MODERN REVISIONISM — THE MAIN DANGER AND ENEMY IN THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST AND WORKERS' MOVEMENT

From the conversation with a delegation of the CP of New Zealand

October 6, 1965

First of all, dear comrades, on behalf of the Party of Labour of Albania and its Central Committee and on my own, I want to express to you our regard for the Communist Party of New Zealand which has fought and is fighting for the purity of Marxism-Leninism, against Anglo-American and world imperialism, against modern revisionism and Khrushchevite revisionism in particular.

Likewise, we express our great joy at having you in the bosom of our people. Our people and our Party welcome you with open hearts as our close comrades. We want you to feel completely at home here as if you were in your own country. We shall do our utmost to enable you to see and judge the work, the struggle, and the modest achievements of our Party and people.

In this exposé, I shall not speak about all the problems, but the Political Bureau has given us special instructions to provide full explanations and make every facility available to the comrades from New Zealand to investigate any problem in which they may be interested. Thus, apart
from this exposé, we have made arrangements for comrades of the Political Bureau to inform you more extensively about other problems, ranging from the organization of the Party and the economy to the development of culture, so that your visit in our country will not only be pleasant, but will also enable you to see the reality of our country and the constructive work of the Albanian people, led by the Party.

The year 1965 is the last year of the 3rd Five-year Plan. During this period we are engaged in drafting the 4th Five-year Plan.

The fulfilment of many major targets of the 3rd Five-year Plan was made especially difficult by the economic blockade which the Khrushchevite revisionists organized against our country. Under these difficult conditions, especially during the first two years of the 3rd Five-year Plan, we had not only to achieve the targets envisaged, but also to make major amendments, to replace projects provided for in the agreements with the revisionist countries, which they cancelled, and design new ones, under agreements with the People’s Republic of China. As a consequence of these amendments, work on building some projects was late in starting, therefore, during these past two years we have had to mobilize large resources of manpower, materials and money.

As a result of the correct line followed by the Party and the mobilization and revolutionary drive of the masses, the 3rd Five-year Plan was, on the whole, fulfilled satisfactorily if we take into account the many difficulties created by the revisionists and the new measures we had to take to strengthen our country’s defence capacity.

During this five-year period we shall complete the construction of more than 420 industrial, agricultural and social-cultural projects. Some of them are of major importance to our country, as they lay the foundations for new
branches of industry, such as ferrous and non-ferrous metallurgy, the expansion of the local processing of minerals, the chemical and paper industries, as well as a considerable increase in the production of electric power, cement, textiles, etc.

During the 3rd Five-year Plan the moral-political unity of the people around the Party, which was and is the decisive internal factor in the successful fulfilment of targets and overcoming difficulties, was strengthened and steeled still further.

After Comrade Enver Hoxha informed the guests about the results achieved in the work for the fulfilment of the 3rd Five-year Plan, the main directions of the draft of the 4th Five-year Plan, the great efforts of the communists and of all our working masses to cope with the many difficulties created during this period, he concentrated on some important problems of the international communist movement:

How does the Party of Labour of Albania view the Soviet-led modern revisionism, and on what principles and with what methods and tactics does it wage the struggle against modern revisionism in general, and in particular against Soviet revisionism, Titoite revisionism, the revisionism of the so-called socialist countries, the revisionists in the communist and workers’ parties of the capitalist countries?

Our Party has considered and considers modern revisionism not as a separate ideology, but as an anti-Marxist-Leninist trend of major world proportions, as a modern variant of the bourgeois ideology, adapted to the new conditions of the period following the Second World War, in the ranks of the international working class and especially in the socialist countries, where the dictatorship of the proletariat had been established. It constitutes a very serious threat, therefore the mobilization of all the Marxist-Leninist forces of the world is necessary in order to expose it as a trend heading towards complete identification with social-
democracy. With our struggle we must ensure that the revisionist demagogy can no longer be camouflaged under Marxist slogans, but that modern revisionism is seen clearly as a trend of betrayal of Marxism-Leninism, a trend of the bourgeoisie and its ideology.

The essence and strategic aims of this anti-Marxist-Leninist trend are identical with those of social-democracy in the capitalist countries. Both these trends distorting Marxism-Leninism serve world capital, imperialism. They are variants of the bourgeois ideology to destroy the revolution, to quell the national liberation struggles of the peoples and keep these peoples under the yoke of exploitation and oppression by capital with new forms and methods. These trends are in open or disguised alliance for the one ultimate aim. They are different only in their tactics, slogans and methods of work which are dictated by the current general and particular national and international circumstances, by the contradictions between different capitalist states, by the differing levels of economic development of these capitalist states, by their spheres of influence and domination, etc. As well as that, the modern revisionists are compelled to alter their tactics by the level of the active revolutionary force which is resisting them in the socialist countries where they have seized power, by the struggle and revolutionary drive of Marxist-Leninist forces of the world, by the vigour of the peoples' national liberation struggles, and many other more or less important factors.

Social-democracy in the world, and especially in the capitalist countries, has its own objectives, organization and methods of work. It has stabilized, perfected and co-ordinated its activity with its national bourgeoisie and the international bourgeoisie, and has also stabilized its own international connections in content and in organizational forms.

On its part, modern revisionism in the so-called socialist
countries, in collaboration with modern revisionism in the
communist and workers' parties of the capitalist countries,
has likewise formulated its national and world strategy and
tactics.

In the Soviet Union and in the so-called countries of
people's democracy of Europe, modern revisionism has be-
come a party and state ideology, therefore our struggle must
be adapted to this characteristic of the time.

As an anti-Marxist trend in power, on the national
plane modern revisionism tries to bring about the degene-
ration of the Marxist-Leninist party into an anti-Marxist
party and the degeneration of the socialist state into a capi-
talist state. On the national plane, it subordinates every-
thing to these two main aims. On the international plane, the
aim of the modern revisionists is to penetrate the interna-
tional communist movement in order to split it, make it
degenerate, to influence and infect it with the whole gamut
of their activity, with their stands, tactics and methods.

Modern revisionism in power is trying to attain unity
of thought and action with all the revisionists in the world,
of course, with Moscow as its centre. Naturally, there are
great contradictions and they will increase until these links,
whether based on unity of thought or of action, are reduced
to something like those that exist more or less in the ranks
of world social-democracy today.

Modern revisionism, whether in power or not, is under
fire from many quarters: under the fire of the Marxist-Le-
inists and the people in the parties and countries where it
rules, under the fire of our Marxist-Leninist parties which
are fighting and exposing it, under the fire of the insoluble
contradictions within modern revisionism itself, under the
fire of the contradictions among the degenerate strata which
it has brought to power, and under the fire of the world
capitalist bourgeoisie and imperialists, with their parti-
cular contradictions, aims and purposes, under the fire,
pressure, blackmail of these and various trends of the bourgeoisie.

Hence it is natural that, faced with this situation and complex of things, the modern revisionists should look for an ally in the struggle against Marxism-Leninism, against the Marxist-Leninist parties, the world communist movement, the peoples and their national liberation struggles, and this cannot be other than imperialism, and first of all, US imperialism.

This alliance is expressed in their world policy, on all the key problems with which mankind is concerned.

