

meeting of all the Marxist-Leninist parties can take place. Our Party raised this question at our 5th Congress. We are determined to implement the great principle of revolutionary cooperation between the parties.

The Party of Labor of Albania, and the Albanian working class will always be a loyal ally and reliable support for the international working class and Marxist-Leninist parties who are fighting against the super-powers, reaction, and the bourgeoisie. This is our basic duty, which we shall carry out resolutely. □



# SUMMARY

  

# ENVER HOXHA

  

## REPORT TO THE 7th CONGRESS OF THE ALBANIAN PARTY OF LABOR

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# ENVER HOXHA

(SUMMARY)

## REPORT ON THE ACTIVITY OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE PARTY OF LABOR OF ALBANIA

Submitted to the 7th Congress of the Party of Labor of Albania,  
November 1, 1976, in Tirana.

### INTRODUCTION

The tasks we undertook at the 6th Congress have been successfully accomplished. Life has proven again that our Party's Marxist-Leninist course is completely correct. Our internal situation is healthy and stable. The unity of the people and their unbreakable links with the Party have been strengthened. We have created a vigorous revolutionary atmosphere.

Our Party is carrying out the program of building a complex heavy and light industry. The metallurgical combine in Elbasan has already begun to pour the first steel ever produced in the history of Albania.

Our agriculture is advancing rapidly. This year, for the first time in history, our cooperative peasantry and workers of the state farms have produced *all* the bread grain needed by the country.

The defense potential of our country has been increased. Our worker-soldier people are striving to make our country an impregnable bastion of socialism, ready to defend the revolution from any enemies.

We have strengthened further the dictatorship of the proletariat. Our struggle to root out bureaucratic, technocratic and liberal tendencies has helped to bar the way to bourgeois and revisionist degeneration, to prevent a switch back to capitalism.

While the capitalist and revisionist world is in grave crisis, socialist Albania is strong and stable. The internal and external enemies will never find a breach in our Party and our people.

The 35 years of our Party's existence have been 35 years of heroic battles at the head of the Albanian people, for the liberation of the homeland, the triumph of the revolution, to free Albania from poverty and raise it from its ruins, to build this rich and happy life which we enjoy today. This has been a period of victorious struggles against many enemies, to defend our freedom and independence. We enjoy high prestige in the world, since our foreign policy is correct. We have always done our duty towards our own working class and people, and we have always done our internationalist duty towards the world communist movement and towards the other peoples.

## ON THE NEW CONSTITUTION

The new constitution is the continuation of the old one. It represents the continuity of our revolution, the uninterrupted struggle for the building of socialism. Since January, all the working people have been discussing this new fundamental law of our state, and they have given their unanimous approval.

The new constitution is a creative contribution to the theory and practice of scientific socialism. It is founded on the principles of Marxism-Leninism, the dictatorship of the proletariat, the leading role of the working class with our Party at the head. It sanctions proper measures to bar the way to revisionism and the restoration of capitalism. It does not hide its class character. It proclaims the class struggle as the main driving force of our society.

The new constitution proclaims that Albania is a state of the dictatorship of the proletariat. It is necessary to strengthen this dictatorship all through the transition period from socialism to communism. The negative experience of the Soviet Union shows that abandoning this principle gave birth to revisionism, the most dangerous weapon of the counter-revolution, and led to the destruction of the socialist order and the re-establishment of capitalist slavery and social-fascism.

### GENUINE SOCIALIST DEMOCRACY

The new constitution reflects the genuine socialist democracy which we have, which is inseparable from the dictatorship of the proletariat. Our whole society and state is organized on the basis of democratic centralism, which is in essence the centralized leadership of the working class over the entire life of the country through its party and the proletarian state.

The working people are guaranteed the right to work, to education and medical services free of charge, to support in old age, to freedom of speech, the press and of organization. All people are equal regardless of sex, race, nationality, education, or social position.

The revisionists and bourgeoisie claim that the socialist order lacks democracy. But with us, freedom and democracy are only for the masses of working people; they are not for the enemies of the working class, they are not for those who seek to undermine the proletarian state power.

### NO FOREIGN BASES OR CONCESSIONS

The question of defense of the freedom and independence of the country is dealt with clearly in the new constitution, which prohibits the establishment of foreign military bases in the territory of socialist Albania, or the stationing of foreign troops. Further, it forbids anyone from signing or accepting a capitulation or occupation of the country.

Also prohibited is the granting of concessions to foreign countries, the setting up of foreign companies and other institutions on our soil, setting up joint ventures with bourgeois or revisionist capitalist monopolies and states, or accepting credits from them. No country whatsoever, big or small, can build socialism by taking credits and aid from the bourgeoisie and the revisionists or by integrating its economy into the world system of capitalist economy. Such actions would be a betrayal, opening the door to the degeneration of the socialist order and the restoration of capitalism.

Important measures have been taken by the Party and the state to establish a reliable defense of the homeland and its socialist achievements. The constitution

sanctions the principle that the defense of the country is guaranteed by arming, organizing and training the whole people to fight a people's war.

## ON THE ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT OF THE COUNTRY

In 1975, social production was 37% higher than in 1970. The ratio of industrial production to agricultural production is now 65% to 35% of total production. During the Five-Year Plan (1971-1975) industrial production increased by 52%, at an average annual rate of 8.7%.

During the same period, agricultural production increased by 33%, at an average annual rate of 5.9%. Investments for the period were 50% greater than the previous period. Work was done on 310 important projects, half of which have already been commissioned.

Real income per capita increased 14.5%, and the purchasing power of the people has gone up steadily. Domestic production now fills 85% of the needs of the country for every-day consumer goods. There were 62,000 new flats and houses built. Over 12,500 people graduated from higher schools, and 72,000 from secondary schools.

### AIMS OF THE 6th FIVE-YEAR PLAN

The 6th Five-Year Plan (1976-1980) will be guided by the following basic tasks: To continue socialist construction at a rapid rate, for the transformation of Albania into an industrial-agricultural country, on the basis of self-reliance; further strengthen the country's economic independence; improve socialist relations of production and the superstructure; strengthen the dictatorship of the proletariat and the defense of the homeland; raise the living standards of the people further by narrowing the distinctions between town and countryside. This can be achieved by waging consistent class struggle.

Overall industrial production will increase by 41%, of which the production of means of production will go up by 60%. Overall agricultural production will increase by 38%. In 1980 the number of graduates from higher schools will be 18,000, while 91,000 will finish secondary schools.

In building our socialist economy our Party gives priority to industry. Since 1960, when the Soviet revisionists imposed their blockade, our industrial production has increased nearly four-fold; production of oil and chromium increased by 310%, copper production by 2100%, power production 710%, chemicals 2480%, and the engineering industry 1440%.

During the next Five-Year Plan, we will concentrate on increasing production and refinement of our minerals, and oil and gas. This will increase the value of our exports and strengthen our defense capability. By 1980, over 65% of our exports will consist of goods processed in Albania, as against 46% in 1960. We shall strive in the future to process *all* our minerals at home, and stop altogether the export of crude ore.

In this five year period the Elbasan Metallurgical Combine will start up large-scale production of coke, iron and steel; and besides give our country nickel and cobalt, which have a great value on the world market.

### REVISIONIST ATTEMPT TO SABOTAGE DEVELOPMENT

The Yugoslav and Soviet revisionists tried to sabotage our industrial development, concealing geological data, saying that we lacked raw materials, that we

should stick to growing sunflowers and oranges.

From the start, the Soviet revisionist leaders tried to sabotage the Metallurgical Project, refusing credits for it. They wanted our country to be economically dependent on them. But the internationalist aid of the Chinese Communist Party and Government helped us build this great project, just as we are completing many other important projects with fraternal Chinese aid. We are deeply grateful to the Chinese Party and people for this valuable support.

Soon the oil refinery at Ballsh will be completed, producing high quality motor fuels and lubricants, and cutting down on our need to import some of these items. And with a powerful machinery base, we can soon go over, on a broader scale, to production of all the special machinery needed for our mining, farming, and other branches of economy, to build complete factories on the basis of *self-reliance*.

### REVOLUTION IN AGRICULTURE

Socialist construction requires an advanced and modern agriculture, which is the *basis* of the economy. During the last five years bread grain production increased 35% (production of wheat doubled); cotton increased by 48%, sugar-beet by 76%, milk by 47%. The standard of living in the countryside is beyond comparison with the past. A real socialist transformation has been carried out in the countryside.

All over the world, even in "advanced" countries, there is a shortage of food. Many countries, even the revisionist Soviet Union, are holding out their hands to the U.S. for bread. The revisionists are in grave crisis in their agriculture, because they have abandoned socialist collectivization, leaving the field free for the capitalist mode of production.

We have set the task for this five-year period to achieve full self-sufficiency in bread grain, and this we have already achieved this year, for the first time in history. This year's grain production was about 30% more than 1975, which was also a record year. By 1980, production of bread grain will be 56% higher than 1975, and of potatoes 48% higher.

### INVESTMENTS AND NEW PROJECTS

During the coming period, investments will be 43% higher than during the last plan period, giving priority as usual to material production in industry and agriculture.

Many important big projects begun previously will be completed, and a number of new projects will be started. This will include the Koman Hydro-power plant on the Drin River, the thermo-power plant at Fier, new urea and soda-ash plants, mines and ore-enrichment factories, engineering plants, light industry and food processing factories, the Fier-Vlora railway, new motor roads, many land reclamation and irrigation projects, etc.

