party deprived of Leninist norms, a social-democratic party which they maintain only for the sake of its name, and only in order to say that it exists, cannot accuse the Czechoslovak revisionists of destroying the Czechoslovak Communist Party and transforming it into a social-democratic party.

The Soviet revisionists who are building capitalism in the Soviet Union themselves, by destroying socialism, its laws, norms and organizational forms, cannot accuse the Czechoslovak revisionists of building capitalism and destroying socialism in their own country.

The Soviet revisionists, who receive huge credits from world capitalism, cannot accuse the

Czechoslovak revisionists of receiving and seeking to receive credits from the capitalists.

The Soviet revisionists, who maintain diplomatic relations and other links with Bonn, cannot demand that the Czechoslovak revisionists should not establish such relations with Bonn.

We may draw a long list of the one-sided attitudes of the Soviet revisionists. The question poses itself: What political, moral, ideological and juridical right have the Soviet revisionists to the Czechoslovak revisionists? What rights have they to call to account, and, worse still, to attack with arms and suppress the Czechoslovak people and occupy the Czechoslovak Republic? And the answer can only be: No right whatsoever!

All this confirms what we have already said, namely, that the revisionists are traitors, are imperialists, are fascists. By what they did in Czechoslovakia they tore down all masks, they proved that they, just as the fascists, have no regard for friendship, principles, alliances, treaties, democracy, freedom, independence, sovereignty of the peoples. They crush everything down, trample everything underfoot, stamp everything out with their boots, with iron and fire.

The Soviet revisionists' official justification of their aggression against Czechoslovakia constitutes in itself a great indictment against them. Among other things, they pretend that they have allegedly been invited to intervene in Czechoslovakia by some «Czechoslovak personalities» whose names they dare not mention, as this may be a bluff, but even if it is true, they are nothing other than despi-

cable traitors, spies, collaborationists, quislings. Intervention in a country is justified only when there is an official call for help by this country's legal government. Neither the Czechoslovak Government, nor the President of the Republic, the Central Committee or the Parliament ever invited them. Even Hitler, when he attacked Czechoslovakia, had to force President Hacha to put his signature to an official document.

When they committed their criminal act, the Soviet revisionist occupiers knew that the Czechoslovak leadership would go down on its knees on the morrow. In fact, this revisionist leadership bowed down, left the borders open and issued no orders for the country to be defended, while in Moscow capitulated for the second time and entered the service of the invaders. But the Soviets will have to try very hard to find trusted people, hundred per cent loyal to them, with whom they may at least form the shadow of a quisling government of some stability. This will be their next great defeat. Certainly, they will find stooges and traitors but the resistance will not be put down. Certainly, the Soviets will be able to find some Czech Kadar, but things will take a different course from that of Hungary.

The barbarous act of the Soviet revisionists will prevent them from carrying out their plan of re-organizing the Czechoslovak Communist Party, without which they cannot legalize their fascist deed. However, they will manage with great difficulty to hoodwink part of the people just enough to overcome the difficulties of the

beginning and create the impression that «the intervention was necessary, salutary», that «everything is brought back to normal and friendship continues», and then there will be an exchange of delegations with Judas' embraces and kisses. But this will resolve nothing. Every passing day the situation in Czechoslovakia will become ever more difficult for the occupationists and ever more favourable for the revolutionaries.

The true Czechoslovak Marxist-Leninists will have to organize the Marxist-Leninist Communist Party of Czechoslovakia in illegality as soon as possible; they will have to organize the front of resistance on principled, though not sectarian bases; they will have to throw the working class and the Czechoslovak people from present passive defence into active defence, with strikes and demonstrations, armed attacks; and eventually they will have to organize partisan warfare. The moments their nation is now going through are very favourable and they must be thoroughly taken advantage of, expecting nothing from anybody. Talks, negotiations, or concessions to the occupiers must be combated mercilessly. It will be necessary to expose all hopes of help from the imperialists and prevent them from interfering by means of their spying agents who at every stage, will try to seize control of the leadership of the resistance.

In the beginning, the passive resistance of the Czechoslovaks is positive, but it does not solve everything. It gives time also to the occupiers to be organized. They want a spell of calm to complete their plunder and aggression. They need this

calm also for the public opinion in their countries, to which they lie brazenly.

Thus, the Czechoslovak Marxist-Leninist revolutionaries should understand the great importance the organization of armed resistance has to the awakening of public opinion in the Soviet Union and the other revisionist countries. They should understand that it is their duty to make the rear of the revisionist occupiers unstable and insecure, to bring pressure to bear on the treacherous leadership of their country.

The total boycott of the armies of occupation of the revisionists is a good tactic and the more complete it is, the better its results will be. The hatred of the people for them should be fanned up. Let the Soviet soldiers reach their conclusions if they want. At the same time, it will be necessary to carry out defeatist propaganda among the ranks of the troops of occupation in order to enlighten them and expose modern revisionism, Khrushchevite revisionism, the betrayal by the Soviet leadership, their destruction of socialism. The Soviet soldiers must be told that when Stalin was alive, they entered Czechoslovakia as liberators, whereas now that the anti-Stalinist traitors have emerged to the top, they have come to Czechoslovakia as invaders. It is good, indeed, it is essential to do a work of this kind, but we think that it would still be insufficient if the forces of occupation are not attacked with arms and driven out of the borders of Czechoslovakia, otherwise they will not leave of their own will.

Czechoslovakia, as you have seen, is defended

from different positions. Our position, as well as that of any genuine Marxist-Leninist Party, is most correct, revolutionary, Marxist-Leninist, which defends freedom, independence, sovereignty and true socialism in Czechoslovakia. From this position our Party fights and thoroughly exposes the revisionist invaders with the Soviet revisionists at the head, US imperialism and the world capitalist bourgeoisie, as well as the Czechoslovak capitulationist revisionists, old and new, together with the Czechoslovak reactionary bourgeoisie.

It was clear from the Czechoslovak crisis that US imperialism and the world capitalist bourgeoisie gave the Soviets a free hand to act. Their intervention was only a superficial, journalistic propaganda. In the secret agreements reached at Camp David and Glasboro, the two aggressive superpowers — the United States and the Soviet Union — have divided the spheres of influence between them, and must surely have defined their common strategy and tactic for the domination of the world. All this is being done under the cover of «peaceful coexistence». It is confirmed not only by the events in Czechoslovakia and the signing of a series of treaties and agreements between the USA and the Soviet Union, but also by all the perfidious counterrevolutionary stands of the Soviet leadership towards the situation in Latin America, the Israeli aggression against the Arab countries; it is convincingly confirmed by the very cordial «coexistence» and the division of the spheres of influence between the Americans and Soviets in the Arab countries and in the Middle East, in gene-

ral, it is demonstrated by the very cordial friendship between the US 6th Fleet and the Soviet Fleet which cohabit in the Mediterranean waters and ports as two close and true allies, which have the same aim — to keep the peoples of the Mediterranean under their yoke, to exploit them brutally and ruthlessly, to suppress by force of arms any revolutionary movement there.

Bent on launching an aggressive fascist war against the People's Republic of China, the People's Republic of Albania and international communism, the two imperialist great powers — the USA and the Soviet Union — naturally, try to impose their will and policy on all the members of NATO and the Warsaw Treaty respectively, and if other means fail, they will do so by force of arms and other forms of pressure. The two aggressive imperialist states want calm to reign throughout their «rear» in the world, they want it to be under their total dependence. Will they achieve it? Time will show. But this will not be possible for a long time to come, because contradictions in their ranks will make themselves felt and grow deeper.

The revisionist clique of Belgrade has been active in defence of the Czechoslovak revisionists, and opposed the occupation of Czechoslovakia. Now Tito stands before difficult alternatives. The situation in his country is confused, and in this state of confusion and political, ideological, and nationalist degeneration, he has to reorganize the defence of his country, because from now on he can no longer rely on the help of the Kadars, Dubceks and company. Yugoslavia today is encir-

cled by the Soviet revisionists who dictate everything by force of arms to their satellites of the Warsaw Treaty.

Thus, the Yugoslav leaders, as they have officially declared, face the urgent task of defending their northern and eastern borders. The organization of Yugoslav defence against any Soviet attempt at invading Yugoslavia is in our favour. We must follow these changing circumstances with greatest attention.

It is a fact that the Soviet threat to Yugoslav state borders is becoming ever more evident. If a Soviet invasion of Rumania takes place, then the threat to Yugoslavia becomes even greater. Nevertheless, whether Rumania is invaded or submits «peacefully» to the Moscow dictate, nothing changes the threat to Yugoslavia. Only the armed resistance of the Yugoslav peoples can face up to this threat.

Besides, even though it is not a member of NATO, in its political and strategic plans NATO considers Yugoslavia as a part of its defence area. This border is in jeopardy now, and it is likely that the military, strategic, offensive and defensive dispositions of NATO regarding the Yugoslav, Greek, Mediterranean and Adriatic sector are defined more precisely.

Here comes up the permanent question of the defence of our country. We have always lived under the conditions of geographical encirclement by savage, perfidious, aggressive, fascist enemies, and the defence of our Homeland has been fore-

seen and built in such a manner as to oppose any aggressor or group of aggressors at any time. This defence should be strengthened to the utmost because of the growing threat I mentioned above. We should always take account of the contradictions among our neighbours over Albania, contradictions which in different junctures operate differently, in particular, even when the balance of forces changes in a sector or in many sectors of the world.

Therefore, we must be full ready, always extremely vigilant, watching the development of events with greatest attention and drawing as correct deductions as possible for the allround defence of our borders from all quarters, from the land, the sea, or the air. Our defence should, as always, be based on realistic assessments, relying mainly on our own armed forces, the armed forces of the entire people, on a decisive and victorious war to the end and against all our enemies.

In these complicated international situations, especially in Central Europe, but even more so in the Balkans, the vigilance of our people, our Party, our People's State Power and our Government, should be at their highest. *We must be prepared to the best of our possibilities to cope with any eventuality, be it a surprise. Nothing must catch us unawares, least so in the defence of the Homeland to which we should pay more attention than at any other time before.*

In the Party, the people and the Army, we must strengthen and temper unshaken confidence,

confidence in our forces, raise patriotism, courage and heroism of the broad masses of the people to the highest level. All this should be closely connected with a thorough political and ideological work and very revolutionary practical activity. Everybody must grow aware of the internal and international situations, stand with both feet firmly on the ground and not indulge in day-dreaming and vain speculation. Every word, every action, should be weighed up and serve only the interest of the Party, the people and socialism.

Thorough political and ideological work, implementation of the line and norms of the Party with greatest precision, and an iron discipline everywhere should increase the patriotism of the masses and give it deeper significance, so that the heroism of the masses be not something individual or temporary but massive and permanent. Only in this way is the unhealthy habit of boasting, which leaves you in the lurch at difficult moments, eliminated among people, only in this way is fear or panic got rid of among them. The source of these evils lies in superficial political work.

When we say that we should be fully prepared, we should understand the question both from the political, ideological and military aspect, as well as the economic aspect. Not only should work in our country continue normally on the correct line the Congress and the Party has charted, but it also should be organized better in every sector, being aware of any arising situation, with all its advantages and its fresh difficulties as well. We

must leave nothing undone, or put off today's work till tomorrow, because tomorrow there will be something else to attend to. We must work intelligently, with revolutionary vigour and tempo. We must set the masses in motion, have confidence in them, instil confidence in the young cadres. We must not be sectarian towards them, we must help them, correct them when they make mistakes, promote them to posts of responsibility at work. It is a sacred Party duty for us, the older generation, to do this in an absolutely correct manner. When shall we do it, if not now that we are alive and can give our help and experience in this vital question to the Party?

Young and old should totally mobilize themselves in political and practical activities for the great cause of our socialist Homeland. The vigorous vitality of the Party and people should shine more brilliantly than ever; the revolutionary vigilance of the Party and the masses should be raised more than ever against any enemy or evil-doer, open or disguised, internal or external; we must work more than ever to temper unity in the ranks of the Party, and unity of the Party with the people, to the highest degree, through the implementation of the life-giving norms of the Party and the uninterrupted development of class struggle.

The situation in our Party, in our country and among our people is extremely strong. Let us improve it even more with every passing day! This is the aim of all our life, this is our main task. There-

force, the enemies have broken and will always break their heads, we shall crush them to death if they attempt anything against our Party, our people, and the People's Republic of Albania.

Taken from «Principal Documents of the PLA», Vol. 5, Alb. ed., Tirana, 1974.

THE DISTORTION OF THE MARXIST-LENINIST POLICY SPELLS DISASTER FOR THE VICTORIES OF EVERY COUNTRY AND PEOPLE, BIG OR SMALL

From a conversation at a meeting with the Head of the Permanent Mission of the Front of National Liberation of South Vietnam to Albania

September 16, 1968

We are very glad that you, the representatives of the valiant people of South Vietnam, who are fighting heroically, arms in hand, and scoring continuous victories over the barbarous US imperialists and their satellites, have come to our country. We expected you long ago in Albania, but we understand that the delay is caused by the difficulties of the war you are waging.