It is of great importance to understand this, both in regard to the scale these alliances have attained, and in regard to their ups and downs, their intensity, the forms used and the methods arrived at, their complete or partial successes and sometimes their complete failure. These things are not fixed, they are influenced and conditioned by many objective and subjective circumstances.

Viewing matters from this angle, let us briefly take up some key problems of our great struggle.

I do not intend here to enter into the essential principles of these problems which are clear both to you and to us, and on which there is complete unity of opinions between our two parties. However, during our talks we may also develop them further.

I want to elaborate on what the holy alliance between world imperialism and the modern revisionists, between capitalist bourgeois ideology and Soviet-led modern revisionism, consists of.

This holy alliance was formed at moments of grave crisis for world imperialism which was preparing for world war in order to overcome the major crisis which was threatening it from the revolutionary drive of the peoples, from the political-ideological, economic and military strength of the camp of socialism and the struggles of the peoples for
national liberation. The modern revisionists, headed by the Soviet revisionists, immediately came to the aid of world imperialism, to rescue it from crisis and defeat. Herein lies their great betrayal.

Because they are ideologically, spiritually and morally on a course identical with that of US and world imperialism, and have the same bourgeois ideology, the modern revisionists were terrified by the threats of war from US imperialism and its atomic blackmail, despite the great military potential at their disposal. Not only were they terrified of a world war that the Americans were preparing, but they were terrified also of the immediate and subsequent consequences of this war, terrified for themselves and for the moral, material and ideological patrimony of the world bourgeoisie, because the world revolution would wipe them forever from the face of the earth. Camouflaging their abject fear under their entirely bourgeois «humanism», they came before world capitalism with a complete platform, presenting themselves as obedient lackeys, as tested agents, devoid of all scruples, at the head of the Soviet Union, at the head of the socialist camp, at the head of the world communist movement.

The Soviet revisionists and their accomplices wanted to demonstrate to the imperialists, in words and deeds, that «times have radically changed, that Marxism-Leninism, in its old forms, and in its actions and aims, has become obsolete, is out-of-date, that new conditions have been created, therefore we are presenting the new Marxism of modern times». (Of course, without altering the essence, I am simplifying their thoughts and I shall not go into the specific forms they use to disguise their revision of our theory.)

Apart from the intensive, open and behind-the-scenes preliminary work carried out by the Khrushchevite revisionists within the Soviet Union, in the ranks of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, in the socialist countries
and in the international arena, in order to prepare putsches, the terrain and the people for the «great action», the 20th, 21st, and 22nd Congresses of the CPSU are key moments, at which the modern revisionists came out openly with their traitorous theories.

We are obliged to think that the Soviet modern revisionists had come to the conclusion that the situation was ripe for such a turn on a world-wide scale, so they hoped that everything would go off peacefully, without resistance. The euphoria and exaltation of the first days of this great betrayal both on the part of the modern revisionists and the open and camouflaged opportunists, and on the part of US and world imperialism confirmed this. The heads of world imperialism rejoiced over what was happening, but they constantly demanded tangible proofs, which the revisionists did not fail to supply. As for themselves, they did not budge from their principles, their world strategy, but made only some tactical gestures to back up the Soviet revisionists in their betrayal and urge them to go further.

What do the betrayal of the Soviet revisionists and their advances and promises to imperialism and world capitalism consist of, what is the foundation of their holy alliance, and what assurances have they given the imperialists as a pledge of their loyalty to the bourgeois ideology and the struggle against Marxism-Leninism, socialism and communism?

a) «Peaceful coexistence and economic competition.» There is no need to go into long theoretical argument, since it is clear, both to you and to us, that there is nothing Leninist in these slogans; they are anti-Leninist both in the way they are presented and in the concrete activity with which the modern revisionists go about applying them (ir-

* French in the original.
respective of the demagogic phraseology with which they are dressed up).

The fact is that a great revisionist-bourgeois capitalist racket was kicked up about these slogans, and those who refused to fall into step with them were described as warmongers, anti-Marxists and dogmatists. With this the Soviet modern revisionists wanted to implant in people's minds the idea that, «there is no alternative to peace at any price, bourgeois peace, bourgeois humanism. So we should co-exist with capitalism, must preserve the status quo, give up revolutionary struggles, and solve everything through economic competition, which will determine who will triumph». Political co-existence, ideological co-existence, economic co-existence, all this camouflaged with demagogy, with a great hullabaloo, sensational, phoney outbursts, with retreats under intimidation, and advances when they considered the situation favourable, and all this dressed up in a falsified, revised, Marxist-Leninist theory — that is the line of the Khrushchevites over this important problem. The capitalist bourgeoisie welcomed this turn and supported it with its means, tactics and strategy, without making the slightest concession on its own part.

b) «A world without wars, a world without arms.» This was the second assurance that the Soviet revisionists gave US and world imperialism. This was a consistent continuation of their betrayal. However, the Soviet revisionists did not give up their own armaments, because, as bourgeois capitalists, they need them to dominate the world and fight the socialist states, or in case of a flare-up with the other bourgeois imperialist states. With these slogans the Soviet revisionists are pursuing other aims: to create a mirage of peace in the minds of the peoples, to disarm them morally, to take the weapons from their hands and eliminate the spirit of hatred for oppressors, imperialists, old and new colonialists, and the revolution against them.
In other words, the Soviet revisionists gave up the revolution, proletarian internationalism, aid to national liberation wars, support for the rights of nations. They not only renounced all support to national liberation wars, but condemned them, and jointly with the Americans, participated directly in suppressing them. Any action of the Soviets, which may be presented in opposition to our theses, such as supplying a few weapons to some peoples, is done with definite aims, in order to keep them under their control, to employ those who receive arms from them to suppress the revolutionaries, to use them against the socialist countries, and of course, to counterbalance the intentions of the imperialists, who want to weaken this budding imperialist power and are working to this end.

This anti-Marxist and imperialist line of the Soviet revisionists against socialism and the freedom of peoples is proceeding on the course of the creation and strengthening of two powerful blocs in the world, of the United States of America and the Soviet Union, which intend to divide the spheres of influence between them, to have the monopoly of atomic weapons, to be the most powerful economically, and dictate their own laws to other states and peoples.

It is this line that inspires the notorious Moscow Treaty, the proposal for an alliance between NATO and the Warsaw Treaty, the agreements and intrigues over Germany, the empty talk about disarmament, the great aid to Indian reaction, the extensive trade relations, the mutual granting of huge credits, the unprincipled and unprecedented development of cultural relations aimed at bringing about the degeneration of the socialist countries and the rejection of Marxism-Leninism.

This constitutes an entire complex of questions. We Marxists are able to see it clearly and to organize our struggle, but only provided we are able to single out the key problem, the main thing, for only in this way
will we not lose our bearings in the great labyrinth where the problems present themselves not in simple form, but in complicated ways. They develop rapidly and with great complexity, with ups and downs, advances and retreats, clear at one moment and obscure at another. The circumstances are not the same everywhere, many factors exert their influence for better or worse, defeats make the enemy draw in their horns, conceal their intentions temporarily, slow down their actions, smile and give way a bit.