The living conditions and cultural level of the whole people have been steadily improved. Real income per capita has gone up by 8.7% in the cities, and by 20.5% in the countryside. The market is stable, there have been no increases in consumer prices, and in some instances prices have gone down. By 1980 real income per capita will go up by another 11%, again with high priority given to the countryside.

### THE PRINCIPLE OF SELF-RELIANCE

Our socialist construction is based on the principle of self-reliance, which for us is an urgent necessity to cope with enemy blockades and encirclement.

Self-reliance is a Leninist law, both in making revolution, in seizing power, in building socialism, and in defending the homeland.

Self-reliance is not a temporary policy, but an objective necessity for every country, big or small, developed or underdeveloped. This prohibits the inflow of credits from bourgeois and revisionist banks and states, by means of which the imperialists and social-imperialists enslave countries and exploit them. This "aid" is a great fraud designed to impose the dictation of the big power.

The Soviet revisionists denigrate self-reliance, calling it "narrow nationalism", or "departure from proletarian internationalism". We do not dream of isolating ourselves. We recognize the value of progressive world thinking, of science and technology in other countries. We support mutual aid and collaboration between countries building socialism. This is an internationalist duty. This aid is to the advantage not only of the country which receives it, but also of the country which gives it.

We shall carry forward the complete construction of our socialist society by relying on our own material and human resources, on the creative mental and physical energies of the people. Socialism is the work of the masses.

### -III-

## ON STRENGTHENING THE PARTY AND ITS LEADING ROLE

The Party of Labor is the architect of all the victories achieved by the Albanian people. In the struggle to carry out the tasks set by the 6th Congress, our Party has been further revolutionized, its unity steeled, its leading role further enhanced.

The leading role of the Party is not something automatic, simply because it is the party in power. This leadership is achieved only through persistent struggle to apply its general line. This struggle for the leading role of the Party is directed at the two major dangers, liberalism and bureaucracy, as well as their offspring—technocratism and intellectualism.

The Party constantly struggles against any bureaucratic and technocratic influence of the state, economic and military apparatuses over the lower organizations. Nor is the Party apparatus itself immune from bureaucratic influences. The Bolshevik Party of the Soviet Union was strangled by the "apparatchiki," who became the main support of Khrushchev, Brezhnev and the other usurpers.

One of the main factors in achieving this leading role is the steel-like ideological and organizational unity of the Party. We never allow the existence of factions in our ranks. It has only one line, the correct Marxist-Leninist line, which it defends resolutely.

Our Party has always upheld the principle of collective work in its leading organs. Collective thought and action is more mature and correct, and it eliminates bureaucracy and arbitrariness. It enlivens individual initiative, and impedes the growth of routinism and conformism.

### SOCIAL COMPOSITION OF THE PARTY

Since the last Congress, our Party had added 14,500 members from among the finest sons and daughters of our people. We now have 88,000 full members plus 13,500 candidate members, in total equal to 4% of the population. Workers

make up 37.5% of the membership, cooperative farmers 29%. In recruiting new members to the Party, priority is given to the working class. Of the new members added, 41% came from the working class, 38% were cooperative farmers, and 21% were office workers, intellectuals and army men.

Special attention is paid to drawing women into the Party. Now 27% of the members are women, compared to 22% in 1971 and 12.5% in 1966. The vast majority of new members are under 30 years of age. Of the communists coming from the working class, 82% come from the sphere of material production. In recruiting from this group, priority is given to those working on the main fronts, such as mines, heavy industry, big construction projects, agriculture, etc.

During the past five years, many communists have been sent from administrative jobs into production jobs, and many have been moved from the town to the countryside. Today about 62% of all the communists work in the sphere of production, and of these 82% work directly on production jobs. In agriculture, 87% of the communists are directly engaged in production work.

The Party is also careful to strengthen the social composition of the leading bodies of the Party, the state, the economy, and the mass organizations. In the revisionist party of the Soviet Union, the opposite takes place, the cadres belong to the upper strata of the bourgeois technocratic intelligentsia. The secretaries of the party committees there are almost 100% intellectuals and technocrats.

Carrying out the directives of the 6th Congress of our Party, many young cadres have been promoted to posts of responsibility. Among the total number of cadres of all establishments in Albania, 40% are under 30 years of age; 31% from 30 to 40; 21% from 40 to 50; and 8% are over 50.

Women make up 40% of the members of Party committees in the districts and regions, and of the elected and appointed cadres.

#### **PEOPLE-PARTY UNITY**

The strength of our Party lies in its steel-like links with the people. The line of the Party must always become the line of the masses. The Party strives to enhance the role of the masses, to struggle against bureaucratic, liberal and sectarian tendencies. Consultation with the masses, giving them information, rendering account to them, and the worker-peasant control are of great assistance to the Party to improve its leadership. They help the cadres to avoid subjectivism, and to develop the revolutionary qualities which the Party cultivates—modesty, honesty, wisdom, sacrifice, self-denial, and readiness to serve socialism.

We must firmly and ceaselessly apply those measures for revolutionization of the cadres, such as their systematic circulation in their jobs, working in production, rendering account, etc.

#### **—IV—**

#### **ON THE IDEOLOGICAL STRUGGLE**

The construction of socialism is a process of stern class struggle between the two roads, the socialist road and the capitalist road, a struggle waged on all fronts, political, economic, ideological and military.

The class struggle is the main driving force carrying the revolution forward, and preventing the restoration of capitalism. The main danger threatening our Party, and the entire world communist movement is right opportunism—revisionism. Where socialism is being built successfully, the enemies cannot come out

openly under the banner of anti-communism; they resort to pseudo-Marxism, counter-revolutionary revisionism.

The hopes of the bourgeoisie for restoration of capitalism are based not only on the remnants of the old exploiters, not only on the agents in the pay of foreigners. New enemies of socialism emerge from the socialist society itself, people contaminated by hangovers of old ideologies, with individualistic and career-seeking tendencies, confused people who succumb to the pressure of external and internal enemies, who eventually desert the revolution and degenerate into counter-revolutionaries.

This comes about because the new socialist society still retains traditions, customs, behavior and concepts of the old bourgeois society from which it emerged. Certain economic and social conditions still live on throughout the period of transition. Productive forces, relations of production, methods of distribution of products, are still far from being completely communist. Distinctions still exist in various fields, such as between town and country, manual and mental work, skilled and unskilled work, etc. which cannot be wiped out immediately. Besides these influences, there is the powerful pressure of the bourgeois and revisionist world from the outside.

Socialism can greatly restrict the emergence of negative phenomena alien to its nature, but it cannot avoid them completely.

#### **REVISIONIST TAKE-OVER NOT INEVITABLE**

Socialist Albania is an outstanding example which shows that the emergence of revisionism and return to capitalism are not decreed by fate to be inevitable. There is a close connection between the internal and external enemies. They need each other. As long as the imperialist-revisionist encirclement exists and the survivals of capitalism exist within the country, we will be in great danger if we are careless, lacking in vigilance.

Our people have learned how to cope with all the pressures of our enemies. We have never been taken in by their blandishments or demagoguery, or their diplomatic maneuvers. The encirclement is not passive or merely geographical, but a threatening and active one which fights us in all fields.

The danger of foreign military aggression against Albania is real, and should not be underestimated nor overestimated. They also use the tactics of peaceful degeneration and ideological aggression, which proved so successful in the Soviet Union.

#### **THREE FRONTS OF CLASS STRUGGLE**

The struggle on the ideological front is one of the main aspects of the class struggle. No class struggle is complete unless it is waged on all three fronts—political, economic and ideological. These three forms of class struggle are intertwined. Sometimes one or the other form of struggle may come to the fore, but in every case it should be waged on all fronts.

#### **THE WORKING CLASS IS THE LEADING CLASS**

Only the working class can play the leading role in the struggle to establish the dictatorship of the proletariat and in the construction of socialist society. The revisionists try to negate this historic truth, and especially to liquidate the leading role of the vanguard party. They peddle their theories of the party and the state of the whole people, they say the party is only an ideological factor, they preach spontaneity, pluralism, and the transition to socialism under the leadership of other political classes and forces.

Our Party rejects these reactionary, anti-Marxist and anarchist views of "self-administration" or "direct leadership" by the working class. The Khrushchevite revisionists treat the working class as merely a production force, turning it into an oppressed and exploited class. Our Party encourages the active participation of the working class in governing the country. The direct control of the working class and the other working masses is a universal and permanent principle of our society.

### THE PEASANTRY AND OTHER STRATA

Our peasantry has always shown itself to be patriotic, revolutionary and loyal to the Party. In the past it bore the main brunt of the liberation struggles, it became the decisive force for the reconstruction of the country, from its ranks came the new working class.

The policy of our Party and state has led to deep revolutionary transformations in the countryside and the strengthening of the alliance of the working class with the peasantry. Today the *whole* of our countryside has set out on the road of socialism. We shall continue to draw the peasantry into more active participation in the political, economic and social life of the country, and to consolidate the cooperative system.

Our intelligentsia, which has emerged from the ranks of the workers and peasants, is united closely around the Party. It plays an important role in the development of socialist Albania. In the revisionist countries it became the main force of counter-revolution, but our intelligentsia serves the dictatorship of the proletariat, the people and the revolution.

### OUR YOUTH AND WOMEN ARE REVOLUTIONARY

Our Party has fulfilled the cultural and spiritual aspirations and material needs of the youth. It has mobilized them in revolutionary actions and given them the role of active participants in the revolution and construction of our society. The youth too have followed our Party enthusiastically, working hard to make our homeland flourish and strengthen its defense.

