

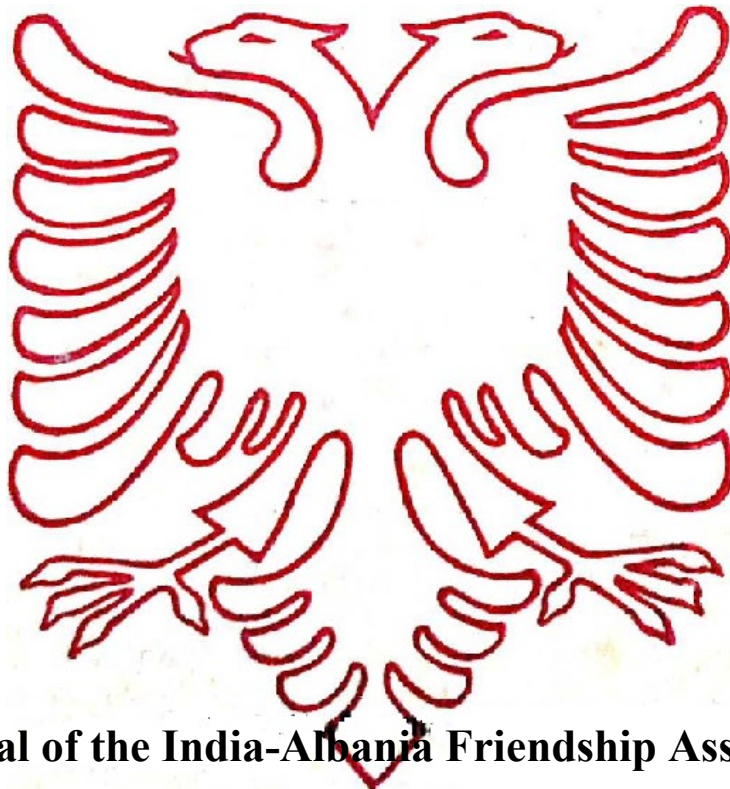
# **SOCIALIST ALBANIA**



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## **On the Formation of the Economic Base of Socialism**

As the National Liberation War triumphed in complete victory with the triumph of the people's revolution and political power, which was realized on November 29, 1944, the Party of Labour of Albania and the people's power took a series of revolutionary measures in the life of the country for the construction of socialist society.

The construction of the economic base of socialism, the construction of a society without exploiting classes, according to Marxist-Leninist teachings, constituted an extremely important socio-economic programme for the Party of Labour of Albania, the leader of the revolution. The implementation of this task was determined by the fierce contradictions which existed in the country, the contradictions between an extremely broad strata of power, the dictatorship of the proletariat which was established in Albania with the triumph of the people's revolution, and the feudal-bourgeois economic system inherited from the past.

The feature of the socialist revolution, which distinguishes it from all other revolutions, is that it is not simply the seizure of state power by the working class and other working masses. The seizure of state power is a weapon in their hands to carry out revolutionary socialist transformations for the permeation of the revolution and the strengthening of the people's power itself.

The method of nationalization was used to expropriate the economic interests of the foreign capitalists. Almost at the same time the economic base of the bourgeoisie inside the country was liquidated. Capitalist property in the town was liquidated and replaced by socialized social ownership. This was carried out by means of expropriation without remuneration. The principal means of production in industry, construction, transport, commerce, etc., became socialist property of the whole people in the form of state property right from the very beginning. The private property of small producers in the town was transformed into social property through the voluntary unification of the small producers in the handicraft cooperatives. Through the application of the agrarian reform, which emerged from the National Liberation War according to the political demand "Land to the Tiller", the remnants of feudalism in the Albanian economy and the landowning class were liquidated. In the Albanian countryside and the Albanian village, the Party of Labour of Albania evaluated as the main condition the carrying out of the collectivization of agriculture by transforming the private capital of the small producer of the village into social property. The collectivization of agriculture was carried out on the basis of convincing the people of the superiority of the socialist system of agriculture. The Party of Labour has always strictly applied the Leninist principle of the free will of the peasants to join in the cooperatives. The concrete form to be applied to the situation was agricultural cooperatives set up on the basis of social

ownership of the means of production, and based on remuneration according to the work done by everyone in the cooperative. The development of agriculture and the experience of the construction of socialism in the Albanian village proves the important value of the Marxist-Leninist teachings, according to which the only road for the construction of socialism in the countryside in countries which have divided peasant economies is the collectivization of agriculture. Any other road except collectivization will finally lead to the restoration of capitalism in the countryside.

Socialism in Albania created the possibility of liquidation of the small-scale production in general and the setting up of a single socialist system of economy with two kinds of socialist ownership, and agricultural cooperatives were created in the first place. By 1960, the socialist sector included 99 percent of the overall industrial output, 80 percent of the total agricultural production, 100 percent of the trade and 96 percent of the retail trade. The Fourth Congress of the Party of Labour of Albania held in February 1961, relying on the fundamental economic stages which had taken place in the country, drew the conclusion that in Albania both in the town and the countryside, the economic base of socialism had been created. Thus Albania embarked on a new historic stage, the stage of the continued construction of socialist society.

With the establishment of the socialist relations of production, both in town and countryside, the exploiting classes and the exploitation of man by man were abolished.

Now, the Albanian socialist society is characterized by two friendly classes, the working class and the cooperativist peasantry, as well as a stratum of the people's intelligentsia whose class nature and status have nothing in common with the classes of the old society.

In the Albanian socialist society there are relations of mutual help and close collaboration among the working people, working for the complete construction of socialist society in Albania. As the Constitution of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania says, the working class is the ruling class of the state and society. It gives the lead to the whole life of the country. Its active participation in the solution of the great problems of the Party and state is steadily increasing. The Party of Labour, the vanguard of the working class, has always placed correct emphasis on the powerful alliance of the working class with the cooperativist peasantry under the leadership of the working class. This alliance constitutes the foundation of the unity of the people around the Party of Labour. They are educated with the Marxist-Leninist ideology. In socialist Albania the road has been barred to revisionist betrayal which leads to the creation of the intelligentsia as a privileged stratum. The change in the nature and structure of the classes in the post liberation years brought about the strengthening of the steel-like political unity of the Albanian people which is today more powerful than ever.

