

**THE BELGRADE
REVISIONIST CLIQUE—
RENEGADES FROM MARXISM-LENINISM
AND AGENTS OF IMPERIALISM**

THE "NAIM FRASHERI" STATE PUBLISHING ENTERPRISE
TIRANA

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**THE YUGOSLAV REVISIONIST LEADERS —
DANGEROUS ENEMIES
OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST
AND WORKERS' MOVEMENT**

Article published in the newspaper

Zëri i Popullit

January 17, 1962

The most representative meeting in the history of the international communist and workers' movement which was held in Moscow in November 1960 condemned in its Statement Yugoslav revisionism as the concentrated expression of the theories of the modern revisionists, and the Yugoslav revisionist leaders as renegades from Marxism-Leninism. The international communist and workers' movement unanimously condemned them as splitters of the camp of socialism and the whole communist movement and disrupters of the unity of all the peace-loving forces and states. So the Communist and Workers' Parties of 81 countries proved themselves to be united and unanimous in their appraisal of the activity of the Yugoslav revisionists. The most competent representatives of these Parties, who signed the historic statement, outlined the further unmasking of the Yugoslav revisionist leaders as an important task for all Communists in the world.

Based on these correct conclusions of the Statement, as well as on its very important thesis that modern revisionism is the main danger to the international communist and workers' movements, the working-class parties during the past year translated into reality the stipulations of the Statement and worked to unmask the hostile activity of the Yugoslav revisionists. It must be said, however, that in the practical implementation of the Statement some people did not display the same unity as when it was approved. The Soviet leaders headed by

Khrushchev, for example, not only "forgot" the Statement and its stipulation concerning the need to further unmask the Yugoslav revisionists, but they also openly rejected it, adopting a new course in opposition to it, the course of rapprochement, reconciliation and cooperation with the Yugoslav revisionist leaders.

Perhaps the Yugoslav revisionists have changed their revisionist attitude and viewpoint since the Moscow Statement of 1960 was adopted? Perhaps they have suspended their undermining and splitting activities against the camp of socialism, against the unity of the communist and workers' movement, and returned to the positions of Marxism-Leninism? No, this truth remains unchanged: the Yugoslav revisionists are the same renegades from Marxism-Leninism, and retainers of imperialism and the reactionary bourgeoisie, whom they have served and are serving with zeal and faithfulness; they have changed only the forms and ways, the paths and methods according to given situations.

THE YUGOSLAV REVISIONISTS REMAIN ENEMIES OF SOCIALISM

If we glance at events in 1961, we shall see that with each passing day the Yugoslav revisionists have sunk deeper in their hostile activities against the forces of socialism and peace, to the advantage of the forces of imperialism and reaction.

During the year 1961, as before, the press and propaganda of the Yugoslav revisionists were full of slogans about the integration of capitalism into socialism and

about the radical changes which imperialism and capitalism of the present day have allegedly undergone, contending that they are no longer exploiters, nor aggressors, nor the source of war. The danger of war, according to the revisionists, comes no longer from imperialism, but from the socialist states, such as China and Albania. As a result of their revisionist attitude in the service of U.S. imperialism, the struggles between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, between socialism and capitalism, between the enslaved peoples and the colonialist oppressors, between the forces of democracy and those of reaction, and between the forces for peace and those for war, have all disappeared from the press and propaganda of the Yugoslav leaders.

The Yugoslav revisionists continue to spread their anti-Marxist viewpoints about important questions in present-day world development and in the communist and workers' movement. One of such questions is that of peaceful coexistence which they propagandize as a policy of reconciliation with the imperialists, for the sake of which we must renounce all class struggle; they propagandize it as coexistence between the oppressed and the oppressors, between slaves and colonialists, and between classes in the capitalist countries. Another question is Marxist-Leninist teachings about the socialist revolution and the proletarian dictatorship which they reject as obsolete on the grounds that today the capitalist state is losing its class character and is becoming a state of the whole people, which serves bourgeoisie and proletariat alike.

The Yugoslav revisionists deny the fundamental laws of the building of socialism and the universal experience

of the Soviet Union, and continue to preach their own specific socialism. For example, Tito tried to spread Yugoslav's specific road to socialism, in his interview with the Japanese newspaper *Asahi Shimboon* on October 23, 1961, saying that there exist "almost as many roads to socialism as there are states and that every state will build socialism in a different way, in its own specific way". It is easy to see the danger of this preaching presents to other countries and it is also easy to see whose interests and what classes the Yugoslav type of socialism serves.