In bourgeois and revisionist countries the youth have no secure future, their minds are poisoned by confusing propaganda, urging them to an empty, dissipated life, devoid of ideals; they are driven down the road of crime and hooliganism, they fall into anarchism, adventurism, and despair.

The hearts and minds of our youth are full of communist ideals and a healthy revolutionary spirit. They are loyal fighters of the Party, dedicating themselves to socialism and the defense of the homeland. We greet those thousands of young men and women who have gone to work and live in the countryside. We are sure that thousands of others will follow their example.

Our Albanian women have joined the struggle for socialism in full dignity, with high revolutionary spirit, determination and patriotism. They are everywhere, in fields and factories, schools and laboratories, in high responsible posts in the Party and State.

In the capitalist countries the bourgeoisie tries to turn the struggle of women for emancipation against her husband, children and family. This is aimed to divert her from the revolutionary struggle. The revisionists have the same purpose in mind when they link the solution of this problem with "peace" and "disarmament."

### EDUCATION BASED ON MARXISM-LENINISM

The foundation of all our educational work in politics and ideology is Marxism-Leninism. Our Party has done a good job in spreading the scientific ideas of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin. We have published many Marxist-Leninist classics. The study of the history and documents of our Party helps our people to master the general line of the Party, to find the solution to problems more quickly.

Marxism is learned not only from books, or at school. It is mastered by taking an active part in the daily struggles to build socialism, by waging class struggle ceaselessly.

Since 1968, the program for the revolutionization of our education has brought great changes in our schools, which now integrate the three components: lessons, productive work, and physical and military training. New programs and new textbooks have been compiled, and the system has been improved and extended.

Our students are being better trained for production and defense, tempered in the working class spirit. Our schools are consolidating themselves as *socialist* schools, with original features and a popular character.

### SOCIALIST REALISM IN ART

Our art is revolutionary, socialist, militant, popular and national. It is based on socialist realism, and is directly opposed to bourgeois and revisionist art, which is decadent, degenerate, reactionary, pessimistic, capitulationist.

In the Soviet Union, literature and art serve the new bourgeoisie, serve the counter-revolution and the chauvinist and expansionist policy of social-imperialism. They negate the major social problems, sow disillusionment and bourgeois humanism, reject the character of the positive hero, they are devoid of any revolutionary perspective.

While our culture is national in form, we have utilized the best achievements of progressive world culture. Our sciences are flourishing, and a number of important studies have been carried out in geology, mining, hydroenergetics, agriculture; also in social studies—history, archeology, the Albanian language, and the anti-fascist national liberation war. The establishment of our Academy of Sciences was a major achievement.

—V—

### ON THE INTERNATIONAL SITUATION AND FOREIGN POLICY

Our Party follows carefully the development of events and new situations, and we have always maintained a correct and principled stand in accord with Marxism-Leninism, with our national interests, the interest of the revolution and the liberation of the peoples.

The present situation is very complex, full of great contradictions and confrontations all around the globe. On the one hand stand imperialism and social-imperialism, aggressive and expansionist, international monopolies, reaction, violence and terror; on the other hand stand the world proletariat and the staunch revolutionaries, the peoples struggling for freedom and democracy, and for socialism. The world is at a stage when revolution and national liberation are not just a hope for the future, but a problem to be taken up for solution.

In recent years, a powerful upsurge of the struggle of the proletariat can be seen in all the capitalist countries. The growth of the new Marxist-Leninist parties is proof that the proletariat has never lost its faith in Marxism-Leninism.

The liberation movement of the peoples is rising to higher levels day by day. The victories of the peoples of Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia were not only victories over U.S. imperialism, but also victories over the plots, intrigues and interference of Soviet social-imperialism. They prove that the great super-powers cannot subjugate even small peoples and countries as long as they are determined to fight to the end and make any sacrifices necessary. They prove that freedom and independence are won with the gun, and that the strategy of people's war ensures victory.

#### **ASIA, AFRICA AND LATIN AMERICA**

Asia, Africa and Latin America constitute a broad front of struggle against U.S. imperialism, Soviet social-imperialism, and other imperialist powers. The struggle of progressive and democratic forces against fascism and reaction is also growing, in Brazil and Bolivia, Thailand and Malaysia, Chile, Argentina and Indonesia. Socialist Albania stands shoulder to shoulder with the struggling proletariat and peoples. These struggles have weakened imperialism and social-imperialism, their contradictions have sharpened, they are in a very grave crisis, which aggravates the struggle of the super-powers for the division of markets and spheres of influence. They have increased their military budgets, their foreign bases, their "military aid" to reactionary regimes. And they try to shift the burden of the crisis onto the backs of the working people.

To keep their profits up, the monopolists increase the oppression and exploitation of the working people, reduce their living standards, curtail their rights, increase inflation, raise the cost of living. About 100 million workers around the world are unemployed. The poverty of the working people is increasing, while the wealth of the capitalists is growing.

#### **REVOLUTIONARY WAY OUT OF THE CRISIS**

The only way for the working class to escape from the crisis and the exploiting capitalist and revisionist system once and for all is the revolution. The lying propaganda of the big monopolies, of social-democracy, of the revisionists and other opportunists, of the labor aristocracy—that this crisis is only temporary, everything will soon be back to normal—tries to make the workers endure the crisis patiently, so that they will not rise in revolt. When the ruling class finds that it can no longer keep control over the workers with "democratic" methods, then it clamps down on them with repressive laws, with violence, and with the club. In this situation, the danger of fascism is becoming ever more threatening.

The world situation today is turbulent; there is no room for complacency, passivity or euphoria. It is necessary to make a correct assessment, to determine who are the progressive forces and who are the reactionary forces. The two super-powers, the USA and the Soviet Union, are the biggest and most dangerous aggressive imperialist powers in history. Each one alone, or both together, in the same degree and to the same extent, represent the main enemy of socialism and of the freedom and independence of nations, the greatest force defending oppressive and exploiting systems, and the direct threat that mankind will be thrown into a third world war.

#### **US AND SOVIET IMPERIALISM**

The world knows the aggressive nature of US imperialism, which has not

become any softer because of the concessions of the Khrushchevites. It still remains the bastion of the capitalist system, the defender of colonialism and neo-colonialism, the inspirer of racism, and the arch gendarme of international reaction. US imperialism will continue its aggressions as long as it has a single tooth left in its mouth. Therefore it is essential to consistently struggle against the policies of imperialism, headed by the US.

The other enemy, Soviet social-imperialism, is just as dangerous and barbarous. Their policy is also a typical aggressive colonialist and neo-colonialist policy based on the force of arms and the power of their rubles. It fights for strategic positions in the Middle-East, in the Mediterranean, in the Atlantic and Indian oceans; it interferes in Africa and Latin America; it meddles in the affairs of Asia, and puts pressure on Europe. Just like the US imperialists, the Soviet social-imperialists strive everywhere to put out the flames of revolution and the liberation struggles of the people. Any illusion about the Soviet Union today is fraught with catastrophic consequences.

#### **OPPOSE BOTH NATO AND WARSAW TREATY**

The NATO and Warsaw Treaties are the main weapons of the two super-powers for domination over the peoples. Their armies provide the main protection for the capitalist and revisionist systems, and the major force to attack revolution and socialism, freedom and independence.

COMECON and the European Common Market also were created to serve this aggressive policy. For the Soviet revisionists, COMECON is a tool for the enslavement of its satellite countries, to pillage their wealth and achieve their economic integration into the Soviet state. The Soviet Union has impoverished its allies, tied them hand and foot, imposes outrageous prices on them, controls and holds back the development of their economy, doles out to them with a miserly hand the raw materials they need to exist. The credits the Soviets grant to their satellites serve to enslave them.

Similarly, the European Common Market is another reactionary organization. It is a union of capitalist monopolies and trusts, bent on savage exploitation of the working people in Europe and around the world. It seeks to rescue capitalism from its crisis. The Common Market is a big neo-colonial force which not only competes with the super-powers for the exploitation of the developing countries, but tries to regain the old privileges of the former colonial powers.

Though the USA is officially outside the common market, it plays a very great role in it indirectly, through the influence of its capital investments in the member countries. The common market is a powerful support for US imperialism against the social-imperialist bloc.

#### **OPPOSE BOTH COMECON AND THE COMMON MARKET**

We are against both NATO and the Warsaw Treaty, against both COMECON and the common market, because they are instruments of the two super-powers, instruments of enslavement.

The Soviet Union claims that it has created a "community of free and equal socialist states," but there is nothing socialist about it, and the Soviets rule this "alliance" with an iron fist.

The monopolists of Western Europe talk about creating a "United Europe", they have set up a commission, some kind of "parliament", they talk of a joint army and unified economy strong enough to confront the two super-powers. But

this "United States of Europe" would wipe out the national culture and traditions of the various countries. Lenin pointed out that "a United States of Europe, under capitalism, is either impossible or reactionary."

#### CLASS ANALYSIS OF "THIRD WORLD"

World capitalism, in crisis and decline, has now reached the stage of imperialism in decay. In order to survive, it has devised new forms of exploitation, on a world scale as well as domestically. Through neo-colonialism, financial links, economic and military alliances, it continues to plunder what is called the "second world", the "third world", the "non-aligned world", or the "developing countries." All these terms hide the class character of these political forces, the fundamental contradictions of our epoch, the ruthless struggle between the bourgeois-imperialist world, on the one hand, and socialism, the world proletariat, and its natural allies, on the other.