In the people-Party-state power unity lies the strength of socialist Albania, which is marching forward on the road of Marxism-Leninism, breaking through the imperialist-revisionist blockade and encirclement.

*Radio Tirana, June 26<sup>th</sup>, 1979*

## **Correspondence**

*12<sup>th</sup> September, 1979*

I am very happy to know that you are publishing a most valuable magazine to develop friendship between India and Albania. I think this is the first journal on Albanian affairs published in India. I have gone through all the issues of "Socialist Albania": really its contents are interesting and help the neutrals to decide their revolutionary path in the present crisis.

K. S. Rao,  
Guntur,  
Andhra Pradesh

## Reflections on China

*by Enver Hoxha*

*From this issue we are publishing some excerpts of this new work. The first volume of this work, priced at 48 -, may be ordered from the English Bookshop, 34. Sector 22-D, Chandigarh.*

*Tuesday, April 3, 1962*

### **The revolutionary communists expect China to come out openly against Khrushchevite revisionism**

...The revolutionary communists in all the communist and workers' parties of the world expect the Communist Party of China to take an open and direct stand condemning Khrushchevite revisionism which is spreading and causing damage and which has encountered only one open opponent: the Party of Labour of Albania. They are all in solidarity with, and support the correct line of our Party, admire its courage, but quite correctly expect the Communist Party of China to come out openly. The tactic of the ideological struggle which China is following against the Khrushchevites does not encourage the revolutionary elements while it gives the waverers the pretext to say: "See, China is not moving openly for the sake of unity, we should not move either, for otherwise we would split, and that is not good". And this at a time when the revisionists, on their part, are acting openly and covertly, attacking, slandering, etc. This is an important problem, but up to now, the Chinese have not had any contact at all with us to discuss these things. Were our enemies to know that between us there is no consultation at all about the fight against the modern revisionists, they would be astonished. They would never believe it. But that is how things stand.

*Tuesday, April 10, 1962*

### **Why all these waverings towards the Soviet revisionists?**

...As it turns out, without our knowledge, the Chinese comrades long ago commenced negotiations with the Soviet revisionists about meetings and conferences with them, and gave their definite approval. Now the talks they want to hold with us are intended to convince us that we agree to withdraw the conditions we have laid down and meet the Khrushchevites. If we do not withdraw our preconditions, then the Chinese comrades will escape all responsibility, will have the "argument" to exonerate themselves before Nikita, telling him that the accusation of inciting the Albanians, levelled against them, "is untrue", and that, on the contrary they "bad interceded with the Albanians, advised them, but they did not listen". After this victory, Khrushchev will make the proposal: "We should meet without the Albanians and settle our affairs". If the Chinese comrades accept this too, then they will take even more difficult roads, will fall into the trap laid by Nikita Khrushchev who wants at all costs to isolate the Party of Labour of Albania....

*Sunday, April 22, 1962*

## **To cease the Ideo-Political struggle means to allow the enemy to harm you**

The campaign initiated by the Khrushchevites for the cessation of the "polemics in the press and radio" is spreading. It must be clearly understood who was the first to start the public polemics. It was the group around Khrushchev. Two lines, two stands on theoretical and international questions emerged: one opportunist, revisionist line which deviated from Marxism-Leninism, violated the Moscow Statement, supported Titoism and sought to extinguish the struggle against it, opened the way to concessions to imperialism, toned down the struggle against it, flattered it etc. This was the line of the Khrushchevites. Ours was the other line which remained faithful to Marxism-Leninism and the Statements of the Moscow Meetings....

...The Soviet revisionists, like the Yugoslav and the other revisionists, do not alter their course. Every attempt they make under the pretext of "unity" is a fraud. According to them, unity means: Submit to our views, "the only Leninist" views! The aim of their blandishments in this direction is to compromise you, to force you into submission, then to attack you even more fiercely than they have done and are still doing...

...This manoeuvre is clear to the Party of Labour of Albania. It seems to be clear, also, to the Communist Party of China, but it does not seem to be as clear as it should be to the Vietnam Workers' Party, the Korean Workers' Party, the Communist Party of Indonesia, the Communist Party of New Zealand, etc. The sentimental desire for "unity for unity's sake" prevails in these parties. Officially, the Communist Party of China seems to be in agreement with the thesis of "unity". In principle we, too, are for unity, but always unity on the Marxist road. The Communist Party of China seems to have great hope in the success of this thesis. Whereas we have no hope at all, as long as we do not see concretely that the Khrushchevites publicly recognize their mistakes. They are not doing this and will not do so. For the time being we shall keep quiet. This is to Khrushchev's advantage but we shall deliberately employ this tactic temporarily, in order, you might say, to "please" the Chinese and other comrades who will soon be more thoroughly convinced that this plan of Khrushchev's, too, was a hoax. This tactic will not last long, this Khrushchevite manoeuvre will be exposed by Khrushchev himself and we shall help him expose it.

*Wednesday, June 13, 1962*

## **China is proceeding on a centrist course**

...Now all the efforts of the Chinese comrades are centered on the question of convincing us of lifting the preconditions we have laid down for a meeting and take part in the one which, of course, the Soviets and the Chinese are to prepare. The reasons they give for their insistence are baseless, weak, and with a pronounced opportunist spirit. The Chinese comrades seem hesitant about and afraid of the struggle against the revisionists, overestimate the strength of the enemy and underestimate our strength and that of international communism. They are trying to reach some sort of compromise. Our firm stand is hindering them, so they are beating about the bush.

The Soviets are afraid of us and can never agree to a meeting with our participation. They are working hard to expel us from the international communist movement; they are working in this direction against China, too, but by means of demagoguery, blackmail, intimidation, etc. In this situation, China is taking a centrist course, hesitating.