None of this deceives us Marxists; we judge everything cool-headedly and in a revolutionary manner. Their temporary victories make the enemies arrogant and menacing, but we Marxists do not waver in our confidence in victory, are not afraid of the enemy and do not capitulate.

Let us take, for example, the evolution of the Soviet revisionists' stand on several key problems. Their stands on some of these problems have undergone evolution, but the aim remains the same. We must be clear about this in order to be able to see these evolutions properly.

At first, the modern revisionists seemed to be monolithic. This did not mislead the Party of Labour of Albania. Whereas today the revisionists are quarrelling with one another, but this does not deceive us, either, because their quarrels are not about rectifying their course of betrayal. Their quarrels express natural, internal contradictions, which are bound to emerge and which we should exploit, but not by violating principles, not by making concessions to revisionists, not by cherishing illusions or toning down the struggle and polemics against them.

Violating the basic principles of fraternal, internationalist economic relations, the Soviet revisionists built up an entire system of economic relations with the socialist countries, Comecon, etc., which, at the outset, appeared to be the «last word» in Marxism-Leninism on these questions. The real aim of the Soviet revisionists was to have the
entire economy of the socialist countries under their thumb, to make it an appendage of their own economy, to dictate the law to others, to exert pressure on and blackmail them and have them dependent and obedient politically, too. Comecon degenerated. There are insoluble contradictions among its member countries, the law of the jungle prevails among them. Things are not going the way the Soviets want in Comecon today, and this is natural. There are contradictions, which will become more profound and lead to the weakening of these links, which are capitalist in essence. The revisionist countries are putting themselves more and more thoroughly into the clutches of world capitalism.

Let us take the Warsaw Treaty. When it was created, its aims were just, but the revisionists changed them. They are dominant there, they make the law. The armies of the Warsaw Treaty are under the direct command of the defence minister of the Soviet Union, they have no modern weapons, apart from those with which the Soviet Union supplies them to the extent it wants or deems «reasonable». The revisionist slogan, «Don't worry, for I am defending you», was on the order of the day and accepted without a word of protest. Now things have begun to move there internally, but not to our advantage. The partners of the Soviet Union, the other revisionists, want to command like the Soviet revisionists; they want missiles, want to be informed about the plans for war and defence, want not just one to give the orders, but all of them. This is a situation which is developing, but we are not jumping with unfounded «joy». However, this does not mean, either, that these things are not weakening the revisionists' strength and we should not profit from them, but we must act carefully, without violating our principles, without cherishing vain illusions or toning down our struggle and polemics.

The same thing may be said in regard to many other problems.
c) «The taking of power in a peaceful way, on the parliamentary road», was another betrayal of Marxism-Leninism, the basic principles of the revolution and its primary aim — the seizure of power by the proletariat and its allies. It was a real offer and solemn promise made by the modern revisionists to the capitalist bourgeoisie that it would no longer be threatened by the revolution, that the communists would settle everything on the road of social reforms, so dear to social-democracy, which has experience in this field. According to the revisionist theory, everything would be solved through reforms by the pseudo-Marxist parties which had betrayed the revolution, the working class and the working peasantry. According to the revisionists, this «taking of power by the proletariat» would come about completely peacefully, under the protection of the armed forces and the police, which, as is known, are in the hands of the bourgeoisie and the capitalists. This would mean liquidation of the Marxist-Leninist parties in the countries of the West, in the capitalist countries; it was the road of their transformation and degeneration into social-democratic parties standing for social reforms, the road of open and secret compromises with the national bourgeoisie, which would mean the elimination of the revolutionary spirit of the communists, departure from every basic Marxist-Leninist principle in theory and in revolutionary practice.

In its materials our Party has elaborated its theoretical-political views about this and other problems in detail. Therefore, I am not going to enlarge on these questions since you may already be acquainted with these materials. We know that we are in agreement, in unity, with your Party’s views on these problems. The modern revisionists are employing demagogy on a large-scale and no end of sophistry on this question, just as on other questions. There is a marked tendency among them to engage in sterile, allegedly theoretical discussion of these questions in which they bom-
ward you with formulas and quotations designed to cover their tracks, in order to weaken the real struggle and leave the revisionists in peace so they can go on with their destructive work and concoct alliances with the bourgeoisie and the social-democrats and other anti-Marxist trends.

In these situations, we see that, on the one hand, modern revisionism is split into separate trends, heading in different but always anti-Marxist directions, and on the other hand, that new Marxist-Leninist parties and revolutionary Marxist-Leninist groups are being created, are fighting, becoming consolidated, and finding their true road through struggle and innumerable difficulties.

Your Marxist-Leninist Party, which militates in a capitalist country, has a great deal of experience in this direction. We want you to tell us about this experience in order to arm ourselves better for our great, difficult but glorious struggle for the defence of Marxism-Leninism from the attacks of modern revisionism.

Modern revisionism did not fall from the sky, but was prepared in certain conditions and objective and subjective circumstances. It has its own process, causes, reasons, forms and methods, as well as its own strategic and tactical objectives. It has its own process of formation, organization, growth, ascent and decline, and of its final destruction. It is a fact that this anti-Marxist line has been of extraordinary assistance to the capitalist bourgeoisie; it has weakened the revolutionary struggle inside the capitalist citadel. But Marxism-Leninism will undoubtedly triumph over it, will defeat revisionism, and this defeat has already begun under the severe blows which the Marxist-Leninist parties are dealing it. Our fight against revisionism is on and will continue with great severity. Khrushchevite modern revisionism originated, became organized and consolidated, and seized the reins of power in the Soviet Union, in the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and its leadership, after the death of Stalin,
and not because of any fault of Stalin's, we emphasize, not because of the so-called mistakes of Stalin. The Party of Labour of Albania will not budge from this view, which is not an *apriori* view, but one formed from a thorough Marxist-Leninist analysis, based on internationally known facts and documents. It is a view which, we consider and are convinced, is right, correct. The events and their development have confirmed our analysis and conviction. Linked by imperceptible threads inside and outside the Soviet Union, the counter-revolutionaries, headed by Khrushchev, worked towards this betrayal in the greatest secrecy. Right to his death, revolutionary vigilance had never been lacking in Stalin. This is evidence, also, of his revolutionary justice, which did not admit «arbitrariness» and «unwarranted condemnation» of suspects. The Trotskyite criminals, like Khrushchev and Mikoyan, skilfully kept a low profile.

It is a fact, however, that after Stalin's death his collaborators lost their vigilance, became involved in the intrigues hatched up by the counter-revolutionaries of the Khrushchev and Mikoyan type, badly compromised themselves, forgot the teachings and criticisms of Stalin, lost their militancy, and eventually, consciously or unconsciously, fell into the trap the counter-revolutionaries set for them. In our opinion, they bear great responsibility for this catastrophe. To determine the degree of their responsibility many documents, which we do not possess, are needed, but it would be un-Marxist not to charge them with responsibility, while on the other hand, it would be an anti-Marxist action to condemn them on the basis of the slanders of the counter-revolutionaries headed by Khrushchev.