Pursuing a policy of sabotage and conspiracy, the Yugoslav revisionist leaders continued to carry out their tasks during 1961 as loyal members of the Balkan military bloc, which nourishes aggressive aims against the socialist countries and which is linked with the NATO and CENTO blocs. The coordinated participation of the Yugoslav revisionists and their Greek and American allies in subversive activity against the socialist countries was shown by concrete evidence at the trial held in Tirana against a plot hatched by the ruling circles of Belgrade and Athens, in collaboration with some Albanian traitors and the Mediterranean U.S. 6th Fleet. As documented by the people's justice, the plotters intended to liquidate the freedom, independence and sovereignty of our country; they intended to liquidate the People's Republic of Albania.

Pursuing their policy of supporting U.S. imperialism and cushioning and masking its aggressive and belligerent activity, the Yugoslav revisionists went to such lengths that at the conference of the non-aligned countries held in Belgrade in September 1961 they put both the aggres-

sive NATO bloc and the Warsaw Treaty, both the bourgeois and socialist policy and ideology on the same plane, and considered them as equally dangerous to peace and the security of the peoples. To curry favour with the imperialists, Tito openly attacked the Soviet Union for its just decision on the resumption of nuclear weapon tests, a decision aimed at strengthening its own defensive might as well as that of the whole camp of socialism, and at curbing the aggressors and defending peace. Tito termed the Soviet Government's decision as "something which has alarmed the whole world on a very broad scale". Proceeding further, he placed the Mutual-Aid Economic Council in the same category with the "Common Market" of the capitalist countries which serve to strengthen aggressive alliances, and considered them equally as "serious obstacles" to close economic co-operation.

The attitude of the Yugoslav revisionist leaders towards many events in 1961 once more shows that they, under the mask of an extra-bloc policy, are feverishly carrying on their hostile activity against the socialist camp, the international communist and workers' movement and the unity of the peace-loving forces. The role which U.S. imperialism has assigned to the Yugoslav revisionist leadership was well defined by Tito himself as early as in 1956, when he stated in his Pula speech, "Yugoslavia must not withdraw into herself. She must work in every direction . . . in the ideological field, so that the new spirit may triumph."

Through their press and propaganda, the Yugoslav revisionists have sought to discredit the life and work of the peoples of the socialist countries, attacking in fact

the very socialist system of these countries. For example, during November and December 1961 the official Yugoslav news agency Tanjug published a series of provocative dispatches written by its special correspondents about the socialist countries. What do the Yugoslav correspondents deal with? How do they describe life and work in the socialist countries? According to them, deceivers and falsifiers have a free hand in the socialist countries, and dictators, bureaucrats, robbers, speculators, the little kings of dogmatism and ruthless oppressors hold sway there. Dogmatism reigns in art and literature, in science and culture, and freedom and personality are smothered. It is sufficient to mention only a few of these stories and the way in which the issues are raised to understand their aim in discrediting the socialist countries.

A dispatch from Moscow entitled "The Little Dictators", transmitted by Tanjug in December 1961, said that following the campaign against deceivers and falsifiers in the Soviet Union a new campaign against little dictators began. These little dictators are the local leaders who behave like lords in enterprises, collective farms and other institutions, knowing only how to command, and who are completely detached from the masses. The Yugoslav correspondent divides dictators into four types: the first includes the bureaucrats; the second—the speculators; the third type includes people who doubt everything and who, if they look askance at you, will frame up anything against you (as was the case of a certain Burkovski, the director of a technical school in the Ukraine and also a member of the regional committee, who allegedly hit the woman worker Nina Ostapenko

with his fist simply because she refused to pick cucumbers from state property and carry them to his home); the fourth type includes the trade-union dictators, the chairmen of the trade-union committees, who allegedly behave like real masters over the workers.

A dispatch from Warsaw transmitted by Tanjug in November 1961 under the heading "After the Rest, to the Psychiatrist" described a Polish citizen who was sick and went to have a month of rest. Through this trip, life in Poland was presented in the darkest colours. The citizen was scolded by the train conductor because he had no money to pay for the ticket; he was attacked by salesmen because he refused to buy rotten apples; he went to get his cloak which he had sent for a cleaning and he found that the workshop was "closed under repairs"; he went to buy petrol and he found that the shopkeepers were "drawing up an inventory"; he went to the restaurant to eat fish and he was told that there was none, because all fish had been sent to Warsaw; he went to a store to buy a thermos and he saw the sign "closed", etc. Thus, according to the Tanjug correspondent, people in Poland run hither and thither but nobody meets their requirements, nobody cares for them.