We are not budging a hair's breadth from our correct positions of principle. The comrades have been and are clear about this; I have sent the comrades some telegrams about this; I have sent the comrades some telegrams about the situation. Let us see what the Chinese will do. If they do not change their stand on this important tactical issue, then we shall not reach agreement on anything. They ought to reflect.

*Tuesday, August 18, 1964*

### **This means to turn whichever way the wind blows**

...Together with this, the Chinese tell us that their leadership understands why Rumania is taking credits from the imperialists and pursuing a conciliatory policy with the Titoites, for it has no alternative, otherwise Rumania would be ruined. This view of the Chinese comrades is completely revisionist. In other words, the Chinese hold that credits from the United States of America can be accepted and believe that socialism can be assisted by imperialism. The Chinese are right off the beam here! Let alone on the Titoite question! The Chinese are forgetting what they said and wrote earlier. This means to turn whichever way the wind blows. No! We will never agree with these opportunist views of the Chinese comrades ! What becomes of the theses that "socialism must be built on the basis of self-reliance", when, according to them, you can accept credits even from the United States of America ?

The Chinese will cause great damage if they get into such blind alleys. Why will Rumania be ruined ? Why were we, who did not accept credits from the imperialists, not ruined ? Or can it be that what they tell us, the Chinese want to imply to us at the same time that we were saved by some credits which they gave us, otherwise we would have been ruined?! This would be the culmination of infamy ! They are right off the beam, and have not understood our correct, unwavering Marxist-Leninist line. It is only on the basis of the correct line of a party that socialism can be built. Credits and aid from friends are secondary and a consequence of this correct line....

*Friday, August 21st, 1964*

### **The Chinese are in National-Chauvinist positions**

...The stand of the Rumanians is clear. But what is interesting is the stand of Chou En-lai in his talk with the Rumanian ambassador, a talk on a completely wrong course and from a nationalist position towards the Soviet Union. Chou En-lai raises with the Rumanians territorial claims against the Soviet Union. He accuses the Soviet Union (Lenin and Stalin because, this "robbery", according to Chou En-lai took place in their time) of having seized Chinese, Japanese, Polish, German, Czech, Rumanian, Finnish, and other territories. On the other hand, Chou En-lai tells the Rumanians that they are doing well to claim the territories which the Soviet Union has seized from them.

These are not Marxist-Leninist, but national-chauvinist positions....

*Pogradec, Saturday, August 22, 1964*

## **The struggle against Khrushchevism must not be diverted into territorial claims**

...The ideological and political struggle against Khrushchev must not be diverted into delicate questions of territorial claims. From the ideological and political positions which they adhere to, as well as from the military angle, the Rumanian leaders, for their part, have not raised the question of territorial claims on the Soviet Union and neither will they do so. If the Rumanians do this they will lose in all directions, because others will raise more claims on them. Therefore, the raising of claims and the way Chou En-lai has done it is not right, either in principle, or as a tactic of the moment...

...The claims of the Chinese have been built on a dangerous platform and from a nationalist position, to the point that they themselves have pretensions to Outer Mongolia. This platform has nothing in common with the struggle against Khrushchevism and Khrushchev.

The Chinese want the re-examination of all borders with the Soviet Union by all states.

The raising of this problem at these moments is not correct. On the contrary, it is a grave error of principle. Even if we suppose they are just, the territorial claims cannot be settled at these moments, on the contrary, they at the same time, assist Khrushchev in the unprincipled, treacherous struggle he has waged and is waging against Stalin.

This is scandalous. In no way can we accept it.

The territorial integrity of the Soviet Union must not be touched at this time, notwithstanding that history may have left problems to be tidied up. Today the whole struggle must be directed against the Khrushchevite renegades, but not with such arguments and methods as the Chinese are using.

Mao has made a great mistake in raising the question of claims with the Japanese socialists...

...Comrade Stalin was very correct, prudent, and principled in these delicate and complicated problems. At the period of the gravest crisis in relations with Titoite Yugoslavia, when the hostility between us and the Titoites had reached its culmination, when all of us were in struggle against the revisionists of Belgrade who had set themselves against socialism and the communist movement, in a talk which I had with Stalin he said to me, among other things, that from the formal aspect the Yugoslav Federation, as a union of different republics, was progressive. Seen from this viewpoint, there was no reason for it to be broken up, but Titoism and the Titoites must be fought ideologically and politically as betrayers of Marxism-Leninism. The struggle against them must not be waged from the chauvinist positions of territorial claims or against the peoples of Yugoslavia, but the nations which comprise it must be assisted so that they enjoy the right to self-determination up to separation from the Federation. We must not harm or attack Yugoslavia or the Yugoslav peoples, but must convince them that they have a treacherous leadership which is leading them to disaster. Let the Yugoslav peoples speak for themselves, let the Yugoslav communists speak for themselves.

This was the principled stand of Stalin, and we were and are completely in



agreement with this stand. The questions of territorial claims for all those countries which the Chinese comrades mention can be raised only when revisionism has been routed and Marxist-Leninist Bolshevik parties have come to the head of those countries. Then the problems of disputed borders can be raised and discussed, as amongst Marxist-Leninists, in the spirit of proletarian internationalism, and just solutions found in favour not only of simple national interests, but also of international communism.

*Friday, September 4, 1964*

### **The Chinese are making gross and impermissible mistakes**

We gave the Chinese our reply in connection with the question of invitations to the celebration of the 15th anniversary of the proclamation of the Republic...

...First, we told them that it is quite inconceivable and unacceptable that the delegation of the Rumanian Worker's Party and the Rumanian Government should take part in the celebration, and representatives of friendly parties and countries should not take part..

...We do not consider it right that the only party and government to attend your great celebration should be that party and government which yesterday, at the 20th anniversary of their liberation, came out with a centrist-revisionist report; which took the greatest care to avoid attacking American imperialism and the modern revisionists even with one word; which have very friendly links with the major renegade Tito; which are establishing friendly relations and receiving credits from American imperialism and the other imperialists...

...The Rumanians do not base their struggle against the renegade group of Khrushchev on Marxism-Leninism, but only on economic contradictions, or certain national chauvinist considerations....