Our stand towards the great Stalin is publicly known. This stand will never change, since it is based on a Marxist-Leninist analysis, and not a sentimental one. The Party of Labour of Albania has rejected and will reject all the slanders of the modern revisionists against Stalin. This cam-
campaign they have undertaken against Stalin is the cabal of a great international mafia, organized to discredit Stalin as a great Marxist-Leninist leader and as a person, and through him, to discredit Leninism, the Bolshevik Party, the construction of socialism in the Soviet Union, the dictatorship of the proletariat, the socialist camp, etc. We cannot be shifted in the slightest in our view on this question, and we do not permit ourselves to discuss the filth, the facts and the arguments concocted by the Khrushchevites.

The Marxist-Leninist activity which was characteristic of Stalin during his whole life is as clear as the light of the sun. We must judge him on the basis of his consistent, principled, revolutionary activity, full of struggle and sacrifice, self-denial and heroism, and complete loyalty to Leninism. And from this analysis his activity is completely positive, excellent, and free from any blemish. Which is that party that, in the course of its long road, has made not even a single mistake, who is that Marxist-Leninist leader who has not been wrong even once in his assessments and decisions, or over one or several separate problems in his revolutionary life? Neither the Bolshevik Party, nor Stalin could avoid this. Some mistakes may have been made in certain circumstances, under special conditions, if they were made at all. But if such mistakes have been proved, not those Khrushchev claims, Stalin has recognized them himself and has criticized them, as the great Marxist he was.

Our Party has fought and will fight to the end, to defend the great revolutionary work of Stalin. We consider this as one of the most important questions of principle. Why do we do this, why do we treat this question in this way, and have we correct and solid grounds for our stand? As traitors to Marxism-Leninism, as anti-Marxists, as allies of the capitalist bourgeoisie in ideology and everything else, as enemies of the Soviet Union and socialism, first and foremost the Soviet modern revisionists had to give
real proof of their being revisionists in everything and of their definite break with Marxism-Leninism and socialism. They had to expose the construction of socialism in the Soviet Union, to uncrown the victories of socialism in theory and practice, to discredit the Soviet socialist system, and build up an entirely anti-Marxist theory to prove, allegedly, that «Lenin did not think that socialism would be built as it was built; that Stalin distorted Lenin's teachings through his anti-Leninist views, his arbitrariness and cult». In a word, according to the revisionists, the construction of socialism in the Soviet Union was a monstrous aberration* for which Stalin was to blame, that had to be totally liquidated and turned into «genuine socialism», as the Khrushchevite revisionists envisaged it, in all its aspects.

Hence, according to the Khrushchevites, Leninism is only a variant similar to social-democracy, and the Soviet Union should return to «genuine Leninism». The Khrushchevites did nothing other than what the capitalists had been doing all along in their struggle against the Soviet Union, the revolution and Marxism-Leninism. They proved to be the dirtiest agents of world imperialism. To attain their goal, they resorted to all means, to every kind of demagogy and theoretical distortion, concocted all sorts of slanders, which they raised to a system, to the level of theory, organized putsches within the Soviet Union and outside it, exploited the trust of the Soviet masses, their faith and love for the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, spread illusions, and promised the earth and the sky. We lived through all these things, saw them develop, saw the hidden aims behind their sophism, their hypocrisy, their demagogy, saw their traitorous actions carried out systematically in practice, one by one, within and outside the Soviet Union.

These actions were very much to the liking of world

* French in the original.
imperialism, which cheered and applauded them, backed them up and exploited them to the maximum. In this way the imperialists achieved a success even greater than they had expected. But still they were not satisfied. In order to achieve their expansionist aims their revisionist agency had to go even further and deeper: the communist and workers' parties and their ideology, their minimum and maximum objectives had to be smashed; the revolutionary spirit of Marxist parties had to be extinguished; the dictatorship of the proletariat had to be destroyed to its foundations; the Soviet state power had to be changed in substance and form and its apparatus had to be purged of revolutionaries; the economy had to be radically transformed in its ideology, content and organizational forms; education and culture, the way of life, the sound proletarian morality had to be corrupted; the ideological, political and organizational concepts of all these «old» and «harmful» things had to be changed; the Trotskyites, the counter-revolutionaries, dead and alive, had to be rehabilitated, and placed in power; all measures had to be taken in order to create and strengthen the stratum of the new bourgeoisie, the pillar of the revisionist regime in the Soviet Union, to develop moral corruption and the «new superstructure» of a «new structure» which was being built. All this was carried out amidst great confusion and under a deafening racket kicked up with the deliberate purpose of bemusing people with a dreadful concerto organized on a world scale.

Not only was there nothing Marxist about the struggle of the revisionists against the «cult of the individual», and especially the «cult of Stalin», but it had definite aims, both within the Soviet Union, for the reasons we have mentioned, as well as in the other parties, in the direction of the liquidation of sound Marxist-Leninist leaderships and preparing the ground for suppression of any resistance to revisionist betrayal. All those who opposed the revisionist course
were to be accused as Stalinists, hence «anti-Marxists», «dogmatists», «warmongers», «criminals», «agents of imperialism», and what not. The entire Trotskyite, counter-revolutionary vocabulary was to be used, as in fact it was.

With their anti-Marxist views, their megalomania, their economic and military power, and relying on and camouflaging themselves behind the prestige and authority of the CPSU and the Soviet Union, the Khrushchevite revisionists thought that the resistance to their betrayal would be weak and quickly eliminated. As anti-Marxists, they underrated the strength of Marxism-Leninism, its dynamism and revolutionizing power. But it would be a mistake to think that the modern revisionists foresaw no resistance at all on the part of the Marxist-Leninists and the Marxist-Leninist parties, whether in power or not, but which stood loyal to principles. However, they thought that the course which they followed would bring the results they desired and hoped for in their advances and capitulation to imperialism and the world capitalist bourgeoisie over all international issues. Of course, this did not occur. Their betrayal brought them no gains and the struggle of our Marxist-Leninist parties, the struggle of all the communists in the world, the peoples' liberation struggles, and the aggressive actions of US imperialism exposed this great betrayal and brought about the failure and unmasking of their sinister plans. And the resolute resistance, the stern, ceaseless, principled struggle of the Marxist-Leninist parties against modern revisionism began. One of these parties, which basing itself on the Marxist-Leninist principles, strongly opposed the modern revisionists, is the Communist Party of New Zealand, for which we have a great and sincere respect.

The Khrushchevite revisionists and all the other modern revisionists found themselves facing an extremely dif-
ficult situation, facing a struggle which they had to cope with, because it threatened them with death and destruction. This struggle developed to a crescendo, passing through many phases. The modern revisionists used all their means, all their demagogy to subdue us, to split us and set us quarrelling with each other, and to silence the polemics. What did they not set in motion to achieve these aims, but they achieved only defeat and disaster, up to the liquidation of the arch-revisionist Khrushchev.

We have lived through the vagaries and phases of this great struggle, and have been active, militant participants in it. We know the stands of our Parties, therefore, it seems to me that there is no need to enlarge upon this here. However, I want to explain some aspects of our Party’s struggle which were not very clear to some comrades loyal to Marxism-Leninism and to our Party in particular, notwithstanding that, in principle, they were in agreement with the principled stands we have maintained.