Despite the great distance which separates our two countries, our people and Party have always been with you with their minds and hearts. In their struggle for the construction of socialism and the defence of Marxism-Leninism, in their unyielding fight against the imperialists and the

modern revisionists, the Albanian people and their Party of Labour have been inspired by the heroic war of your people, which we, too, take pride in and have great admiration for. We firmly believe in the victory of your people.

It is for these reasons that we consider you as a fighter who has come to Albania, into the bosom of a fraternal people, small in numbers but unbending like your people, and fighting against the same enemies. The Albanian people, like the Vietnamese people, have been often attacked, but they have always faced their enemies with the rifle, defeated them and come off victorious. By this I mean that, just like your people who have had to fight against the attacks of savage and great enemies, armed to the teeth with most powerful and modern weapons, so the Albanian people, too, have had to fight against equally powerful enemies who though armed to the teeth, never succeeded and will never succeed in subduing us, nor will they ever succeed in subduing you.

Determined to fight to the end for the cause of freedom and independence of our Homeland, we triumphed over enemies, as you will, as long as both you and we are guided by Marxism-Leninism, our glorious ideology and the correct policy which inspire our peoples in our struggle. The distortion of the Marxist-Leninist policy will inevitably undo your victories, the victories of any other country and people, great though they may be. Our strength lies exactly in this policy, because it is the summing-up of the experience of our just war, correct alliances and objectives of the present and

the future, rigorously seen only from the angle of Marxism-Leninism, in the light of the theory of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin.

Detached from this theory, our vision grows dim and catastrophe follows. Marxism-Leninism represents the tested laws of development of nature and society, confirmed by the long and bloody experience of the proletariat and the revolutionary peoples, their efforts and aspirations.

The imperialists, the Soviet modern revisionists and others everywhere, put on all sorts of masks to conceal their intentions. They turn to various and sundry manoeuvres, catch-words, disguises, they utilize all situations to their advantage, but the true Marxist-Leninists are in a position to recognize them. Precisely here lies the strength of Marxism-Leninism which prevents the revolutionaries from going it blindly. Of course, Marxists take also account of situations, pass judgement on circumstances, and make assessments as to how to act in this or that circumstance. In various situations, the imperialists and the revisionists may also quarrel even while hatching up plans of aggression together. The imperialists think that a particular line of action should be adopted with regard to this or that situation, while the revisionists say no, and hold that a different line should be adopted. Rivalry will lead them into a great war, therefore, the Marxists and all the peoples must be very vigilant and never underrate the enemy.

You have achieved great successes in your war, and we greatly rejoice over them; but our joy will be greater still when you throw the American

imperialists into the sea and all of South Vietnam is completely liberated and united with the North.

We rejoice immensely over the successes you have achieved; we admire the war the people of South Vietnam, in particular, are waging and have great faith in its successful issue. The war and resistance of your people, as well as the colossal help the people of North Vietnam give to your war, constitute precisely those forces which have inflicted serious losses on American imperialism, the greatest imperialist power of the world.

The war of your people has confirmed many things, and in the first place, the indomitable stand of a people, small though in numbers, who are determined to fight till victory against their enemy, no matter how superior in numbers and armed with most destructive modern means of war they may be. Your example has also confirmed that people's war is always stronger than the war and strategy, the policy and all the intrigues of imperialism and its lackeys, as well as of the modern revisionists. This is confirmed by all just, principled, and determined wars, strategically and tactically led by the Marxist-Leninist theory.

Now everybody has it clear that American imperialism is in a very difficult political, military and economic position. It is going through a great crisis. Of course, it is caused by a series of factors — the resistance and the national liberation wars of the peoples in various parts of the world, including here, also, the heroic war of your people. American imperialism is in a crisis, it has many enemies, even formidable ones, the peoples

of the whole world possess a colossal force with which imperialism reckons very carefully, though it pretends to disregard it. It is precisely this colossal force of the peoples that American imperialism is afraid of and it is this force which sooner or later will certainly vanquish it.

Marxism-Leninism is the compass of this colossal force. We must never for a moment forget this, for, if we do, we lose our compass, and if we lose our compass, we lose our way. Those who lose their compass will always lose their way. Those who go into thick woods without a compass cannot get out of it, whereas those who do not go into thick woods have no problem, or even when they do (and have their compass with them) they come out of it easily. The US imperialists and the Khrushchevite Soviet revisionists, whether in alliance or rivalry with each other, endeavour to wrest the compass from the hands of the people, the Marxist-Leninists, or at least, to derange it, or figuratively speaking, to put it out of order by applying a magnet to it so that instead of the North its hands should point the South, and then to drive the peoples into the woods, from which they will never come out. Facts have shown that similar attempts have been made throughout the history of the international communist movement, through the ups and downs of the revolution; in spite of all this, the revolution has always surged ahead, and the rot has been washed away.

In the view of our Party, the American imperialists have sought aid from the Soviet revisionist traitors and all other revisionists, who have laid

themselves out to serve them. Both sides intend to thwart the war of the Vietnamese people and of all other peoples, to establish their savage domination all over the world.

In the view of our Party, they are already exposed, they have suffered and will always suffer grave defeats. Time will lay bare the criminal countenance of the Soviet revisionists ever more clearly before the world. The situation which they have themselves created will have lethal consequences for them, it is and will be leading them to catastrophe. Each of their political, economic, and military acts is fascist, militarist, anti-popular, anti-socialist and cannot be accepted, it will only further stiffen the resistance and step up the struggle of the peoples, which will have drastic consequences for them. We are confident that, sooner or later, there will be resistance in the Soviet Union, that the Bolshevik Party will be revived. We think that the revisionists are already in crisis, and their disaster is unavoidable.

The occupation of Czechoslovakia is a fascist act of aggression in the full meaning of the word, it is another serious blow at the prestige of the Soviet Union. We totally disagree with the stand you and the Government of North Vietnam maintain towards this aggression, and we declare this openly. To you we say nothing in ambiguous terms because we consider you our comrades. Of course, you have a right to your opinion on this question, but we, too, have the same right. You justify the line you are taking with your own logic, but we,

too, reason things out according to our own logic, hence our different stands.

How do we go about this question? Why did the Soviet revisionists and the other four member countries of the Warsaw Treaty intervene by force of arms in Czechoslovakia? You say they «saved» Czechoslovakia from the counter-revolution which was threatening it with an invasion from the West. But this is precisely the Soviet thesis.

Suppose we Albanians were a great people of scores of millions and confident in our «strength», imagine us attacking the Soviet Union some day, saying that revisionism is established there; or imagine us attacking the German Democratic Republic, saying that a counterrevolution is being hatched up there, or that it is under the threat of an invasion from West Germany, or that the Soviet revisionists are threatening communism in Germany; or suppose that, because, as everybody knows, we Albanians are in political and ideological enmity with the Yugoslav revisionists, we attack Yugoslavia militarily saying that revisionism is established, or the Tito clique is in power there, and so on and so forth. What would the government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam say if we did it?

Suppose the Soviet revisionists attack Yugoslavia, would you agree to it? Of course, conditions in Yugoslavia are similar to those in Czechoslovakia, indeed the Yugoslav revisionists are a little more advanced than the Czechoslovak ones, because Tito has discarded socialism long before them.

But let us leave Yugoslavia now and come to

Albania. Some time ago Radio Moscow announced that after Albania's departure from the Warsaw Treaty, the Albanian leaders have allegedly sold out their country to the American and British imperialists and Greece! Tomorrow, the Moscow renegades may attack other countries, including Albania, just as they attacked Czechoslovakia. Would you condone such an attack which, they will claim, will be launched in order to «save» Albania from the «traitors» to Marxism-Leninism? Is there any logic in this? This way of reasoning of the Soviet revisionists leads to the conclusion that they may act similarly against all the countries which do not follow their traitorous course. Having taken Albania as an example, I want to add something else: let the Soviet revisionists and the other revisionists, members of the Warsaw Treaty or not, come here and have a try at us if they dare, let the American imperialists and their NATO allies do the same if they think **they can**, and they will see for themselves how much they are worth.

Our Party was the first to expose the Dubcek clique, but it did so in the Marxist-Leninist way. Who is Dubcek? We have facts that he is the man of Brezhnev and Kosygin, because both sides were agreed to dispose of Nowotny. However, later, Dubcek turned his back on his masters, the Soviet revisionists, who, seeing that he was getting out **of hand**, attacked the new Czechoslovak revisionist leader.

According to this logic, the imperialists are supposed to have a right to intervene in Czecho-

slovakia or elsewhere, because there they have their **own people**, allegedly, their own social strata, whom they would want to defend! According to this way of reasoning anybody has a right to attack this or that country. No, comrades, this reasoning is wrong, it is not Marxist-Leninist, either. The matter is not as simple as some try to present it. It must be considered from a different standpoint, on the basis of principles, which must never be trampled on.

Nor is it correct to reason like some people who say that in as much as the Soviet Union «helps» us, though we know what sort of help it is, we must shut an eye to its military intervention in Czechoslovakia, or, worse still, pretend that it «saved» Czechoslovakia.

Suppose China attacks the Soviet Union, what would you Vietnamese say: good for you, China!? Of course, not. These questions so vital to the peoples cannot be solved with such «logic», they can be solved only in the correct, Marxist-Leninist way.

We have a great admiration for the heroic resistance of the people of North Vietnam, we have a profound respect for Comrade Ho Chi Minh, whom I know personally, and can infer what he thinks on this question.

We are attentively following your talks with the representatives of the American imperialist aggressors in Paris. These talks, too, do not seem justified to our Party, which thinks that they will yield no result. This is your own business, but as Marxist-Leninists, we are in duty bound to tell

our comrades openly what we think and how we feel, without the slightest doubt that they may take it amiss. You say that the question of the liberation of South Vietnam will be solved with the issue of the war, and at the same time through politics and diplomacy. Yes, comrades, war is decisive. True, one may engage in politics, too, but only after judging things in a Marxist-Leninist way.

We think that the Paris talks are to the interests of those who sponsored them — the Soviet revisionist traitors. They do not serve the interests of the liberation war of the Vietnamese people, because they do not weaken American imperialism, the Johnson clique. If the policy of this clique has been torn to tatters, this is due to the heroic war of your people, and not to the Paris talks. In our opinion, these talks have somewhat strengthened President Johnson, who is keenly interested in them. He is keeping Harriman, his best diplomat, in Paris in order to mislead international public opinion by means of the meetings which are held weekly there. This he does with a view to making the deceptive impression that allegedly they too, on their part, are working to achieve a cease-fire in Vietnam. Humphrey needs this impression for his electoral campaign against Nixon who opposes the talks.

What need have the Soviet revisionists of these talks? They need them to quell the war of your people. But by this act they intend also to kindle fires of war in other countries of Asia, to give a free hand to Japanese imperialism, the anti-popular cliques of India, Indonesia and all the reactionary

cliques around this basin, and strengthen themselves; by this they want to further consolidate their alliances with them, with the Johnson clique in particular. The Soviet revisionists are trying by all manner of means to have the talks concluded precisely now, when the Johnson clique is still in power. For many years now Johnson has been speaking about these talks, to which the Soviet revisionists give their unreserved support. It is for these reasons that we think the Paris talks serve the interests of the Soviet revisionists and the Johnson clique. We shall see for ourselves that even if the Humphrey clique wins, war in Vietnam will continue; you can throw the American aggressors into the sea only by the force of your arms. This is what our Party thinks about the Paris talks.

Here you also spoke about the question of the «Alliance of the Democratic and Peace-loving Forces»¹ which has been created in South Vietnam. We think that your line in connection with the Front is correct, because its objective is to rally the whole people in the war against the American occupiers. But who knows the situation in Vietnam better than you do? Is it we outsiders? It would be too presumptuous on our part to pretend that we know the situation in your country well, we would be making a mistake if we said so.

¹ Legal organization which was growing in South Vietnam at that time. It was made up of intellectuals, elements from the ranks of the local bourgeoisie, various puppet governments and others who had served with the enemy.

We know well the situation in our own country and in our own Party. Nevertheless, from your very interesting explanations of the situations in South Vietnam, as well as from from what we learned about the objective of the Front of National Liberation of South Vietnam to rally the entire people in the war against the enemies, we presume that they are similar to the situations which existed here when the Italian fascists attacked and invaded our country as well as when our Party was created, when we were waging our armed struggle, when the Italian occupiers capitulated, when the German army invaded Albania, as well as, at the last stage, when we were on the point of smashing the German occupiers. Judging from the general line of our National Liberation Front in all the stages of development of the war, we can assert that it was very much like the line you are pursuing now for the mobilization of the masses.

At that time we also had to resort to tactics which could not have been the same as yours, because we must bear in mind that, although the various strata participating in the front may carry the same labels: «national bourgeoisie», «intellectuals», etc., their background, however, is different; as a result, their potential and influence on the masses may also be different and this accounts for the difference of tactics, which cannot be the same both for us and for you.