*Tuesday, September, 15, 1964*

### **The Chinese stand; "they take the first step, we take the second"**

This slogan of action launched by the Chinese comrades against modern revisionists is not correct for all periods, as they wish to apply it in the struggle against modern revisionists. In my opinion, there is nothing revolutionary about it. It is a slogan of waiting, restraint and the "building of militant revolutionary actions" adjusted to the moves of the opponent. In other words, you should mark time until the opponent makes his move, and adjust your move, naturally with exasperating delay (as the Chinese comrades are doing), according to the way the enemy beats the drum. The tactic of the Chinese is that, if the enemy beats his drum loudly, they beat theirs a little more softly, if the enemy muffles his drum-beat, their own drum should not beat at all.

Throughout the development of the struggle of the Communist Party of China against modern revisionists, and mainly against the Khrushchevites, some "astonishing" vacillations have appeared in its tactic. In my opinion, this tactic can only originate from pronounced lack of clarity on principles over the struggle which must be waged against

modern revisionists...

...To be noted are the moments at the Moscow Meeting in 1957. Comrade Mao publicly praised and supported Khrushchev, in fact he approved his action in denouncing Stalin; approved the condemnation of the "anti-party group of Molotov", etc., and advocated complete unity with the Khrushchev group.

Of course, the Chinese comrades must have been in agreement, in general terms, with Khrushchev over actions following the death of Stalin even before 1957, because, when I met Comrade Mao in Peking in 1956, in our presence he criticized the "incorrect" activity of Stalin, and especially "Stalin's actions towards Yugoslavia", because according to Mao, Stalin "had made mistakes" and the Yugoslavs were "good Marxist men", and in order to support this "idea" it was precisely the Chinese who were the first and the only ones in that period to invite the Yugoslavs to the Congress of the Communist Party of China....

...If the Chinese comrades had any faith in the work of the Bolshevik Stalin, their confidence in and élan towards Khrushchev would have been more reserved and moderate. But the Chinese comrades must have had pent up dissatisfaction towards Stalin, because this was apparent in Mao's statement to the Moscow Meeting, when he said that when he first met Stalin in Moscow, he was "in the role of the school boy. And though ours were fraternal parties, we were not equal. Whereas", Mao added, "now that we meet Khrushchev, we are like brothers". These remarks on Mao's part were a "condemnation" of Stalin, condemnation of the "cult of the individual" and approval of Khrushchev's line. This was wrong on Mao's part.

A respectful stand towards Stalin cannot be identified with that disparaging concept of Mao's. Stalin earned that respect and love which all, including Mao, showed for him, with his deeds, and he deserved this for his colossal work, for his glorious struggle in defence of Marxism-Leninism. I don't know how Stalin treated Mao, but I, personally, met Stalin many times and he always tried in every way to give me the feeling of an equal comrade, to create an intimacy. He received me in his home and himself handed me the dish, he sent away the waiters, and we got up and served one another, as in our own homes...

...Could it be that, with what Mao said, he wanted to say to Khrushchev that now after the death of Stalin "our two countries and two parties are on an equal basis and we two, hand in-hand, should lead the revolutionary movement"? (This did not suit Khrushchev because, regardless of the bouquets they threw at him, he sat glowering and worried.) Or did he want to say to Khrushchev "You are a new boy. and I am going to help set you on the right course"?...

However, it is true that the Chinese comrades did not take the question of Stalin any further. They quickly drew in their horns, and (with reserve) maintained a stand pro Stalin and against the Khrushchevite traitors. This change was good and correct...

In this period, though we were convinced that the Chinese were with us, they did not take open stands directly in defence of the Party of Labour of Albania, for principled and militant solidarity with it against the Khrushchevites....

The modern revisionists attacked us furiously, but at the same time, they were fighting Marxism-Leninism, fighting to spread their revisionist ideas to consolidate their

positions, fighting to intimidate the waverers, and indirectly they were blackmailing the Chinese.

China, one may say did not engage directly in the struggle against revisionism. It fought when it was prompted, and precisely during this period of exaggerated sluggishness, the Chinese slogan came out, "The revisionists take the first step and we the second".

...The slogan of "the first step ..." which seems "attractive" superficially, and is considered so important for public opinion, allegedly because "he who starts it is to blame", becomes very harmful when the criminal has unsheathed his sword and is wreaking havoc, while you maintain the forms lest they "accuse you". But what are you afraid they will accuse you of? Of defending Marxism-Leninism? Our struggle **is** being waged precisely in defence of Marxism-Leninism

Hence, this slogan is holding back the struggle for a great cause for the sake of a formality, which has long been a thing of the past. The importance of our struggle has not been and is not based on whether "you attacked first and I second", but on that you attacked Marxism-Leninism and I am defending Marxism-Leninism, and public opinion must distinguish as soon as possible, who is attacking and who is defending Marxism...

Today they say: "We must struggle for the creation and consolidation of the anti-imperialist front including even the revisionists"! Tomorrow Mao makes the famous statement about border claims on the Soviet Union (!! ) (with which they want to form an anti-imperialist alliance) and he draws a reply from Khrushchev who tells Mao: You area Hitler, and if you lay a finger on our borders I have invented a new bomb which will wipe you out completely.

Yesterday Tito was a traitor to the Chinese, later he was rehabilitated, then he became a traitor again, and now according to Li Hsien-nien, this great traitor has become a "minor devil"....

*Tuesday, October 6, 1964*

## **Ominous Signs**

...The Chinese comrades are taking an unprincipled stand towards the Rumanian line. In this direction there are ominous signs.

Chou En-lai said:

a) "We (the Chinese) understand the Rumanian comrades, who want to take credits from the Americans, because otherwise they will be ruined".

b) "We understand the Rumanian comrades in their friendly relations with Tito, because they want to escape the Khrushchevite pressure and attack".