The Party of Labour of Albania has done its duty to the end and will continue to do so, without any deviation from the Marxist-Leninist principles, in the struggle to defeat modern revisionism. The Party of Labour of Albania embarked on this struggle against this anti-Marxist trend fully conscious of its implications and with deep convictions based on well-studied facts. With full maturity, it considered this as the most serious issue of great responsibility, on which depended its own fate, as well as that of its beloved people that gave it birth and tempered it in struggle, precisely to lead them in struggle and to the great victory of the liberation and the construction of socialism in our country. Our Party embarked on this struggle and was ready to make any sacrifice, because only in this way could Marxism-Leninism, socialism, communism, the future of mankind and our small country be safeguarded. At first, some comrades did not understand this major decision of our
Party, but they were to become convinced later, totally convinced.

There were some who underrated our decision and our struggle. The enemies thought that it was an adventure by a handful of people, a blaze in the straw which would flare up but quickly burn itself out. But they were mistaken and broke their heads. Some friends called our decisions imprudent, rash and immature. Their opinions were ill-based. We were convinced of the correctness of our decisions and actions, we were calm and patient, because we knew that later we would be understood and supported, and this is what did occur.

What was the source of our confidence in the justice of our struggle, which to others appeared an exaggerated confidence? Our Party was a young party created in struggle and tempered in war and revolution. Throughout its struggle and activity it has always rigorously and faithfully upheld our Marxist-Leninist principles and ideology.

But of special importance is our Party's great experience from the struggle against the Yugoslav revisionists in the course of nearly fifteen years prior to the 20th Congress of the CPSU. In stern struggle with the Titoite traitors, our Party had learned to be extremely vigilant, as it had bitter first-hand experience of the tactics, the sinister plans, the demagogy, the methods of struggle and propaganda, open and subversive, of the Yugoslav modern revisionists against our country, as well as against the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, day by day, over fifteen years. This was a great school for our Party. The struggle tempered us, strengthened our confidence in victory, taught us to distinguish the enemies, no matter how well camouflaged. Thus in the struggle against modern revisionism, our Party was not so young and inexperienced despite its youth. Had it proceeded imprudently and irresolutely in its struggle against the Yugoslav revisionists, against the Greek mo-
narch-fascists, the Italian neo-fascists, and all the imperialist conspiracies, our Party would have broken its neck long ago. But this did not occur either in our Party’s struggle against these enemies, or in its great struggle against the Khrushchevites and other revisionists.

Our Party’s resolute and principled stand against Khrushchev at the Bucharest Meeting came as a surprise, as a bombshell, to some. Because of the still obscure circumstances of the Soviet revisionists’ actions at that time, this is understandable up to a point. But our Party was completely clear about the Khrushchevites’ betrayal and had taken the definite decision that the resistance to it had to begin.

This decision was taken after a long process of years of normal collaboration with the Soviet leadership which came to power following the death of Stalin. But during this collaboration we were vigilant; at first, some things made an impression on us, later we saw that they were assuming forms that were not in order, were becoming serious. Since then there were frictions between us and the Khrushchevites; we had discussions, sought explanations and opposed some of their actions.

Khrushchev’s rapprochement with the Titoites was the alarm signal for our Party. We immediately opposed this action of the Khrushchevites, but they discounted our concern. The struggle started in the Presidium of the CC of the CPSU. This made us even more vigilant. The public denigration of Stalin began even prior to the 20th Congress, at which it reached its climax. Our Party expressed its dissatisfaction openly and maintained its former stand towards Stalin.

If you examine our Party’s practices in relations with the Soviets over this period, then you will form an accurate idea of our careful and cool-headed stand as well as of our efforts to solve the contradictions which had begun to ap-
pear, in a friendly and fraternal manner. Our resistance, which was steadily mounting, was known to the Soviet revisionists, hence our stand in Bucharest did not come as a surprise to them.

Prior to the Bucharest Meeting, the Soviet revisionists had started their sabotage and open and disguised threats and blackmail against our country. All these things were planned and were to precede the blow which Khrushchev would strike at our Party and other Marxist-Leninist parties. We understood that the struggle of the Soviet revisionists against our Party was beginning, therefore we decided to accept their challenge whatever the cost, and made everything ready to put forward our views at the Moscow Meeting. The Bucharest Meeting was a warning, a threat to us, also, to submit to Khrushchev, to demonstrate our obedience to him at the Moscow Meeting. However, we gave them our answer beforehand, at the Bucharest Meeting.

The delegation of your Party was present at the Moscow Meeting, heard our speech, heard their speeches, witnessed their bandit-like attacks on us, their behind-the-scenes intrigues and pressures. After the Meeting, the Soviet revisionists broke off all connections with us, and their attack on us reached its crescendo as you know, therefore I need not enlarge upon this. Only I want to emphasize that our Party was not afraid of confrontations, discussions, talks. It was the Soviet revisionists who were afraid of them, therefore they resorted to every means to force us to our knees but they were unable to crush us with the «great weight» and authority of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Neither the one means nor the other succeeded. They began their struggle against our Party openly, and we answered them, prepared, monolithic, convinced that we were waging a just struggle against a great betrayal and against the biggest traitors the world communist movement has ever known.
Why did the Soviet revisionists act so brutally and unreasonably against the Party of Labour of Albania?

First, because they were inveterate and incorrigible enemies.

Second, because the resistance and the determined struggle of our Party was well based on principles and facts. They were clear that they could expect no opportunist compromise or giving way on principles from us. They made every effort to deceive us, to corrupt us, to discredit and overthrow us. All their plots were defeated. They went to the limit, because, from day to day, our Party's struggle was becoming a greater danger to them; the more the days passed the worse it was for them.

Some friends say that the leadership of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union made mistakes in regard to the Party of Labour of Albania, therefore it should correct them. This is true, but it is not the whole truth. The Soviet revisionist leadership made mistakes in regard to Albania, because it betrayed Marxism-Leninism, otherwise it would not have made these mistakes. The mistakes of the Soviet revisionists towards us are the result of their betrayal, the logical conclusion of their deviation from Marxism-Leninism. Our Party did not commence the struggle against the Soviet revisionists, proceeding from their mistakes towards us, but because they were betraying Marxism-Leninism. The mistakes they piled up in regard to us were proof of this betrayal, but only a small part of this betrayal. Therefore those friends were gravely mistaken in thinking that the hostile actions of the Soviet revisionists towards us would be corrected as something separate from their betrayal, or that after one or two meetings with the Soviet revisionists, we would be reconciled with them and that the profound, general disagreements on principles which existed between the Party of Labour of Albania and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union would disappear. In its struggle our
Party was not guided by economic considerations, nor by other minor practical considerations which could be solved easily, as some people thought.

Now, I want to explain briefly the reasons for the known stand of our Party in regard to bilateral meetings, to the calling of a meeting of the communist and workers’ parties, and the cessation of the polemics.