A dispatch from Budapest transmitted by Tanjug in December 1961 under the heading "The Little Kings of Dogmatism" gives many examples of abuse of state power allegedly being committed in Hungary by the so-called "little kings". For instance, a woman worker was dismissed only because she did not believe that Yuri Gagarin had flown into outer space. But the store manager did not stop there. Convinced that there was "something" in this, he made another inquiry into the

question, drew up a detailed report and out of this "something" he played behind-the-scene politics. There are many other such instances about the inclinations of the "little kings" to abuse their position and state power, Tanjug concluded. It is superfluous to mention its malicious slanders and onslaughts against China and our country.

All these activities and facts testify only to one thing: that the Yugoslav revisionists remain enemies of socialism.

THE YUGOSLAV REVISIONISTS — SPLITTERS AND DISRUPTERS OF THE NATIONAL-LIBERATION MOVEMENTS OF THE PEOPLES

During 1961 there was an upsurge in the national-liberation movements of the Latin American, Asian and African peoples, which directed, first of all, against U.S. imperialism, and they are growing with each passing day. In this respect, too, U.S. imperialism made use of the Yugoslav revisionists as a good weapon, concealed under the mask of "neutrality" and of a "non-aligned country", to smother the peoples' movement for freedom, national independence and socialism. In his speeches during his visit to some African countries, Tito sought to undermine their confidence in the countries of the socialist camp, to soften their legitimate hatred for the Washington neo-colonialists, for U.S. imperialism which is the fiercest enemy of the national-liberation movements.

At the conference of the non-aligned countries Tito was among the very few advocates who were isolated at the conference and who sought to disorientate the peoples of Latin America, Asia and Africa and lead them astray from their correct path of struggle against colonialism and imperialism and for freedom and independence. Instead of the struggle against imperialism and colonialism and for freedom and independence, they raised the banning of nuclear war as the main issue. How absurd and ridiculous such an attempt appears in the face of the words of the Indonesian delegate R. Abdulgani that the main task of the oppressed peoples is their liberation from the yoke of colonialism, that "imperialism and colonialism are killing us just the same with conventional bombs"! At the conference of the non-aligned countries the voice of the representatives of the African, Asian and Latin American countries rose forcefully against U.S. imperialism. Only Tito and his kind dared not unmask the aggressive circles in the United States.

On the Congo question, the Tito clique adopted a hostile attitude towards the Congolese people. They supported the United States intervention and considered it a factor that "contributed to the stabilization of the situation", as a "very important and valuable factor". With police and the army, with clubs, tear gas and cavalry, they dispersed the Belgrade workers who protested in the streets against the murder of the great Congolese patriot Patrice Lumumba by the U.S. imperialists.

The Belgrade revisionist press condemned the nationalization policy carried out by Fidel Castro's revolutionary government, saying it was "too great a swallowing up done all at once", and made a noise about "the great

difficulties" which the Cuban revolution was allegedly encountering every day. Regretting the losses which the imperialists are suffering in Cuba, the Yugoslav revisionist leaders advised them to make use of more subtle tactics in their intervention in order "not to risk those United States interests which still remain in Cuba".

The Belgrade revisionist clique had the impudence to support such a plan to enslave the Latin American peoples as the "Alliance for Progress", which was proclaimed by Kennedy as a path of salvation. They propagandized that U.S. imperialism "has begun to realize that times are changing, that the real unity and solidarity of America can be established only on the basis of equality", and that imperialism has already "shown its readiness to settle and correct its mistakes".

The Yugoslav revisionist leaders seek to conceal from public opinion the intervention by the U.S. imperialists in Laos, claiming that "Washington has made a big stride in detaching itself from Dulles' past policy", that Washington desires a "compromise" in settling the Laotian question "because it is really concerned about peace and neutrality of Laos". Moreover, on this issue the revisionists threw off their mask almost completely and, from the position of supporting imperialism they proceeded to the position of attack on the peace-loving policy of the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China, claiming that a peaceful settlement of the Laotian question "depends on the Soviet Government" and that the Soviet Union and China should not "take the change in the United States policy as a sign of weakness".

Recently, as the Indonesian newspaper *Harian Rakyat* writes, the spokesman of the Yugoslav Ministry of

Foreign Affairs one-sidedly pointed out that the West Irian question should be settled by "peaceful means". But do the imperialists give up their positions peacefully? This question is answered in the affirmative only by the revisionists, devoted servants of imperialism. As to Marxist-Leninists and the peoples suffering under the yoke of the old and new colonialists, they have already outlined their path, their methods for the settlement of the national-liberation problem, and this is the path of resolute struggle to throw off the abhorred yoke. "People may adopt either of the two attitudes towards imperialism," the Indonesian newspaper writes, "namely: either to resist it, or give it a pat on the back," the latter being the attitude of the Yugoslav revisionists.