At Bucharest, Li Hsien-nien developed the thesis that "we should make approaches to the Rumanians, because they are very determined in their opposition to Khrushchev and Khrushchev is the major devil, while Tito is a minor devil". This slogan has become very widespread in recent times among the Chinese cadres including their ambassador in Tirana.

In his talk with our comrades, Teng Hsiao-ping was much more explicit on this

question. Apart from the above ideas, which he developed further and defended, he said openly :

- a) "The Rumanians listen neither to us, to you, nor to Tito",
- b) "The Rumanians are resolute anti-Khrushchevites, therefore we (the Chinese) have decided to collaborate closely with them".
- c) "We shall put aside the ideological questions with the Rumanians".

There could be no clearer definition of an unprincipled line with the Rumanian centrists ...

—The enemies of our enemies can be our true friends when they are on the same ideological and political line with us,

The enemies of our enemies can be temporary allies with us on certain questions, but we must not give way to them on principles and we must make this clear to them, must not conceal our line and principles from them.

The enemies of our enemies can be our enemies, and the two sides must remain and be fought as our enemies. The contradiction between these two sets of enemies are an incontestable law, they are inevitable contradictions, which our stern, continuous, consistent, principled fight deepens and makes more acute. We must take advantage of them, but must not soften and make concessions to one or the other, or fall for their traps and their demagogy. I am afraid that the Chinese comrades are not always very clear about these matters.

In order to concentrate our forces on the struggle against modern revisionism, we must consider it the main enemy in the international movement, or to use the expression the Chinese prefer, this is "the major devil", and this "major devil" must be fought by the Marxist-Leninists consistently, unwaveringly, to the end, in any form, at any time, and under any circumstances that it presents itself.

This "major devil", —to continue to use the Chinese figure— is comprised of many devils, some greater some smaller, some powerful some weak, some disguised some undisguised, some in the vanguard and some at the rear, some attack with cannons, some throw the stone and hide the hand, according to the situation and the circumstances. Sometimes these devils operate in isolation, sometimes they appear united, sometimes they split because of the contradictions among themselves in order to re-group in factions in which they are linked by their interests in the struggle against socialism or they follow the groupings and contradictions of that bourgeoisie or imperialist power with which they are linked through the interests of their joint struggle against Marxism-Leninism their main common enemy, or the struggle of some groupings against other bourgeois capitalist groupings with which the contradictions become acute.

In all this fierce and complicated struggle there is a range of tactics on the part of the Marxist-Leninists, and this range extends from efforts to save the deceived and the less contaminated, up to the merciless destruction of enemies. But any tactical stand of ours must be based on proletarian principles, and not on bourgeois principles and diplomacy.

When Khrushchev's traitor group had not yet come out openly, all of us, some earlier some later, some convinced and some less convinced, some in all seriousness

and some dishonestly, said that the Titoite gang in Belgrade was the main revisionist enemy, and it was decided that it must be fought to the finish. For the reasons given above, Titoite revisionism was fought but it was also underestimated by some who combated it only formally.

...However, the resolute principled struggle of our parties, and all the Marxist-Leninists in the world, who work actively, tore the disguise from the modern revisionists, regardless of whether they were minor or major devils. Things reached the point that the revisionist leaders of many communist and workers' parties had to adopt revisionist positions openly and fight us actively. This must be considered a great victory achieved, a victory which must be carried further. This caused many communist elements to break with the revisionist leadership, many were expelled from parties dominated by the revisionists, and created new Marxist-Leninist parties, and this process is continuing. This must be considered another major victory, a victory which likewise must be carried further.

Our resolute struggle, the exposure of modern revisionists, the defeats which they have suffered and are suffering every day in all fields of national and international activity, have led to the outburst and deepening of the contradictions in the ranks of the modern revisionists. We must consider these contradictions, which are becoming deeper, great victories for revolutionary Marxism-Leninism in action.

Even in this situation our struggle against all revisionist groupings not only must not be toned down, but must be made more severe. Our tactic of concentrating our fire on the Titoite and Khrushchevite groupings was correct, because these two groupings were the pillars of modern revisionism. But this does not mean that we forgot to touch and combat the other revisionist groupings. In fact, we attacked and exposed them, too. Our state relations with some revisionist groupings that are in power did not hinder us from waging our ideological and political struggle against them.

...We can say that the Titoite and the Khrushchevite revisionist groupings remain the leading ones, and the tendencies of two poles in the ranks of modern revisionism are appearing clearly : the Soviet pole and the Yugoslav-polycentrist Italian pole. (I've explained this situation in connection with Togliatti's "testament".) But the problem is that the Titoites are trying to strengthen the groupings under their direction, and their purpose in doing this is always to corrupt Marxism-Leninism, to discredit and fight socialism, to extinguish the revolution, and to extend the life of capitalism (and these we must never forget), at the same time, they want to involve them in this struggle in order to speed up the process undertaken by them, and first of all, they are trying to speed up this process in the Soviet Union, by exerting pressure and blackmail on the Khrushchevite group to relinquish some of its authority, to give up the idea of "the leadership of world communism" by this group, to weaken the Soviet Union as a great economic and political power and make it a weak, bourgeois partner of American imperialism. In order to achieve this aim as quickly and easily as possible (and is not so easy for the Titoites and polycentrists, because the Khrushchevite group, too is putting up a struggle and is trying to escape from this grip), the Titoites and their allies are even using our struggle to put pressure on Khrushchev, that is, they are threatening him also with the great danger from the Chinese. The Titoites and their present close

allies are not pursuing a stupid policy but are varying it with more or less anti-Khrushchevite variants so that it can serve, at the same time, to catch fools in the net...

...Khrushchev and Tito are in solidarity to the end in their strategic aims. They may have different tactics, they may have disagreements, and these will be even greater in the future, but these will never be compatible with ours.

It would be a mistake to think and say that since 'the Titoites and their temporary allies have contradictions with Khrushchev, these contradictions assist Marxism-Leninism', and from this to go on to the mistaken idea that "the Titoites are unimportant devils" whereas with the Rumanians, who pose as anti-Khrushchevite "we shall put aside ideological questions", which in other words means to support their centrist revisionist course, and to fail to fight their active and operating revisionist views.