Our Party has its experience from the situations which developed in Albania. What does it consist in? By the end of 1942, another front was

created in Albania at the instigation of the occupiers; it was an organization which comprised representatives of the reactionary bourgeoisie, pseudo-patriotic intellectuals, big landed proprietors, rich merchants and peasants, who passed themselves off as ardent patriots! This «Front» styled itself «Balli Kombëtar» (The «National Front»), and its objective was to oppose the National Liberation Front which was organized by the Party with a program not quite identical to that of your Front. The difference is that the Communist Party of Albania openly declared that, though in illegality, it would itself lead the organization of the National Liberation Front, whereas you speak only of the Front without mentioning the Party. At that time, the National Liberation Front demanded that this other «Front», the «Balli Kombëtar», proclaimed its own program. The Ballists responded that the objective of their organization was allegedly the war against the occupiers. Seeing that they had the same program as ours, we invited them to join forces in the war without further delay. But the Ballists were not yet fighting. We went on patiently calling on them to unite with us in the war against the Italian fascist occupiers. However, the chiefs of the «Balli Kombëtar» did not desist from collaborating with the the occupiers.

When we set up our partisan units which hit the enemy, the «Balli Kombëtar», too, set up some bands which were supposed to fight the occupier, which in fact they never did. Knowing well, as we did, what they were, we still insisted on inviting

them to join hands with us in the war against the external enemy. Along with our efforts to have them unite with us, and throw themselves into the war together with us, we kept on our relentless fight against the occupiers without them. we kept the enemy under incessant attacks, as you are correctly doing today in similar cases in South Vietnam. On the other hand, seeing that its chiefs were too far advanced on the road of collaboration with the occupiers, we worked to isolate them by taking away the rank-and-file from them. namely by winning over the sections of the population they had misled; then we gave them arms and hurled them into the National Liberation War. At last, the moment came when these traitorous chiefs, collaborationists of the occupiers, were exposed by the Party, abandoned by the people they had misled, and isolated; then they turned open agents in the pay of the occupiers.

With the capitulation of fascist Italy, the Ballists declared that the war was over, and according to them, Albania was «liberated», and demanded that a coalition government be set up. We warned them that it was not the time to cease the war, or to set up a coalition government. We asked them where they had been and what they were doing while the true patriots were engaged in an uncompromising war against the occupiers, making their contribution in blood and sacrifices to the liberation of the Homeland. We asked them against whom they had been fighting, and how they could claim participation in a joint government at a time when only the healthy forces

of the people had been fighting for this country. We laid special emphasis on the fact that the war for the liberation of the Homeland was not yet over, that the place of the Italian occupiers, now defeated, was being taken over by the new occupiers, the Germans, so we advised them to fight the latter, at least. Thus, we put them to another test. But, the Germans had hardly begun their war against us when the Ballists retraced their steps to the towns, they formed their quisling governments, their chiefs took up their quarters with the Germans in «Dajti» Hotel. They set up their «army» which, together with the occupiers, was thrown against the National Liberation Front. With this, they exposed themselves as traitors through-and-through to the people and the Homeland. Reaction had to figure things out again.

What did it do next? It brought forth other elements, bourgeois intellectuals, sympathizers and followers of King Zog, with pro-British tendencies. Under the protection of the German occupiers they began printing their newspaper «Atdheu» (the Homeland) in a licensed printing shop. In the pages of this organ they boasted that they were allegedly fighting «for the Homeland», while in reality they were in collusion with the German occupiers. While the Germans had their days counted in Albania, assisted by the British officers and airborne troops sent by Churchill, and by the Command of the German troops still stationed in our country, the Zogites sought to keep their puppet forces intact, so that they, too, together with the Ballists, could be ready to turn their coat once the occupi-

ers were defeated. This is what the Ballists tried to do in our country. They made a last attempt at participating in our government.

By this I mean that, with us, at the time when we had launched our general offensive and were inflicting defeats on the German occupiers there emerged some people who had not fired a single shot for the liberation of the country and who, on the contrary, had countered our National Liberation Front with the weapons the Germans and the British had given them. However, our National Liberation Army, under the leadership of the Communist Party, dealt ruthlessly with them and routed them together with the German occupiers. The traitor chiefs, those who were not captured, escaped to Italy, the United States of America, Munich of Germany, or elsewhere. Their «army» surrendered to us. We called on them all to take up arms, and to march forward to the liberation of the peoples of Yugoslavia, too, incorporated in the formations of the partisan National Liberation Army. Everybody knows that, after liberating Albania, our divisions crossed our state border and, side by side with the fraternal peoples of Yugoslavia, liberated Kosova and the Dukagjin Plateau, Montenegro, the southern part of Bosnia, Sandjak and some regions of Macedonia.

I told you all this just to show you how the reactionary forces have acted, what manoeuvres they have resorted to against our country, and the experience we gained in the war against them.

Your line in the Front may be correct on this question, which you know better. You know what

sort of people those of the «Alliance of the Democratic and Peace-loving Forces» are, and what aims they pursue. You must keep your eyes open, and never share power with them.

Why did I tell you this today? I told you this because we wish you well, indeed we love you very much and sincerely as comrades. And we always speak straight among comrades. Doesn't Lenin teach us to speak openly within the party cell? Just as openly and sincerely should we also speak to our comrades from other countries whom we wish well. When your fighters carry out an action against the American aggressors and the Vietnamese puppets, certainly, they analyze it afterwards, they analyze the successes, positive aspects of the action and, at the same time, they criticize even severely at that, the shortcomings noticed, in order to prevent them from being repeated. This is how comrades of the same trench, of the same ideal speak to one another. When analysed, things must be put correctly in the party spirit, saying who is in the right and who is not, who is half and who is only slightly in the right, everything must be discussed together and the best solution found together.

I repeat once again that we wish you well and consider you our comrades, because there is no yardstick to assess the importance of the war you have been waging against the American imperialists, because it has great value, indeed it has colossal value, not for Vietnam, or for the liberation of the South only. No! With their great war, which has inspired and encouraged all the revolutionaries

of the world, the Vietnamese people have rendered a great service to all the peoples of the world. Whoever denies this service can in no way be called a Marxist. But those who do not tell their comrades what they think of some questions are not Marxists, either. This is how we understand these matters.

Therefore, what I told you are our sincere opinions of, and pure feelings for, your heroic people, all the partisans and fighters of Vietnam. The Albanian people and the Party of Labour of Albania will always be with all their forces with you, and will help you to the best of their abilities. You are our comrades-in-arms, therefore you must make yourselves at home and feel like being among your true comrades in Albania.

Let us raise this toast to the complete victory of your people over the aggressors and their puppets!

*First published from the
minutes at the Central
Archive of the Party.*

SCANDALOUS FAILURE OF THE PAN-REVISIONIST CONFERENCE

Article published in the newspaper «Zëri i popullit»

October 8, 1968

A few days ago, a group of delegates of various revisionist parties and groups met in Budapest to discuss once again the proposed meeting of the revisionist parties on which the Soviet leaders are insisting for the past five years. Finally, a communiqué was issued declaring that the members of the preparatory committee «will reconsider the question of the date of the international meeting and, after consulting the central committees of their parties, will meet again on November 17, in Budapest to fix the date of the meeting and to discuss the order of its further preparation».

These few lines, which read like an obituary notice, are a public admission that the notorious Meeting, fixed for November 25 this year, definitely ceased to exist under the Soviet tanks which invaded Czechoslovakia. Its postponement till the Greek calends is nothing more than a for-

tuitous consolation for its Soviet initiators. Everybody sees and understands now that it sounds like a requiem for their fresh scandalous failure. The longer the «Budapest carnival» continues, the bitterer will become the bickerings and clashes among the various revisionist groups, the more thoroughly will they be discredited.

It is clear to all and everybody that the Soviet leaders attach extreme importance to it and have been making strenuous efforts to rally the various revisionist forces around themselves and hold them in check. In this undertaking they staked all their prestige, the whole political and economic preponderous weight of the Soviet Union, they resorted to pressure and blackmail, flattery and deceit. Last March, after many misadventures and clamorous scandals, when the preparatory meeting in Budapest agreed to November 25 as the opening date of the international revisionist conference in Moscow, «Pravda» bawled out that «the communist movement safely entered the phase of direct practical preparation for the new international meeting of the communist and workers' parties», while Suslov described it as an «important epoch in consolidating the compactness of the communist movement».

Now *Pravda* and Suslov's voices are inaudible. But the Soviet revisionists choose to act an ostrich policy while the world clearly sees their ridiculous position and the utter discomfiture they suffered. As for us, all these events were by no means unexpected. Our Party had long before foreseen and publicly declared that the desperate attempt of the Khrushchevite Soviet leaders to call

the pseudo-conference of «international communism» in Moscow would end up in ignominious failure, as it actually did. In the article «The Budapest carnival», written on the occasion of the March meeting of the preparatory committee, we wrote:

«The time from its preparation to the end of this year will confirm deeper and more clamorous rifts. The revisionists will encounter all sorts of opposition, since the other revisionist opponents do not want such a meeting and are in no hurry to hold it».

We have nothing new to add to these lines; time once more confirmed what our Party has continually emphasized, namely, that division, degeneration and failure are permanent features and phenomena of modern revisionism, that among revisionists there can never be unity and compactness.

The revisionist leaders of the Soviet Union have made many attempts to preserve their commanding positions on the revisionist front and to hitch the other revisionist parties to their chariot. But with the aggression they committed against Czechoslovakia, they, with their own hands, planted the mines also under the structure which until recently supported the Soviet policy on the main problems. The revisionists, whether in Italy, France, Britain, Austria or in many other capitalist countries, denied partnership in the Soviet revisionist adventure in Czechoslovakia and left the leadership of the Soviet Union consume the Czechoslovak broth itself. They could not disregard the general trend of opinion of the working masses in their

countries, who rose in protest against the aggression against Czechoslovakia and vehemently condemned it. However strong their spiritual and financial links with the Soviet leadership, they could not go against the current. Besides, as is always the case of opportunists, they preferred to make common cause with their own bourgeoisie, which for the sake of its interests and because of its rivalries, condemned Soviet revisionist imperialism.

Now the Soviet leaders accuse their revisionist cronies of the West that, by failing to support the aggression in Czechoslovakia, they had allegedly betrayed proletarian internationalism, fallen victim of imperialist propaganda etc., and pathetically call on them to return to the fold of the «communist family», because the indulgent parent is ready to pardon the repented son. But it is not easy to end the squabbles among them. This is only the beginning of the polemic, but just at this initial stage it indicates that the Soviet revisionists are not only losing the support of the Western revisionist parties on a particular issue, that they have not only remained isolated, but also that they involved themselves in a new and big controversy which will inevitably lead to sore scrambles inside the revisionist front, to its further political and ideological exposure and to its complete disintegration.

It was beyond all doubt that, availing themselves of the Soviet aggression against Czechoslovakia and the present political isolation of the Soviet leaders, the various revisionist cliques would not fail to utilize negotiations and preparatory meetings to the Moscow conference as means of

pressure and barter, some in an effort to ease the burden of Soviet hegemony on them, others to completely break away from it, etc. And facts show that various revisionist groups which previously opposed a half-hearted resistance to the Soviet preponderance now do not hesitate to demand that Moscow recognizes *de jure* and *de facto* their independence from «the communist movement». They can afford to do it now because they are sure that, in the deplorable position in which the Brezhnev-Kosygin clique has been reduced, it is unable to accept the new challenge of the other revisionists, and would not risk a final separation from them. Therefore, it is no wonder that, for instance, while the press and the whole Soviet propaganda has unsheathed the sword against the Czechoslovak «counterrevolutionaries», it has not a single word to reproach the French, Italian, British and other revisionists who not only have taken their friends of Prague under protection, but have indeed outdone them both in theory and practice.

The disguised communiqué of the last Budapest Meeting has nothing about what the many delegates said there, who proposed the postponement of the meeting, how that proposal was motivated, etc. The meeting was held behind closed doors and strict secrecy surrounded its proceedings. But it is evident that the Soviet revisionists would by no means like to disclose the fact that they themselves, who until recently were waving the banner of the «struggle against imperialist aggression», were on the bench of the defendant in Budapest, and were called to task for their imperialist

aggression in Czechoslovakia. But what the Soviet revisionists are anxious to withhold is disclosed by the Italians, who seek to become a new world centre and to gather round themselves the various revisionist groups and parties which are actually abandoning the Soviet leadership. «The Czechoslovak question», writes the Italian paper «Unità», «in fact, dominated the scene at the Budapest Meeting. It underlined the futility of the conference and the impossibility of reaching substantial conclusions at a time when the Czechoslovak drama is still continuing and when important differences have emerged over the events of Prague among the communist parties, concerning main questions of principled importance.»

The Soviet leaders have entered a blind alley from which they cannot get out. To renounce altogether the idea of the general meeting would be tantamount to a shattering defeat for them, to insist on holding it they risk a real catastrophe. After the aggression against Czechoslovakia, their dilemma has become more Hamlet-like than ever.

The fundamental purpose of the Soviet revisionists in organizing a general meeting of the revisionist parties was to pronounce the «international verdict» against the Communist Party of China and the Party of Labour of Albania, to «isolate» them, and especially to halt the impetuous upsurge of the revolutionary Marxist-Leninist movement in the world. Khrushchev tried to do it in 1964 when he proposed a meeting of the communist parties and utterly failed, this is what his successors wanted to achieve at the meeting of Moscow in March, 1965.

in Karlovy Vary later, and at the numerous meetings in Budapest, etc.