This contrast between the attitude of the Yugoslav revisionists and that of the peoples who are fighting against the colonialists clearly shows whom the Yugoslav revisionists are serving, what dangerous enemies of the national-liberation movement they are.

BILLIONS OF DOLLARS FOR THEIR SERVICE RENDERED TO IMPERIALISM

As a reward for its revisionist, anti-socialist and anti-communist activities, the Belgrade clique has received from its masters 3,200 million dollars in military and economic "aid". In 1961 alone, pursuing the line of consolidating their all-round cooperation with the United States of America, they concluded a series of agreements on new "loans" amounting to a total sum of 197.4 million dollars. This much at least has been published by the Americans themselves.

With great zeal the Belgrade revisionists are equipping their army with U.S. armaments and are having their officers trained in U.S. military academies. Thus, as the White House press secretary Pierre Salinger said on October 17, 1961, the Kennedy Administration, which followed the policy consistently pursued by the Truman and Eisenhower Administrations, had given the Yugoslav Government 130 jet fighters of the F-86 type. According to the American data, which have not been denied by Tito, from 1952 to 1959 the United States gave Yugoslavia more than 540 military aircraft.

According to the Associated Press agency, in 1961 many Yugoslav military pilots underwent training in the United States at the Perin airforce base at Sherman. As stated by the Perin information officer, four Yugoslav pilots underwent training at the same course with West German and Chiang Kai-shek's pilots. Of course, the Tito clique will make haste to deny these truths, as they have exposed its true colours. But what is the use of denials in the face of facts?

It is known that after the conference of the non-aligned countries held in Belgrade, the U.S. imperialists were disappointed by its results and "became angry" with Tito because he failed to fulfill his mission of converting the conference into an anti-communist rostrum. They expressed their "anger" by spreading stories that the Kennedy Administration would reconsider the question of aid to Yugoslavia. These rumours were designed only to give the Tito clique a stronger push to demand more intense activity and did not really mean suspension of aid to Yugoslavia.

In reality, on November 25, the U.S. Government made a "self-criticism" and officially proclaimed that it was prepared to conclude an agreement to sell American surplus farm products to Yugoslavia.

If we take only some of the U.S. imperialists' compliments and appraisals of the Tito clique in 1961 for services rendered to them, it will be sufficient to see that the Yugoslav revisionists have discharged their duties well and that they have played their ill-famed role as splitters of the socialist camp, the communist and workers' movement and the national-liberation and democratic movements everywhere in the world.

On October 18, 1961, the U.S. Secretary of State Dean Rusk stated at a press conference that American military aid not only had contributed to the defence of Yugoslav's independence in the face of the Soviet bloc, but as early as 1948 Yugoslavia had also been a source of dissension in the ranks of international communism.

The newspaper *Reynolds News* writes that half a million tons of American wheat is not a very high price to pay for the spreading of the bright ideas of the Yugoslav Communists. (It is clear that by the bright ideas of the Yugoslav Communists the imperialists mean the viewpoint of the Tito clique about the revision of Marxism-Leninism which benefits U.S. imperialism.)

On December 26, 1961, the U.S. news agency UPI greatly praised the activity of Tito and his clique who have used every dollar they have received to the advantage of U.S. imperialism. The agency said, "During these years changes have occurred in Yugoslavia, which have satisfied the West. The forcible collectivization of agriculture has been practically eliminated by the Tito

regime. The Yugoslav economy has been ever more adapted to the Western commerce. There have begun to appear some aspects of free trade in the industrial branch."

Any comment on our part would be quite superfluous, for it is difficult for a third party to speak with more competence than the boss about the mission and the role he has assigned to his agent.

In conclusion, during 1961 the Belgrade revisionist clique acted, just as the Moscow Statement rightly characterized them, as renegades from Marxism-Leninism, as splitters of the camp of socialism and the communist movement, and as subverters of the unity of all peace-loving forces and states, in the service of U.S. imperialism. Therefore, nothing has changed on the part of the Yugoslav revisionists.

**"YUGOSLAVIA IS BUILDING SOCIALISM, WE MUST
BECOME ACQUAINTED WITH THE YUGOSLAV
EXPERIENCE, STUDY IT AND MEDITATE
UPON IT."**

In contrast to all these facts and in open opposition to the 1960 Moscow Statement, Khrushchev and his followers continued during 1961 to advance on the road towards rapprochement, reconciliation and all-round cooperation with the Yugoslav revisionists, while waging an unprincipled struggle against the Marxist-Leninist parties which remained true to the Moscow Statement, such as the Party of Labour of Albania, under the pre-

text of fighting against the so-called "Albanian dogmatism".

