Dear comrades, sisters and brothers,

Honoured friends,

Today all our people throughout the country and all our patriotic fellow-citizens, wherever they may be in the world, are celebrating with indescribable joy: they are commemorating the most outstanding event in the long and glorious history of Albania, the 20th anniversary of the Liberation of our Homeland and the establishment of our people's power...

To achieve this victory our people had to wage their heroic Anti-fascist National Liberation War, to accomplish a legendary epic, which will be remembered through the centuries.

The inspirer, organizer and tested leader of the Anti-fascist National Liberation War was the Communist Party of Albania, which was founded under the difficult conditions of fascist terror, at one of the most critical moments of the Albanian people's history, set up on the granite
foundations of the principles of Marxism-Leninism, and which inherited the finest traditions and virtues of our people.

On the basis of a profound, creative Marxist-Leninist analysis of the situation of the country following the fascist occupation, and of the international situation, the Communist Party of Albania worked out a clear program of struggle and action, which included the uncompromising armed struggle against the fascist invaders and local traitors for the complete liberation of the Homeland, the overthrow and destruction to its foundations of the reactionary anti-popular state power of the invaders and exploiting classes, the establishment of a genuine democratic people’s power in Albania, and the carrying out of major economic and social reforms. From the day it was founded the Party called on the people to throw themselves into the struggle to put this revolutionary program into effect.

The Party never hid from the people the great difficulties of the war and the countless sacrifices which it demanded.

In this gigantic war, under the leadership of the Party, the alliance between the working class and the heroic peasantry, and all the patriotic and progressive strata, who were united in the Anti-fascist National Liberation Front, was achieved. In the course of the war, under the leadership of the Party, the new revolutionary partisan army, emerging from the bosom of the people, and loyal to their vital interests, was created, grew, and became tempered as an invincible striking force. In the heat of battle, under the leadership of the Communist Party, the anti-popular state power of the invaders and the traitors was destroyed to its very foundations and on its ruins the national liberation councils were set up throughout the country as organs of the Liberation War and as the embryo of the new state power of the people themselves.
Along with the fight against invaders and traitors for the liberation of the country, the Communist Party of Albania never for a moment forgot the problem of the state power as the basic problem of the revolution, nor did it allow the exploiting classes, collaborators with the invaders who never fired a shot, to take over the leadership and rob the people of their victory. The Party knew how to distinguish between true allies and enemies of the revolutionary war. With Marxist-Leninist determination the Party liquidated the treacherous compromise at Mukjel, the intrigues of the British and US missions with the occupiers and the local traitors, and the plot of the Mediterranean «allied» forces to occupy Albania under the guise of «aid».

It linked the Anti-fascist National Liberation War of our people indissolubly with the gigantic liberation war of the Soviet Army, of the whole Soviet peoples, against the fascist hordes, which was the decisive external factor for the liberation of our country, too.

The clear and resolute Marxist-Leninist line of the

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1 A treacherous agreement concluded with the «Balli Kombëtar» at Mukje of Kruja in August 1943, contrary to the decisions of the National Liberation General Council and the instructions of the CC of the CPA. It was the deed of the opportunists Ymer Dishnica and Mustafa Gjinishi, members of the delegation of the General Council, delegated to hold talks with the chiefs of the «Balli Kombëtar». The CC of the CPA and the General Council condemned and rejected this agreement, which ignored the people's power of the national liberation councils and surrendered state power to the enemies of the National Liberation War of the Albanian people.

2 Continuing their aims of interfering in Albania, in the summer of 1944 the British and Americans sought permission to land allied troops at Himara and Saranda to liberate these centres together with the Albanian National Liberation forces. The request was accepted by the General Staff of the Albanian National Liberation Army on condition that the allied troops would leave Albania immediately after carrying out this action. In July 1944 a British commando force landed at Himara, but suffered defeat in its first encounter with
Communist Party of Albania was the salvation of the working people and the future of our country. As a result of this line not only was the country liberated from the invaders and the traitors, but all power passed completely and finally into the hands of the working people under the leadership of the Communist Party, a thing which made possible the progress of the country along the brilliant path of socialism.

In the fire of the Anti-fascist National Liberation War our Party and our people not only achieved great victories, but also became steeled and gained rich historical experience. As well as this, the example of our revolution confirmed the correctness of the Marxist-Leninist teachings which refute the preachings of the modern revisionists, who try to extinguish the liberation and revolutionary struggles by spreading illusions about imperialism and the bourgeoisie and by recommending all sorts of phoney prescriptions about the ways to the peoples’ liberation.

Our experience shows, first of all, that freedom is not donated; one should not expect it to be offered as a gift by the imperialists, these sworn enemies of the freedom and independence of the peoples, that no illusions of any kind should be nurtured about imperialism, and its demagogy and fine pledges should never be trusted. National and social liberation is the deed of the people of every country themselves, of the broad working masses, and is achieved through determined struggle and efforts on their part.

The 12th Brigade of the Albanian National Liberation Army intervened immediately, and after saving the British commando force from complete annihilation, carried on the fight and liberated Himara.

Even after November 29, 1944, the US and British imperialists tried to «assist» Albania. Thus, immediately after Liberation, they demanded that 1,500-1,700 officers and technicians of the Military Liaison be sent to Albania allegedly to engage in the distribution of «aid». They did not succeed in their aim as the Albanian Government resolutely rejected this demand.
This experience shows that in order to carry out the people's revolution and consolidate its achievements it is indispensable to create the political army, to bring about the union of all patriotic, democratic and revolutionary forces of the people based on the alliance of the working class with the peasantry, as its nucleus. This union was realized in our country in the Anti-fascist National Liberation Front, under the leadership of the Communist Party.

The experience of our Anti-fascist National Liberation War and the subsequent development of the country after Liberation also shows very clearly the indispensability of setting up a strong revolutionary people's army, boundlessly loyal to the vital interests of the people and the Homeland, capable of liberating the country and of defending it against any attempt on it by the imperialists and the reactionary forces.

Further, the experience of our people's revolution shows that an essential condition for the people to win and to set out on the road to socialism is the complete destruction of the entire state system of the exploiters and the creation, from top to bottom, of an entirely new state power emanating from the people themselves, closely linked with them, and under their complete control. Our national liberation councils were a form of this new state power. The preachings of the modern revisionists that the transition to socialism can allegedly be effected without smashing the bourgeois state apparatus and with its assistance are nothing but a great mystification and betrayal.

Finally, this experience shows that the struggle for the triumph of the revolution, for the establishment of the people's state power and the building of socialism, can be crowned with success if the people are led by a revolutionary party, which relies on and faithfully carries out the triumphant teachings of Marxism-Leninism.
Dear Comrades,

The 20th anniversary of Liberation finds our Homeland, Albania, a free, independent, socialist country, with a developed industrial base, with a large-scale socialist agriculture, with an advanced culture and raised standard of living, with a healthy social order, made up of friendly working classes, united in unbreakable moral-political unity, with an international position stronger than ever before.

Only two decades have passed since November 29, 1944, but the present view of new Albania, which is as different from the bitter past as a bright sunny day from the dark night, reveals with the utmost clarity the immense significance of the turn recorded on that historic day and testifies to the vitality of the socialist order and the magnitude of the deed and invincible strength of our people and our Party...

The path traversed by our people and our Party in the construction of socialism has by no means been strewn with rose petals. It has been a difficult road, but glorious, which has required all the talent, all the determination and heroism, all the strength and persistence of our people and our Party of Labour.

To the profound backwardness inherited from the past were added other colossal obstacles and difficulties caused by the devastation of the war. Albania was in ruins. The country was threatened by famine and disease, as well as by savage imperialist and chauvinist enemies.