But to achieve their objective, first of all the Soviet leaders had to establish unity on the revisionist front at least, to force the other revisionist parties to recognize them as supreme leaders of that campaign and have them kowtow unconditionally to the Soviet hegemony. And again it was an utter defeat. The principled and persistent struggle carried out by the Party of Labour of Albania, and the other Marxist-Leninist Parties for the exposure of the betrayal by modern revisionists and the defence of Marxism-Leninism, reduced their dreams to smoke.

With the passage of time and under the stress of continuous attacks of our parties, the situation on the revisionist front became even more chaotic, bickerings flared up more fiercely, divergencies became deeper. Instead of helping consolidate the compactness of the revisionist parties, co-ordinate their activity and achieve unity of action, the successive campaigns to organize the meeting led to the crystallization and consolidation of centrifugal tendencies, to increased efforts of various groups to break away from Soviet tutelage and hegemony, to the weakening of the revisionist front.

In their numerous jugglings to call the international revisionist conference and to possibly ensure a large participation in it, the Soviet leaders waved also the ragged flag of «unity of action against imperialism» with all their might. Time proved that this slogan was a bluff through and through. Instead of «unity of action» against im-

perialism, unity of imperialist-revisionist action against the peoples was strengthened, the Soviet-US counterrevolutionary collaboration was extended and stepped up, and the various revisionist cliques strengthened their links with the national bourgeoisie further.

The US imperialists' approval of the Soviet aggression against Czechoslovakia exposed their dirty linen and finally unmasked the bluff of the demagogic and abstract anti-imperialism of the Soviet revisionists. At this stage, a broad meeting with the revisionist «unity of action» against imperialism at the centre of attention, would have appeared as ridiculous as it was practically impossible.

Whereas at the March meeting in Budapest the Soviet revisionists could lay a claim to the leadership of the revisionist front, at the present meetings they found themselves playing the role of the weaker partner who pleads for aid and mercy and begs on his knees not to be abandoned in this rainy day. But it is beyond all doubt that the Italian, French, British revisionists, and even those of the revisionist countries of Eastern Europe, will not let this favourable occasion slip from their hands or fail to turn the isolation of the Soviet Union after its aggression against Czechoslovakia to their advantage in order to strengthen their positions confronted with the Soviet revisionists. Up till today the latter could still entertain some hope of maintaining their hegemony over the various revisionist cliques and of checking, to a certain extent, their centrifugal tendencies, since they did

not present a united front against the Soviet hegemony as yet because, though really opposed to the Soviet tutelage, they did it for different reasons and from particular interests. But after the aggression against Czechoslovakia nothing of the sort can be said. The perfidy of the Soviet leaders to their allies became open, it became a habitual norm of their conduct. There is no essential difference between open military aggression or plots to overthrow the leadership of the parties and bring quislings to power.

In the beginning of the last year, when the Moscow leaders were anxious to lump into their bag the other revisionist parties and to extort the latter's consent to go to the meeting of Budapest and the conference of Moscow, Brezhnev himself, and with him the whole lot, solemnly declared that the Soviet revisionist party remained faithful to the line whereby no party had the right to interfere in the internal affairs of other states, no party had the right to censure the activity of the other parties which are in their full right to apply Marxism to their particular conditions and according to their own interpretation.

No such preachings can be heard now in Moscow; on the contrary, the Soviet propaganda is trying to persuade the others that only the high patriarchs of the Kremlin can interpret Marxism, that the independence of the parties and the sovereignty of the nations do not exist, that for the communist parties there is only one law, the law dictated by Moscow, that all parties must submit to the Soviet leadership which allegedly

represents the «lofty interests» of socialism etc., etc.

A concrete example of the putting into practice of these new «theories» are the last talks held in Moscow between the Soviet leaders and the Dubcek group. The communiqué of the talks openly declares that, after trampling underfoot the last vestiges of Czechoslovakia's national independence and sovereignty and the most elementary principles of normal interstate relations, the Brezhnev-Kosygin clique is now dictating to the Czechoslovaks whom to appoint to or remove from the government, who must be included in the Central Committee of the Party and who must not be, what laws must be enacted or abrogated, etc. Now it took the liberty not only of giving orientations, but also of directing in practice the entire political, economic, and social activity in Czechoslovakia.

Is it possible that, in the given circumstances, the other revisionist parties go to Moscow on their own and recognize the Brezhnev-Kosygin clique as the supreme leadership of the «international communist movement»?

The last meeting in Budapest showed that the breaches on the revisionist front have become irreparable. Now the Moscow conference is all in shreds and tatters. Not even the Soviet revisionists want to hold it now. They realize that not only its original purpose to condemn the CP of China and the Party of Labour of Albania went wrong, but they have also an inkling that it would be turned into a forum in which the disputes and quarrels

among the participants would flare up openly, and the Soviet leadership together with its Polish, East-German, Hungarian and Bulgarian partners would find itself in the embarrassing position of defendants. By deferring the meeting, they hope that better times may come when they can gather sufficient proof to justify their aggression, or some other international question may have arisen in the meanwhile, to which the revisionists can apply their pet phrase: «Let us cast aside our differences and unite for the sake of this and that». But the opponents of the conference, who arrived at a compromise to postpone it, also, have weighed their chances. Knowing that for reasons of prestige the Soviet leaders cannot come out now with the assertion that they no longer need the conference, or admit that they have remained isolated and need support, Longo, Waldeck-Rochet and others will continue to utilize the procrastination of the calling of this doomed conference to bring pressure to bear on the Soviets and blackmail them, to extort as many concessions from them as possible, and especially, to obtain the right of citizenship for polycentrism within the revisionist mob, and to avoid the total liquidation of their rotten parties, which, in their actual state, can hardly hold their footing.

The last meeting of the so-called preparatory group in Budapest showed not only the dismal failure of the long-cherished hopes of the Soviet revisionists to impose their domination on the other revisionist parties, but also the disastrous political, ideological and organizational collapse of the entire

revisionist front. If up today the Soviet revisionists were seeking to raise different smoke-screens to hide the putrefaction and degeneration of revisionism, their latest actions laid them bare to the eyes of the whole world. No meeting, no conference whatever, whether it is held sooner or later, or never at all, can help them stave off the bad fix into which their own betrayal has driven them. As the time passes, the squabbles and conflicts among the different revisionist cliques become worse. With their tanks they endeavoured to hold the Dubcek clique in check but they raised other revisionist cliques against themselves. They strive to solve one contradiction, but a thousand others arise. The Soviet revisionist boat, which is plodding with difficulty against the gale of the people's hatred, leaks on all sides and no effort can rescue it from sinking.

Taken from the collection, of articles with the title «The Marxist-Leninist Truth Will Triumph Over Revisionism», Vol. 8, Alb. ed., Tirana, 1969.

THE FIST OF THE MARXIST-LENINIST COMMUNISTS MUST ALSO SMASH LEFT ADVENTURISM, THE OFFSPRING OF MODERN REVISIONISM

*From a conversation with two leaders of the
Communist Party of Ecuador (Marxist-Leninist)*

October 21, 1968

We are very glad to meet you comrades from Ecuador. Of course, it is our wish to have more frequent and longer talks, because the struggle of the Marxist-Leninist Communist Party of Ecuador, as well as of all the Marxist-Leninist Parties of Latin America, has great importance to the revolution. In our view, your struggle is of great assistance to the world revolution and to our Party which is always eager to learn and profit from the experience of fraternal parties.

Marxism-Leninism, our universal doctrine, applied in the conditions of each country, is enriched with the new experience of all the revolutionary parties. The experience each Marxist-Leninist Party gains in the course of its work and struggle against

the common enemies, imperialism and revisionism, helps also the other parties at the same time. Without this experience we would be limping along.

You comrades, with your revolutionary activity and struggle on the continent of Latin America, with a large population and with wonderful and ardent people, are in permanent uprising, in revolution, in the full meaning of the word. At the head of the peoples of this continent stand today the fraternal Marxist-Leninist Parties. This, as well as a realistic Marxist-Leninist understanding of the situation on your continent, is a source of boundless enthusiasm and inspiration for the true Marxist-Leninist Parties of Europe, Asia and Africa, and helps us all carry revolutionary actions through to the end in every country, on a national, continental or international scale against our common enemies, the imperialists, with the US imperialists at the head, the modern revisionists, with the Soviet revisionists at the head, as well as reactionaries of every hue.

The Party of Labour of Albania, the Albanian communists feel very much the need of contacts, for exchanging experience with all the fraternal parties, because close co-operation strengthens us mutually. Although we are far away from each other geographically, with our minds and our hearts we are very near to each other, and the «distance» factor does not constitute an insurmountable difficulty today.

As you may also have seen for yourselves during your visits in our country, after the triumph of the revolution many changes have been made

here. This is due to the correct Marxist-Leninist line of the Party and the revolutionary spirit of our people. In order to have a more precise idea of Albania's state in the past, as the Marxist-Leninists you are, you must compare it with some of the most miserable, most backward and most oppressed regions of the present-day Ecuador. Just as your country today, before Liberation Albania has suffered greatly under savage feudal oppression. We had no schools. The people were starving in rags, deprived of their livelihood. Most of the fields you have seen, were formerly only swamps and marshes. Malaria, tuberculosis and many other diseases took a heavy toll on the life of the population, children in particular. But as a result of the people's revolution which was led by our Party, the transformations were so great and so rapid that without boasting we may consider them colossal by our Albanian standards.

However, as Marxists, taking a realistic view of the situation, we are fully aware that, along with very great successes there are also failures, and a great deal more remains to be done in the future, in the first place, to raise the masses of working people politically and ideologically, in particular, but also economically, to an ever higher level; we must work even harder to strengthen our country militarily, to raise the educational and cultural level of our people higher, and all this only on the revolutionary Marxist-Leninist road.

Our Party is working in these directions. We may say that now we have laid down sounder, more powerful bases, but what is important, is

that everything we have done, everything we have created, was achieved in constant struggle against difficulties of growth, encircled by rabid enemies, was attained in such conditions in which our country's independence, freedom, sovereignty, socialism, were in danger at every moment. We have created all this in struggle for the defence and strengthening of the Marxist-Leninist unity of the Party and people, which is a special target for enemy attacks. We have ceaselessly worked to temper this unity. Our strength lies in the ever greater steeling of the Party-people unity. This is of vital importance, because the danger of armed intervention, of all possible forms of intervention against our country, has been and remains great and constant, both on the part of the imperialists, as well as Titoite renegades and the militaristic Soviet revisionists, who, as the occupation of Czechoslovakia proved, try to justify each of their actions with the interest they allegedly take in the consolidation of «fraternal» states.

In the present revolutionary situations, the Marxist-Leninist Parties throughout the world must go on fighting for the strengthening of their ranks, of their Marxist-Leninist unity, for closer ties with the masses of the people and with one another, because the communist and workers' movement throughout the world is one of the fundamental factors frustrating the plans concocted against the peoples by both the Soviet revisionists and the US imperialists, who from day to day are strengthening their fascist dictatorship in order to dominate the world. They must also increase their vigilance.

Always, but especially in the situations we are living through, our country has been and will constantly be strengthening its unity and increasing its vigilance. With this end in view, as always, we have taken ideological, political, economic and military measures. Our entire people are armed in the full meaning of the word. Every Albanian, whether in the city or the country, has his weapon at home. Our Army itself, the army of a soldier people, is ready at any moment to strike at any enemy or coalition of enemies. The youth, too, have risen to their feet. Combat readiness does not in the least impede our work of socialist construction, on the contrary, it has given greater vigour to the development of the country's economy and culture.

In these moments the Soviet and Yugoslav revisionists, the Greek and Italian fascists know full well that if they dare to embark on an adventure against Albania, they will never come off victorious, but will be dealt mortal blows instead. We have made this clear to everybody and at every time. This is in general the situation in our country — sound, secure and with brilliant prospects. But this should not make us sleep on our laurels; we must work more and more everyday.

It is clear to everybody that a militarist fascist dictatorship exists in the Soviet Union today. But, as is known, where there is oppression there is also resistance, therefore, both in the Soviet Union and in its satellite countries, the revolutionary movement is progressively mounting. Great pressure is also being exerted on the Soviet Union

on the part of imperialism. On the one hand, imperialism tries to beat it as a rival imperialist power and, on the other, it strives by all manner of means to prevent the emergence of revolutionary movements or to have them immediately put down if they emerge, and this not only in the Soviet Union but also in its satellite states.

The Soviet Union is trying to attain two objectives: first, to put down any surging revolutionary movement; and second, unable as it is to beat the United States, its rival imperialist power, it strives to retain at least its positions and, just as US imperialism, to rule over the areas which fall in its sphere of influence.

We are very glad to learn that the Marxist-Leninist Communist Party of Ecuador is making progress. The comrades you have met have informed us about the talks held and the common experience exchanged. At special meetings, we inform the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the very useful and fruitful exchanges between our Party and the other sister parties. We were very happy that your Party is ceaselessly being tempered and advancing on the Marxist-Leninist road. We are in complete agreement with the views of your Party and are sure that the road you are following is the right one. Doubtlessly you know better than anybody the problems concerning you and the most correct way for their solution, always basing yourselves on our ideology, Marxism-Leninism.