Let us cite only a few facts from the events after the publication of the Statement, and especially during the year 1961, which testify to the rapprochement which is being noticed and to which unsparing publicity is being given in the press and propaganda.

December 23, 1960. A. Gromyko, member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and Minister of Foreign Affairs, made haste to state at the session of the Supreme Soviet that "it must be pointed out with satisfaction that on fundamental international questions our positions are identical". Since some of the anti-Marxist and anti-socialist positions of the Yugoslav revisionists towards different international problems have been briefly examined in the above, it is superfluous to point out that such an appraisal of Yugoslav foreign policy and its comparison with the policy of the Soviet Union is only a bad service rendered to the Leninist policy of peace pursued by the Soviet state and a good service rendered to the "independent policy" of "Comrade" Tito.

December 30, 1960. In reply to A. Gromyko's statement, the Yugoslav Acting Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs said at a press conference that "Gromyko's words comply with our viewpoint and aspirations. On this basis, it is possible to develop mutual relations, as well as broad international cooperation in the interests of peace and progress in the world". So, a month had hardly elapsed after the publication of the Moscow Statement when the identity of views and aspirations of the Khrushchev group

with those of the Yugoslav revisionist leaders began to reveal itself.

September 10, 1961. In order to mitigate the anger of the Yugoslav "comrades", lest they would take seriously those two pitiful remarks which were uttered against them in the draft programme of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Khrushchev himself was quick to tell the correspondent of the American newspaper *New York Times* that "we, of course, consider Yugoslavia to be a socialist country". Is there a more brazen violation of the Moscow Statement than this? When did Khrushchev tell the truth about Yugoslav revisionism, when he signed the Moscow Statement, or when he spoke to the American correspondent?

October 3, 1961. At a meeting with the Yugoslav ambassador, L. Brezhnev, member of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, solemnly told him that "we have all the conditions for the development of further all-round cooperation". He pointed out with satisfaction and repeated the Yugoslav ambassador's words about "Yugoslavia's determination to comprehensively develop relations with the Soviet Union". Time will show what is hidden behind the words of "comprehensively develop relations".

November 10, 1961. At the Plenary Session of the Central Committee of the Italian Communist Party P. Togliatti said, "We have had contacts with the Yugoslav Communists too and we maintain mutual friendly relations. This is not only a necessity resulting from our geographical position. It is something more. As to the present regime in Yugoslavia, we are obliged to ask

what this regime is. It is not identical with the one existing in the Soviet Union, or in the people's democracies. It is neither a feudal regime nor a capitalist one, nor does it seem to us a regime which, after having advanced to socialism, is going backwards, towards forms that have been passed through. Hence the necessity of becoming acquainted with it, studying it and meditating upon it. It clearly follows from this how wrong it is to treat Yugoslavia and her regime as enemies."

December 5, 1961. D. Kallai, member of the Political Bureau of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party told a West German journalist that "Yugoslavia is building a socialist social system but the official Yugoslav policy is revisionist". They have sunk deeper and deeper! And the "creative" development of Marxism is endless! According to Kallai, the revisionists, too, are building socialism. It is by no means surprising that, by pursuing this "theory", the imperialists may also build socialism. And why should the master not build socialism while his lackey is doing it?

We might quote many other facts and official statements testifying to the tendency towards rapprochement and reconciliation with the Yugoslav revisionists which has been noticed in a marked way since the 22nd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

The rapprochement and reconciliation with the Yugoslav revisionists is not achieved only through statements and articles in the press and radio. This rapprochement shows in many directions. One of these is the exchange of delegations:

January 31, 1961. E. Furtseva, former member of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the Communist

Party of the Soviet Union, and Firyubin, Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Soviet Union, gave a luncheon party in honour of the soloists of the Belgrade opera, A. Marinkovich and R. Filak. It was attended also by Kuznetsov, Deputy Minister of Culture. Toasts were exchanged.

February 24, 1961. A Soviet trade delegation led by M. Kuzmin, Deputy Minister of Foreign Trade, left for Belgrade to conduct talks for a long-term trade agreement for the years 1961-1962.

May 31, 1961. A delegation of the Yugoslav Metal Workers' Union arrived in the Soviet Union.

June 10, 1961. A Soviet-Yugoslav agreement regulating the activities of the Soviet information institutions in Yugoslavia was signed in Belgrade.