Tito is just as dangerous as Khrushchev, if not more so, therefore, both must be fought with the greatest severity. Tito inspired Khrushchev, who now has entered a new phase. This new phase is: Khrushchev has been exposed as a revisionist, has set out on the road of betrayal and will never turn back. New Tito is facing the task: socialism must be completely in the Soviet Union, Khrushchev must go on following the baton of imperialists and be left without a feather to fly with in the process...

...In this direction, the Rumanians' centrist revisionist stand has so enthused the Chinese that they are forgetting their ideological contradictions with them. This is not a militant stand, it is not an alliance based on principle; this method of allegedly exploiting differences in the ranks of the revisionists is neither correct nor fruitful....

"...Khrushchev is not an isolated person. Khrushchevism represents a powerful retrogressive current, a considerable part of modern revisionism in power. Therefore, it must be fought with all our strength, uncompromisingly, without hesitation....

...Tito is not an isolated person, or an unimportant and "minor devil", as the Chinese say. Titoism is a powerful retrogressive current, a part of modern revisionism in power, which has behind it a colossal power which directs and assists it, American imperialism....

*Tuesday October 13, 1964*

## **The Chinese have begun a campaign of approaches to the revisionists of Europe who are in power**

In reply to the question of the comrades of Party and Government delegation, "We trust that you will give us your answer to our letter in connection with the borders of the Soviet Union, Comrade Mao said : "The future will prove whether we are right or wrong. We are not going reply to you because if we did. we would reject your views as you rejected ours, and thus polemics would arise. Therefore, let us wait, perhaps, after many years we shall reply to you, but not now".

This reply is not right, it is an unprincipled, incorrect, slighting and not at all comradely stand towards the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania. On the other hand this reply shows that Comrade Mao does not like comradely criticism, therefore we must come to some conclusions :

The Chinese comrades not only reconfirm that Comrade Mao said what the Japanese socialists declared, but are maintaining their former positions towards us on these problems, and consider these positions correct. On the other hand, the fact is that their stands on these problems are not as resolute as they appear to be when they are confronted with our criticisms. The Chinese ambassadors in the various countries of Europe have received instructions on what stand to take towards the problem.

The Chinese ambassador in Poland seeks a meeting with Gomulka (undoubtedly to explain Mao's interview with the Japanese socialists), Gomulka refuses to receive him and recommends a meeting with a member of the Political Bureau. The Chinese ambassador goes to the meeting, and the Pole not only receives him coldly, but rejects what Mao said, and demands that Chinese make statements recognizing the Oder-Neisse borders. The Chinese ambassador tries to excuse Mao, agrees to make a statement, and makes it over Radio Warsaw on the occasion of the 15th anniversary of the proclamation of the Peoples Republic of China. Meanwhile, the question of "Polish territories seized by the Soviet Union" remains "as it was" (as Mao has said). This interests the Polish nationalists and at the same time, also serves the Chinese in their struggle against Khrushchev and in their approaches to the Poles. "Clever", "nationalist" tactic on the part of the Chinese!! And "in order to correct" this situation, this pearl of Mao's, the Chinese are stepping up their flattery of the Poles on the pretext that "the Poles have contradictions with Khrushchev and we should take advantage of these contradictions".

Why are these contradictions of the Soviets with the Poles emerging now?!! And what sort of contradictions are they? Don't the Chinese comrades know the nature of these contradictions? Of course they do, and precisely for this reason they are urging the Poles on the nationalist road. This means, on the one hand, to pursue those ways and tactics which imperialism uses to play the peoples and states off against one another, and on the other hand, to attempt to describe these as "socialist tactics". No. these actions are not correct, they are not Marxist.

In order to cover up this mistake of Comrade Mao, the Chinese comrades have started a rumour that allegedly "he was only talking about history". But since he is talking about "history", then why did he not take these questions right through to the end? In speaking of "history" you cannot restrict yourself to speaking only about the Soviet Union unless you have definite aims. And what might these definite aims be? They could be to attack and discredit Stalin calling him a plunderer and an imperialist, as well as the Soviet Union when he led it, and to incite the anti-Marxist chauvinist sentiments of those revisionists who have contradictions with the revisionist Khrushchev.

No. the Chinese comrades themselves can see that this excuse does not hold water and is like a black coat sown with white thread. On the one hand they "speak about history", but on the other hand, they defend the thesis that, "no established border must be shifted". Then the question arises: When you present these questions correctly historically, and say that the borders must not be shifted, then why raise these problems at these moments? Whom does this serve? Mao told our comrades, "We are firing our artillery with blank charge". A fine noise!!

Mao also said that no one is listening to Khrushchev's "noise" about "the noise which Mao is making". That is to say, listen to Mao, and no one believes Khrushchev, or in other words; The Soviets allegedly listen to, understand, and applaud Mao when he tells them: "Return the Polish, Rumanian, Czech, Chinese, Japanese and other territories" when Khrushchev tells the Soviets that Mao wants to destroy the Soviet Union, the Soviets allegedly not only do not listen to him, but hate him because he does not return these territories! Astonishing logic!

Th» Rumanian has begun to praise Mao within Rumania, to describe him as a great ideologist and politician, who not only attacks Khrushchev, but also criticised Stalin. It says that Mao spoke very correctly about Bessarabia, which the Soviets have seized from us, but we are not raising this question for the time being, because we are concerned about Transylvania".

*Thursday, October 15. 1964*

### **The Chinese idea about an anti-imperialist front including even the modern revisionists is anti-Leninist**

The Chinese comrades, Liu Shao-chi in particular if I am not mistaken in a talk with a delegation of ours which had gone to Peking launched the idea that in order to fight imperialism and especially American imperialism, we must work to create a broad anti-imperialist front including even the modern revisionists. Chou En-lai also mentioned such an idea in passing, when he was here nearly a year ago. We opposed his idea of collaborating with the modern revisionism for such a thing, but with the creation of an anti-imperialist front we are in agreement, naturally, and we are working for this. However, Chou En-lai did not retract or develop this idea, but left it in silence. He cast the stone and let it lie.