Of course, based on the Marxist-Leninist strategy, only your Party is in a position to work out your tactics properly for, being the heart of

the proletariat and people of Ecuador, it knows the situation in the country and the just aspirations of your people better than anybody else. For this reason, as long as your Party has a correct strategy based on the Marxist-Leninist theory and the real conditions of the country, its tactics must be correct and revolutionary, too. Like you, we too, have resorted to all sorts of tactics during our National Liberation War.

Our Parties must try to learn and profit from each other. But each party must consider that some things from the experience of other parties apply only to the conditions of the countries of these parties, they may not necessarily apply to all countries. They must elaborate the experience of other parties and adapt it to their own conditions when they find they need it and when it tallies with their concrete conditions, otherwise they they would resort to cliches. As for our experience, we cannot tell you whether or not many of our tactics suit you. It is up to you to study them and choose among them but we think that you should bear in mind that Marxism-Leninism, the general laws of the proletarian revolution, are the compass which prevents us from erring in this question. Only these laws guard a genuine Marxist-Leninist Party against mistakes.

We are clear about these laws and try to study them more and more with each passing day, therefore, we have never slid either into revisionism, or Trotskyism, or Left adventurism, or other anti-Marxist trends.

With these theories¹, their danger and damage, you are better acquainted than we are. For instance, Che Guevara was killed. This may happen, a revolutionary may get killed. Che Guevara, however was the victim of his own non-Marxist-Leninist views.

Who was Che Guevara? When we speak of Che Guevara we mean also somebody else who poses as a Marxist in comparison to whom, in our opinion, Che Guevara was a man of fewer words. He was a rebel, a revolutionary, but not a Marxist-Leninist as they are trying to represent him. I may be mistaken, but you Latin-Americans know Che Guevara better, I think that he may rank among the revolutionary fighters of the Left. His is bourgeois and petty-bourgeois Leftism, which intermingled with some progressive, but also anarchical ideas, in the final analysis, lead to adventurism.

The views of Che Guevara and some others who pose as Marxists, and claim paternity of these ideas have never been anything near, nor have they anything to do with, Marxism-Leninism. Besides, Che Guevara had got, so to say, some «*éclaircies*»* in adopting some Marxist-Leninist principles, but they had not grown into his philosophi-

¹ On these theories, their falsity, danger and the necessity of combating them, Comrade Enver Hoxha has also spoken in the Report to the 6th Congress of the PLA, November, 1971, p. 229.

* Insight (*French in the original*).

cal world-outlook so as to urge him to genuinely revolutionary actions.

We cannot say that Che Guevara and his comrades were cowards. No, by no means! On the contrary, they were brave people. There are even brave bourgeois. But genuinely brave and heroic proletarian revolutionaries are only those who proceed from the Marxist-Leninist philosophical principles and put their hearts and souls in the service of the world proletariat and the liberation of the peoples from imperialist, feudal and other yoke.

We have defended the Cuban revolution, because it was against US imperialism. As Marxist-Leninists, we must study it and the ideas it was led by. Yet the Cuban revolution did not begin on the basis of Marxism-Leninism, it was not carried out on the basis of the laws of the proletarian revolution of a Marxist-Leninist Party. Nor did it, after the liberation of the country, take the Marxist-Leninist road, on the contrary, it went down the road of its liberal ideas. It is a fact, and nobody can deny it, that the participants in this revolution took up arms and went to the mountains, but it also is an incontrovertible fact that they did not fight as Marxist-Leninists. They were liberation fighters against the Battista clique and beat it for the only reason that this clique was a weak link of capitalism. Battista was a flunkey of imperialism, who rode roughshod over the Cuban people. The Cuban people, however, fought and won both over this clique and Yankee imperialism.

In our opinion, the theory to the effect that

the revolution is carried out by some «heroes», constitutes a danger to Marxism-Leninism, especially in the Latin-American countries. The South-American continent has great revolutionary traditions, but as we said above, it also has some other traditions which may, at first sight, seem revolutionary but which, in fact, are not on the true road of the revolution. Any putsch carried out there is called a revolution! But a putsch can never be a revolution, because it results in the place of an overthrown clique being taken up by another, in a word, things remain as they were. To all the anti-Marxist trends still existing in the ranks of the old parties which have placed themselves in the service of the counter-revolution, another trend, that which we call Left adventurism, is now being added.

We think that this trend is the offspring of modern revisionism and constitutes one of the principal dangers threatening the peoples, especially those of the Latin-American countries. Carefully disguised revisionism is a great deceiver of the peoples and revolutionaries. In different countries it puts on different masks. In Latin America, revisionism has put on one of these «Marxist-Leninist» masks and is leading people, even the revolutionaries, to Left adventurism.

It looks as if this trend is in contradiction with modern revisionism. This is how ideologically immature people think, but this is not so. They do not oppose the modern revisionists, on the contrary, they are in their service. The road each of

them separately follows, leads them to a common pass.

Wherever the Soviet revisionists fail to prevent the masses of the working class and people from carrying out the revolution, this trend steps in and, by means of a putsch, destroys what the revisionists were unable to destroy by means of the evolution. The Soviet revisionists and all the traitor cliques which lead the revisionist parties advocate evolution, coexistence and all the anti-Marxist theories we know. In the terms it employs, Left adventurism looks more revolutionary, because it advocates armed struggle! But what does it mean by armed struggle? Putsches, of course. Marxism-Leninism teaches us that only if we proceed with measured and sure steps, relying firmly on the principles of the Marxist-Leninist doctrine, and making the masses conscious, can we prepare for, and carry out, the armed uprising, only in this way will we never slip into adventurism. Ideologically immature people say that this trend is in opposition to revisionism, but no, this is not true.

The authors of the theory, according to which «the smaller motor» starts «the bigger motor», pose as if they are for the armed struggle, but in fact they are against the armed struggle, even more, they work to discredit it. Che Guevara's example and his tragic end, the publicizing and propagation of this theory also by other self-styled Marxists, who are against the great wars of the masses of the people, are publicly known facts which refute their claims. We must guard against the people lest

they betray us, lest they give us up to the police; we must set up «wild», isolated, detachments so that the enemy does not get wind of them and does not establish a regime of terror against the population. They publicize these and many other confounding theories, which you know only too well. What sort of Marxism-Leninism is this which advocates that the enemy should be fought with these «wild» detachments, only with them, etc. without having a Marxist-Leninist Party to lead the fight? There is nothing Marxist-Leninist in it. Such anti-Marxist and anti-Leninist theories spell nothing but defeats for Marxism-Leninism and the revolution, as Che Guevara's undertaking in Bolivia did.

This trend is causing the theses on the armed uprising to be discredited. What great damage it causes the revolution! After the killing of Che Guevara, the greatest figure of this trend, the masses of the common people, infected with the concepts propounded by this trend, will think: «Now there is no one left to lead us, to liberate us!» Or a group of people like Che Guevara may emerge again and take to the mountains to make the «revolution», and the masses may expect much from them because they burn with the desire to throw themselves into the fight against the bourgeoisie, indeed these people may induce many others from among the misled masses to follow them. And what will happen? Something highly predictable. As long as these people are not in the van of the working class, as long as they are not guided by the light-giving principles of Marxism-

Leninism, their «revolution» will sooner or later fail, but along with it, the genuine struggle, the armed struggle, will also be discredited in the eyes of the masses, or they will look upon it with suspicion, will lose confidence in it. This faces the true Marxist-Leninists with the major task of exposing this trend, of coming out before the masses not only with explanations of political and ideological problems, but also with concrete actions.

Therefore, we say that the reactionary theory on the revolution, spread in the countries of Latin America, is the offspring of modern revisionism and actually inhibits the revolution. The leaders of some Latin American states let fall a hint «against» the Soviet Union, but we cannot infer from it that they are in opposition to it. All their words are only means of pressure and blackmail intended to gain some advantage, on the one hand, and to deceive the naïve, on the other. If the advocates of these theories were to stop serving the Soviets in their imperialist-revisionist expansion, the latter would be suspending all aid to them. We know the Soviets well. However, this will never occur, because they serve the Soviets well. That is why the Soviet revisionists go on giving them aid and keeping them alive.

It is the duty of all the Marxist-Leninists to expose this anti-Marxist trend, whose advocates style themselves Marxist-Leninist and use Marxist terminology only as a disguise without which they would be the losers. We must tear down this mask, and this is done only through struggle carried out

on the Marxist-Leninist road, as you, comrades from Ecuador, and others are doing.

We greatly rejoice over your approach to the strengthening of the Party and your correct views on the armed struggle. Without us Marxists understanding well the necessity for the party to be strong, steel-like, and this can be done only on the Marxist-Leninist road, no victory whatever is possible. In the past, too, both our people and your people have fought but they have never won. From among our people many great and capable men and women have emerged; they were outstanding for their clear illuminist views, their great revolutionary determination, they fought with the rifle and the pen against the Turks, and later, against the other occupiers — Italians, Greeks, Serbians. But the efforts they made and the blood they shed were all in vain. The bourgeoisie and the feudal lords used the victories of the people and of these outstanding men and women to foster their own interests, and the people remained as oppressed as they were before. This came about because there was no Marxist-Leninist Party, or, at least, a progressive party, to lead our people and guide them forward. Only after the founding of the Communist Party were the Albanian people able to realize their centuries-long aspiration; it was only under its leadership that their sweat and blood were not shed in vain. Therefore, it is the leadership by the Marxist-Leninist Party which warrants the victory of the peoples, and not the actions of a guerrilla «centre», as some people advocate.

We rejoice that you, comrades of the Commu-

nist Party of Ecuador, have purged your Party of elements alien to a true Marxist-Leninist Party. We feel very elated at the fact that you are clear about how the party should be strengthened and expanded, with what class elements its ranks should be swelled, how it should extend to the countryside, and in the first place, how it should penetrate the ranks of the working class more deeply. People are not born communists, but they are born pure, and during their life and in the process of everyday struggle they learn, are educated and become communists capable of laying down even their lives for their ideals. It is a very good thing that you have opened courses and schools of Marxist-Leninist education. This is how we, too, went about it during the National-Liberation War. Teaching and mastering Marxism-Leninism are necessary for, and salutary to, every communist and every Marxist-Leninist Party.

We, too, are marching on this road today. We have put lessons, work in production, physical and military training for the defence of the Homeland at the centre of our activity for the education of youth. Now we are laying the foundations of a new educational system, doing away with all outdated norms lingering in the programs of our schools, so that people not only learn, but also work there, so that they do not become intellectuals, in the old meaning of the word, isolated from the masses and shirking production work, and, upon finishing school, do not turn bureaucrats and technocrats, but remain always proletarian. For this purpose, we must instil Marxism-Leninism and

love for work into their blood. We must not confine their activities only to laboratory work, as is usually done in bourgeois schools; they must work in factories, fields and mines. At school we want them to learn to make good soldiers, always ready to defend the revolution. The ideological axis rates first in the education of youth. The aim of our school, therefore, is to educate people with a high ideological level, to be good workers and soldiers capable of defending our Republic.

All that you have done in the field of education has great importance, and we greatly rejoice over the successes you have achieved in this direction.

We tell you dear comrades, and assure you that our Party, closely united with the people, has striven and will strive with might and main and the greatest loyalty to defend the purity of Marxism-Leninism, it will tirelessly work to temper its proletarian internationalism. It will do everything so that the efforts of our Party and people are understood, and conditions are created not only for the consolidation of our socialist Homeland, but also for the strengthening of the bonds of friendship with all the fraternal Marxist-Leninist Parties, so that our Party, too, makes its modest contribution, putting all its forces to the common cause of the triumph of our proletarian revolution.

We feel deeply touched by your high appraisal of the modest work of our Party. As Marxist-Leninists, we correctly understand everything you dear comrades say about our Party, its small experience. We thank you for everything, and tell you

that this is of great encouragement to us, because we know it comes from the clear and realistic judgement of our Marxist-Leninist comrades. Of course, as Marxist-Leninists, we assure you this does not make us presumptuous. On the contrary, it increases our sense of responsibility and our desire to deserve at least one per cent of what you say. Therefore, we are faced with the task of stepping up our fight even more, of accomplishing our duty even more honourably, so that every action of ours not only does not harm the great cause of socialism in the world, the cause of world revolution, or even that of an individual Marxist-Leninist Party or group, but, on the contrary, serves as an encouragement and example to everybody so that Marxist-Leninist Parties grow in number and strength, because as a saying of the Albanian people goes, no spring would be coming with only one or two flowers. For the socialist revolution to triumph everywhere more flowers are and will be needed. That is how we understand our internationalist duty.

For us, too, this meeting will remain unforgettable, because you, with what you said, helped us a great deal to understand the situation in Latin America. We feel ourselves a hundred times stronger when we see that the Communist Party of Ecuador (Marxist-Leninist) is a true Marxist-Leninist Party, with a clear Marxist-Leninist line and perspective. There is no doubt that such a party will certainly win. You say that your Party is small in number. We tell you that at the time our Party was founded, it had about 200 members. But

this did not in the least prevent us from winning over the masses. leading them, fighting and, together with them, smashing the internal and external enemies, triumphing and setting up the dictatorship of the proletariat.