June 16, 1961. The premiere of the Yugoslav film *A Piece of the Grey Sky* was shown in Moscow under the cultural cooperation programme. At the evening party, N. Danilov, Deputy Minister of Culture, spoke of the popularity of the Yugoslav cinema workers in the Soviet Union. At this evening party the floor was also given to the Yugoslav ambassador.

October 1, 1961. In Belgrade, the representative of the Soviet publishing houses held a press conference on the occasion of the opening of the exhibition of Soviet books in Yugoslavia. On display at the exhibition, he said, were also the translations of Yugoslav books printed in 15 languages of the peoples of the Soviet Union in a total of 6 million copies.

As we are dealing with books, we would like to mention here another fact about their relations in the field of ideological and political publications. As announced

by the Yugoslav newspaper *Politika* of September 15, 1961, the Yugoslav charge d'affaires presented Tito's selected works at a ceremony on September 14, 1961 to the Deputy Minister of Culture of the USSR. *Politika* did not say for whom this gift was. Nor did it point out the contribution the selected works made to the development of Marxism-Leninism. . . .

October 18, 1961. At the invitation of the Soviet trade unions, a Yugoslav trade union delegation arrived in Moscow for a visit in the Soviet Union.

November 25, 1961. A delegation of workers from the educational-cultural institutions run by the Yugoslav trade unions reported on the impressions of their visit to the Soviet Union where they went for two weeks at the invitation of the Soviet trade unions.

December 14, 1961. A. Mikoyan had a talk with S.V. Tempo in Moscow.

December 14, 1961. A Yugoslav women's delegation left for Moscow at the invitation of the Soviet Women's Committee.

December 20, 1961. TASS announced that a regular session of the Soviet-Yugoslav Commission on scientific and technical cooperation concluded in Belgrade. The protocol provides for exchanges of specialists to become acquainted with one another's experience in production.

December 21, 1961. A plan for cultural cooperation between the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia for the years 1962-1963 were signed in Moscow. The plan provides, among other things, for the exchange of tourists. According to TASS, the Soviet Union pledged itself to receive another 20 Yugoslav students. An extension of the cultural cooperation has been envisaged in general.

January 4, 1962. A photo exhibition showing the outstanding events in Yugoslavia opened in the House of Friendship with the Peoples of Foreign Countries in Moscow.

January 5, 1962. A. Kosigin, First Vice-Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Soviet Union, received the Yugoslav ambassador and had a talk with him.

January 8, 1962. N. Patolichev, Minister of Foreign Trade of the Soviet Union, received V. Gainovich, Vice-Chairman of the Yugoslav Foreign Trade Committee, with whom he examined some questions relating to Soviet-Yugoslav trade.

The two countries exchanged many other delegations, of cinema workers, artists, composers, writers, etc., which have all been given a great publicity.

The chronicle of exchange of delegations is still increasing, not to mention here all the agreements that have been concluded on economic cooperation. All these have been conducted under the slogan of peaceful coexistence, but in reality they testify to an ever greater rapprochement of Khrushchev and his group with the Yugoslav revisionists and to a renunciation of the ideological fight against them. This is clearly shown also by the fact that all these things have taken place precisely at a time when pressure has been brought to bear on the small socialist country, the People's Republic of Albania, which is resolutely struggling against imperialism and revisionism. Unprecedented blockades have been enforced against it in all fields, the basest slanders and attacks have been and are being delivered against it, even such measures were resorted to as open calls for counter-revolution, the

closing of the Soviet Embassy in Tirana and the expulsion of the Albanian Embassy from Moscow.

The tendency of Khrushchev and his followers for a rapprochement with the Yugoslav revisionists, and their attacks and slanders against the Party of Labour of Albania and the People's Republic of Albania at the 22nd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union have been acclaimed by the Yugoslav revisionists and their masters, the imperialists. They have multiplied their activities, thinking that the day has come for them to undermine the socialist camp, the communist and workers' movement and all anti-imperialist and anti-colonialist movements. They are zealously picking up everywhere the monstrous slanders and fabrications against the Party of Labour of Albania, the People's Republic of Albania and the Albanian people and give them wide publicity. Tito's enthusiastic greetings to the 22nd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union were by no means fortuitous. It is, in the first place, a manifestation of Khrushchev's anti-Marxist attacks on J.V. Stalin's work and on the Party of Labour of Albania. Tito declared, "We have seen in the work of the Congress also a positive course which is now being effectively mirrored in the further development not only in the Soviet Union, but also in other socialist countries. We welcome such a course." Here no explanation is needed at all, for it is clear that Tito is welcoming Khrushchev's revisionist views and praying that they may become the prevailing views in the Soviet Union and in the other socialist countries, and that his anti-Marxist and splitting actions may extend ever more, so that the unity of the socialist countries and of the international com-

unist movement may be destroyed and revisionism may triumph.