Prior to and during the Moscow Meeting, we have held bilateral meetings with the Soviet leadership. On their part, these meetings were mean and hostile, all pressure and blackmail. We were convinced at that time, and our conviction was strengthened later, that the Soviets sought meetings with us and the others in order to disguise themselves, to bring pressure to bear on us, to create the illusion that talks were being held and to put the blame on us. After the Moscow Meeting we agreed publicly, in principle, to have bilateral meetings, but we imposed well-based conditions, of which you know. To some, these conditions appeared exaggerated, rather particular, special. In making such a judgement these people were mistaken. These conditions were not imposed to flatter the amourpropre of our Party, but because if they were accepted (which the revisionists could never do), only Marxism-Leninism would have benefited. We knew that nothing of benefit could emerge from meetings with the revisionists either for the Party of Labour of Albania or for the international communist movement, but the thing was that the blame for not going to the meeting should fall on them, and not on us. And this was what occurred. The Khrushchevites were unable to profit from their demagogy. Our principled stand was a modest contribution to the exposure of their betrayal and manoeuvres.

Also for the general meeting proposed by the revisionists, we put forward stringent conditions which are known. Why did we put forward these conditions? Precisely in order
that the meeting should not be held from the positions of the revisionists and to prevent them from achieving what they were aiming at.

We have made an extensive analysis of the revisionists' intentions in regard to this meeting in the public documents of our Party. They were in urgent need of this meeting, for they were in a very grave and difficult situation, while we did not need it, because it was harmful to Marxism-Leninism and because we were in a very strong position. If we were to go to that meeting, we would weaken the position we had already gained and they would exploit it to prolong their existence and carry on their betrayal at their ease, since their sole aim was to have us cease the polemics and to create the impression that work was going on to reach unity.

What does our Party think about the polemics and unity? It has defined its opinion on these two matters, too, in its official and public documents.

There can never be unity of thought and action with the revisionist traitors. Herein lies the source of the polemics which can never cease.

There can be no hope of unity on the basis of demagogy, speculation, wishful thinking, or sentimentality. The unity of Marxist-Leninists is something entirely different from the unity about which the revisionists are talking and is based on sound principles. If these principles are not fully applied there can be no unity.

To the modern revisionists unity means the cessation of the polemics, failure to recognize their betrayal, continuation of this betrayal, unity on the things that «unite us» (in fact nothing, absolutely nothing unites us, but everything divides us), etc., etc.

This unity can never be acceptable to us. If you accept it you have slipped into revisionist positions, have accepted their whole line of betrayal. Our Party will never fall into
this trap. An agreement with the modern revisionists can begin only when they have condemned their whole betrayal, openly and publicly, and not just in words, but in everything, and when they have made a complete change.

Can the revisionist traitors make such a change? Anyone who thinks they can, has no brains. If the revisionists do this (which they will never do), then they will have condemned themselves to death. Other people will come and we shall talk with them. They will be revolutionaries, Marxist-Leninists, but the revisionists will not hand them their head on a platter. The head of the revisionists has to be cut off with struggle, with revolution.

The revisionists betrayed completely, and wanted the whole international communist movement to follow their course. This did not and could not happen. The modern revisionists were exposed and are suffering defeat after defeat. They continue to howl about unity, and are striving in a thousand ways to corrupt others in order to achieve at least a compromise, a false unity, an alleged unity. We must fight this manoeuvre and these efforts of theirs with all our might, and with our fight against modern revisionism must temper the true revolutionary unity of the Marxist-Leninists. This is the only correct road for us.

Khrushchev was brought down. This was a victory for Marxism-Leninism, and a major defeat for the revisionists. With due modesty, we should recognize that great merits in this victory belong to our Parties and other parties which take a sound stand, which have been carrying on a stern, unwavering, correct and principled struggle against the traitors to Marxism-Leninism.

But who are these people who have succeeded Khrushchev? They are precisely the same people, the main ones who prepared and carried out the counter-revolution in the Soviet Union, who worked out and implemented the revisionist line, who launched furious attacks on Marxism-Le-
ninism in ideology, politics, organization, the economy, culture and art, etc., etc.; the same people who attacked and are fighting our Marxist-Leninist parties; the same people who linked themselves with US imperialism and the world bourgeoisie and are working with might and main by all manner of means to temper this alliance against communism, socialism and the peoples of the world.

How can any communist think, for one moment, that with Khrushchev's downfall, something has changed in the Soviet Union, how can he nurture any hopes in these renegades? The new chiefs in the Kremlin are worse than Khrushchev, even more cunning than he was, and their actions are confirming this. Therefore the fight against them must be carried through to the end and more sternly than ever.

We cannot agree with some people to whom the present-day revisionist leadership of the Soviet Union appears «somewhat more positive», and therefore, according to them, «we should try not to be so severe towards them», and other such nonsense, nor with the views of some others, who, although they say that they take a Marxist-Leninist stand, «argue»: «As long as the Soviet revisionists do not attack us by name, we shall not name them, while those parties which the Soviets have attacked by name have the right to reply and attack the Khrushchevites by name.» Or the other opinion: «We are learning from the struggle against revisionism and from your parties». This is a good thing, and we thank them for their sympathy for our parties. But to learn from others is one thing, and to learn from the struggle which your party should wage itself is another thing. The two should be linked together, co-ordinated.

Since they are unable to stop the polemics, the revisionists are very content if there is only talk about modern revisionism in principle, without stigmatizing them. They will even give you credits and aid to this end. But to close
your eyes to this great betrayal, and some are doing this in return for economic aid, does not smell of Marxism.

It is impossible (and in no way permissible) «to keep the goat and the cabbage together», in other words, to take a sentimental centrist stand, as some people do, by saying, «We should avoid an open, unrelenting, ruthless fight against modern revisionism, for in this way, even indirectly, we would be attacking the Soviet Union, the first homeland of socialism, the homeland of Lenin and Stalin, the homeland of the great traditions of the Bolsheviks».

These questions must be separated. It is an historical fact that revisionism, a bourgeois, capitalist, anti-Leninist trend, is in power in the Soviet Union, and that it absolutely must be fought. Never for one moment should we allow the Khrushchevite revisionists to take advantage of a situation of calm to consolidate their treacherous positions. If we hesitate in our struggle against them, tomorrow we shall be obliged to do what we should have done today, and it will be more difficult for us, when the Khrushchevite revisionists have forced Leninism into deep illegality in the Soviet Union. And this day will come, if we do not make life impossible for the revisionists right now.

We are not in agreement with, and cannot understand, those parties and those Marxist-Leninists who say they are against modern revisionism and are fighting it, but who do not fight Khrushchevite revisionism openly and consistently.

Modern revisionism is not a shadow but a reality. And we must fight the reality and not the shadow. If we fight the shadow, then we are not Marxist-Leninists, but modern Don-Quixotes.

To sacrifice principles for momentary interests and benefits, to think only about internal national interests, and to lose sight of international interests, lured by the aid, credits, flattery and illusions of the modern revisionists, and
first of all, of the Khrushchevites, such things cannot be considered compatible with a Marxist-Leninist stand, no matter how much the bearers of these ideas and actions, which are out-and-out centrist and opportunist, may beat their breasts and swear they are Marxist-Leninists.

Of course, our principled struggle against the bearers of these centrist views will be differentiated from the struggle we are waging and will wage against the modern revisionists, because we must strive to the end to make clear to these people the serious weaknesses of their stands, because amongst them there are also some correct aspects which are of value to us, in order to contrast with their opportunist stands. But despite this fact, which we shall take into account in our relations with these parties or with these individuals, we shall make no concession at all on principles.