This very important matter was raised at certain particular moments which seem quite inappropriate. This idea was thrown in when an ideological and political struggle with the modern revisionists had become extremely acute, and especially when the Khrushchev group was up to its neck in serious, concrete collaboration with the American imperialists. Without any hesitation, it was putting into practice its whole anti-Leninist policy of Khrushchevite "coexistence", making concessions to the American aggressive policy, prettifying American imperialism, weakening the peoples' liberation struggle and activizing and sharpening the struggle against Marxism-Leninism, against the Communist Party of China and the Party of Labour of Albania.

When the group of Nikita Khrushchev, at the head of the modern revisionists, was weakening the struggle against imperialism, the Chinese comrades launched the idea of the creation of an anti-imperialist front including even the modern revisionists. Astonishing!!...

...To launch the idea of an "anti-imperialist front including even the modern revisionists is politically and ideologically inconceivable, bearing in mind the stage the situation has reached. If you base this "idea" on the "experience of the past", and deliberately overlook the result, or better, the fact that this "experience of the past" suffered defeat when social-democracy voted for the war budgets in the First



Imperialist War and was transformed into a social-chauvinist means "for the defence of the Homeland", then this is open betrayal. The open betrayal by social-democrats, social-chauvinists brought about as a logical consequence the split with the Marxist-Leninists, brought about the creation of the revolutionary 3rd International which opposed the traitor 2nd International.

Now the idea is launched of the "anti-imperialist front even with the modern revisionists". But what is the policy and ideology of this modern revisionism, with which we are supposed to unite to create this anti-imperialist front ? A policy and an ideology precisely the opposite of our Marxist-Leninist ideology, a policy and ideology which are actively in struggle to sabotage the fundamental issues of our struggle against imperialism and colonialism for the triumph of socialism and Marxism-Leninism, for the real solution to the problems of general and total disarmament, etc., etc.

Since we are in fierce and open struggle with modern revisionism on these main questions of principle and practice, how can we conceive and alliance or a political and ideological front against imperialism and the world bourgeoisie with the agency of the bourgeoisie and its ideology?!! The anti-imperialist front means a political front, first of all. The question arises: Is it possible for us Marxist-Leninists to create a common front with the modern revisionists? Apparently to the Chinese and Japanese it is possible. To us no this can never be! But is it possible for the Marxist-Leninists to form a "political" front with the modern revisionists against American imperialism, while continuing the "ideological struggle" with them, or by "putting aside the questions which divide us ideologically", as the Japanese comrades say? We say: No, in no way!...

*Saturday, October 31, 1964*

### **In no way can we reconcile ourselves to these views of Chou En-Lai**

...Chou En-lai's views, expressed in the name of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, about the fall of Khrushchev, about the people who replaced him, about their aims and future policy, about the unity of the world communist movement, about the unity of the socialist camp, and about the method and the line which we must follow in the struggle against imperialism and modern revisionism, in the key directions of this new situation which has been created, in my opinion, are very unclear, vacillating, conciliatory and opportunist from start to finish (not to use stronger terms for the time being). These opinions indicate a capitulation to modern revisionism. We cannot reconcile ourselves in any way to these views of Chou En-lai, because they are revisionist from start to finish, anti-Marxist, capitulationist, and lead to the road of betrayal of Marxism-Leninism...

...From all these observations we can reach a conclusion (and this declaration of Chou En-lai's further confirms our opinion) that the Chinese comrades did not want to go so far in the struggle against the modern revisionists, and had not envisaged such an extension of the struggle against them such bitterness with them. This comes about because they had probably not thought out and understood the danger of modern revisionism, its ferocity. In all its real extent, and therefore were not spiritually armed for such a struggle. The Chinese had thought that matters would not become so acute

with the modern revisionists, nurturing the idea that the article entitled 'Long Live Leninism!' and some internal articles and debates would suffice "to convince" Khrushchev and his associates to return to the line which the Chinese would show them. However, this did not and could not occur. Our Party foresaw such a thing correctly. It was prepared from every standpoint for a resolute struggle to the end against modern revisionism. Thus the Chinese comrades found themselves on the defensive and not on the offensive. They began and continued on the defensive, while the revisionists attacked us openly and we, likewise, attacked them openly.

The stand of the Chinese, even after the public attack of the Soviet revisionists on us, was that "the open polemic must be stopped". Later this polemic went too far and could no longer be stopped. But during this struggle, hesitation, temporary halts in the polemics, were apparent among the Chinese comrades.

From the assessment which the Chinese make of the struggle against revisionism in this situation and from the way Chou En-lai expressed himself to the ambassadors, it is clear that they are tired of this struggle, which was a heavy burden for them, that they want to pull out and that is why they judged the downfall of Khrushchev as the most appropriate moment for them to retire "with honour". And in the most anti-Marxist, unfriendly, uncomradely way (formally, at least, they ought to preserve the forms of friendship with the ally with whom they have fought shoulder to shoulder), the Chinese comrades took their own decision (and what sort of decisions!!) and tried in the most brutal way to impose an impermissible meeting on us, too.

...In short, for them the fall of Khrushchev is everything. According to them, the major thing has been achieved and now it is only a matter of time for everything to be put right. The Chinese comrades say: We must hold out our hand to the "Soviet comrades" the associates of Khrushchev, must forget the past, it's over and done with, we must be understanding with the "Soviet comrades". Hence, according to them, we must assist these fine Soviet comrades. Khrushchev died, Khrushchevism died. There is no one left who must acknowledge the mistakes made, there is no one who ought to make self-criticism. Of course the "dear Soviet comrades" made the self-criticism they had to make with the bringing down of Khrushchev. Now, continue the Chinese comrades through the mouth of Chou En-lai, indeed before all the ambassadors nothing remains but to pack our bags quickly, because time does not wait and set off for Moscow, to kiss one another on the day of the celebration of the Great October Socialist Revolution....