How great is the strength we draw to step up our struggle, when we see that your Communist Party of Ecuador is a party with a brilliant future, because it upholds the banner of Marxism-Leninism!

You say you have made mistakes, that you have not seen some things as you ought to. But which is the party that has not made mistakes? Our Party, too, has made mistakes in its revolutionary activity, but not in its general line. The important thing is that we have corrected our mistakes immediately, as soon as we have detected them.

What you say about the strengthening of the work of the Party with the youth and women's organization is of extremely great importance to the revolution. I have seen, and you have said this yourselves in our talks with our comrades, that you are deeply interested in the problems of student youth. This is very good, but you must keep in mind that the students are part of youth, not the whole of it. Likewise, you attach importance to the problems of the countryside, and the problems of the working class. If you attach importance to the countryside and the working class, you cannot fail to be interested in the problems of youth and women in the countryside, as well. The question now is that you must study these problems

more concretely. We would be very happy if our modest experience is of any help to you.

I want also to add: our Party was small, the working class at the time when the Party was founded, was exceptionally small. But thanks to the great work carried out by the Party, its ideology, Marxism-Leninism, was embraced by youth, in the first place. The Party was quick to organize them, and they threw themselves into the war and played a major role in it; they fought as they did, enlightened by the ideology of the working class.

As for the women, right from the beginning the slogan of the Party was that the armed struggle could not be waged and carried through to victory without their participation. The Party stressed that, in the first place, the women themselves should understand that, while fighting for the liberation of the Homeland, they would be fighting for their own emancipation as well. At that time the Party said: if the woman does not understand the great idea of the Party about her participation in the war, there will be no genuine liberation war. We attached major importance to this question, for without its solution the woman would have become a hindrance to the war. She had only to say to her husband or son, «Where are you going?», «Where are you leaving me?», «We'll get killed!», «Don't go to war!», «Let's mind our own business!», «What do we need the war for?» etc., and things would have taken another direction.

Through its work, the Party helped women and their families with them become ardent pro-

pagandists of the Party line. «Take the rifle», they would urge their husbands and sons, «and throw yourselves into the fight for the liberation of the Homeland!» You understand, comrades, what courage this stand of the woman infused into the hearts of the husband or son who seized the rifle and joined the partisans.

Whenever we entered the homes of our people, in the city or in the country, women gave us all possible assistance, they were closely linked with our war, with the line of the Party. Many of their husbands or sons were fighting in the mountains, and, when we went to their homes for shelter and food, they treated us as their sons, as their closest relatives. See the importance of women and their activity. It was in these conditions that the Women's Organization was set up in our country. Of course, the same process will develop in your country, too. In the beginning we came up against many difficulties, things were not achieved at once, as you see them today. We know the difficulties existing in the capitalist countries, but they can be overcome when the line is correct and the Party determined.

You, dear comrades, helped us a great deal in another direction: in the ever greater strengthening of our confidence in the future victories of our common struggle. We assure you that we will honourably accomplish our tasks as soldiers of the revolution, as loyal soldiers of Marxism-Leninism. We want you, dear comrades of the Marxist-Leninist Communist Party of Ecuador, to consider our Party as yours, in everything. We are ready to give

you any assistance you will find useful, for, as internationalists, we are duty bound to do so. If we do not do so, we cannot be called internationalists, we cannot be Marxists. We have spared and will spare nothing to give all possible assistance to you, our comrades and brothers, because your internationalist assistance to us is also great.

You also help us with your experience, and if you notice that we err in some direction, please criticize us, shake us up with your open criticism, and rest assured that we consider and treat our comrades' criticism as the most sacred thing. Our people say: the one who criticizes you, loves you, the one who does not love you, pats you on the back to have you continue on the wrong road.

Our Marxist-Leninist dialectics teaches us that not everything goes straight, that people's heads are not cut to one pattern, that everybody's energies are not equal, some go straight, others do not. In these conditions, the implementation of the norms of the Party, bolshevik criticism and self-criticism, sets people right, keeps the party pure and carries the revolution forward.

These are the relations we want, this is the sincere proletarian love we want to cherish for each other, and the more we do for each other, for the revolution, the more modest we must be. The modesty of the communists must be exemplary, like that of the proletarians; the efforts and thoughts of the communists must be like those of the proletarians, the feelings of their souls and hearts must be like those of the proletarians. Only thus can our revolution march forward.

We are sorry, dear comrades, that you will be leaving, but rest assured that our hearts will remain united with yours.

We know that you are very busy. Great and more difficult tasks await you in the future, still, we would be very glad if you could come more frequently to, and stay longer in, our country, regardless of the fact that this cannot be done in all cases according to our wishes.

May your great wish be fulfilled, may the day come when we may visit you in your country.

First published from the minutes of the talks in the Central Party Archives.

AN ACT WHICH LEGALIZES THE TRANSFORMATION OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA INTO A COLONY OF THE SOVIET REVISIONISTS

Article published in the newspaper «Zëri i popullit»

October 23, 1968

These days, as the news has it, the so-called Soviet-Czechoslovak Treaty, which legalizes the enslavement of Czechoslovakia by the foreign troops of aggression and the completion of its colonization by the Soviet revisionists, came into effect. In order to camouflage their aggressive and neo-colonialist aims, the Moscow revisionists and their heralds are making much noise about and are advertizing the Soviet-Czechoslovak Treaty as an «expression of the free will of two equal sides», as a means of defending socialism from West German revanchism, and so on and so forth. But this is all rubbish. This treaty further exposed its authors and stripped them naked before the freedom-loving peoples of the world, showing their true nature

of imperialist aggressors and counterrevolutionary renegades.

This «treaty» is a scandalous example of the cynicism and villainy of the Soviet revisionists, another evidence of their aggressive and imperialist policy. From the very beginning, in the first article of this document, after speaking of an «agreement» which has been concluded after the accomplished fact, after the complete military invasion, at the point of guns and under the chains of tanks, the root of the «tank diplomacy» is embellished. The Soviet troops of occupation are to be stationed in Czechoslovakia forever. This fact is confirmed in the first article in which it is stressed that «the number and the stationing ground of the Soviet troops» will be designated later, and that these troops «will receive orders from the Soviet military command». This is tantamount to legalization of the regime of occupation in Czechoslovakia and its complete dependence on the Soviet military command of occupation.

The cynicism of the Soviet revisionist invaders is also proved in the second article of this infamous treaty which claims that «the stationing of Soviet troops in Czechoslovakia does not encroach upon its sovereignty», that «the Soviet troops do not interfere in the internal affairs of the SR of Czechoslovakia» and that «they will respect the laws of Czechoslovakia». There ought to be a limit to demagoguery and cynicism, too. But the Soviet revisionists know no limit. The whole world saw that after the 21st of August the sovereignty of Czechoslovakia was crushed under the Soviet tanks. that

the Soviet marshals Jakubovski and Pavlovski, together with the gauleiter Kuznecov became masters in another's house, that the violence of the invaders replaced the Czechoslovak law.

The «treaty» sanctions colonial-type privileges for the Soviet revisionist invaders. As the Article 3 of the «treaty» stipulates, the puppet government of Prague is compelled to put at the disposal of the Soviet troops of occupation «barracks and dwelling houses in the military towns, service buildings, depots, airfields and stationary installations, other equipment, means of the state network of communication and transport, electric power and other services». Likewise, the shooting and experimental ranges and the drilling camps of the Czechoslovak Army will be used by the Soviet troops of occupation. With these provisions, the Czechoslovak Army which has been reduced by the collaborationist Dubcek-Czernic-Svoboda trio to play the petty role of a figurehead, will now consider itself a stranger in its own home.

In fact, this infamous treaty does not recognize at all the existence of Czechoslovakia as a sovereign state with its own independent social-economic and juridical order. After trying to solve the Czechoslovak problem «manu militari», by military violence, the revisionist Soviet imperialists put themselves in the position of the master in the house and sat squarely at the Czechoslovak table. They created such privileges for themselves which would enable them to dictate their neo-colonialist will in all fields of life of this country — in politics, in economy, in the social-cultural

field. The Soviet troops of occupation and their families can enter or leave Czechoslovakia whenever they wish, without entry or exit visas or without passing through the customs control. Article 4 explicitly says, «The Soviet army units, the persons who are comprised in the effectives of the Soviet troops and their family members can go to and from the place where the Soviet troops are concentrated in the SR of Czechoslovakia either by the direct trains and cars which belong to the Soviet Union, or by changing from the cars of one country to the cars of the other one, or by air and car transport. The passports and visas of those persons who are comprised in the effectives of the Soviet troops and of their family members will not be subject to control during their entrance, stay or exit from the SR of Czechoslovakia». With this provision, the Czechoslovak state border, which symbolizes the sovereignty and integrity of that country, has been turned into a foot-rag, into a loose and worthless fence.

The regime of occupation, the complete capitulation and submission of the revisionist clique of Dubcek-Svoboda is also sanctioned by Article 5. According to this article «the Czechoslovak side agrees to allow:

- the Soviet troops and persons who are comprised in effectives, units, subunits and army commands;

- all kinds of military cargo, including also those destined for trade and communal purposes by the Soviet troops;

- persons who are comprised in the effectives

of the Soviet troops, who enter or leave the SR of Czechoslovakia alone or accompanied by their family members, carrying their personal luggage and showing their documents, entitling them to pass the state border of the SR of Czechoslovakia, to the customs organs, to cross the state border of the SR of Czechoslovakia tax-free and without customs or border control. Another proof of its complete dependence upon the will of the invader is the fact that all trade and communal services for the effectives of the Soviet troops in the Czechoslovak land «will be run and managed by the Soviet trade and communal enterprises!».

The implementation of this treaty, will inevitably entail a great confusion in the economic, commercial and financial activity of the country, it will worsen the life of the Czechoslovak working people further. The privileges granted to the invaders to trade with the local currency, that is, to put into circulation uncontrolled amounts of Czechoslovak banknotes, will inevitably lead to disorder in the strong currency system of the country, to inflation and the further thriving of the black market and economic speculation. Above all, the Czechoslovak puppet government is compelled to provide the troops of occupation with food and other industrial products, thus tightening the belt of the people, of the working masses. This is an unforeseen extra weight, a heavy tax which will take a heavy toll of the Czechoslovak economy, shaky as it is already under the «revisionist reforms».

The real face of the Soviet revisionists as

aggressors and imperialist invaders can be clearly seen also in the provisions of this infamous treaty which bears on the application of the local law to the troops of occupation, their responsibility for the penal offence and trespassing committed by these troops on Czechoslovak land. In fact, point B of Article 9 of the «treaty» openly and brazenly sanctions the complete irresponsibility of the effective of the Soviet troops «who commit crimes or otherwise violate the law while on duty in the region where the army units are concentrated». This means that the Czechoslovak law will never apply to Soviet troops because they can wash their hands off any arbitrary action or crime they commit, as they are supposedly «accomplishing their tasks», and the whole of Czechoslovakia may be considered «a concentration region for the Soviet military troops». Finally, in this same article the «treaty» recognizes the jurisdiction of the Soviet courts in the Czechoslovak land, the competences of the attorneyship and of other Soviet organs which will act in accordance with the Soviet law in the Czechoslovak land. This is a revival of the savage colonial law of capitulation which is still in power in some out-of-the-way colonies of Britain and Portugal! This is tantamount to recognizing extraterritorial rights, an unlimited freedom to the invaders who, in the name of the law of invasion, can act as and when they wish, in contravention of the local laws, thus scornfully ridiculing the national dignity of the Czechoslovak people.

As is understandable, the effective and permanent presence of the Soviet troops of occupation

in Czechoslovakia, which this «treaty» legalizes now, will exercise its influence on all directions of the foreign policy of this country. Right now the collaborationist Czechoslovak chieftains have begun to attend to the orders of the Soviet occupationists, obeying to them on their bended knees and doing what they are dictated to. The foreign policy of the puppet government of Prague has been already channelled into the line of the hegemonic interests of the Soviet revisionist invaders, and, under these conditions, it can never represent the aspirations and sovereign interests of the Czechoslovak people, it can never defend their vital rights. The spirit and provisions of this colonialist treaty itself are not at all meant «to lighten the occupation», as Czernik says, but to legalize this invasion and make it harder to bear. This is a dictating treaty and it is not based at all in the «reciprocal understanding» as the revisionist Kosygin shamelessly lies. This treaty is based on the bayonets and tanks of the Soviet revisionist occupiers. The ragpiece of Brezhnev, «Pravda», writes about «unity» and «equality». But what unity can exist between the invader and the invaded; what equality can exist between the horseman and the horse?

The fifteen articles of this neo-colonialist enslaving treaty are fifteen new stronger nooses around the neck of the Czechoslovak people. It is an offspring of the fascist-type aggression against Czechoslovakia. The freedom, sovereignty and national dignity of the Czechoslovak people were legally and finally buried by it. The spirit of the «treaty».

its aims and ways of application are very much like those by which Hitler imposed his «new order» on the European quislings; they run in pairs with the agreements between the present Hitlerites, the American imperialists and their smaller partners. In this disgraceful treaty there is no more reference to the «normalization» of the situation in Czechoslovakia and the final withdrawal of the troops of occupation.