In most of these countries, antagonistic classes and exploitation exist, and the working people are ruled by the bourgeoisie. Leninism teaches us that countries are grouped according to the social system prevailing, into bourgeois-capitalist countries or socialist countries. The theories of an "intermediate stage" of non-capitalist development, propagated by the Khrushchevite revisionists, sabotage the socialist aspirations, cause ideological confusion, and undermine the struggle of the progressive forces.

The revolutionary movement and the proletariat build their strategy and tactics, and unite with their true allies in struggle against imperialism, the bourgeoisie, and reaction. The terms "third world", "non-aligned", or "developing" countries create the illusion among the people that they have found a roof under which they can seek protection from the super-powers. But in reality, most of these countries are bound closely to, and depend on, the super-powers, economically, politically, and ideologically.

#### WHO IS REALLY "NON-ALIGNED"?

The Yugoslav revisionists champion the idea of "non-aligned" countries, meaning those that are not formally bound to the NATO or Warsaw Treaties. But in fact, most of these countries are so completely tied up with one or both of the super-powers or the big capitalist countries that the word "non-aligned" has a very hollow ring to it.

The slogan of "non-aligned" countries gives the false impression that a group of states is being created that can oppose the super-powers, that these states are anti-imperialist, opposed to war, that they are "democratic," and even "socialist." The peoples must be told openly about the real situation, so that a true unity can be created of the really anti-imperialist and progressive states and governments.

The enemies of the people are imperialism, social-imperialism, and the international big bourgeoisie, who want to maintain their grip over the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America. When the price of oil was increased, the imperialists even threatened to make war against those countries that want to establish their sovereignty over their own natural assets.

Economic decolonization has been placed on the order of the day, and nothing can stop this revolutionary process. The struggle for economic independence is spearheaded against the super-powers, against the monopolies of the imperialist states, against the multi-national companies. Therefore, the proletariat,

all those who are for the revolution and socialism, must closely link their struggle with the struggle of the peoples for freedom and independence. This can be done only by resolutely struggling against the bourgeoisie of one's own country, by struggling against imperialism and predatory war.

#### CONTRADICTIONS WITHIN THE TWO BLOCS

Inside the revisionist bloc, there is strong discontent, ideological differences and political animosity toward the Soviet Union. This discontent is further incited by the U.S. and its allies, who want to weaken social-imperialism, to split off the satellites.

And the satellites, for their part, want this too. They welcome the aid of the US, they can see the economic weakness of the Soviet Union. The US gives credits to the Soviets, but at the same time gives credits to other revisionist countries too.

The Soviet leaders try to cover over these cracks with the theories of "limited sovereignty" and "economic integration". But they cannot stop their satellites from building contacts and taking credits from the US and other Western countries. Of course, with each handout of credits, they must give in return some economic-political concessions.

On their part, the Soviet Union tries to infiltrate into the Western countries, as in Portugal, where they tried to interfere through the revisionist party of Cunhal.

The contradictions within the political, military and economic alliances headed by US imperialism have become very acute. The monopolies of Western Europe and Japan are in fierce competition with the monopolies of the US. The US tries to manipulate the members of the common market separately, to turn one against the other, to weaken France and support West Germany. And the countries of Western Europe are all competing with each other.

The proletariat and revolutionary forces must deepen the contradictions among their enemies, and never give them a moment's respite to come to agreement, to organize their forces to fight against the people. Our Party will support the peoples who are against the two super-powers and for their destruction, against the capitalist and revisionist bourgeoisie and for its overthrow.

The imperialists and social-imperialists try to cover up their war preparations with an unprecedented propaganda campaign, speaking of "reduced tension", "detente", "peaceful coexistence", "international harmony", "general security", etc. With these slogans they try to dupe the people, to weaken their resistance. We reject the slogan of "balance between the super-powers" as a means of avoiding war, or preserving the "spheres of influence" as factors of stability, or slogans of "limited sovereignty" and "interdependent world", etc. These "theories" are invented in Moscow and Washington, designed to bolster the capitulationist idea that no country can live outside the domination of one or the other super-power.

Peace and security are not achieved through "harmony" or "balance" between the super-powers, but through struggle against imperialism and for liberation, through strengthening national independence and sovereignty.

#### THE MIDDLE EAST

The hostilities between the Arab people and Israel, the splits among the Arab nations (which are aggravated by the Soviet-US intrigues) are due to the competition between the two super-powers to seize the oil resources of the Middle East. The U.S. openly assists Israel; the Soviet Union pretends to help the Arab



peoples by selling them arms. They both try to elbow each other out.

Despite its pro-Israel stand, the US has succeeded in maintaining its "friendship" with Saudi Arabia and the Persian Gulf emirates. Egypt's denunciation of its treaty with the Soviets was a defeat for social-imperialism. Now the Americans have the upper hand in the area. But the Soviets are not sitting idly by with folded arms either. They are trying to make good their losses, looking for new bases.

Whether in collusion or in competition, the two super-powers follow the same imperialist strategy—to rob the peoples of their freedom and to dominate the world. They both pose the same danger, they are both the main enemies of the peoples. One must never rely on one super-power for help in fighting the other.

Some states base their defense on the military "protection" of the US or the Soviets. This "defense umbrella" is always attached to political and economic concessions and loss of sovereignty. The "defended" country is turned into a protectorate.

The social-imperialists try to entrap smaller countries into joining their so-called "anti-imperialist front" on the pretext of opposing US imperialism. Joining this "front" exposes these countries to danger, to becoming minions of the Soviets and cannon fodder for their ambitions. The contradictions between the Soviet Union and the US are not contradictions between socialism and imperialism, but contradictions between the two big imperialist powers.

#### THE HELSINKI MEETING

The Helsinki meeting was a farce, with the Soviet Union and the US as the star performers. Their propagandists prattle about "secure borders", "renunciation of force," "peaceful cooperation" etc. We called it a "Meeting of European Insecurity," we condemned it and refused to participate.

Helsinki was designed to give the illusion that Europe was secure by freezing the relations between the two blocs. But no one had any illusions that it would do any good. Before the ink was dry, new conflicts flared up, such as between Greece and Turkey, and the Soviet fleets have been marauding over the northern seas.

As for securing Europe against a new world war, Helsinki was impotent. Both super-powers are frantically increasing their offensive weapons and nuclear arms. The SALT meetings are bogged down in fruitless talk. All these talks are a swindle and a bluff to disguise their arms race. By increasing their modern weaponry, the super-powers increase their blackmail and threats, instil fear in others, maintain constant pressure with their weapons even if they are not fired.

The peoples do not want the disaster of another world war. But the danger is real. The super-powers are preparing for a world war, arming frantically, stirring up nationalist sentiments, setting peoples against each other.

#### IMPERIALISTS PLANNING "LIGHTNING" WAR

The super-powers say that the coming war will be a lightning war, so short that in three or four days the Soviet armies will occupy the whole of Yugoslavia (Albania "will be swallowed in one bite"!!) and Soviet tanks will reach the Atlantic coast in Portugal in ten days! This propaganda is designed to intimidate the states, weaken their defense, lower the morale of the people, sap their revolutionary will to fight in defense of freedom and independence.

As for "Albania being only one mouthful"—watch out, gentlemen, socialist Albania is a hard bone that will stick in your throat and choke you. Should the

Soviet social-imperialists try such a venture against us, they will suffer certain defeat. And the same holds good for US imperialism too. If they try to invade us, they will never come out of it alive. The lessons of their defeat in Vietnam and Cambodia are very fresh.

Our people have never been afraid of any power, big or small, no matter how well armed it may be. Our people will fight valiantly, intelligently, with every means, convinced of final victory. No aggressor will be able to "walk over" Albania. This judgement is based on the unity of our people, their lofty patriotism, the intensive military training of the entire population, and the geographic characteristics of our territory.

The enemies can be sure of one thing: they will never set foot on our soil, instead they will meet their death here. Their weapons and bombs will never be able to subdue our heroic Albanian people.

#### MERCILESS STRUGGLE AGAINST IMPERIALISM AND SOCIAL-IMPERIALISM

War breaks out when the contradictions reach the most acute stage, when "economic reforms" can no longer restrain it. The imperialists and social-imperialists are heading for war. It may break out in Europe, or in Asia (against socialist China), or in other regions (such as the Middle East). But the important thing is that the peoples must be prepared for the worst, and fight to prevent it from happening. There must be no fatalism or passivity.

If an aggressive imperialist war cannot be prevented, then it is the task of the revolutionaries and the proletariat to turn it into a liberation war. Every liberation struggle weakens the imperialists and the warmongers.

US imperialism, Soviet social-imperialism, and the reactionary bourgeoisie of each country—these three are the main enemies of the world proletariat and the revolution, the enemies of the oppressed peoples and freedom, the instigators and the cause of war. A determined struggle must be waged against these savage powers, against their ideology, their parties, their trusts and banks, their multinational companies, their alliances and their armies, until finally their state power is smashed.

All progressive peoples of the world must take up this struggle. If it is led by the world proletariat and its vanguard, the Communist Party, it will be more resolute and will steadily grow stronger.

#### REACTIONARY BOURGEOISIE THE INTERNAL ENEMY

The reactionary bourgeoisie of each country are the close allies of the imperialists and the social-imperialists, who use them to do their dirty work. They feed them and arm them for use as a striking force in world war and against peoples in revolt. These two forces cannot be separated from each other, you cannot combat one without combating the other. Without fighting the internal reactionary forces until you have overthrown it, you cannot combat the external enemy, you cannot prevent war. You must destroy every base the super-powers have set up in your country, in this way you weaken them.