All those who have lived through the early years after Liberation remember, but the youth of today must never
forget, how under such difficult conditions, our heroic peo-
ple, old and young, responded to a man to the call of their
Communist Party, took up the fiery revolutionary slogan,
«We must build socialism with the pick in one hand and the
rifle in the other», and hurled themselves into the struggle
with indescribable enthusiasm and self-sacrifice. Let me re-
mind you, comrades, how our working masses and heroic
youth tightened their belts and poured into the volunteer
work brigades, erected bridges and factories, built high-
ways and railroads, schools and hospitals, drained marshes
and swamps, attended courses against illiteracy and schools,
mastered science and technology, the management of pro-
duction and the art of running the state, carried out the
revolutionary transformations of the people's state power.
A great and complicated struggle was waged against the
dangerous wave of petty-bourgeois spontaneity, against
hang-overs from the past that burdened the consciousness
of the working people, particularly among the peasant
masses, in order to win their active participation in the
building of socialism. Like the Anti-fascist National Libera-
tion War, this has been another heroic epic which will never
be forgotten in the history of our people.

All this road has been traversed under conditions of
bitter class struggle, under the frantic assaults and plots
of internal and foreign enemies. With the support of the
whole people, our Party and our state power crushed and
liquidated the aggressive plans and provocations of the
British and US imperialists, groups of spies and saboteurs,
various opportunists who strove to lead the country on to
the road of bourgeois development and into dependence on
foreign capital, the plots of the Titoites and Koçi Xoxe and
company to subjugate our Party and turn Albania into a 7th
Republic of Yugoslavia, the provocations of the Greek mo-
narcho-fascists in August 1949, the countless wreckers sent
into our country by sea, land, and air.
Once the deep economic and social transformations had been made and our country had been reconstructed, our people set to work on a wide front to build socialism according to the program worked out by the Party.

When we recall the past and compare it with the present, we realize what colossal changes have been made in our country during these 20 years and what struggle, what efforts, and what sacrifices our people have had to make in order to achieve them.

Today everything has changed radically. Instead of the old feudal and bourgeois relations of exploitation, socialist relations now prevail in all sectors of the economy, in town and countryside. The economic base of socialism has been built. Now the socialist sector covers 99.5 per cent of total industrial production, 100 per cent of foreign trade, 92.9 per cent of retail trade, 82 per cent of total agricultural production, 90.5 per cent of the national income.

Together with the radical change in the relations of production, the forces of production of our country, too, have made a gigantic leap forward. Within just two five-year plans Albania has been changed from the most backward agricultural country in Europe to an agricultural-industrial one, while now it is advancing with rapid strides towards becoming an industrial-agrarian country. Socialist industrialization has completely changed the face of Albania. Over 1,000 major industrial, agricultural, transport, social and cultural and other projects have been built during this period. Total industrial production has been raised about 33 times. Industry now turns out in less than 12 days as much as the industry of the country turned out in the whole of 1938. It is enough to point out as a comparison that just the production of the wood-working combine in Elbasan and that of the cigarette factory in Durrës is greater than the industrial production of the whole country in 1938; or that the installed capacity of the power station
being built at Gjegjan in Kukës is larger than the total installed capacity of all the power plants of the country in 1938. If we take each sector separately we will see that the mining industry gives the country 26 times more production than in 1938, the electric power industry over 34 times, the engineering industry 39 times, the building materials industry 37 times, and so on. Today our industry has become a sound basis for the development of all branches of the national economy and for our further advance on the road of the construction of socialism.

The collectivized countryside has radically changed its appearance, too. Today our socialist agriculture, in which modern agricultural technique is being used ever more extensively, produces 2.4 times as much as in 1938. But the development of agriculture and the progress of the countryside are closely related to and cannot be thought of apart from that great social and economic transformation which came about in the life of the peasants with the collectivization of agriculture. Life confirmed in the experience of our country, too, the correctness of the Leninist ideas about the collectivization of agriculture as the only right way acceptable to the peasants to lift agriculture and the countryside out of age-old backwardness.

A profound cultural revolution has been carried out and continues to develop at a rapid pace in our country. Here, where twenty years ago over 80 per cent of the population were illiterate, this age-old evil has not only been wiped out in general, but about one-fourth of the entire population is attending lessons at school. Education and culture have become the property of the masses of the people and have been spread to the most distant corners of the Homeland. For the first time in the centuries-long history of Albania, the Albanians have their own higher schools, a national opera and professional theatres, and all other spiritual blessings that human civilization has created. The sons
and daughters of workers and farmers, once crushed by the heavy burden of exploitation and surrounded by darkness and ignorance, have now taken modern laboratories into their own hands, engage in science and technology, have become engineers, doctors, teachers, agronomists, writers, artists, and so on. Compared with 1938, over 21 times as many cadres of higher training and over 11 times as many cadres of middle school training are now employed in the different branches of the economy and culture.

Not only has the Party always attached great attention to the development and spreading of education and culture among the masses of the entire people, but in particular, it has seen to it that all our new education, culture, and art have a sound socialist and revolutionary content, that the way is blocked to the penetration of all alien influences of decadent bourgeois ideology and culture, and that our education, art and culture become a powerful weapon in the struggle for the building of a fully socialist society and for the triumph of the ideals of communism.

Today our people, the overwhelming majority of them and not just some small privileged stratum, are better fed, better clothed and live a better life, enjoy a free of charge medical service, and so on. During these 20 years the population of the country has increased about 64 per cent, and the average life expectancy in 1960 was nearly 65 years.

On the basis of profound socio-economic transformations, in the practical struggle to build socialism and thanks to the all-round educational work of the Party, the state and the mass organizations, important results have also been achieved during these 20 years since Liberation in the field of the communist education of the masses. Together with the new life, a new man endowed with new ideas and thoughts, with a lofty world-outlook and moral virtues has emerged and is being formed and tempered. This is one of the most brilliant victories of our Party.
Without this the great successes attained in the development of the socialist economy and culture would have been impossible.

The great historic victories achieved by our people under the leadership of our Party of Labour during these 20 years of the people’s state power are living evidence that in the epoch of the triumph of the brilliant ideas of Marxism-Leninism, of the decline of capitalism and the triumph of socialism and communism, which began with the Great October Socialist Revolution, the way to socialism is open even to small and backward countries such as Albania was. The example of our country shows clearly that it is only through socialism that these countries can win true independence, not only political but also economic independence, from imperialism, that they can attain real success in the development of their national economies and culture and secure better living conditions for their people. New Albania is irrefutable evidence of the absolute superiority of the socialist order over any order of oppression and exploitation.

Comrades,

These great victories achieved through the self-sacrificing fight of our people under the wise and resolute Marxist-Leninist leadership of the Party of Labour of Albania made it possible for our country, having successfully built the economic base of socialism, to embark on a new stage — the stage of the complete construction of the socialist society. The historic decisions of the 4th Congress of the Party opened a clear and brilliant perspective in this direction, and are a great program of action and struggle.
for the Party and all our people for the future. In the light of these decisions, our Party and our people have been struggling with all their strength and creative abilities for nearly four years to complete the building of the material and technical base of socialism, as the main link in the complete construction of the socialist society, achieving those brilliant results over which we rejoice today. But just as during all our work to build the new Albania, at the present stage of the socialist construction, too, our Party and people have had, and continue to have, to wage a stern struggle against difficulties and enemies. As you know, in recent years when our country was preparing to set to work to accomplish the 3rd Five-year Plan, the ruthless hostile activities of Khrushchev and the Khrushchevite revisionists, which seriously sabotaged the realization of the 3rd Five-year Plan in many sectors, were added to the usual hostile activities of the imperialists, the Titoites and other reactionary chauvinists against our socialist Homeland.

There is no need to go into all details of this gangster-like anti-Albanian activity of theirs. But it is enough to remind you of what pressure they exerted to break our Party, of how they tried to have an agency of theirs in our Party, of how they called for counter-revolution in Albania at the 22nd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union; let us recall how they broke off all trade, cultural, and other agreements with our country, how they cut off credits and tried to set up an economic blockade; let us recall how they went so far as to sever diplomatic relations with our socialist country, how they were involved in the great plot of the US imperialists, the Titoites, the Greek monarcho-fascists and a band of traitors against the People's Republic of Albania, taking the traitors to our people under their protection, how they struck up friendship with all the enemies of our country, and what monstrous slanders they made against our Party and our people.
Our country was faced with the greatest of dangers; the freedom, independence and sovereignty of our country were in danger, our socialist victories were in danger, there was the danger that our further progress in socialist construction would be hindered, the country was threatened with starvation. But what was the outcome? All the plans of the Khrushchevite revisionists came to naught.