The dictate cooked up in Moscow and dished up for signature in Prague does not end but further deepens the crisis of the Soviet revisionist clique and of the whole revisionist front in Czechoslovakia and wherever it exists, it further aggravates the difficult political, economic and social situation in the Soviet Union itself and the relations of the different revisionist cliques and countries, in particular, it inevitably deepens and sharpens the irreconcilable contradictions between the Soviet revisionist invaders and the freedom-loving Czechoslovak people further. Wanting to legalize its criminal actions of an imperialist and colonialist nature with the help of a so-called bilateral agreement, the revisionist leadership of Moscow vainly tried to deceive the world public opinion with this treaty. But with this new act the Soviet revisionists once more exposed themselves as aggressors, invaders, exploiters and imperialists. Whereas the Dubcek-Czernik clique by signing this «title deed of invasion», once more branded itself as a group of renegades, collaborationists and quislings.

But the Czechoslovak people will contemptuously reject this act which legalizes the colonialist

invasion of its homeland. They have not tolerated either the aggression, the invasion or the treaty of the Soviet revisionist aggressors, on the contrary, they have denounced and opposed all these together with the betrayal and capitulation of the Dubcek-Czernik-Svoboda trio. The fraternal Czechoslovak people who have great revolutionary traditions, led by their working class and the revolutionary Marxist-Leninists, will certainly step up their resistance and will fight with determination and with any means, even with arms, against the foreign invaders and the local traitors, for the sacred cause of national liberation and the restoration of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Taken from the collection of articles with the title «The Marxist-Leninist Truth Will Triumph Over Revisionism», Vol. 9. Alb, ed., Tirana 1970.

THE SOCIALIST REPUBLIC OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA IN THE GRIP OF THE SOVIET REVISIONIST INVADERS

Article published in the newspaper «Zëri i popullit»

November 19, 1968

It is nearly three months since the Socialist Republic of Czechoslovakia is under the heavy yoke of the fascist occupation of the Soviet revisionists. Today the Czechoslovak people are facing the objective necessity of standing up and fighting for the liberation of their country, for national independence.

For the Soviet revisionists the invasion of Czechoslovakia was only the first step towards the achievement of their far-reaching aims. Now the whole country, its economy, external and internal policy, the Czechoslovak Army, the government and the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, and the entire social life of the country are subject to the interests, the policy and brutal dictate of the

occupiers who are exerting all their forces to stabilize the situation and consolidate their regime of occupation. They labour to create among the Czechoslovak people the illusion that Czechoslovakia is a «free country», «equal among equals», that the army of occupation is a «friendly army» and has come there to save socialism and Czechoslovakia from the danger of counter-revolution and imperialism, that the stationing of foreign troops in Czechoslovak territory is temporary, and so on and so forth. With a view to sowing these illusions in the minds of the people, they are playing the deceptive farce of the «phased withdrawal» of the Soviet troops of occupation from Czechoslovak territory which is but a very grossly contrived fraud, because the occupiers have the keys to the Czechoslovak border in their pocket, they render account to nobody for their actions, and can enter or leave Czechoslovakia at any time of the day or the night without control and duty-free as if they were in their own home.

But what do the Soviet revisionists mean by stabilization of the situation in Czechoslovakia? What are their after? In the present conditions, Czechoslovakia represents a neuralgic point of great strategic, military, political and economic importance to the Soviet revisionist leadership. Because of its geographical position in the centre of Europe, Czechoslovakia is extremely important to the general strategy of the Soviet revisionist clique: it bears directly on the safety of the border of the Soviet Union, it serves as a bridge to link it with the other European revisionist countries and the West.

Because Czechoslovakia is a country with developed industry and commerce, the Soviet leadership needs it to make direct economic profits from it and use it as an instrument in its economic relations with the countries of its spheres of influence and with the West. Hence, the general intention of the Soviet revisionist clique is to get hold of all key positions in Czechoslovakia by military dictate and other means in order to turn it into a province subject to the Soviet Union, though bearing the label of the «Socialist Republic of Czechoslovakia».

To achieve this «stabilization», the Soviet revisionist occupiers try to turn the Czechoslovak Army into an appendage, into a disarmed army obedient to orders from the Soviets, totally incapable of playing any role in an uprising or war against the occupiers. They are purging the Czechoslovak Army of opponent cadres and organizing in it the Soviet security service with the help of numerous Soviet «councillors». By so doing, they intend to turn the Czechoslovak Army into a weapon in the hands of the Soviet revisionist occupiers and their tools against the Czechoslovak people who are standing up in an ever stouter resistance.

The Krushchevite chauvinistic leading group of the Soviet Union has regularly been pursuing a policy aimed at the economic subjugation of Czechoslovakia as well as the other satellite revisionist countries, with grave consequences for the Czechoslovak and other peoples. After the ousting of the bankrupt Nowotny clique, the Dubcek group

could not but notice with concern that nine out of ten cars in Czechoslovakia ran on Soviet petrol, that two out of three loaves of bread were made of Soviet flour, and that metallurgical plants would close down within a few days had Soviet mineral supplies been suspended. The enslaving economic agreements the capitulationist Dubcek-Svoboda clique concluded with the Soviet government after the invasion of Czechoslovakia, made the Czechoslovak economy dependent on that of the Soviet Union. But in the context of «stabilization», the Soviet revisionist leadership intends to prevent even the smallest attempt at economic independence on the part of Czechoslovakia, and under the guise of the so-called «socialist co-operation», «international socialist division of labour», by means of the Comecon and other mechanisms, it is trying to make the whole of the Czechoslovak economy fully dependent on that of the Soviet Union. Every branch of the Czechoslovak economy is being and will be put under the stern control of the Soviets represented by a large army of «consultants». They are trying to control all investments so that these should respond to the Soviet needs and interests, in the first place. The Soviet revisionist leadership is very particular about making the Czechoslovak economy dependent upon the raw materials provided by the Soviet Union such as petroleum, electric power and different minerals, and leaving this development entirely to the mercy of the Soviet leadership, which would also control the distribution system, and reducing the Czechoslovak koruna to dependence on the Soviet

ruble and control by it. It also seeks to have strict control over Czechoslovak foreign trade so that it should be overwhelmingly orientated towards the Soviet Union and its satellites, and should respond to the political and economic needs of the Soviet leadership according to the junctures created in the revisionist fold and in its relations with the capitalist world. This is in fact the road of Czechoslovakia's transformation into an «industrial semi-colony» of the Soviet social-imperialist leadership.

The Soviet revisionist invaders are having recourse to strong pressure to impose their rigid censorship on Czechoslovak public opinion. This was one of the main articles of the treaty of occupation concluded with the Dubcek-Svoboda capitulationist clique. Any public manifestation against the occupiers is savagely suppressed by the Czechoslovak revisionist police, while behind it the Soviet tanks are ready to go into action with fire and steel. Any free expression of opinion entails repressive measures and is countered with abundant demagoguery about «counterrevolutionary and anti-socialist forces being still in action».

Under brutal pressure by the occupationists, education and culture too will undergo changes allegedly in the name of the «really internationalist and socialist spirit», which, in other words, means extinction of the patriotic spirit and resistance to the invaders, especially among the Czechoslovak youth; this is a powerful resistance in a state of ferment, which will run ever higher and cause many a headache to the occupationists.

First and foremost, the Soviet revisionist lea-

dership aims to completely seize the party and state leadership in Czechoslovakia. This is the big bite, the key to everything, because it is exactly this which will serve them as a cloak for the stabilization and consolidation of the regime of occupation and the Soviet rule in Czechoslovakia. Now the Soviet revisionist invaders are concentrating their main efforts on this, and it is exactly here that they have not yet achieved the desired success.

In its haste to commit the armed aggression against Czechoslovakia, the Soviet revisionist leading clique could not secure even the formal support of some quisling group or government in order to justify, in one way or another, this typically fascist act before the Czechoslovak people. The Soviet revisionists are exposed as invaders. They are trying now to cover themselves up.

The Soviet revisionists carried out the invasion of Czechoslovakia quite easily and without any counter-blow because the Dubcek-Svoboda revisionist clique capitulated to them. It resorted to every means to check the resistance of the Czechoslovak people and ordered the Czechoslovak Army not to put up even the smallest opposition. Frightened to death by pressures from the Soviet invaders, it is assuring the latter of its «unaltered loyalty to the friendship with the Soviet Union», continuously calling on the Czechoslovak people not to put up any resistance, condemning all public manifestations against the invaders and unhesitatingly resorting even to violence and large-scale arrests as measures against «the hotheads making disturbances», in other words, against the genuine

patriots who have risen in war against the invaders.

The Dubcek-Svoboda clique bowed down to the dictate of the Soviet invaders as a whole, a thing which is clearly testified to by the capitulationist agreements that it has concluded with them and is abjectly applying, but which have met with the legitimate and ever growing protest of the Czechoslovak people. Yet, under the conditions and circumstances created, availing itself of the popular resistance against the invasion, and trying to use the patriotic feelings of the Czechoslovak people to foster its own interests, this clique is striving to resist in order to extort some concessions from the Soviets, prevent them from the leading posts it occupies in the party and state. The Soviet revisionist occupiers are ready to concede something if the Dubcek-Svoboda clique submits to their enslaving plans, and, in particular, — this being of vital importance to the occupiers, if it accepts to publicly recognize that the Soviets have allegedly come «as friends, liberators, defenders of socialism and the Czechoslovak people», «acting as internationalists», and so on and so forth; in other words, if the Dubcek-Svoboda clique accepts to justify and legalize the Soviet revisionist aggression before the Czechoslovak people and world public opinion. But this clique which represents the interests of the Czechoslovak nationalist bourgeoisie, does not accept this for the time being, otherwise it would be tearing down the mask it wears to deceive the masses, and would be signing the act of its complete bankruptcy and self-liquidation. So, as we said, it resorts to de-

magogy trying to use the national crisis and patriotism of the Czechoslovak people for their own interests to resist Soviet pressure.

That is why the Soviet revisionists have no confidence in the Dubcek-Svoboda traitor clique, in spite of the services it has done them by sabotaging and putting down all the movements of resistance of the Czechoslovak people. In order to overcome the national factor which today constitutes the main obstacle to them, to justify and legalize their aggression against the Czechoslovak people, they are having recourse to the followers of Nowotny, to the clique of the so-called «veterans», direct and obedient tools of the Soviet revisionist leadership. For this purpose, they have unleashed the factional struggle within the CP of Czechoslovakia. This struggle is developing and growing deeper day by day, spreading outside the party, too.

Faced with public protests against the invasion, and branded as «collaborationists», the supporters of Nowotny's revisionist current, obedient lackeys to the Soviet leadership, kept a low profile during the early period of the Soviet revisionist occupation. Now, to serve the needs of the Soviet occupiers, at their instigation and with their support, they have begun to take actions and rise up against the Dubcek-Svoboda revisionist clique. They are carrying out a large-scale activity to undermine the positions of the Dubcek group in the party; they are organizing public meetings and manifestations against it, and in defence of the Soviet invasion. Speculating demagogically with the slo-

gans of the defence of socialism, the revisionist «veterans» accuse the Dubcek-Svoboda revisionist clique that through its course it has been paving the road of counterrevolution in Czechoslovakia, it had jeopardized the socialist victories of the Czechoslovak people, and put the Soviet Union and its «allies» of the Warsaw Treaty before the necessity of intervening «in order to save socialism and defend Czechoslovakia», and so on. So, one revisionist clique, that of Nowotny, is trying to undermine and overturn the other revisionist clique, that of Dubcek-Svoboda, and to recover the positions it lost in January, to deceive the Czechoslovak people, to break their resistance and force them to meekly kowtow to the fascist-type invasion by the Soviet revisionists.

Aware of the danger, the revisionist clique of Dubcek-Svoboda is counteracting with all available means and trying to discredit and to down its opponent, and retain its positions in the party and state. It is resorting to large-scale demagogy in an effort to present its post-January revisionist course as being a «real socialist» one that allegedly enjoys the support of the broad masses of the Czechoslovak people and meets their interests. Simultaneously, it labours to create the impression that the question of the independent development and sovereignty of Czechoslovakia is connected precisely with their implementation of this anti-Marxist and counter-revolutionary course. In this way, by unscrupulously speculating with the national feelings of the Czechoslovak people, it tries to set the opponent revisionist clique of the «veterans» against the

masses of the people, showing itself off as the representative of the interests and will of the people.

Thus, each of the revisionist factions is exerting itself to the utmost to mislead and win over the Czechoslovak people, to use them for its own counterrevolutionary interests and to make short work of its opponent clique.

Meanwhile, the resistance of the Czechoslovak people to the Soviet revisionist occupation is growing. In spite of the drastic oppressive measures taken by the occupiers and the capitulationist revisionist statesmen, demonstrations against the invaders for the freedom and independence of the country broke out in many cities of Czechoslovakia on the occasion of the 50th anniversary of the proclamation of the Republic of Czechoslovakia and particularly, on the 51st anniversary of the October Revolution. Clandestine organizations are being set up in various regions of the country to organize the struggle against the occupiers. In the process of this growing popular resistance, the real face of the treacherous and capitulationist Dubcek-Svoboda clique is being unveiled before the Czechoslovak people, its demagogic and deceptive stand towards the national cause is becoming more and more evident. The masses of the Czechoslovak people are growing more and more aware that the real freedom and independence of their country can be achieved only by waging a determined struggle not only against the Soviet revisionist invaders but also against the local revisionist cliques, both against the clique of Nowotny's

«veterans», who are obedient tools of the occupiers, and against the capitulationist and treacherous revisionist clique of Dubcek-Svoboda.