But the Party of Labour of Albania, just as the other Marxist-Leninist parties, will not depart from the struggle against modern revisionism and in defence of Marxism-Leninism because by this struggle we defend the cause of revolution, communism and world peace. Today dark clouds are hanging over the world. They may darken the sky for some time. They may cover up the sun, but only temporarily. The sun will not be concealed, it will shine. The truth of Marxism-Leninism will triumph.

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

It is now clear that in their revisionist activities for splitting the socialist camp and undermining the anti-imperialist and national-liberation movement, the Tito clique has received the active support of the Khrushchev group, directly or indirectly. This is shown by the events that occurred during 1961. The exchange of delegations, the enthusiastic efforts to bring them ever nearer to the Yugoslav revisionist clique, the frequent statements about "socialist Yugoslavia", etc., are mainly dictated by the ideological conceptions of the Khrushchev group, conceptions which do not differ much from those of Tito's revisionist clique.

The rapprochement between the Khrushchev group and the Yugoslav revisionists has not been achieved and cannot be achieved overnight. Many factors have contrib-

uted and are contributing to this situation, the principal of these factors being the fear of the Khrushchev group that they may be openly exposed to the entire international communist and workers' movement as supporters of the Yugoslav revisionists and their ideological comrades. This also accounts for the constant wavering and the often contradictory attitudes of Khrushchev towards the activities of the Yugoslav revisionists ever since 1955. The fundamental line of his attitude, which stems from a revisionist ideology, has always been a line of rehabilitating the Tito clique, a line of rapprochement and close cooperation with them. This has found a clear expression in Khrushchev's initiative to normalize the relations with the Yugoslav revisionists as early as May 1955. But later on, owing to some careless, and obviously hostile and subversive actions on the part of the Tito clique in different periods (such as their activity during the Hungarian events, the publication of the Programme of the YCL, etc.), which aroused the legitimate indignation of Communists throughout the world, Khrushchev was tactically obliged to make some gestures against the Yugoslav revisionists, so as to avoid compromising himself. Experience, however, has shown that all this was a camouflage and that it was done for show only, for even on such occasions Khrushchev made haste to orientate the Communists that they should be "cautious" and "not raise the value" of the Yugoslav revisionist clique, etc. Typical in this respect is his speech at the 5th Congress of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, in July 1958, in which he said among other things, "In our struggle for the common cause we must not devote to the Yugoslav revisionists

greater attention than they deserve. They want their value raised, that people should think they are the center of the world. . . . We shall not contribute to the fanning of passions, to the aggravation of relations. Even in the situation that has arisen in our relations with the Yugoslav Communist League it will be useful to preserve a spark of hope, to seek acceptable forms for some questions."

The Khrushchev group have always tried to explain this "tolerance" and "cautiousness" as well as the need for "contacts" with the Yugoslav revisionists by the argument that on fundamental questions Yugoslavia's foreign policy is in accord with that of the Soviet Union and that all and every rapprochement with it had no ideological, but only a state character. They even said that "we maintain contacts and are seeking for normal relations also with the United States of America and West Germany, let alone with Yugoslavia". Such arguments are false and they help Khrushchev to conceal his true features as an ally of Tito and supporter of revisionism. Their falsity is clearly shown by the following facts:

First, Yugoslavia's foreign policy has nothing in common with the peaceful policy of the Soviet Union. This is clearly indicated in the Moscow Statement which characterizes the Yugoslav revisionists as disrupters of the socialist camp and splitters of the national-liberation movement and of the forces for peace, who carry on their disrupting and splitting activities under the pretence of following an extra-bloc policy.

Secondly, the rapprochement of the Khrushchev group with the Tito clique is mainly of an ideological nature. This is shown by the declarations that "Yugoslavia is a

socialist state", that "we must become acquainted with her experience", that "we must study it, meditate upon it", etc. This is testified also by the character of the contacts that have been and are being established between them. In reality, under the mask of cooperation in state relations, the Yugoslav revisionists are seeking to deeply penetrate wherever doors are open to them, with a view to spreading their revisionist viewpoints, and all this is being done with the full knowledge of Khrushchev and under his direct incitation. Experience has shown what a danger the Yugoslav revisionists pose when doors are opened to them, how they make use of all and every means to conduct their subversive activities against socialism and communism. If in the future we do not bar their activities, this will undoubtedly lead to very harmful consequences for the Parties and peoples with whom they will find a loophole to interfere and grounds to act. Those who ignore this fact are actually to ignore the Moscow Statement of 1960.