The sinister dreams of the imperialists, the Titoites, the Khrushchevites and their agents of halting the revolutionary impetus of our people, of blowing up our socialist construction, of forcing our working people to hold out a begging hand to imperialism and drop into its lap, of trampling upon the dignity and honour of our people and Party, were turned to dust and ashes. People and Party, in complete unity, withstood all the perils, obstacles and difficulties, always met the enemies with clenched fists and dealt them one crushing blow after another.

The shoulders of our small people have had to bear heavy burdens. The shoulders of our 23-year old Party have had to bear heavy burdens. How many stones have been hurled at them by the enemy! How many unimaginable villainies has the enemy concocted against them! But if need be, the Albanian people and their Party of Labour can and will bear even bigger burdens for the cause of socialism, freedom and peace, for the triumph of Marxism-Leninism. For no one can ever conquer our people, the descendants of the Pelasgians and Illyrians, the people of Skanderbeg and Naim Frashëri, of Ismail Qemali and Bajram Curri, of Selam Musaj and Avni Rustemi, of Halim Xhelo and Ali Kelmendi, of Mujo Uqinaku and Qemal Stafa. The heroic people who have withstood the onslaughts and storms of centuries and have always triumphed over
them. Nor can anyone ever conquer the glorious Party of Labour which sprang from the bosom of this immortal people, which was tempered in the fire of the Anti-fascist National Liberation War, which has resisted all the onslaughts and plots of the imperialists and revisionists, a Party which has in its veins the triumphant, life-giving teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin. On the contrary, from the battles with the enemies, from the encounters with difficulties and obstacles, from the fire of the revolutionary struggle on all fronts, they have always emerged, and always will emerge, stronger, more steel-like, more optimistic about their ultimate triumph.

Dear Comrades,

Having taken this brief glance at the road traversed, at the struggles and victories up till now, seeing with pride and joy the heights to which our beloved Homeland has been raised, the respect and admiration of all are directed first and foremost towards the number one factor which made these things possible, towards our glorious people. Who else besides the broad masses of the people could have withstood the storms of ages and triumph over them? Even in the most difficult circumstances, a great revolutionary optimism and unwavering confidence in their own strength have always characterized our people. They have never left their fate to hope and in the hands of others, whoever they may happen to be. Their motto has been, «Freedom is not donated but is won». Later, another motto supplemented this, «The happy future, socialism and communism, is not donated either, but must be won». Therefore our people have always stood up for themselves and have fought their way through history sword in hand, with rifle and pick, with pen and knowledge.
Our people have never been intimidated by foes, difficulties, or obstacles. They have never bowed their head to nor begged mercy from fascist invaders, traitors, assassins, foreign agents and saboteurs, nor from the imperialists, led by the US imperialists, from the Titoite or Khrushchevite revisionists. They have never been subdued by terror, hunger, blackmail or blockades, but have always fought their way forward, as they will do in the future – always forward! Such are our people!

The magnificent achievements and blessings we enjoy today are also due to the wise leadership of the Party of Labour of Albania, to its unwavering loyalty to Marxism-Leninism, to its ability to apply it creatively at every moment under the concrete historical conditions of our country, to its ability to inspire, organize and mobilize the broadest masses of the people to mighty deeds.

It was the Party which opened the eyes of the people and kindled the flame of the revolution in the hearts of the masses; it was the Party which united, organized and guided them bravely and with consummate skill through a thousand and one traps laid by the enemies, to the victorious revolution; it was the Party that made them conscious of their supreme power and inviolate rights in the people's state, which transformed, shaped and is tempering their socialist consciousness and which led them through a thousand and one other enemy traps to the happy days we are enjoying today.

How ridiculous our revisionist enemies appear when they strive to attach to our Party the stale labels of «dogmatic», «adventurist», «sectarian», and so on. But these are all fables which even those that tell them find difficult to believe, for life has proven and is proving the contrary.

Could a «dogmatic», «adventurist», «sectarian» party, as they describe our Party, loyally and creatively carry out
the teachings of Marxism-Leninism on the revolution and on socialist construction in the complicated international circumstances and the known conditions of our country, as our Party has done? Could a party, such as they say we are, defeat all the manoeuvres of enemies, open or covert, internal or external, of fascists, imperialists, Trotskyites, capitulators, Titoites and all modern revisionists, as our Party has done? Hence could such a party, as the revisionists say our Party is, bring the people to power and make them victorious builders of socialism, raise so high the glory of the Homeland and the international prestige of our Republic, as our Party has done?

No! These things could be done only by a party, which bases itself completely on Marxism-Leninism, only a party, which applies our great doctrine faithfully and in a creative way, only by a party which utilizes the experience of fraternal parties and fraternal countries in conformity with the concrete conditions of its country, only by a party bound like flesh to bone to its people and which has unwavering confidence in their creative ability and their brilliant future, communism. Such is our Party, a party cherished by the people as the apple of their eye, a worthy member of the great family of the world Marxist-Leninist communist and workers’ movement.

Thus people and Party are the decisive internal factor, without which there could not be a free socialist Albania.

The struggle and victories of our people and our Party are, at the same time, inseparable from the international struggle, victories and solidarity of the fraternal peoples of socialist countries, the fraternal Marxist-Leninist parties, and all the revolutionary forces in the world...

During these 20 years since Liberation, the People’s Republic of Albania has fought shoulder to shoulder and unreservedly with all the peace-loving peoples in defence of the cause of the freedom and independence of the peoples,
for democracy and socialism, in defence of the great cause of peace and international security. In the ceaseless struggle that is being waged today between imperialism, on the one hand, and the peoples, the oppressed nations and the international proletariat, on the other, socialist Albania has been, is and will remain firmly on the side of the peoples, on the side of the proletariat, on the side of the revolutionary movement, against imperialism, headed by its most aggressive and dangerous centre, US imperialism, and against all the other enemies of freedom and peace.

On this solemn National Day we note with satisfaction the triumphant march of the ideas of socialism and revolution. The new world, socialism, is waxing strong, and scoring greater and greater victories day by day. The ideas of socialism are more and more capturing the hearts of men, the hearts of the peoples, inspiring them in the struggle for freedom and progress. The forces of the great anti-imperialist movement of our time, the revolutionary movement of the working class, the national liberation movement, the militant mass movement in defence of peace in the world, are growing stronger and stronger from year to year. The international situation as a whole is developing in favour of socialism, in favour of the peoples' struggle against imperialism and reaction.

The world of capitalism has quite a different appearance today. Following the salvoes of the «Aurora» of the bolsheviks of Lenin and Stalin in 1917, it began its downhill slide. The militant revolutionary march of the peoples towards socialism and freedom narrowed the sphere which until yesterday was oppressed and exploited by the imperialists and colonialists, and dealt a mortal blow to the domination of imperialism. Today the world of the dollar and the pound sterling is writhing in the merciless grip of contradictions. Its policy of aggression and war continues to suffer defeat after defeat. Neither the atom bomb,
nor the wiles of dollar diplomacy have been able to break the invincible will of the peoples for freedom, for democracy, for socialism, or to halt the furious storms of the revolutionary movements, which have burst out in Asia, Africa and Latin America. Cuba and Algeria have shown the world once again that when the peoples rise resolutely in the just war for liberation, the victory is theirs. The just cause of the peoples, who have risen to make revolution, cannot be suppressed by fire and steel. At the present time the heroic people of South Vietnam are setting another example of lofty heroism and self-sacrifice in their patriotic struggle against the yoke of foreign imperialism and local traitors. We are completely convinced of the triumph of the cause of the fraternal Vietnamese people. In the heart of Africa, the Congolese people are fighting gloriously against the united imperialists, and showing that the cause of freedom cannot be suppressed by any force.