In the present conditions, the struggle in Czechoslovakia is crystallizing into two lines: on the one hand, there is the growing resistance of the Czechoslovak people which will develop into a liberation war against the Soviet revisionist invaders for the freedom and the independent socialist development of the country; on the other hand, there is the ideo-political struggle for power between the two revisionist cliques. The two revisionist clans, one supported by the Soviet occupiers, the other by the local nationalist bourgeoisie and foreign imperialist reaction, may get along by making temporary concessions to each other, or may just come to blows. Both of these clans will try to make use of the name and authority of the old Czechoslovak Communist Party in order to disguise themselves and to deceive the masses with the illusion of socialism.

Under the present conditions when the Czechoslovak people are coming face to face with the Soviet revisionist invaders, and the traitor revisionist cliques of Dubcek-Svoboda and Nowotny, when they are confronted with the historical necessity of waging a life-and-death struggle for the freedom of their country and the ideals of socialism, the Czechoslovak revolutionary Marxist-Leninists are aware of the great role they should play, are aware that the creation of the Czechoslovak revolutionary Marxist-Leninist Party as soon as possible is an imperative and vital task. Without

it, there can be no real struggle for national liberation and socialism in Czechoslovakia, no transformation from a passive and spontaneous resistance to vigorous revolutionary actions organized on a national scale. The circumstances favour the creation of this party. The iron should be struck while it is hot, because the Soviet occupiers and the local quislings are creating even more difficult junctures and conditions for the revolutionary Marxist-Leninists and the Czechoslovak people.

It can be foreseen that the revisionist Dubcek-Svoboda clique will make several other concessions to the invaders in order to stay in power and to avert their direct blows. This capitulationist clique stands in fear of civil clashes, of a people's war and actions which will entail new interventions and pressures on the part of the Soviet revisionists, as this struggle and these efforts are aimed against the invaders. And so, the Dubcek-Svoboda clique will go on as it has not the courage to really resist the pressures, the threats and blackmail of the invaders. In this way, it will not hesitate to take oppressive measures as it is doing against people's resistance in order to retain its leading positions in the party and state.

But these repressive measures against the resistance movement will inevitably bring about the exposure and complete discredit of the treacherous Dubcek-Svoboda clique, a thing which the Soviet invaders will certainly make use of to finally settle accounts with these unreliable collaborators, and to put the reins of the party and state power in the hands of the «veterans» of the Nowotny

clique, obedient servants of the Soviet revisionist leadership and real quislings.

This revisionist gang, which has been brought back to power, will try to recreate a situation similar to that existing in Nowotny's time, but this time with new people, faithful to the present course of the Soviet leadership. This gang of renegates, in agreement with the invaders, will proclaim an allegedly «new and independent policy in socialist unity with the Soviet Union», and others, a policy «which takes into consideration some positive aspects of the post-January course». Behind the demagogic clamour supposedly in the name of «socialism and the dictatorship of the proletariat», this revisionist gang will deal severe blows at the revolutionary resistance of the Czechoslovak working class and people, which it will label as «counter-revolution».

This is the situation. Though complicated, times favour the creation of the Party of the Czechoslovak Marxist-Leninists and the organization of the revolutionary struggle of the Czechoslovak people. Primarily and above all, this is dictated, but also made easier, by the national situation. The situation in Czechoslovakia is electrified. People's resistance against foreign occupation, against the Soviet revisionist invaders, for national freedom and independence has set its seal on the entire political life of the country, it has become the main pivot around which situations revolve. This is a decisive internal factor, a vital element on the basis of which the Czechoslovak revolutionary Marxist-Leninists can and must unite and

mobilize the broad masses of the Czechoslovak people.

Therefore, the national situation dictates and makes it easier for the Czechoslovak Communist Party (Marxist-Leninist) to be created, to conduct its underground and legal activities, to organize the struggle against the invaders and their actions, as well as against the two renegade currents wrangling inside and outside the revisionist Communist Party of Czechoslovakia.

The proletarian party of a new type, established on sound Marxist-Leninist ideological and organizational foundations, with a steel-like unity and conscious proletarian discipline, the new Czechoslovak Marxist-Leninist Party will assemble in its ranks the best and most determined elements from the working class and the other working masses, people of revolutionary actions, selfless and always ready to make sacrifices for the interests of the revolution, socialism and the people, and who know that only such a party is able to lead them to victory through the great and difficult historical struggle that lies ahead of the Czechoslovak people.

The Czechoslovak Communist Party (Marxist-Leninist) will have to wage an allround and frontal consistent struggle. Because the war for national liberation against the Soviet revisionist invaders cannot be waged successfully without simultaneously conducting the ideological and political struggle against Soviet revisionism and Czechoslovak revisionism, which is trying to justify and perpetuate the invasion as well the ideological and

political struggle against imperialism, West-German revanchism, the Czechoslovak bourgeoisie and all reactionaries, who try to restore the capitalist oppressive order in Czechoslovakia and to hitch it to the cart of the international bourgeoisie. So, inside the country the Czechoslovak Communist Party has to wage the class struggle on a triple front against the Soviet revisionist invaders, against the Dubcek-Svoboda revisionist clan and against the revisionist clan of the «veterans».

Ruthless tit for tat struggle against the Soviet revisionist invaders, ideological and political struggle to expose their demagogic and allegedly «socialist» and «internationalist» phrases, armed struggle until all of them are driven out of Czechoslovakia — this is the only correct slogan around which the large masses of the Czechoslovak people will unite and hurl themselves into action. No compromise with, or concession to, the invaders!

This struggle is the principal weapon for the political and ideological exposure, and liquidation of the two Czechoslovak revisionist groups, especially of the Dubcek-Svoboda clique which tries to speculate with the national situation. Against the background of the struggle against the invaders, the real face of this revisionist clique of traitors to the homeland, and collaborators with the invader, for the sabotage and suppression of people's war, will be laid bare before the Czechoslovak people.

The struggle of the CP of Czechoslovakia (Marxist-Leninist) cannot but also be directed

against imperialism and the world reactionary bourgeoisie, and especially against US and West-German imperialism which always remain dangerous enemies of the freedom of the Czechoslovak people and socialism. The Czechoslovak revolutionaries will have to keep up the revolutionary vigilance of the working class and the Czechoslovak people against the enslaving plans of the imperialists, and resolutely expose the aggressive plans hidden behind their demagoguery about their alleged support for the Czechoslovak people against the invasion of the Soviet revisionists.

The correct definition of the tactics of revolutionary struggle, always taking into consideration the struggle against the invader and the national situation, is of first-rate importance. The Czechoslovak revolutionary Marxist-Leninists have a rich experience in this field, which they have gained under the difficult conditions of the nazi occupation as well as in the struggle for the socialist revolution to triumph in Czechoslovakia. It is clear that in the present conditions, when the subjugation of Czechoslovakia was achieved by force of arms, the liberation war of the Czechoslovak people cannot be successfully waged other than in the form of an armed struggle. Therefore, the spiritual and material preparedness of the masses for the armed struggle, the organization of different acts of sabotage, the procurement of weapons, radio stations, and other mass media and communication, and the finding of suitable ways of the organization and of linking with the broadest masses of the people, in conditions of violence and savage

repression on the part of the invaders and the quisling forces, are today the great and vital problems waiting to be solved. And these problems can be solved only by a genuine Marxist-Leninist Party, even though the existing circumstances compel it to be build and to operate underground, but without neglecting legal means, either, as soon as the circumstances allow.

Historical experience has proved that for the organization and correct leadership of the revolution and liberation war, it is necessary to clearly define its motive forces and its alliances with different forces guarding against any opportunist or sectarian deviation, Right or «Left». This is particularly important in the present complicated conditions of Czechoslovakia, where a whole set of contradictions and forces are clashing with one another. It is of decisive importance that, in the course of war and battle, a wide popular front under the undivided leadership of the Czechoslovak Communist Party (Marxist-Leninist) should be created from the grassroots. Only a front set up on the basis of direct unity of the broad masses of the working people and the patriotic forces under the leadership of the revolutionary Marxist-Leninist Party, only a front which is not a par-lour alliance among chiefs, can be effective and stable, a powerful means in the struggle for freedom, national independence and the triumph of socialism.

Czechoslovakia has a developed working class with traditions in the revolutionary movement, which can and must be the vanguard of all the

working masses. Under the leadership of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia (Marxist-Leninist), in alliance with the peasantry and all other patriotic strata, it will play the decisive role in the struggle for the liberation of the country and the triumph of socialism. The Czechoslovak youth, which is day by day with increasing energy and determination throwing itself into the struggle of resistance to the Soviet revisionist invaders, and is undertaking bold actions against them, is also a great and vigorous force in the present liberation war of the Czechoslovak people, a powerful support for the Marxist-Leninist Party. Under the solicitude of the party and the working class, in the process of the liberation war, it will liberate itself from all poisonous influence by the revisionists and, with its youthful enthusiasm, will go through fire for the cause of the revolution and socialism in Czechoslovakia.

Making use of the suitable political situation created by the regime of occupation, the struggle to occupy political and ideological positions in the ranks of the present Czechoslovak Army where the mass of soldiers, especially, who are the sons of workers and peasants, is boiling with indignation and revolt against the Soviet revisionist invaders, constitutes another important field of action. But no exaggerated illusions should be entertained about a bourgeoisified army commanded by officers who obey capitulationist orders from Svoboda and other renegades. Therefore, the historical experience of liberation and revolutionary wars shows that the only correct road is to create in the course

of war an entirely new genuinely revolutionary army, consisting of militants emerging from the ranks of the people, hardened in battles and actions, and not trained in bourgeois and revisionist schools and academies. Without the creation of such an army, educated and led by the revolutionary Marxist-Leninist Party, a liberation war is beyond all question.

As a component part of the great struggle of the workers and peoples of the world against their common enemy — world imperialism, with US imperialism at the head, and against its dangerous spying agency — modern revisionism, with the Soviet leading clique at the head, as an inseparable part of the world revolutionary movement, the liberation war of the Czechoslovak people is interwoven and merges in close internationalist unity with the great principled anti-imperialist and anti-revisionist struggle of the Party of Labour of Albania, and all the Marxist-Leninist Parties and revolutionary forces in the world, enjoying their sure and unreserved support.

The Czechoslovak revolutionary Marxist-Leninists see the establishment of the new Marxist-Leninist Party and the organization of the liberation war against the Soviet revisionist invaders and the revisionist cliques of local traitors, as both their lofty national and international duty. Today Czechoslovakia has become a touchstone and a neuralgic point for all the revolutionary and progressive forces in the Warsaw Treaty clan, it has become one of the most important arenas of the struggle between revolution and counter-revolu-

tion in the revisionist lair. Therefore, the Czechoslovak example and the revolutionary development of events in this country cannot fail to exert their direct influence over the other countries the Soviet modern revisionists are suppressing by force of arms, and are leading through the local traitor revisionist cliques. While in Czechoslovakia they are putting the cards on the table, in Poland, Hungary, Bulgaria and elsewhere, under the conditions of the regime of occupation, the situation resembles a boiling cauldron ready to explode. In these countries, the contradictions between the national interests of the peoples, and the hegemonic and imperialist demands of the Soviet revisionists who have stationed their troops everywhere, are sharpening, the contradictions between the broad working masses and the revisionist cliques which bow down to the dictate of the Kremlin are growing sharp, too. The revolutionary liberation war of the Czechoslovak Marxist-Leninists will undoubtedly make a great contribution to the struggle against the Soviet revisionist leadership as one of the chief bastions of world counter-revolution and reaction at the present time. In particular, the Czechoslovak Marxist-Leninists will make their contribution to the exposure before the peoples, especially before the peoples of those countries where the revisionists are in power, of the true aggressive and enslaving role the Warsaw Treaty is playing as a weapon for the realization of the chauvinistic and imperialist aims of the renegade revisionist clique of the Soviet Union. The development of events in Czechoslovakia and the revolutionary libera-

tion war of the Czechoslovak Marxist-Leninists against the Soviet revisionist invaders will be a help for, and an encouragement to, all the peoples of the satellite countries of the Soviet revisionists, because it will lay bare the great antagonistic contradictions existing behind a thin veil in the revisionist mob, and it will enable the peoples of these countries to see more clearly that the liberation war is imperatively raised for them, as well.

The revolutionary upsurge in Czechoslovakia for national and social liberation, the struggle against the Soviet revisionist invaders and their tools, will facilitate and will quicken, especially, the spread of the revolutionary process in the Soviet Union, the process of decay and disintegration of the revisionist order in that country and in other revisionist countries, it will make the contacts and connections with the revolutionary Marxist-Leninists of these countries easier, it will organize and co-ordinate the common actions of the revolutionary vanguard, and, finally, it will bring down the decaying revisionist bulwark.

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