The modern revisionists make use of every means to split us, because our unity means death to them and to their patrons, the US imperialists. Therefore we must temper this unity under the unflinching guidance of Marxism-Leninism.

The modern revisionists have slogans about unity on the tip of their tongues, but they violate them in pursuit of their own interests and to urge those who do not obey them to a distorted concept and application of these slogans, in order to damage our Marxist-Leninist unity which is based precisely on a correct understanding and application of these principles.

For our parties there is no such thing as commanding and commanded parties, mother and daughter parties, dependent and independent parties, big and small parties, and so on; the only guide for our parties is Marxism-Leninism, and the strength of our unity depends on correct understanding and application of it. In this context, it is impossible not to recognize the merits of one or the other
party in the common cause, not to recognize their possible shortcomings and mistakes and not to correct them, while exchanges of opinions and advice between our parties, the threshing out of problems and the finding of a common and more fruitful course of action cannot be considered harmful. This is necessary and in conformity with our principles. Otherwise, there would be no unity, no joint action, and we would find ourselves disarmed in the face of our savage enemies.

That is how we understand these things. The enemies call us «satellites of China». This absurd insult does us no harm, provided that our work goes on smoothly. The fabricators of this slander are the very ones who, some years ago, called us «agents of the imperialists», but time has proved that it is they who are agents of the imperialists, and not we. But to fail to unite to a man in order «to shut the mouths of the revisionist slanderers» (who never stop slandering), and some have this in mind, and thus weaken the links of our unity, this is the greatest mistake that could be made. Our Party has not made this mistake and never will make it.

The Party of Labour of Albania has its own opinions, reached after a thorough analysis. It considers that the situation in the world and the international communist movement is revolutionary, to our advantage and to the disadvantage of our enemies. But the situations must be looked right in the eye and faced up to with courage, because despite the defeats they have suffered and are suffering, the enemies have not laid down their arms. They are continuing and extending their aggressions and preparations for war. We must respond to the enemy's violence with violence, and not allow him to attack us with shells and napalm, while we fight back at him with cotton wool. The time has come for a blow-for-blow struggle with the enemies of every kind. US imperialism and world reaction are perpetrating...
one aggression after another against the peoples in Korea, Vietnam, Laos, Pakistan, the Congo, Santo Domingo, and elsewhere. The Soviet modern revisionists are in close alliance with them, assisting them indirectly in all these aggressions. The modern revisionists themselves have not begun open aggressions, but they will come to this, too. At present they are in the phase of putsches and plots.

At a time when imperialism is attacking the peoples with war and has created many hotbeds of conflict, the Soviet and other revisionists, with all their means, with their economic strength, with the power of their propaganda and diversion, with the whole gamut of theory and policy and in the other fields of their treacherous activity, are intensively preparing for imperialism the terrain for the open struggle it is waging. We are of the opinion that the thesis of the 1960 Moscow Declaration, «Revisionism is the main danger in the international communist movement», is no longer complete. Now it has also become the main enemy in the international communist and workers’ movement.

The present circumstances in the world, which we should always have under thorough analysis at the necessary level, call for meetings and consultations among us. The Marxists should face these situations with ever rising revolutionary impetus. Our Party thinks that the times we are living through are not times for never-ending, sterile, academic discussions, but for courageous, militant revolutionary actions, full of self-denial and sacrifice. The modern revisionists and the bourgeoisie with its parties are waging a great propaganda campaign about peace and bourgeois humanism; they want to create the opinion that our revolutionary militancy is «sectarianism, dogmatism», and so on, among vacillating and cowardly elements, both communist and non-communist.

We Marxists are neither sectarian nor dogmatic. We combat these manifestations because they are alien to com-
munists. But to fall apart ideologically, politically and organizationally under the false accusations made by the revisionists with ulterior motives, to tone down or cease the attacks on the enemies, this cannot and must not ever be allowed.

The ranks of our parties must be strongly organized, tempered and ready to fight without let-up. Our parties must be raised to a high level politically, ideologically and militarily and trained to perfection, not for parades, not just to recite quotations from the classics of Marxism-Leninism, but for struggle, for revolutionary actions. The militant revolutionary spirit of the heroic times of the Comintern in the time of Lenin and Stalin should characterize world communism today. It was not without definite hostile aims that Khrushchev and Co. undertook the struggle to discredit the Comintern.

This is neither the place nor the time for us to discuss and judge the activity of the Comintern. Such a judgement will have to be made at the appropriate time by all of us on the basis of authentic facts assessed within their own circumstances and time, and we must not accept the slanders of the Khrushchevites and their hostile judgements on the Comintern, formed by manipulating the documents, which unfortunately they have in their hands today, to the advantage of their treacherous cause.

Should such an analysis be carried out now? Our Party is of the opinion that our imperative task is not to analyse all the activity of the Comintern, but to take over and study its fine, heroic, revolutionary experience in order to employ it in our actual conditions, and we must not consider it «ancient history», good only for dusty archives, merely because Khrushchev attacked the Comintern.

The Comintern may have committed mistakes in its ideas, actions and organization, but even these errors, if they were made, are lessons to us. However, the great role
and work of the Comintern, which gave powerful assistance to the creation, organization and tempering of the communist and workers' parties of the world, are undeniable. It waged a correct and severe struggle against opportunism and all the anti-Marxist trends and exposed them, successfully unmasked the capitalist war, tempered the communist and workers' parties with the doctrine of the revolution, achieved the definite break with social-democracy, mobilized the peoples for the exposure of and the struggle against fascism in the world, and helped the communist and workers' parties during the Second World War.

Who can say that many present-day situations are not similar to those of the time of the Comintern? Formerly, world communism had the struggle against social-democracy in its ranks, today it has the struggle against modern revisionism. In the opinion of our Party today, not unity with the revisionists but the definitive split with them is on the agenda. Today the creation of the new Marxist-Leninist parties and the assistance which should be given them is on the agenda. Today we are confronted with a threat of war from imperialism, social-democracy, and modern revisionism. That is why the mobilization of all the communists and peoples to cope with and definitively defeat the danger is on the agenda.

Is there not a similarity to the difficult times of the Comintern? Can we communists allow ourselves to neglect its great experience, which is the experience of the struggle of the world working class, with its victories, its errors and its shortcomings? The present period is not the same as that in which the Comintern was operating, and I am not saying that we should adopt or copy the forms of work, the methods, forms of organization and leadership of the Comintern, appropriate to that period, with all their good points and defects. No! That would be wrong and inappropriate today, but our Party is of the opinion that
the general line of the struggle, the militant revolutionary spirit, the militant understanding and implementation of our theory in struggle against enemies, the creation of contacts for cooperation and coordination in the new present-day conditions are urgently necessary.

Each Marxist-Leninist party is independent in its judgements and decisions, but none of our parties can be independent from Marxism-Leninism, and its decisions cannot be at variance with our revolutionary theory. No party should meddle in the internal affairs of another party, this is a correct principle, but this does not prevent and should not prevent the coordination of actions among parties on the basis of Marxism-Leninism.

Our struggle will become even more powerful and we shall score greater results if we are more active in the preparation and multiplication of our attacks, against the imperialists and revisionists.