The Marxists-Leninists must arouse the revolutionary spirit of the masses, the proletariat and peasantry, the progressive and patriotic people, who must mobilize themselves and unite to throw off the imperialist-revisionist yoke. Our Party and people stand firmly against the two super-powers, against imperialist war, against the monopolies and international reaction. We firmly support all

those revolutionary forces fighting against these enemies, and we pledge this not only in easy times, but also in times of danger. The peoples of the world can be sure that socialist Albania is with them, and we are not afraid of any sacrifices.

### **FOREIGN POLICY**

Albania has an independent foreign policy. Life has proved the correctness of the Marxist-Leninist line of our Party in this field.

Albania always expresses its opinion on international events publicly, unhesitatingly, courageously, and wisely, defending the interests of the homeland, the peoples of the world, the general peace and security.

The prestige of our country is ever on the rise. The voice of Albania is listened to with respect by the peoples, the revolutionaries and progressives everywhere, who love us for our frank and principled policy.

Our foreign policy is an independent one. Its aim is to find the approval of the progressive and freedom-loving people, the revolutionary forces, the Marxist-Leninists. We make no secret of this.

Our socialist state does not interfere in the internal affairs of any country with which we have political, economic and cultural relations. But for the sake of these relations we will not sacrifice our right to express our views on international policy, as well as on the ideological and political stand of these states. They too have the right to express their opinions about us.

Our frankness should not hinder developing relations with countries in those fields where we have common interests, because these relations serve the cause of friendship between the peoples. We conduct these relations only from the viewpoint of Marxism-Leninism.

The leaders of some countries think that to have good neighborly relations means that each side should keep its mouth shut about the ideological line of the other. They think that to trade means to cease polemics. Our polemics are based on facts and are carefully considered. They criticise those actions of an international character that have a negative influence in the world.

Political and ideological contradictions develop between countries, sometimes very profound ones; but nevertheless good-neighborly relations can still be maintained, as well as economic, commercial and cultural relations.

### **SMALL STATES SHOULD SPEAK OUT**

The imperialists and social-imperialists believe that the smaller states should not raise their voices so loudly over world problems. True, Albania is a small state, but we reject this great-power chauvinism. We do not accept that international politics should be the monopoly of the big states alone. They base their claim to monopoly on their economic strength, and their powerful propaganda media which tries to convince the world that stability is possible only under their tutelage.

This means that if you want to live (in slavery, of course) you should keep your mouth shut, speak softly, wear a sweet smile in face of the crimes, blackmail, fraud and double-dealing of the imperialist, capitalist or revisionist powers. They back up their claims to domination with the fear of war, with threats against certain states, with threats to cancel some credits, etc.

The bourgeois and revisionist politicians resort to trickery, deceit, feints, flattery and hypocrisy in their international dealings. They claim that this is the proper way to act, this is how "politics" is conducted. They change flags at any time, they have good relations with each other not to do some good but to outwit

the other side. They think that those who openly defend the rights of the people, who do not conceal their real opinions, are not skilful politicians, they are inflexible and sectarian people.

Albanians fear no one. We do not fear the attacks of enemies, let alone slanders. Our line is correct and we defend it. In case of war, if we are attacked, we have the rifle ready; likewise we have a ready tongue to reply to enemy slanders.

### **ALBANIA IS FAR FROM ISOLATED**

The bourgeois and revisionist world says that we are "isolated." Yes, we have closed our doors to their enslaving credits, their tourists and spies, their decadent culture and degeneration. This kind of isolation is all to the good, and we intend to keep it that way. If we did otherwise, we would become slaves.

Our country is flourishing and our people are living well. We have known fascist slavery and revisionist pressure, they cannot deceive us with their "way of life". We do not allow entry of people who want to smuggle in bourgeois and revisionist degeneration, fascists, spies, and agents. But we welcome all honest friends, even if their beliefs differ from ours. We consider as our friends the peoples fighting for freedom, the proletarians and revolutionaries. As for capitalists and revisionists, we consider them our enemies.

We conduct trade with all countries, with the exception of the USA, the Soviet Union, Spain, Israel and some other states ruled by fascists and racists. We trade for mutual benefit. If some states refuse to sell us their goods, it doesn't matter. The Soviet revisionists set up a vicious blockade against us, but we are doing very well without them; Albania can live a thousand years without their trade.

Cultural exchanges between countries are very good. We practice this on the basis of equality and agreement. The other country must respect our traditions, customs, feelings, and tastes. Decadent culture is not accepted. For their part, they may choose those of our performances, films, books, etc. which are acceptable to them. This is reciprocity.

Besides socialist China, which is our ally, Albania maintains cultural relations with Vietnam and Korea, with France, the Scandinavian countries, Egypt, and many other countries. We want to expand these relations in the future. We love our own art, music, literature, traditions and culture, and we want others to become acquainted with them. We also respect progressive world culture, from which we take what is useful for us.

We have been expanding diplomatic relations with other states on the basis of equality, sovereignty, territorial integrity, non-interference and mutual benefit. Today Albania has diplomatic relations with 75 states. We take an active part in the United Nations and in many international organizations, meetings and conferences.

### **RELATIONS WITH PEOPLE'S CHINA**

Our Party and Government have given first priority to developing relations of fraternal friendship, militant unity, cooperation and mutual aid with People's China. These close links between our two Parties, two countries, and two peoples have been forged in the class struggle against imperialism and revisionism, against the two super-powers, against all the reactionary forces in the world, in the common struggle for the construction of socialism and the cause of revolution and Marxism-Leninism. The Albanian people and Party are loyal friends and allies of

the Chinese people and Party. We will constantly strive to keep this friendship pure and strong.

We Albanians rejoice at the successes achieved by the fraternal Chinese people in socialist revolution and socialist construction, in class struggle to consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat, in the victory of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, the smashing of the counter-revolutionary plots of Liu Shao-chi, Lin Piao, and Teng Hsiao-ping.

The historic victories achieved by the Chinese people are directly linked with the name, teachings, and guidance of the great revolutionary, Comrade Mao Tsetung. The work of this outstanding Marxist-Leninist represents a contribution to the enrichment of the revolutionary theory and practice of the proletariat. The Albanian people will always honor the memory of Comrade Mao Tsetung, who was a great friend of our Party and people.

We heartily support the right of People's China to liberate Taiwan, which is an inalienable part of their territory.

#### **VIETNAM, KOREA, CAMBODIA, LAOS**

We hail the victory of the Vietnamese people in their armed struggle against US imperialism and its flunkys. The unification of the country fulfills the national aspirations of the people. We shall strengthen the friendship between our fraternal countries.

Albania maintains friendship and collaboration with the DPR of Korea, and we support the cause of the liberation of the south and the reunification of the country, as well as the struggle against aggressive US imperialism.

We have close fraternal friendship and militant solidarity with democratic Cambodia. We hail the great victory of the Laotian people over the US imperialist aggressors and the local reactionaries.

#### **RELATIONS WITH NEIGHBORING COUNTRIES**

It is in the interest of the Balkan peoples to live in friendship and understanding with each other. We have always tried to develop normal relations with our neighbors. We maintain normal trade and cultural relations with Yugoslavia, which is beneficial to both sides.

Our Party has declared that in case of aggression against Yugoslavia by the Soviet Union or some other power, the Albanian people will stand by their Yugoslav brothers. The Yugoslav state of course has the right to follow any policy it wishes, but we have the right to criticize those acts which are detrimental to the good neighborly relations between us.

For instance, Yugoslavia makes concessions to the Soviet social imperialists, gives them port facilities for their warships. That is up to them, but it also concerns Albania, the other Balkan states, the whole Mediterranean area.

#### **ALBANIANS LIVING IN YUGOSLAVIA**

More than a million and a half of our Albanian brothers live in Kosova, Macedonia, and Montenegro. Some Yugoslav authorities try to stir up enmity between the Albanians living in Yugoslavia and our Peoples Republic. We do not interfere in the internal affairs of Yugoslavia, but we have the right to concern ourselves that these Albanians living across the border should have all the rights, freedoms, and advantages that the other peoples of the Yugoslav federation have. We have this right because of the ties of blood and language, of tradition and national customs which exist between us.

The Albanian population in Yugoslavia should not be persecuted, or left in poverty. The Kosova region should not be discriminated against politically, economically, and culturally; it should be given equal treatment with the other nationalities.

It would be considered an unfriendly policy towards Albania if the Yugoslav authorities were to allow the territory of Kosova to be used by the Soviet revisionists for any kind of attempts to harm our country.

We consider the Yugoslav peoples as fraternal peoples, a valiant people who will never allow their territory to be treated like Czechoslovakia. They will never allow Soviet (or US) tanks to roll freely over their land. Nevertheless, in the field of ideology and politics, there are irreconcilable contradictions of principle between us and the Yugoslav state and the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, and we do not intend to keep our mouths shut over these differences.

#### **RELATIONS WITH GREECE**

We wish to live in friendship with the fraternal Greek people, based on good-neighborly relations, non-interference, mutual benefit, etc. The present Greek Government is maintaining a friendly stand toward us, and this is in the interests of our two countries, to the detriment of our enemies. We fought together in the past against Italian fascism and the German Nazis. When we Albanians are called upon to fight to defend our freedom and independence, this struggle will also be beneficial to the freedom and independence of the Greek people.

There are some Greek monarcho-fascists and crazy self-styled "Northern Epirots" who try to stir up tension between our two countries. Let them rave. We have nothing to fear, since the Albanians and the Greek minority are like brothers.

We want our relations with Greece to be durable. There are reasonable politicians in Greece who are clear that no evil will ever come to them from socialist Albania, and that the friendship of the Albanians is valuable to them, just as the friendship of the Greek people is valuable to us.