But this situation and this general trend of development, the growth of the anti-imperialist revolutionary movement of the peoples, their major triumphs, do not in any way mean that imperialism has renounced its reactionary policy, that the great danger which US imperialism represents for socialist countries, for other freedom-loving peoples and countries, has lessened. On the contrary, as the 1957 and 1960 Moscow Declarations point out, imperialism, with that of the United States of America at the head, has been and remains the greatest enemy of socialism, of the freedom and independence of the peoples, the most ruthless international gendarme and exploiter, the principal danger to world peace. It has aimed and still aims to destroy the socialist camp, to suppress the revolutionary liberation movement of the peoples with arms and with dollars, with bloodshed and trickery, to get the peace-loving and progressive countries into its clutches.
and under its domination. The numerous hotbeds of the «hot war», the continuation of the «cold war», the feverish arms race, the plans for setting up the NATO multilateral nuclear force, through which in fact the Bonn revanchists are provided with nuclear weapons, the strengthening of bases and aggressive military alliances, all of these things show that imperialism is perfidious, ruthless and eager for war.

Without renouncing its aggressions and provocations, the use of weapons and violence, at present, imperialism is attaching particular importance to demagogy and deception, to ideological diversion. In this direction it has skilfully used the services of the modern revisionists, of the Titoites and Khrushchevites who, on the one hand, support the imperialist policy, and on the other hand, are actively engaged in weakening and wrecking the socialist camp, the main anti-imperialist stronghold. The unrestrained propaganda of the revisionists to prettify imperialism, the arousing of illusions about its aims, the sacrifice of the interests and the sovereignty of peoples, as was confirmed at the time of the Caribbean crisis or in the Congo, the delay in signing the Peace Treaty with Germany, and the bargaining with the Bonn government to the detriment of the German people, the signing of the tripartite Moscow Treaty, the justification of imperialist aggressions and the like, all of these things have clearly proved that the revisionists and other agents of the imperialist bourgeoisie are hard at work to serve the policy of aggression and war of US imperialism. The attitude of capitulation of the Khrushchevite revisionists towards imperialism, their unprincipled compromises and deals under the demagogic slogan of «defending peace» have demonstrated openly that they are very dangerous traitors to the cause of socialism, the revolution and the liberation of the peoples.

The impending danger of the crusade of the imperialists
and revisionists against socialism and the freedom of the peoples is not reduced either by the death of Kennedy and the election of Johnson, by the coming to office of the Labour Party in Britain, or by the fact that Khrushchev has been thrown out of the Soviet leadership. The roots of this crusade go deep. They are connected with the reactionary nature of the capitalist system itself and its ideology.

Therefore the peoples and all the revolutionaries are today faced with these urgent historic tasks: to intensify the struggle against world imperialism, led by US imperialism, the resolute, unceasing, blow for blow fight until it is completely destroyed, to unmask its war-mongering schemes and to raise the revolutionary vigilance of the peoples. The words of J. V. Stalin that:

«Peace will be preserved and strengthened if the peoples take the cause of the preservation of peace into their hands and defend it to the end.»

are always valid.

To this end, all the revolutionary forces and genuine fighters for peace should be united in the great anti-imperialist front. And this front will be strengthened and triumph in the battles with world imperialism by waging, at the same time, an uninterrupted struggle against modern revisionism and all the other tools that have placed themselves in the service of the policy of aggression and war of imperialism, in the service of its global strategy. Without the struggle against revisionism, imperialism cannot be successfully combated. This Leninist teaching is truer than ever today.

In the great struggle against imperialism and colonial-

* J. V. Stalin. From a talk with a «Pravda» correspondent. No. 48 (11885), February 17, 1951.
is, the peoples of the socialist countries and all revolutionaries should help the peoples who have newly won their freedom, as well as the revolutionary national liberation movement in the world, unreservedly, honestly and with all the means at their disposal.

But this aid should be given in such a way that it serves the cause of the revolution, democracy, freedom, socialism and peace, and deals a blow to and weakens the positions of imperialism and reaction. It is right, for instance, and finds approval from the Marxist-Leninists, revolutionaries, and labouring masses, that the United Arab Republic should be helped to build the Aswan Dam, or that the People's Democratic Republic of Algeria, Guinea or Mali should be aided, because they are fighting against imperialism and colonialism. But the aid which the Khrushchevites give to the Indian reactionary bourgeoisie to arm it and incite it to aggression against the People's Republic of China, is not at all right. This is aid which benefits imperialism and counter-revolution, aid that strengthens the positions of the bourgeoisie and reaction. In the same way, to make common cause with the US imperialists, to dispatch troops of the United Nations Organization in order to suppress the liberation movement in the Congo, has nothing in common with the support for the struggle of enslaved peoples, but on the contrary, it is a base betrayal of them.

The national liberation struggle of oppressed peoples, the struggle to break the fetters of colonialism, are great revolutionary factors in the anti-imperialist struggle, in the fight for peace. To help and support them means to fight imperialism, to defend peace.

In the future, too, our Party and government will consistently pursue the policy of peace, the policy of friendship and close fraternal collaboration in a Marxist-Leninist way, conforming to the principles of proletarian internationalism, with the peoples of socialist countries, the policy
of friendship and solidarity with the peoples fighting for freedom and independence, particularly with the fraternal Arab peoples, with the peoples of Black Africa, Asia, Latin America, and with all the anti-imperialist forces. Our people resolutely and sternly defend their sovereignty, freedom and independence. They hold the sovereignty, freedom and independence of other peoples in the greatest respect. On this basis our Party and government have been and are always willing to strengthen friendship and collaboration with all countries, including the neighbouring countries.

In the future, too, our Party and people will continue to fight with determination against imperialism, particularly against US imperialism, the main danger to peace and to the freedom of the peoples, as well as against all its lackeys and supporters.

**OUR PARTY HAS Fought AND WILL CONTINUE TO FIGHT AGAINST KHrushchevITE AND TitoITE REvisionism UNTIL THEY ARE COMPLETELY DESTROYED**

Comrades,

During these twenty years our Party and people have grappled bravely not only with imperialism, but also with revisionism, with treachery, first with the Titoite clique and later with the Khrushchevite revisionists.

Revisionism, as a weapon of the ideological struggle of the bourgeoisie against communism, is not a new phenomenon. It has manifested itself ever since the first steps of the development of Marxism. Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin waged a determined, open, uncompromising war on revisionism and its different variants. Marxism has emerged ever stronger and always triumphant from these encounters.

The present-day Khrushchevite revisionism is the suc-
cessor to the revisionism of the past. The revisionist group of Khrushchev and its followers have consistently pursued a line of betrayal towards the cause of socialism, a line which conforms to the demands and interests of the international bourgeoisie. The Khrushchevite revisionists have betrayed the teachings of Marxism-Leninism, rejected its basic theses, renounced the class struggle, the revolution, and the dictatorship of the proletariat. They have pursued the line of undermining the Marxist-Leninist unity of the socialist camp and the international communist movement, the line of wrecking the Soviet socialist system built under the leadership of Lenin and Stalin, the line of degeneration of the socialist states into bourgeois states and of the communist parties into social-democratic parties. They have adopted the treacherous course of rapprochement with, of shameful capitulation and submission to world imperialism. They have pursued the line of sabotaging the revolution, of diverting the peoples from the struggle for national and social liberation and have seriously damaged the peoples’ cause of peace and security.

This revisionist line, formulated at the 20th, 21st and 22nd Congresses of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, has inflicted great damage upon the communist movement and the peoples’ anti-imperialist struggle. Nevertheless, the revisionists have been unable to stop Marxism-Leninism and the revolution on their triumphant march. Revisionism encountered a great, insurmountable resistance in the resolute, heroic, and principled struggle of the Party of Labour of Albania and the fraternal parties, which stand on Marxist-Leninist positions, it encountered the struggle of all genuine revolutionaries and communists throughout the world. As a consequence of this principled struggle, the pseudo-Marxist mask was torn from the whole revisionist course of the Khrushchevites and their treacherous aims were exposed.
In all fields, in politics and in the economy, on a national, as well as on an international scale, the failures of the revisionist line began to appear one after another. Through their powerful propaganda apparatus the Khrushchev group and their followers made great efforts to cover up these failures with clamorous demagogy, tried hard to present them as victories, but without success. Moreover, the situation within the ranks of the revisionists became more complicated and aggravated: the squabbles, disputes, disagreements, usual among those who have no principles, came out in the open. This is clearly apparent whether in Togliatti’s so-called testament or in the reserved attitude maintained by many communist parties towards the Khrushchevite project for a factional international meeting of parties. The crisis of Khrushchevite revisionism came to a head, jeopardizing its whole anti-Marxist course and the very existence of modern revisionism.