...In no way will we accept the revisionist views and actions of the Chinese. On the contrary, we must expose and fight them. The bridges connecting us with them are collapsing, but we shall strive to the end to influence them with our correct stands.

We must do the maximum, which principle permits, to avoid coming out openly against the Communist Party of China, but indirectly, after a time; there is no way to prevent the split from becoming obvious....

...We must use both methods, to the Chinese we must openly express our views on everything, we must point out clearly our disagreements, everything about which we are not of the one opinion with them, while in the press we must publicly maintain an open stand on every problem without mentioning the Chinese and regardless of

whether it will be understood that it is directed against the Chinese views and stand....

...Cautiously and progressively, we must make the Party aware of this new situation, must strengthen and temper the Party and the people, and arm them for possible dangers in the future and must strengthen our management of the economy. We must examine the draft-plan more closely in connection with these situations which exist. It will be impossible to prevent the disagreement with the Chinese, which have begun on ideological and political questions, from influencing our economic relations with them...

...A now epoch full of even sterner battles is opening to us. We are not afraid of the struggle. The people's song says "The Albanians are fighting the Seven Kings". For us as revolutionaries, it is a glory to fight and continue to fight till final victory. If the total victory is not achieved in our time we must hand on the torch to, and leave the banner of Marxism-Leninism unsullied in the hands of communist and patriotic generations of our country and it will always wave unsullied in Albania, and the name of our heroic Party will be unsullied and glorious for ever.

## **The State Organization in Albania**

Albania is a People's Socialist Republic.

The People's Socialist Republic of Albania is the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat, which expresses and defends the interests of all the workers. The People's Socialist Republic of Albania is based on the unity of the people and has at its roots the alliance of the working class with the cooperative peasantry under the leadership of the working class.

The Party of Labour of Albania, the vanguard of the working class is the sole political leading force of the state and society. Marxism-Leninism is the dominant ideology. On the basis of its principles, the entire socialist social order is run.

The People's Socialist Republic of Albania uninterruptedly carries forward the revolution adhering to class struggle and it has the aim of ensuring the final triumph of the socialist road over the capitalist road, achieving the complete construction of socialism and communism.

In the People's Socialist Republic of Albania the entire state power emanates from and belong to the people.

The working class, the cooperative peasantry and other workers exercise their power through their representative organs and directly.

The representative workers are elected by the people by general, equal, direct and secret ballot.

The electors have the right to recall their representative at any time when he has lost the political trust of the masses or when he fails to fulfil the tasks assigned to him or when he acts contrary to the law.

—The working class, as the leading class of our society, as well as the masses of the other workers exercise direct organized control over the activity of the state organs, of the economic and social organizations and their workers in order to defend the achievement of the revolution and to consolidate the socialist order.

—Citizens 18 years and over are entitled to elect and to be elected to the organs of the state power. The only people who do not have the right to vote are those who have been exempted from this right by the verdict of the court, as well as those who are mentally handicapped, proclaimed such by the court.

The representative organs are of the greatest importance in the system of state organs. These organs consisting of the People's Assembly at the centre and the People's Councils at the base, are the only organs which realize the state power in the country. They make up the whole foundations of the state apparatus, all the other state organs depend upon and render account to them.

The representative organs are real work institutions and at the same time executive. Just as Marx and Lenin instructed on the representative institutions, which the proletariat sets up when it becomes the ruling class, the representative institutions in Albania are made up of people who themselves work, carry out their own decisions, supervise what is carried out and render direct account to their electors.

The highest representative organ of our country is the People's Assembly, which bears the sovereignty of our nation and of the state, and exercises all the sovereign rights on the basis of the Constitution. Representatives to the People's Assembly are

elected every four years and carry out their activity in the sessions.

During the time when the People's Assembly is not in session the high state functions are exercised in its name by the Presidium of the People's Assembly within the limits of the competence left to it by the Constitution. The Presidium of the People's Assembly is also the leading collegial organ of the state. The Presidium is the organ of the People's Assembly itself, elected by the latter and renders account to it for all its activity.

Part of the representative organs are also the People's Councils, which exercise their functions as organs of the state power in their respective territorial-administrative units. The People's Councils are elected every three years and enjoy important competences in all matters of socialist construction within the units where they exercise their activity.

The administrative functions are a special form of our state activity. The Council of Ministers is the highest organ of our administration whereas at the base this function is fulfilled by the Executive Committees of the People's Councils. These organs are elected by the representative organs and render account to them: the Council of Ministers by the People's Assembly and the Executive Committees by the People's Councils.

The People's Courts engage in meting out justice. Through their activity, they exert a major educational influence not only on the persons brought before court but also on all others.

Finally, the organs of the Attorney General are the fourth kind of our state organs. They handle the supervision on the accurate implementation of the law by everyone, by the state organs, social organs or citizens.

But although each of these state organs has its own characteristics and, on this basis, the corresponding competences, it important to mention that all these organs are in close connection and permanent collaboration among them.

*From : "AlbaniaGeneral Information, Tirana".*

## **We, The Sons of the New Age**

*—A poem by Migjeni, 1911-1938*

We, the sons of this New Age,  
leaving our elders to grow grey  
in the service of "holiness",  
raise our fists  
to fight and win  
new battles.

We, the sons of this New Age,  
will tolerate no more  
a land watered with tears  
where the sweat of our brow flows in vain,  
the prey of foreign greed.

We the sons of this New Age,  
brothers in poverty,  
one glorious hour will cry :  
"Enough!"  
No more defeats for us,  
but only victory  
and liberty!

We will no longer be pawns in the bloody game of history  
victims of "holiness"  
chanting its hymns of love  
while thrusting a spear  
into the heart of man.

We, the sons of this New Age,  
even if it costs our lives  
will win this victory

## Crossing the Vjusa

(January 1944)

*A poem by Zihni Sako*

Black was the night, no moon, no stars ;  
We swam like silent voles  
Across Vjusa's surging stream.  
But with the dawn, the rising sun  
Lit up our unity :  
We raised on high our Party's  
Blood-red flag,

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