#### **ITALY, TURKEY, RUMANIA**

We maintain normal diplomatic relations with our overseas neighbor, Italy, and we are trying to develop trade and cultural relations. But this does not depend on our side alone.

We have good relations with Turkey also. Trade and cultural exchanges are developing normally. We cherish sincere friendship with the fraternal Bulgarian people, but we must say that we do not trust the leadership of the Bulgarian party and state in the slightest, since it has become a tool in the hands of the Soviet social-imperialists. Bulgaria is a Soviet bridgehead, which cooks up intrigues and tries to blackmail its neighbors. Bulgaria is ready to seize the Dardanelles at the first opportune moment. It would be good for the Balkans if Turkey and Greece could resolve their differences through open and frank negotiations.

Rumania also is a Balkan country with which we want good relations. We congratulate the fraternal Rumanian people for the progress and prosperity of their country.

Much has been said about the all-round cooperation of the Balkan peoples, about a Balkan Conference, etc. Our country did not take part in the Athens meeting, because the indispensable conditions for a multilateral conference and an agreement do not exist. At the present time, the best way to create trust and

understanding in the Balkans is by way of bilateral agreements.

#### **EGYPT, ALGERIA, OTHER ARAB PEOPLES**

Our relations with Egypt, Algeria and other Arab countries are developing positively. This is based on the traditional friendship between the Albanian people and the Arab peoples, which benefits the struggle against the aggressive policy of the two super-powers and reaction.

The progressive and peace-loving Arab peoples will achieve complete liberation from foreign capital and imperialism, will win their struggle against the Israeli aggressors. We firmly support their struggle to liberate the occupied Arab territories and to cope with the conspiracies of US imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism.

We support the struggle of the Palestinian people to regain their rights, to return to their homes, and we give support to the Palestine Liberation Organization. We would like to see a strong militant unity develop among the Arab peoples.

Our relations with France are friendly and developing. France has a revolutionary past, a progressive culture, and many distinguished Frenchmen are sincere friends of Albania. The French Government does not approve of our regime, nor we of theirs. But they do not interfere in our affairs.

Likewise with Belgium, Austria and Switzerland, with whom we have correct bilateral relations. Sweden, Norway, Finland and Denmark have a realistic and friendly attitude toward us, which we appreciate, and our relations are developing.

We have diplomatic relations with many countries of Asia, Africa, and Latin America, and we will work to promote exchanges with Mexico, Peru, Tanzania, Pakistan, etc. We are ready to establish relations with other countries also, on the basis of the established principles.

#### **REPARATIONS FOR WAR DAMAGES OF FASCIST GERMANY**

The German Federal Republic still refuses to pay the reparations for the damages which the barbarous Nazis inflicted on us in World War Two. The policy of the GFR is revanchist and expansionist. It poses as a democratic government, but it defends the crimes of German fascism. We shall continue to raise this issue in all international bodies.

The revisionist cliques in Eastern Europe blindly carry out the orders of the revisionist Soviet leaders. Their policy toward Albania is hostile, and they have reduced our relations to a very low level.

#### **NO RELATIONS WITH MOSCOW AND WASHINGTON**

As for Moscow, our country does not and will not maintain any relations whatsoever with those social-imperialists, who are sworn enemies of Albania, of socialism, of freedom and independence. They pursue an open expansionist policy, especially in the Balkans and the Mediterranean. They have designs on Rumania, Turkey, Yugoslavia, Greece and Albania. Moscow tries to achieve their ambitions either through aggression or subversion. The Balkan countries must sharpen their vigilance and prepare against any possible attack.

The USA has followed a savage hostile policy toward us. We shall continue to resolutely oppose the aggressive policy of US imperialism which is the enemy of socialism and freedom and independence of the peoples. The Albanian people do not shed any tears over the lack of relations with America.

Britain is closely linked with US policy, so it takes the same attitude toward us, and we take the same stand toward them. They must return the gold they plundered from the Albanian people, and make good the damage they have caused Albania.

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### **ON THE MARXIST-LENINIST MOVEMENT AND THE STRUGGLE AGAINST MODERN REVISIONISM**

Our Party has waged a consistent and unceasing struggle against modern revisionism, to expose the evil, anti-Marxist chauvinist and counter-revolutionary activity of the Soviet revisionists. We have stood up to all the hostile ideological attacks, political and military pressure, and counter-revolutionary plots.

Our policy of open struggle against Soviet revisionism, of resolute defense of Marxism-Leninism was the only sure way to save the situation. On the basis of the theory of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, on the basis of our own experience and that of the world proletariat, we made a deep analysis of the revisionist betrayal.

Modern revisionism seized power in the Soviet Union and the People's Democracies of Europe, except for Albania. It also took control of many communist parties around the world, emerging as a strong international reactionary current.

Our Party exposed the Khrushchevite tactics of throwing mud at Stalin and bolshevism, at revolution and communism. The Soviet revisionists have cut all their ties with communism, they have transformed the Soviet Union into a center of counter-revolution. The revisionist followers of Khrushchev in the various countries have turned into zealous collaborators of the bourgeoisie. All together the revisionists try to destroy the socialist system, and they make every effort to fight socialism in Albania and China. They weaken the confidence of the proletariat in Marxism-Leninism, in the future socialist and communist society.

#### **SOVIET UNION IS AN IMPERIALIST POWER**

The Soviet Union has become an aggressive, neo-colonialist, war-mongering imperialist power. Soviet society has become bourgeois, and capitalism has been restored in all fields. The revisionist bourgeois dictatorship of the new bureaucrats, technocrats and capitalists make all the laws. The old socialist base and superstructure has been destroyed. Great Russian chauvinism is the dominant ideology, and national oppression prevails.

The former socialist countries of Eastern Europe have ended up as vassals of the Kremlin. Their revisionist parties have become parties of national betrayal and imperialist slavery. Their leaders are removed and installed at the whim of Moscow. They humbly accept unrestricted Soviet domination, as well as the doctrines of "supra-national socialist culture," and "general socialist nationality," which are designed to wipe out the national identity of these ancient countries of Europe.

The pseudo-communist parties of Western Europe, Latin America, and Asia, which embraced revisionism, have been reduced to bourgeois reformist parties. There is nothing communist about them any more, except some Marxist phraseology, and their program is only some simple reformist demands designed to save the bourgeois order and make it more workable.

## SOCIALISM STILL ADVANCING

When modern revisionism emerged, all the reactionaries of the world predicted the finish of socialism, the end of the international communist movement. But they rejoiced too soon. The socialist and revolutionary forces weathered the most severe counter-revolutionary storm in their history, and even achieved new victories.

The dictatorship of the proletariat and the construction of socialism have been carried forward by Albania and China, which remained loyal to Marxism-Leninism. Communism did not die out, the proletariat rallied its forces, and new Marxist-Leninist parties emerged, just as in the time of Lenin and the great split away from the Second International. They are carrying on the cause of social and national liberation.

Revisionism created considerable confusion on questions of strategy and tactics, but Marxism-Leninism has emerged victorious. The petty theoreticians of the Khrushchevites have suffered bankruptcy and disgrace, with their "creative Marxism"

### SPLITS IN REVISIONIST CAMP

The whole revisionist camp is today in disarray, split into hostile rival groups, each advocating "its own specific road to socialism" and "its own national Marxism." They are mainly interested in capturing positions, and in making themselves more acceptable to their own bourgeoisie.

Like the earlier revisionism of Bernstein and Kautsky, modern revisionism cannot build unity—only Marxism-Leninism can do that. Revisionism is synonymous with splits, chauvinism and anarchy. They advertise themselves as being "independent" and "sovereign", and their tendency is to break away from the Soviet Union. They also develop sharp conflicts with one another.

The Soviet revisionists try to keep all the other revisionists united around themselves. They need this united front to cope with the polemics of the Party of Labor, of the C.P. of China, and the other Marxist-Leninist parties. They also need it to hold off the competition of US imperialism. To maintain this "unity" they rely on their military and economic strength, on secret subsidies sent by Moscow to the revisionist parties of the capitalist world. But they have not succeeded.

### THE BERLIN CONFERENCE OF REVISIONIST PARTIES

Brezhnev tried for a long time to call a world meeting of "communist" parties, but it was like trying to round up a flock of hares. When the meeting finally did take place in Berlin, it exposed the swamp of opportunism and counter-revolution in which they had sunk.

The Berlin conference publicly proclaimed the transition of modern revisionism to the positions of social-democracy. It abandoned the idea of the revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat. It substituted instead the "national roads to socialism" by which each party follows its own specific road to betray socialism, to undermine the revolution and split the proletariat, to sabotage the liberation struggles of the peoples.

Under the bogus slogan of "independence from a single leading center", they threw out the principles of Marxism-Leninism, which are universal and indivisible. They substituted "international solidarity" in place of "proletarian internationalism." For the revisionists, solidarity means solidarity with the bourgeoisie and struggle against the proletariat, solidarity with the imperialists and struggle against the peoples.

For the revisionists, "solidarity" means joining forces with the devil, with social-democrats and the Vatican, with the multinational companies and the fascists, with NATO and US imperialism, with anyone who is against the revolution, anyone who defends the capitalist system.

The Berlin Declaration is a self-exposure of the revisionists as opportunists and anti-communists. Their "camp" has now split into several different trends competing with each other for pride of place. Their disintegration is also the result of the struggle which the Marxist-Leninists have waged against them. It is a victory for the Marxist-Leninist parties.