In these circumstances, the revisionists felt obliged to remove their leader from the political stage. The removal of Khrushchev, this dangerous traitor to and renegade from communism, from the leading positions he held in the Communist Party and the Soviet government, constitutes a great defeat, a heavy blow to the whole of modern revisionism, to its anti-Marxist ideology and policy, and a significant victory for the Marxist-Leninists.

The Albanian people and communists rightly rejoiced at this major triumph over revisionism, because in the fall of Khrushchev they saw once again the correctness of the Marxist-Leninist line of the Party, the importance of its ceaseless principled struggle in defence of the great cause of communism.

The fall of Khrushchev is a major triumph, but this does not mark the end of Khrushchevite revisionism, nor of modern revisionism as a whole. Regardless of the major role which Khrushchev has played as the leader of the
revisionists, his removal does not mark the end of the course, policy, and social and economic roots of revisionism, or Khrushchevite revisionism itself, which has caused so much harm to the communist movement, to the Soviet Union, to the socialist camp, and to the peoples' liberation struggle. Therefore our Party of Labour, like all the genuine revolutionaries, should not and will not entertain any illusions in this respect.

The fall of Khrushchev undoubtedly marks the beginning of a new stage in the struggle between Marxism-Leninism and revisionism, which will lead to the complete defeat of present-day revisionism and to the inevitable triumph of Marxism-Leninism.

In this stage our communists and people must be clearer than ever about the attitude and the future line of struggle, which have been correctly defined by the Party, basing itself on the teachings of Marxism-Leninism and on the interests of strengthening the entire international communist and workers' movement.

Our Party has fought and will continue to fight consistently against modern revisionism, Khrushchevite or Titoite, until it is completely destroyed as a retrogressive line, as an anti-Marxist course, as an ideology and policy which has found its concrete expression in the revisionist resolutions of the 20th, 21st and 22nd Congresses of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. This stand of our Party is thoroughly correct and principled, because the defeat of revisionism and the triumph of Marxism cannot be thought of without rejecting the ideological and political foundation and kicking out the platform of revisionism.

Following the downfall of Khrushchev the present leaders of the Soviet party and government have proclaimed more than once that they will follow to the letter the line of the 20th, 21st and 22nd Congresses of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, as well as its program approved
at the 22nd Congress. They have announced, likewise, that the removal of Khrushchev will in no way prejudice the essence of the line pursued up till now by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. It is evident that the pursuit of this anti-Marxist course in the future, regardless of the tactical nuances that may be used and will undoubtedly be used in its application, and which are designed to deceive the revolutionaries and the peoples, cannot fail to arouse the firm opposition and the open, principled struggle of genuine Marxist-Leninists.

Our Party is of the opinion that the real liquidation of the revisionist platform, and consequently, of Khrushchevite revisionism itself, must and will be achieved through the principled struggle of the Marxist-Leninists, to put in order and gradually correct all the evils which the revisionists have inflicted up till now on international communism with their treacherous line.

First and foremost, the putting in order of the question of Stalin, his rehabilitation as a great Marxist-Leninist, regardless of any minor mistake he might have committed, is a major matter of principle of international importance. Our Party and all the Marxist-Leninists regard the question of Stalin not as a sentimental matter, but as it is in fact, a question of line, a matter of principle.

No Marxist, no honest person believes the revisionist piffle that Stalin was a «ruthless dictator», because during these last few years all the revolutionaries and honest men have seen what kind of people the revisionists are, what their moral character is, and what they are capable of doing. It is well known that Stalin never behaved like a dictator, not even towards the opponents of Leninism, but within Leninist norms, he engaged in open, patient controversy for years on end with Trotskyites, Bukharinites, Zinovievists and others, inside the Party and outside it. Whereas today, the revisionists fight their opponents quite
differently, by police methods, and not at all according to Leninist norms. It is not in Stalin's time, nor by Stalin, but by the revisionists that anti-Leninist putschist methods are being systematically used, as a consequence of which leaders are being brought down one after the other, not only in the Soviet Union, but also in other socialist countries.

The revisionists claim that Stalin was allegedly a «murderer» and a «terrorist». Why? Because in the time of Stalin the enemies of the revolution, traitors and spies were done away with. And it was not Stalin that killed them, but the revolution, the protection of the achievements of socialism. They were tried in revolutionary courts after public debate and sentenced publicly. Whereas the revisionists behave like thieves, like conspirators, in secret. They kill by night and weep by day. They act like an international «Mafia». They opened the doors of the Soviet Union to the agents of the imperialists. They are striving to ingratiate themselves with the imperialists, white guards, Trotskyites, counter-revolutionaries, revisionists and traitors, by rehabilitating their men, one after the other, secretly, in offices with the blinds drawn, by deciding to set up monuments to traitors, and so on. This revisionist kitchen cannot be trusted, therefore, Stalin must be rehabilitated as soon as possible and from the Marxist position.

Stalin was neither a traitor to Marxism-Leninism, nor an exhibitionist clown. He was a great Leninist, he was a man of few words and much work for the Soviet Union and for the revolution. When Stalin spoke the bourgeoisie and imperialists did not applaud, nor burst into laughter, but shook in their boots.

Stalin never kowtowed to the imperialists, never betrayed the revolution, nor turned it into a blind alley. Stalin was no war-monger. He did not declare war on any
state, but others declared war on and attacked the Soviet Union. Stalin defended the Soviet Homeland with consummate skill and heroism.

Stalin never made common cause with counter-revolutionaries, nor decreed the liquidation of the Communist Party, as some have done who parade today as Marxists with the diploma granted them by Khrushchev and Tito. Stalin smashed the counter-revolutionaries and further tempered the great party of the bolsheviks.

Putting the question of Stalin in order means to defend Leninism, which was consistently defended during more than thirty years by Stalin and the Bolshevik Party. It means to reinstate the correct line and direction, under which the revolution, the struggle against intervention, the struggle to build socialism in the USSR, were successfully carried out. It means to reinstate the Soviet system, the line according to which the class struggle and the Patriotic War were waged, the triumph over fascism in the Second World War was assured, and the way was opened to the building of communism in the USSR. The question of Stalin is closely linked with the creation and consolidation of the socialist camp, and with the strengthening of Marxist-Leninist unity in the international communist movement, with the all-round internationalist aid and support for socialist countries and fraternal parties. The attitude towards the question of Stalin is linked with the correct line and attitude towards peaceful coexistence, vigilance towards external and internal enemies, aid for the national liberation struggle of the peoples, the struggle against imperialism, and the struggle for peace.

It is no accident that the Khrushchevites and all the modern revisionists began their treacherous activity by repudiating J.V. Stalin, by launching the most tendentious and ugliest calumnies and attacks against his life and glorious work. Repudiation of J. V. Stalin was a fundamental
issue for the revisionists, for by so doing they paved the way for repudiation of Leninism, for the revision of Marxism, for betrayal. It is now clear to all the revolutionaries and men of integrity the world over that the US imperialists and modern revisionists organized and carried out a great conspiracy to wreck the Soviet Union, to attack Marxism-Leninism, and socialism itself. We publicly accuse these traitors of this conspiracy. Therefore, to put things right on this key issue of principle, to raise the prestige and authority of the Soviet Union and its Communist Party, to enhance the devotion of the peoples and of the Marxist-Leninist parties towards them, our Party and all genuine revolutionaries should and will fight consistently.

In order to return to the position of Marxism-Leninism it is necessary that Khrushchev's revisionist course of alliances and overt or secret agreements with US imperialism must be fully exposed, that all the details of his treacherous foreign policy must be carefully re-examined and denounced, and steps taken to set things right.

The Khrushchevite group had Khrushchevite peaceful coexistence as the foundation of their entire policy. Experience has shown that this was used by Khrushchev to make approaches to and link himself with US imperialism, while betraying the interests of socialism. The fact is that Khrushchevite coexistence yielded no positive results for world peace: international tension was not relaxed, on the contrary, the threat of war and the aggressiveness of imperialism increased. Disarmament was not achieved, on the contrary, the Khrushchevite policy created more favourable conditions for the imperialists to arm themselves, while this was denied to the socialist countries. The policy of Khrushchevite peaceful coexistence failed, just as the revisionist line of assuming power by peaceful parliamentary methods suffered complete fiasco.