Sluggishness, hesitation, vacillation will not do in the present situations, which call for courage and maturity. Insipid, weak, opportunist tactics and phraseology will not do in these situations. They should aim at swift militant actions, which will assist our revolutionary strategy every day and every hour.

This does not mean that our parties should not be creative in their tactics, on the basis of the situation that presents itself, in the circumstances in which each of them is working. But neither is it correct, while wanting it to be considered militant, to adopt a tactic of marking time, aiming to take up whatever issue arises, without any international perspective in aid of the world revolution and national liberation struggles.

Comrade Enver Hoxha then went on to speak about the contradictions and the political, ideological and economic
crises in which the capitalist and revisionist countries of Europe have become embroiled.

We should take advantage of and exploit this situation in Europe, but must never lose our vigilance and be misled by the circumstances developing as a result of our struggle and the internal contradictions which are eroding imperialism on the verge of its demise. We must assess the developments correctly and raise the revolutionary fervour of the masses and communists of Europe to the maximum, so that they organize themselves and become a great force to launch continuous, heavy attacks on imperialism and modern revisionism.

In broad outline, that is what the Party of Labour of Albania thinks about these problems. That is how our People's Republic, completely encircled by imperialist and revisionist enemies, is waging its struggle. But we are not isolated. Ours is a difficult, stern, daily struggle, but our Party and people have never been afraid of their enemies against whom they have fought relentlessly and have triumphed. And they will fight and triumph in the future, too. This miracle has been wrought by our Party and our people, thanks to the steel-like unity in the ranks of the Party, and the unity of the Party with the people, thanks to Marxism-Leninism and our common struggle.

During the visits that you will make throughout our country you will see for yourselves the Albanian people and communists at work and in struggle. They will welcome you with open hearts, with sincere love, because you are their loyal friends and comrades.

The leader of the delegation then rose to speak. After thanking Comrade Enver Hoxha for this meeting and the very important exposé he made, he expressed the deep gra-
titute and great respect of the CP of New Zealand towards the PLA, which has always been characterized by its determined and principled stand in defence of Marxism-Leninism and its uncompromising fight against imperialism and modern revisionism. Then, after the leader of the delegation had spoken about the situation and activity of the CP of New Zealand, Comrade Enver Hoxha resumed his speech:

In connection with what you have said, all of us are extremely pleased with the clear exposé which you presented. From this exposé we saw not only the complete ideological and political unity of our two Parties, but also the great efforts of your Party for its strengthening in many directions, ideologically and organizationally; we saw your great concern about the renewal of the cadre force in a Marxist-Leninist way. Your Party displays great concern about infusing new blood into its ranks, it makes a particularly correct assessment both of the old cadres with experience and of the new cadres with revolutionary fervour and enthusiasm; of the combination of the work of the youth and the veterans, for it is a known fact that neither can do anything without the other. The problems of the renewal of the party with fresh blood are not problems of your Party alone, but of our Party and of every other Marxist-Leninist party as well. The years go by, time does its work, therefore we must continuously infuse young blood into the party, regardless of the fact that we ourselves, personally, will be young in heart and carry on revolutionary work throughout our whole lives.

Another question which you present correctly, taking into account the relatively high material and cultural level of the people of New Zealand, is that of the Marxist-Leninist education of communists, how they must receive theoretical education and carry it out in practice. What you say and advise is that each must learn through self-study. This has
great importance. We can learn in schools, too, but not everybody has these possibilities. We have books and schools for the ideological education of communists, but our Marxist-Leninist comrades in the capitalist countries do not have these facilities, due both to financial reasons and to the restrictive measures of the bourgeoisie. Then there are parties which are illegal, and therefore, have no such facilities. In these conditions the question arises whether to go on blindly, without revolutionary theory, which would be utterly wrong, or to do your best and learn whatever the conditions. The revolutionary struggle obliges us to learn the Marxist-Leninist theory under any conditions. When we have no possibility of studying in schools, we must work for our Marxist education through self-study. Our actions, later, will confirm this learning.

Another question on which we have the same views is your saying that cadres should think with their own heads and not wait for the leaders to serve everything up to them on a platter. Our comrades must not be automatons and must not be taught to become such, therefore when a cadre comes to seek advice, first you should ask him what he thinks about that problem himself, and then you should help him, and open up prospects for him.

Comrades, like you, we, too, are members of a small party but both you and we base ourselves firmly on the Marxist-Leninist principles. The actions, the struggle, the correct or incorrect view of a party do not depend on its size. The Party of Lenin and Stalin wrought miracles in the past. We have drawn on its experience in our revolutionary struggle and work, but unfortunately this party is now in the hands of modern revisionists. Therefore we do not measure the value of the Communist Party of New Zealand by the small number of members which comprise it, but by its correct, militant and revolutionary stand, by the fact that a small party like yours, in difficult
political, ideological and material conditions, stands courageously in the forefront of the struggle against great enemies, a stand which many other parties, in more favourable conditions and with a greater number of members, do not maintain to the level that your Party does. From this resolute Marxist-Leninist stand neither your Party nor our Party, both of them small, draw such arrogant conclusions. Like you, with the stands we maintain, we, too, are simply doing our duty, and we do this with a full sense of responsibility to the interests of Marxism-Leninism and our peoples.

As to the opinion you expressed concerning the general meeting of the parties, in which the Soviet revisionists are so interested, our views coincide. Our Party, like yours, has never said that it opposes genuinely revolutionary meetings, but we have put forward the conditions you know about on participation in such a meeting.

In this connection, allow me to express an opinion: like you, we follow what the modern revisionists are up to at the moment, and where they are making for, with the greatest vigilance. Over recent months we have observed that the secretaries of the revisionist parties have been going to Moscow, one after the other. Of course, they go there over many problems because there are many contradictions among them, but they are certainly going there, also, to prepare some eventual meeting. How this process will develop, we shall see later, but some things are already settled, for example, the 23rd Congress of the CPSU, which will be held in March next year. We have no doubt that the theses with which the Soviet revisionists will come out at this congress will be a further consolidation of their positions as traitors. But how this congress will be presented to the revisionist groupings of the world, whether the other revisionists will accept the coming 23rd Congress of the CPSU as their conductor’s baton or not, that remains to be
seen from the development of events. Therefore we think that the theses of the 23rd Congress will be subjected to prior discussion among the revisionists. Up to now nothing has been concretized. But one thing we know for certain — there are bound to be contradictions among them.

Concerning the matter you proposed, that of issuing a joint statement⁴, we are in complete agreement with you. We think that by issuing a joint statement, our parties will assist the strengthening of unity in the Marxist-Leninist parties and the new Marxist-Leninist groups.

We are comrades linked in such a Marxist-Leninist way that we can discuss any suggestion made by one side or the other and decide the most suitable course. The important thing is that both sides agree in principle on all questions.

In conclusion I want to emphasize once again what I said earlier: please feel yourselves at home here. You have only to express your desires, whatever they may be, and we are ready to take you to visit whatever place you like, to meet whoever you wish, in the party committees and amongst the rank and file.

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¹ The statement was signed on October 13, 1965 and published in the newspaper «Zëri i popullit» on October 14, 1965.