The enemies of communism have now stepped up their diversion against Marxism-Leninism. Whether the revisionists are split or united, whether dependent on or independent of Moscow or anybody else, they fight together against our parties, against Marxism-Leninism, against the revolution.

### ANTI-MARXIST TRENDS—A FIFTH COLUMN

To confuse the people and the revolutionary thought of the proletariat, many anti-Marxist trends are being spread around—both revisionist and "leftist." They are a fifth column in the ranks of the world revolution. The bourgeois press gives plenty of space to these propagandists of anti-communism, from Marcuse to Garaudy, from Djilas to Fisher. Anarchist theories are flourishing, and Trotskyism has become the fashion.

Yugoslav revisionism was the first to come out in support of world capitalism. Born as an opportunist ideological trend to undermine socialism from within, it is a favorite weapon of the international bourgeoisie against socialism and the liberation movements. It offers "tested ways" to capitalist degeneration. It gave inspiration to the Khrushchevites, then to the Togliattis and others.

Masquerading as socialism "unaligned with Soviet socialism", it undermines the progressive forces of the developing countries who are sincerely striving to take the socialist path, diverting them onto the wrong course. The Titoite "self-administration" is a bourgeois doctrine that has led to great evils in Yugoslavia.

This "self-administration" doctrine eliminates democratic centralism and unified management of the state. Its anarchist federalism has fragmented the working class, and developed the bourgeois individualist spirit of looking after local and sectional interests. The working class does not play a leading role, and it cannot even defend its interests.

### KHRUSHCHEV REVISIONISM STILL INFLUENTIAL

The leader of the modern revisionist front is Khrushchev revisionism, since it is the ruling ideology of a big country with powerful material and propaganda resources. Their 20th Congress codified the theories of Bernstein and Kautsky. Their theory and practice of counter-revolution is the most complete and elaborate.

The 25th Congress of the Soviet revisionist party held early this year confirmed this traitorous course. They will continue to step up their savage attacks against the revolution. And we must continue to fight against their betrayal with even more determination.

Despite many defeats, Soviet revisionism still exerts considerable influence. It speculates on the past, on the name of Lenin, on the use of communist phraseology. A radical exposure of Soviet revisionist ideology is needed in order

to be able effectively to fight against their expansionism and hegemonism, to foil the aggressive plans of the super-powers.

An imperative duty for all Marxist-Leninists is to deepen the ideological struggle against revisionism in general, and Soviet revisionism in particular, to deepen the great polemic which began after the 1960 Moscow Meeting. Without fighting opportunism, it is impossible to fight imperialism. The defense of Marxism-Leninism is a question of principle; it cannot be made dependent on circumstance, on whether the enemies of the proletariat combine or divide their interests.

The Khrushchevites ballyhoo the idea that the time is past for violent proletarian revolutions, that state power can be taken in a "peaceful, parliamentary way." The revisionists in various countries seized on this idea to help them win the trust of their bourgeoisie, to convince them that the old doctrine of Marx and Lenin is dead, that their revolution would be peaceful and humanitarian.

#### **ITALIAN REVISIONISTS—CHAMPIONS OF OPPORTUNISM**

The Italian revisionists, from Togliatti up to Berlinguer (who is a big landowner from Sardinia) have become the most zealous champions of European opportunism. For a long time they have been sharpening their anti-communist weapons, first with their theories of "poly-centrism", then "structural reform", and later with their "historic compromise."

Starting out by seeking collaboration with social-democracy, they have become social-democrats themselves. From demanding the implementation of the bourgeois constitution, they became the most zealous defender of the bourgeois order. From travellers on the peaceful road to socialism they have turned into armed soldiers of capitalism.

Like all revisionists, they boast of their new theories which they proclaim "creative solutions". But events have demolished all their fancy theories.

#### **THE FASCIST COUP IN CHILE**

The events in Chile proved how ridiculous and dangerous are the revisionist theories, what great damage they cause the revolution. The revisionists advertised Allende's Chile as the perfect example of their peaceful and parliamentary transition to socialism, as a living proof of the "pluralist", "democratic", and "national" socialism, the concrete implementation of their line.

The fascist coup in Chile was a great tragedy for the Chilean people, even though we know it is a temporary one. But for the modern revisionists it was an irreparable defeat, a collapse of castles built on sand.

The fascist coup exposed starkly the emptiness of the revisionist theories on the peaceful and parliamentary road, just as in the case of Indonesia several years earlier. It showed that the iron laws of revolution and counter-revolution do not change to suit the idle dreams of the revisionists.

After what happened in Chile, the Italian revisionists came out with a new thesis that under the "new conditions" a communist majority in parliament is not enough for the transition to socialism, but that the communists had to form a general alliance with the main bourgeois parties first. Thus was born their "historic compromise" with the Italian Christian-Democratic Party, the party of the Vatican and Fiat, of NATO and the Common Market. Now they are begging the Social-Democrats and Christian-Democrats for a slice of the capitalist profits sweated out of the Italian people.

These renegades, who seek to become administrators of the affairs of the bourgeoisie, regrettably still continue to mislead the Italian proletariat. But the working class of Italy will some day emerge from the stagnation brought about by the revisionists and their reformist trade-unions. The workers will realize that they must take up the red banner of revolution, or else fascism is bound to come again with its horrors.

#### **FRENCH REVISIONISTS, PARTY OF THE BOURGEOISIE**

Just like the Italian revisionists, the French revisionists have also become mouthpieces of the bourgeoisie, to attack Marxism-Leninism. At their recent 22nd congress, the revisionist party secretary, Georges Marchais, presented his "strategy" which betrayed all the fundamental principles of Marxism.

They openly renounced the revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat. They declared that their socialism would be achieved without class struggle or expropriation of the bourgeoisie, without any need for a leading role of the party of the proletariat. Socialism will arrive by way of bourgeois democracy and freedom, according to Marchais. Under this "socialism" everybody will live in peace, the wolves and the lambs together.

In the epoch of imperialism, greater freedom and democracy for the masses can never be achieved in bourgeois society. On the contrary, this is the period of great development of the forces of reaction, the militarization of the economy and other aspects of life, the oppression of the proletariat and the nations, which reaches its most savage stage under fascism. Only the violent revolution and establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat can secure freedom and democracy for the people.

At the 22nd congress of the French revisionists, Marchais declared that the industrial society had eliminated class differences, that now, in France "one can no longer speak of a proletariat, but only of a working class." But he cannot, with the stroke of a pen, liquidate the proletariat, which is the main revolutionary force in society. But since they no longer have a proletariat, obviously there is no need for a dictatorship of the proletariat.

#### **SOVIET DICTATORSHIP AND CLASS STRUGGLE**

All the revisionists take this same position, but for tactical reasons some still pretend to support the form of the "dictatorship of the proletariat". These are the Soviet Union and their satellites, members of the "socialist family". But this is a big bluff, for the dictatorship of the proletariat no longer exists there, only the capitalist, fascist dictatorship exists there.

The Soviet bloc even talk about the theory of "class struggle" to mislead people. Long ago, Khrushchev declared that class struggle within the Soviet Union is extinct. Marchais, Berlinguer and company preach "fraternization despite divergencies", and "fraternization and unity to go to socialism through reforms," in other words, the bourgeoisie, capitalists, workers, police, bourgeois army, etc. all together.

But there is real class struggle in the Soviet Union. The new bourgeoisie is exploiting and oppressing the working class. And the struggle of the proletariat against this savage exploitation is developing. This is shown by the events in the Soviet Republics, in Poland, and elsewhere. The working class is rising in revolt.

These revisionist trends are the offspring of their capitulation in the face of the further sharpening of the general crisis of capitalism and the pressure of the bourgeoisie, the ever-increasing contradictions between western capitalism and

Soviet social-imperialism, the rivalry between the two super-powers.

The bourgeoisie and the social-democrats are happy that the revisionists have thrown out the "Leninist heritage" and come forward as "loyal partners in the democratic confrontation." The betrayal of the revisionist chiefs has brought grave damage to the interests of the proletariat, but the revolutionary struggle of the working class can never be extinguished.

Renegades come and go, but the proletariat and Marxism-Leninism remain unconquerable. The socialist revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat are an historic necessity, and nothing can prevent their final victory.

#### UNDERSTANDING PROLETARIAN INTERNATIONALISM

In the phrase "*proletarian* internationalism", the term *proletarian* links internationalism with the world proletariat in unity of struggle against the bourgeoisie, the monopolies, imperialism and social-imperialism. It is the unity of the world proletariat for the purpose of overthrowing the old capitalist world by violence.

The world proletariat today is not a single bloc, it is split by various bourgeois ideologies: capitalist, reformist, social-democratic, "socialist", revisionist, etc. All these trends have one objective: to split the proletariat. They are props for international capital, they are forces against the revolution.

We Marxist-Leninists understand international solidarity the way Marx and Engels expressed it in the Communist Manifesto: "Workers of all countries, unite!"

After the victory over fascism in World War Two, the workers in many countries took state power in their hands, set up the dictatorship of the proletariat, and began to build socialism. The ideas of Marx and Engels, Lenin and Stalin triumphed in many countries.

But modern revisionism emerged and usurped power in the Soviet Union and other formerly socialist countries; and other communist parties of the world betrayed Marxism-Leninism. They turned into social-chauvinist parties, even into social-fascist parties. In these states the dictatorship of the proletariat no longer exists, these parties no longer represent the proletariat.