The policy of Khrushchevite coexistence was used to
bring about the degeneration of the Soviet socialist system, with the aim of «liberalizing» and «democratizing» it, to «westernize» it, and hence make it acceptable to the bourgeoisie, and to eliminate the fear of the «spectre» of communism. This treacherous Khrushchevite policy was fully supported by all modern revisionists, and found the support of the international bourgeoisie, who, not without purpose, stated that «Khrushchev was the man the West trusted in Moscow». This betrayal by Khrushchev, his concessions to US imperialism to the detriment of socialism, were sanctified as «easing of tension».

Our Party, other fraternal parties and all Marxist-Leninists have fought courageously against this treacherous policy of the revisionists. The Khrushchevites called us «war-mongers», but life proved that we are revolutionary Marxists, fighters against imperialism, resolute defenders of the Soviet Union, of the revolution and peace. Marxists are partisans of Leninist peaceful coexistence, but not to betray socialism, not to make concessions to imperialism, not to confine this merely to relations with the big imperialist powers, but to defend socialism and the revolution, to strengthen friendship and collaboration on the basis of peaceful coexistence with all the peoples of the world. Marxist-Leninists and all the peoples are in favour of and will strive for general disarmament, but by totally repudiating all of Khrushchev's treacherous concessions to imperialists, by imposing disarmament on imperialism, by strengthening the defence potential of the socialist countries and the newly liberated countries if the imperialists keep up their armaments race.

A return to the correct Leninist course demands deeds, not words: it is necessary to denounce Khrushchev's treacherous policy and his rapprochement with the imperialists; it is necessary to condemn his adventurist and capitulationist policy in the Cuban events and to give
unreserved support to the fraternal Cuban people in their fight against the aggression of US imperialism; it is necessary to denounce the tripartite Moscow Treaty as an act of treason to the interests of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries; it is necessary to conclude a peace treaty with Germany and to settle the Berlin problem in the way that was jointly agreed upon long ago. The Marxist-Leninists must not and will not cease their just and consistent struggle without attaining these objectives.


The treacherous activities of the Khrushchevite revisionists have inflicted very great damage on the unity of the socialist camp. The Khrushchevites and Titoites have worked hard for the destruction and disintegration of the socialist camp, this reality of our times, this major victory of the working class of the whole world. This treacherous activity was desired and actively supported by US imperialism.

Now even the enemy knows that there are major contradictions within the socialist camp, not only between Marxists and revisionists, but also among the revisionists themselves. These contradictions have been manifested in all fields: in the ideological, political, and military fields and in the field of economic relations. As a result of the treacherous policy of the revisionists, ugly anti-Marxist trends have found favourable ground in the relations among socialist countries. Such are the chauvinist policy of the great state and the «mother party», the policy of dictate, of
speculation and exploitation, sentiments of nationalism, of fleecing one another and so on.

I shall not dwell on further examples to describe the grave situation of relations in the socialist camp. It is an indisputable fact that the re-establishment of unity on the present foundations, without radically and courageously purging the revisionist injustices and policies, is unthinkable...

We are of the opinion that the whole revisionist platform, on which the relations among socialist countries are based today, should be swept aside; the economic, political, and military collaboration, as well as all the basic agreements that govern relations in the ranks of all the countries of the socialist camp must be re-examined and put on a Marxist-Leninist course, the rights and obligations of each socialist state and mutual aid should be defined jointly and with complete unanimity, taking into account both the interests and sovereignty of each, as well as the general interests of the socialist camp; the principles of aid for one another should be respected, rejecting both chauvinist and nationalist aims; aid should not be used either as a means to keep others under pressure, or as a means to plunder or to weaken the one that provides it. Only unity along such lines eliminates the big-state command and creates the real strength of the socialist camp, eliminates nationalist trends and strengthens internationalism, eliminates revisionism and strengthens Marxism-Leninism, eliminates the tendency to economic and political exploitation and speculation and no longer permits any kind of pressure or blackmail. A socialist camp of this kind strikes terror into the imperialists, is the guarantee of world peace, is the greatest aid for the liberation and prosperity of peoples throughout the world, is the guarantee of the triumph of the revolution, socialism and communism.

Our Party thinks that the aid to countries fighting
Colonialism, which is an important duty of the socialist camp, should also be seen in this light. This aid should be provided in a fraternal way and not linked with dirty political interests. The peoples of the small undeveloped countries of Africa and other continents want sincere friendship and not empty words. The aid which is provided for the peoples as charity by the modern revisionists and which is used for purposes of plundering their natural resources, has nothing in common with Marxism and internationalism, and even less so when that aid is cut off for the purpose of exerting pressure, of organizing plots to overthrow the leaders of these peoples, because someone does not like them. These are the methods of colonialist capitalists. The heroic fraternal peoples of Africa and of other continents have suffered from them for centuries on end. The great-state chauvinist views that the peoples of small undeveloped countries can be dominated by bribes and threats cannot be realized in the epoch of Leninism. Marxism-Leninism, justice, the peoples' great strength will not allow you to act for long according to your capitalist, bourgeois, revisionist whim. The peoples' history has provided great proofs of this, and day by day it continues to provide them.

Unity of the socialist camp can be achieved if the differences existing today among various socialist countries are first settled through bilateral or multilateral talks. Our Party has been and is always ready for talks of this kind, for this is dictated by the general interests of the socialist camp. But we have declared, and stress again that to pave the way for bilateral talks in which the People's Republic of Albania will be in a position of genuine equality and not as a defendant, the Soviet government must publicly acknowledge its mistakes and the material damage which it has caused the People's Republic of Albania and the Albanian people through its unilateral and anti-Marxist acts. It should publicly admit that it broke off diplomatic rela-
tions with the People’s Republic of Albania on its own initiative; that it suspended all credits and organized the economic blockade against our country, causing great damage to the construction of socialism in Albania; that it has interfered in the internal affairs of our country, going so far as to call for the overthrow of the leadership of the Party and the Albanian state; that it has slandered the Albanian leaders, calling them agents of imperialism, and so on and so forth.

This demand of our people and our Party is proper, Marxist, and principled. The above acts of the Soviet government against the People’s Republic of Albania are not mere "technical" errors, they have their ideological and political basis.

Perhaps the present Soviet leaders would wish and think that, despite all this, we Albanians should go to Moscow and kowtow to them, for we are of a small country, while they represent a big country. Or perhaps they think that now that Khrushchev has been sacked, their conscience is clear as far as the Party and the people of Albania are concerned. It is obvious that they are gravely mistaken on both counts. Marxism-Leninism does not recognize big and small, but only equals among equals, therefore, the guilty should acknowledge their guilt. As to the other matter, it is known that what was said and done against the Party of Labour of Albania and the Albanian people was not Khrushchev’s personal doing alone, but, as the Soviet leaders themselves delight in repeating, they were collective decisions. Not only were they decided upon by the Presidium of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, but they were also approved by the plenum of the Central Committee, and brought before the 22nd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. It is also known that in order to have them approved by the Congress, and later, so that the
attitude of the Soviet leaders towards the Party of Labour and the People's Republic of Albania should become «the general line of the communist movement», Mikoyan, Kosygin, Brezhnev, Suslov and others took an active part in the slanderous attacks against our Party and country. Therefore the fact that Khrushchev is no longer at the head of the Soviet government does not at all affect the essence of the problem. The responsibility for all the anti-Albanian acts rests on the leadership of the Soviet Union and it is up to it to correct them courageously. Only thus can conditions of equality be created to make bilateral talks possible and to re-establish the unity of the socialist camp.

A serious crime with dangerous consequences stemming from the Khrushchevite line is the rehabilitation of the Tito clique. It has been proven over many years, with concrete facts, not only theoretically, but also in practice, that the Titoite clique is the most aggressive and dangerous agency of US imperialism, specialized in fighting the communist movement and the socialist countries, as well as in sabotaging the anti-imperialist movement of various peoples. Our Party has been fighting this clique of traitors for nearly all of its 23 years of existence. On their backs, our Party and people have tested the entire arsenal of the Yugoslav specific socialism: intrigues, subversion, plots, slanders, provocations on the border, and so on and so forth. But faced with the vigilance and determination of our people all these revisionist-chauvinist weapons have failed. The anti-Albanian acts of the Titoite clique have not been able to destroy the sentiments of friendship, which link the peoples of Albania and Yugoslavia, sentiments which were cemented with blood, particularly during the Anti-fascist National Liberation War against the fascist invaders. On the occasion of the National Day of Yugoslavia, our people send their revolutionary greetings to the fra-
ternal peoples of Yugoslavia and wish that the ideals for which they fought may triumph.

The Khrushchev group has tried time and again to shift our Party from its positions of principle, to force it to give up the struggle against Titoite revisionism, under the pretext that this was allegedly required by the needs of the struggle against imperialism, since Yugoslavia, it is claimed, has forty divisions of soldiers, that a change is allegedly being made in Yugoslavia and the Titoites are allegedly giving up many of the theses of their program, that we should not enhance their value before imperialism by talking about them, and that, after all, polemics would still continue about certain matters of principle about which differences exist, and so on and so forth. But our Party did not fall into the Khrushchevite position, it did not retreat from its course despite threats and the epithets such as «hot-headed», «sectarian», and so on, that Khrushchev applied to us. Experience showed who was in the right. Khrushchev went to Belgrade and kowtowed to Tito, renounced the so-called accumulations, gradually rehabilitated Titoism, approached and embraced this enemy of socialism, while launching his attacks on the Party of Labour of Albania which faithfully followed the teachings of Leninism and consistently fought to unmask the Titoite clique.

By rehabilitating Titoism, the Khrushchev group paved the way and created the necessary conditions for this agency of US imperialism to sabotage the socialist camp and to drive the socialist countries towards degeneration and rapprochement with imperialism. Our Party, which considers the weakening of vigilance and slackening of the fight against Titoism a serious menace to the future of socialism, will not cease its fight to expose the Titoite clique. We are absolutely convinced that the communist movement and the socialist camp cannot grow stronger and forge ahead without courageously and resolutely
ccmbating the most skilful and dangerous agency of US imperialism, without implementing the recommendations of the 1960 Moscow Declaration about the need for consistent struggle against Yugoslav modern revisionism.

It is the view of our Party that conditions to advance on the genuine Marxist-Leninist road can be created only by rejecting and correcting the revisionist line on these fundamental issues with bolshevik courage. Lenin and Stalin teach that the seriousness of a revolutionary party is expressed in the attitude it maintains towards its own errors. And this demands not deceptive formulae, but facts and concrete deeds. Our Party will welcome any positive steps that may be taken in these directions. This is a principled stand which conforms to the whole Marxist-Leninist line of our Party.

We Albanians have often been accused by the revisionists of being «hot-headed» and even «obstinate», but we are convinced that we are not like that. We act like Marxist-Leninists. As a matter of fact, those who make this accusation have apparently forgotten that under the leadership of Khrushchev, they did not show themselves in the least correct and cool-headed with the Party of Labour of Albania, but behaved unjustly, attacking it with the most violent slanders and insults. Apparently they forgot that, although it was altogether in the right, the Party of Labour of Albania never retaliated to their assaults and slanders, but restrained itself. If they speak of debts, they should have it brought home to themselves that it is they who are indebted towards the Party of Labour of Albania, and not vice-versa. This is the case with obstinacy, too. Yes, we are obstinate and make no concessions over principles. We do not trust empty phrases and demagogic Khrushchevite promises. And we consider this correct. Nevertheless, we call on those who have been wrong to be strong enough to return to the right road. They will have all our support.
and they will see that we are not at all obstinate. The change cannot be made by hoping that with the downfall of Khrushchev everything will be put in order. The change is prepared and effected through a revolutionary struggle, by frankly exposing and condemning the treachery of Khrushchev and his group, because the errors cannot be corrected by protecting Khrushchev, by keeping the matter confined within the party, as all the modern revisionists are trying to do. This is an effort to defend the betrayal, because pointing out the betrayal of Khrushchev would prejudice and expose the entire revisionist course on all the cardinal issues we have spoken about.

The Party of Labour of Albania, like all the revolutionary Marxist-Leninists, will fight with courage to score further victories over revisionism. Our fight and the open, principled polemic will continue unceasingly until the Khrushchevite positions have been repudiated in their entirety.

The period which the international communist movement is passing through is a period of difficulties and profound differences. Today the question of unity in our movement is quite rightly worrying all the honest communists in the world. All the revisionists are talking about unity, all the revisionists are trying to seize hold of the banner of unity. Our Party is of the opinion that the slogan of the struggle for unity is not a simple one, which may be used for tactical purposes, but constitutes a very serious key problem of principle, both for the present, as well as for the future of international communism.

Some time ago, under the slogan of unity, the Khrushchev group planned the calling of an international factionalist meeting which, far from serving unity, would, in fact, have served disruption. But this failed. Recently the Khrushchevite plan has been brought up again, accompanied by a general hue and cry that a meeting of international communism is allegedly imperative at the present moment.
The Party of Labour of Albania has been and still is in favour of a meeting of international communism, but a meeting that would effectively serve to strengthen the unity of our movement. Unity is lacking at present in the international communist and workers' movement as a result of the divisive activity of the modern revisionists. This is the fundamental evil. Therefore the importance and the duty of the meeting of international communism is to eliminate the differences, to establish true Marxist-Leninist unity. Its purpose cannot be to draw up a new document filled with rubber-stamped formulae, nor to formally proclaim the achievement of some sort of unity which, in a few months' time, would certainly be disturbed again by new differences and by the revival of public polemics.

Our Party is of the opinion that in order to achieve genuine Marxist-Leninist unity and to eliminate the differences it is essential first to take serious steps and exert great efforts to prepare all the necessary conditions for the success of an international meeting.

Moreover, in order to attain positive results in the international meeting, it is essential to first settle a number of important issues of principle, in addition to those already mentioned.

Through their anti-Marxist attitude and acts, the revisionists have created many distorted concepts on the meaning of unity itself, and on the role and duties of the various parties in preserving and strengthening it. Thus, in practice, the existence of the «conductor», of the «mother party», which is «infallible» and can solve everything, while the other parties should tag along behind it and can err; the existence of the opinion that only one party is capable of interpreting Marxism, while the others cannot, and so on and so forth, all of these, although they have never been written, have become like «sacrosanct» rules. As a reaction to these rules and the so-called liberalism which...
revisionism has created, tendencies to «autonomy», not from the conductor, for the revisionist leaders are bound to it hand and foot, but from Marxism-Leninism, from proletarian internationalism, have sprung up and are gaining strength.

Without categorically rejecting these anti-Marxist, revisionist and chauvinist views, and without dotting the i's on these matters, any attempt to establish solid unity in the international communist movement is sheer formality and will bear no fruit.

MARXISM-LENINISM IS A GUIDE TO ACTION FOR EVERY REVOLUTIONARY PARTY OF THE PROLETARIAT

Marxism-Leninism is a great and universal truth. It is not a dogma, hence the truths of Marxism-Leninism cannot be misused according to the whims of this or that person or group, hiding behind the correct slogan, «to apply them according to the time and place». Marxism-Leninism is a guide to action for every party. Every party can and should apply Marxism-Leninism in the conditions and circumstances of its own country, but the compass shows the cardinal points unerringly. But if you try to make it show the north in the south and the west in the east, no matter how loud you may shout that you have a compass in your hand, it may be anything but a compass. This is also the case with the correct application of the universal laws of Marxism.

The teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin cannot be the monopoly of certain parties. They are the heritage of mankind, of all the communists. There are parties or persons who try to speculate for anti-Marxist ends with the fact that Marx and Engels were of German nationality, or that Lenin and Stalin were members of the
Communist Party of the Soviet Union. From this fact, these parties and persons claim that whatever they and their leaders say, regardless of the fact that they talk revisionist nonsense, is allegedly the law of truth and an authentic interpretation of the ideas of the classics. This view should be discarded, for it is anti-Marxist.