It is a great evil that among the proletariat there still lingers sentiments about the first socialist state which Lenin founded. But this state no longer exists, the revisionists have turned it into an anti-proletarian state. But the cult of the "great proletarian state" has been created, and it weakens the world proletariat in its struggle against the bourgeoisie and the traitors to Marxism-Leninism.

This period resembles the time in which Marx and Engels worked, and we must study their strategy and tactics of struggle and victory. This period also resembles the time of Lenin, Stalin and the Bolshevik Party. They had only Marx and Engels as their guide, yet they led the revolution to victory. Lenin and Stalin died, and the Bolshevik Party turned into a revisionist party, the first socialist state was turned into a social-imperialist state.

Today the world proletariat has a great treasure-house of Marxist-Leninist theory and practice. It must study it and apply it. The proletariat must act in close unity, based on our correct doctrine. Our Party will always put Marxism-Leninism in command.

Proletarian internationalism is a necessary condition for the triumph of the revolution. It is indivisible—there aren't several different kinds of internationalism,

one Soviet, one Italian, one Yugoslav, one French. There is only one kind of real internationalism, and that is working wholeheartedly for the revolutionary struggle in one's own country, and supporting this struggle in every other country.

#### NEW MARXIST-LENINIST PARTIES GROWING

Marxist-Leninist parties are developing and growing stronger in many countries in the struggle against revisionism and for revolution. Our Party rejoices at their victories. These new parties represent conscious champions of the cause of communism.

Many of these fraternal parties work in difficult conditions imposed by the bourgeoisie, the social-democrats and the revisionists, or under illegality resisting the terror of fascist regimes. But these difficulties have failed to check the revolutionary drive of the communists, have failed to prevent the growth of their influence among the working class.

Many outstanding fighters have been tortured and murdered by the fascist criminals, some are still suffering in the jails of the reactionaries. Their lofty spirit is a radiant beacon for the masses struggling for liberation.

We honor the memory of our beloved fallen comrades: Pedro Leon Arboleda of Colombia, Carlos Daniel of Brazil, Thakin Zin and Thakin Chit of Burma, Charu Mazumdar of India, and the brave fighters of the Spanish FRAP and the Basque patriots. Their revolutionary image will live on as a lofty inspiration for all true patriots and communists.

#### THE PLA WILL HELP THE NEW PARTIES

Our Party of Labor proclaims its complete solidarity with the Marxist-Leninist parties. The reactionaries want us to stop helping these new parties, but this will never happen. We believe it is an important duty to give internationalist aid.

In the past, we received help from progressive peoples around the world in our struggle for national liberation; and now it is our duty to return this help to the proletariat and their parties, to all progressive forces, so that they too may win their freedom and build socialism.

Each Marxist-Leninist party relies primarily on the proletariat and the working people of its own country, but it should also enjoy the support of the world proletariat, the solidarity of the true Marxist-Leninist parties, and especially of the true socialist countries. In order to ensure this support, it must be guided consistently by Marxism-Leninism.

The new Marxist-Leninist parties are learning how to stand up to the savage and wily attacks of the capitalist and revisionist bourgeoisie, their gendarmes and secret police. They have gained rich experience. They do not have any illusion about "bourgeois democracy"; but they also take advantage of legal conditions, taking care not to let our principles be watered down.

The struggle of the proletariat, the democratic and freedom-loving forces is not easy, nor painless, nor without sacrifices. The members of the Marxist-Leninist parties will be called on to make great sacrifices for the cause of the revolution and socialism. Without sacrifices and self-denial, victory cannot be achieved. The example of these sacrifices inspires the proletariat and instils confidence in Marxism-Leninism.

#### THE ENEMIES FEAR THE REVOLUTIONARIES

The capitalists and the revisionists pretend to make light of the new parties, but they are really afraid of the revolutionaries. Openly or secretly they prepare

their attack. At the right time they will unleash the striking force of the bourgeois dictatorship and smash any resistance of the proletariat and its vanguard.

The leaders of the revolution have taught us that besides legal struggle, we must also organize illegal struggle. It is this second variant, the illegal struggle, which is the best guarantee of victory.

The bourgeoisie takes strong measures to protect itself. Besides constant surveillance and attacks on the revolutionaries, it encourages crime, anarchist and terrorist struggle; it prepares and activates fascist gangs that kill, attack and rob the masses in the streets to keep the working people under terror. Finally they will set up a fascist dictatorship in this or that capitalist country.

The bourgeoisie is trying to create confusion among the masses, to present these terrorist actions as the work of the communists, in order to discredit them. The Marxist-Leninist parties are vigilant against these wily maneuvers and fight to expose them and foil them.

The Marxist-Leninist parties are inundated by a deluge of demagogic propaganda, pseudo-democratic and pseudo-Marxist, launched by the bourgeoisie and the revisionists, aimed at confusing and disorienting the immature and untested revolutionaries. They hope to create dangerous illusions in the ranks of these new parties, to make them lose their revolutionary drive and lead to their weakening, degeneration and liquidation.

#### **STRENGTHENING THE PARTY FORCES**

The Marxist-Leninist parties answer these attacks by strengthening the party, always aiming at quality rather than quantity in their ranks. They stress sound theoretical education of the party members, their tempering in daily revolutionary activity to make them unwavering vanguard fighters. If this is not done, the enemy will smuggle their agents into the organizations to cause disruption and create factions.

The assessment of people to be admitted to the party should not be based on words, but on deeds. Communists are tested in concrete revolutionary actions, requiring maturity, courage, sacrifice and self-denial. These qualities are found among the best elements of the working class, among the poor and oppressed peasantry, among the pure and truly revolutionary youth.

The new parties understand the need for unity of the working class, for a truly revolutionary leadership, its Marxist-Leninist party, of which there is only one, because Marxism-Leninism is only one, and the proletarians have no opposing interests among themselves. They oppose narrow sectarianism and subjectivism, as well as the liberal concept of unity for unity's sake. We cannot accept unity divorced from principles and revolutionary struggles, or unity which may bring opportunism, liberalism, dogmatism and sectarianism into the party.

Our new parties are preparing the revolution. In order to win victory, they must work out correct strategy and tactics, finding loyal allies from among the various strata of the working people, especially the poor peasantry. Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin have taught us much on this question. We must apply these teachings to our present conditions, without being deceived by pacifist slogans, or bourgeois parliamentarianism and electoralism.

In the capitalist countries, millions of youth are unemployed, and they are seething with revolt, building up for revolutionary outbursts. The Marxists-Leninists must unite the enthusiasm of the youth with the aspirations of the working class, to lead it on the correct course.

The problem of unity and alliances in various fronts and organizations is very delicate, but very important. It is dangerous to make mistakes in line, to hold rigid attitudes, to disregard progressive thinking. In such alliances, the Marxist-Leninist parties should never conceal their identity.

The Marxist-Leninist parties of different countries face a common enemy, wage a common struggle, following common basic principles. But the struggle cannot be the same in each country, it must take into account the particular conditions and circumstances. It is impossible to lay down prescriptions on how to act in every situation, some of which cannot even be foreseen. To cling stubbornly to a rigid and incorrect line is harmful.

#### **POSITIVE ROLE OF THE OLD COMINTERN**

In its time the Comintern was very useful in organizing and tempering communist parties. It helped to bring Marxism-Leninism deep among the masses of the world proletariat, combatting the opportunism of the Second International. The Comintern tried to help the new communist parties become independent of the bourgeois parties and to struggle against the capitalist bosses. In Lenin and Stalin's time, the new communist parties grew up to a higher stage of revolutionary maturity.

The revisionists and the bourgeoisie savagely attack the great work of the Comintern, because it taught the millions of the proletariat how to fight the bourgeoisie of their own country. They spread slanders that it had been a tool of the Soviet Union and Stalin. Actually, the Comintern made a major contribution to strengthening the revolution and to the victory of socialism.

Some people clamor that the Comintern made mistakes. No doubt some mistakes did occur, but never in violation of major principles. Those mistakes that did occur were either the result of deliberate sabotage by deviationist elements who had infiltrated the world communist movement, or some were committed by inexperienced revolutionaries. Sometimes inaccurate or wrong information was sent to the Comintern, so that it could not help but make a wrong decision.

We must remember that at that time the parties had to work under grave conditions of bourgeois-fascist terror. Another factor is that the communist parties had to create alliances with progressive elements, who sometimes changed their positions. Thus some directives issued by the Comintern at a given time were useful, but later when conditions changed they lost their value.

It is not our intention to make a thorough analysis of the Comintern or to raise the question of setting up such an international organization again. For the time being, it is inappropriate. But we must have a correct concept of the major role played by the Comintern at the time of Lenin and Stalin.

#### **COOPERATION BETWEEN PARTIES**

We Marxist-Leninists must constantly strengthen the close cooperation between our parties; of course, no one should be dependent on or take orders from any other. We need to exchange experiences, while each party bases its actions on Marxism-Leninism and the conditions of its own country.

The bourgeoisie and the revisionists also collaborate with each other in many ways, including holding regular "international" meetings. Their aim is clearly to preserve their exploitative state power, to fight the proletariat, to prevent the revolution for socialism.

The cooperation between our parties must be many-sided. It may be done on a bi-lateral or multi-lateral basis. The situation may mature later so that a large



meeting of all the Marxist-Leninist parties can take place. Our Party raised this question at our 5th Congress. We are determined to implement the great principle of revolutionary cooperation between the parties.

The Party of Labor of Albania, and the Albanian working class will always be a loyal ally and reliable support for the international working class and Marxist-Leninist parties who are fighting against the super-powers, reaction, and the bourgeoisie. This is our basic duty, which we shall carry out resolutely. □



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