In order to lay the groundwork for solid unity in the communist movement it is necessary to discard the idea cultivated by the revisionists of the necessity for a "conductor", or of blindly following the line of one party: Our Party is of the opinion that Marxism-Leninism is the sole conductor of the communists, that it guides them, that Marxism-Leninism and the principles of proletarian internationalism unite them in their great struggle. Loyalty to Marxism-Leninism and solidarity with fraternal parties, with comrades and friends, who are likewise loyal to the principles of Marxism-Leninism, to the cause of socialism and communism, is a sacred duty of each revolutionary party. Our Party stands firmly on these principles. At the same time, respecting the Leninist norms, every party should courageously criticize the errors and faults of another fraternal party. Our Party has done and will do this always in a comradely way and without hesitation. It has criticized and will criticize those parties or comrades who, in its opinion, are mistaken, and it will fight without mercy and to the last against those who betray. Towards those parties and persons who recognize their mistakes, who correct them and give proof of this, we shall always behave as Leninists.

While recognizing these rights of our Party, at the same time, we recognize the right of every fraternal party and every communist to behave in the same way towards us when they think that our Party makes mistakes. If differences are not resolved, the best judge to show who is right is practice, time, but not time full of "calm",
«silence» and «indifference», but time full of polemics based on facts, on documents, revolutionary and constructive polemics, not slanders and lies.

Without proper understanding of the rights of the communist parties, without accepting them and creating real effective conditions for their application, solid unity cannot be re-established. In principle and in words these rights and duties are recognized even today, but it is a fact that when our Party used them at the Bucharest Meeting, or at that in Moscow, all the thunder of the group of Khrushchev and his followers came down upon us.

Life has shown that every communist party, small or big, may make mistakes. Therefore the party that errs, be it small or big, should be subjected to criticism, should admit its mistakes in order to correct itself. This is the only Marxist way. To refrain from criticizing one or the other is opportunism, and does a lot of harm; to fail to criticize the small party is incorrect; to criticize the small party and to forget the bigger one is servility; to hush up the mistakes of the bigger party and refrain from criticizing it is utterly wrong, for a big party pursuing an erroneous line causes immense harm.

True unity requires comradely relations between parties, because each party needs the support and experience of another party. The experience of each party is of great value to all and should be utilized by all. But no pressure at all can or should be exerted by one party to impose this or that experience on other parties. This by no means excludes comradely advice, or criticism of him who violates principles.

Without clear definition of the norms of relations between parties, there can be no assurance of attaining the unity which true revolutionaries and Marxists desire. It is clear that when we Marxist-Leninists speak of unity, we imply unity on a Leninist basis of principle, and not on
a revisionist basis of compromises. We want, we are in favour of, and fight for a unity in which there is place neither for revisionism, nor for dogmatism.

True unity can be achieved and strengthened only under the banner of Marxism-Leninism and with the joint efforts of all fraternal parties. It cannot be achieved either through meetings and talks between two parties alone, or through talks between leaders who do not express the real opinion and will of the mass of the communists. The only effective unity is that which is established between peoples, between parties, which are intimately acquainted with one another's sentiments, views, and aspirations.

The Khrushchevite revisionists have tried their utmost to keep the peoples and communists apart from one another, to keep them in the dark and in complete ignorance about the contradictions, about the views of their comrades and brothers on the other side of the barricade. Therefore our Party has always been and continues to be of the opinion that the first step to take, prior to the meeting of leaders, is to fully inform the parties and communists about the ideological differences, not according to the whims of primed «agitators», but on the basis of the main materials of fraternal parties, designated by those parties themselves, which should be circulated among all communists. Only in this way can the party itself pass judgment, can it decide and tell its leadership what it should do. Solemn promises about the application of Leninist norms are not what is needed now, but putting these norms into practice.

Our Party is of the opinion that such a course creates favourable conditions for resolving differences, helps to re-establish unity and paves the way for a successful meeting of international communism. Our Party will continue to fight consistently for such a meeting, for a militant Marxist-Leninist unity in the future, too.

True unity of the communist movement will be achieved
through the resolute, principled struggle of Marxist-Leninists. The victory they scored in ousting Khrushchev will undoubtedly be followed by other major victories. The Marxist-Leninist forces are increasing rapidly. Our Party whole-heartedly welcomes the creation of the Marxist-Leninist communist parties of Australia, Brazil, Ceylon, and others. We greet all the revolutionary communists who have joined anti-revisionist groups like those of Italy, France, Austria, Britain, the Netherlands, the revolutionaries of Spain and Portugal, those of Chile, Colombia; and other countries. Our Party greets all those communists who are fighting for the triumph of Marxism-Leninism in the ranks of the communist and workers’ parties where the revisionists are in the leadership. The revolutionary activities of the parties and groups that have been set up, have seriously shaken the ranks of the modern revisionists. The outlook for the struggle and victory of the revolutionary communists is very good. The future belongs to them while the revisionists are doomed to failure.

The Party of Labour of Albania will strengthen its Marxist-Leninist unity with the other fraternal parties which stand loyal to the revolutionary positions of Marxism-Leninism, the militant unity in defence of the purity and principles of the great ideas of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin. Our Party considers it its internationalist duty to strengthen its cooperation and solidarity with all the anti-revisionist revolutionaries. It will support the comrades, brothers and co-fighters for our great cause with all its strength. In this new phase which the struggle against revisionism has entered, our Party is more than ever convinced of the correctness of its Marxist-Leninist line and is fully confident of the inevitable victory over the most ruthless enemy of mankind, US imperialism, and the renegades from Marxism-Leninism, over the Khrushchevite, Titoite revisionists and those of any other brand.
After speaking about the brilliant perspective of the People’s Republic of Albania, Comrade Enver Hoxha said in conclusion:

We are building socialism under conditions of hostile encirclement by imperialism and revisionism. The defeats they have suffered so far notwithstanding, our enemies continue to dream of violating our independence, overthrowing the people’s state power, and robbing us of the achievements we have attained at the cost of so much bloodshed and sweat. Therefore the sacred duty of every honourable Albanian is, as it has always been, to continually sharpen his vigilance towards the imperialist and revisionist enemies, to reinforce the defence potential of the Homeland day by day and never for a single moment forget the slogan of the Party, «We must build socialism with the pick in one hand and the rifle in the other». Every working man, wherever he may work or live, should consider himself a soldier of the people, a resolute defender of the freedom, independence, and socialist victories of the Homeland.

But, as up till now, the key to all our achievements has been and continues to be the steel-like unity of the people with the Party. To carry the cause of socialism ever forward, the number one duty for everyone is to guard the monolithic Party-people unity like the apple of our eye and to make it ever stronger. Our strength lies in the Party-people unity; on this are based the hopes and brilliant future of the new Albania.

At the same time our people are convinced that in their struggle to realize the prospects of their brilliant future, they will always have, as they have had so far, countless friends and comrades beside them who will help them in a fraternal, internationalist way.
Dear Comrades,

The glorious path our people have traversed under the leadership of the Party gives them a sense of legitimate pride. But they have never allowed themselves to become intoxicated with success, and even less now, when so much still remains to be done, they do not rest on their laurels. The years of the war and the constructive work of the last twenty years have endowed our people with colossal experience and have made them as strong as steel. They have never had any illusions that socialism could be built easily, that they could wait for it to be donated by others. They have never turned tail on enemies, obstacles, difficulties or dangers when this great and just cause was in question, but have gone into battle and have vanquished them. This will be the case in the future, too. Our people are invincible, they possess inexhaustible creative energies and a great revolutionary spirit; there is not and there will never be, now or in the future, any force, obstacle or difficulty that can stop their triumphant march forward towards communism. On this glorious 20th anniversary they are regrouping their forces for the new start towards fresh battles, towards fresh, inevitable, ever more majestic victories. With such revolutionary people led by the Party of Labour, new Albania has lived, fought and won through these twenty years, and it will live, fight, triumph and flourish through the centuries.

Long live our valiant, hard-working and freedom-loving people!
Long live the Party of Labour of Albania, leader and organizer of all the achievements of our people!
Glory to Marxism-Leninism!