Thirdly, the falseness of Khrushchev's statements is evident also if we compare his attitude towards the Yugoslav revisionists with the attitude he has adopted and continues to adopt towards the People's Republic of Albania, a socialist country, a member of the socialist camp and of the Warsaw Treaty, towards the Party of Labour of Albania, a signatory to the Moscow Statement. With regard to the People's Republic of Albania and the Party of Labour of Albania, Khrushchev violated all and every norm in both Party and state relations. In fighting our Party of Labour he did not take into account the fact that he might "raise the value" of the "Albanian dogmatists", or the fact that he "maintains relations also

with the United States of America and West Germany, or even with the Tito clique", or the fact that little Albania, not by words but by deeds, has resolutely struggled and are struggling, hand in hand with the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, for the triumph of the peaceful policy of the socialist camp, of the liberation movement of the peoples against imperialism and revisionism, and of socialism and communism.

Hence it also clearly follows that Khrushchev and his group "want contact" with the Tito clique, that they are working for a rapprochement with them and that they close their eyes to the splitting activities of that clique, because Tito's revisionist viewpoints coincide with those of Khrushchev's on many questions, and because Khrushchev and Tito are united against socialism and communism by a common revisionist platform. The Khrushchev group and the Tito clique have directed all the fire of their traitorous fight against the Party of Labour of Albania and other Parties and all true Marxist-Leninists who stand on correct Marxist-Leninist positions and are consistently fighting against modern revisionism.

The past year shows that the impetuous rapprochement of the Khrushchev group with the Yugoslav revisionists has been coupled with the fiercest attacks on the Party of Labour of Albania or, as they now say, on Albanian "dogmatism". This is not accidental. In his stand towards the Yugoslav revisionists, Khrushchev has had various tactical waverings since 1955. He has been unable to attain all at once his purpose of having complete rapprochement with the Tito clique. The main obstacle has been the resistance of the Communist and

Workers' Parties in various countries, the resistance of the Communists who are true to Marxism-Leninism, who, regardless Khrushchev's "advice", have always considered revisionism as the main danger to the communist movement, as is stated in the Moscow Declaration of 1957 and the Moscow Statement of 1960, and considered Yugoslav revisionism as its most concentrated and aggressive manifestation.

The Party of Labour of Albania, which has been waging an irreconcilable ideological struggle against Yugoslav revisionism, is one of the Parties that have obstructed Khrushchev's rapprochement with the Yugoslav revisionists. This was noticed from the very outset by both the Khrushchev group and the Tito clique. To reduce our Party to silence, they have resorted to all kinds of measures and pressure. Khrushchev and his group told us, "You are raising the value of the Yugoslav revisionists in the eyes of imperialism," "You are quarrelsome and hot-blooded," "You are not waging a principled struggle, you need tact and skill," "You want to wrest the banner of the struggle against revisionism," and so on and so forth. But our Party, convinced of its correct path, did not stop in its activity for the defence of the purity of Marxism-Leninism.

Khrushchev's waverings and the obstacles on his road towards a rapprochement were understood also by Tito, who more than once warned Khrushchev and even foolishly suggested to him the way to follow. Let us recall here Tito's speech of November 1956, soon after the counter-revolutionary coup in Hungary was put down. Tito said among other things, "We have said that it was not only a question of the personality cult, but

of a system which had made it possible to pursue a personality cult, that herein lay the roots of the issue, that this was the thing to be fought, and that it was the most difficult thing to do." Tito added, "These roots lie in the bureaucratic apparatus, in the methods and attitude, in ignoring the role and aspirations of the working masses, in Enver Hoxhas, Shehus and various other leaders of some western and eastern Parties, who resist democratization and the decisions of the 20th Congress and who have greatly contributed to the consolidation of Stalin's system and are seeking at present to revive it and make it prevail. Herein lie the roots and this is what must be mended." This call was reiterated later. Tito repeated this after the 22nd Congress, in his Skoplje speech, apparently to advise Khrushchev not to stop, but to carry to the end his hostile activity against the Party of Labour of Albania. In this speech Tito said that the Albanian leaders Hoxha and Shehu pose a great danger to peace in this part of the world, that they want to make troubles and create a new, dangerous hotbed of war, . . . fighting against the progressive course which is being pursued in the Soviet Union, that there can be no better fate for the Albanian people as long as such leaders as Hoxha and Shehu remain in power.

It must be said that the advice of "Comrade" Tito has met with a positive response in Khrushchev's anti-Marxist activity.

The course of up-to-date events has shown that contact with the Tito clique has become an interesting and attractive object for the U.S. imperialists as well as for the Khrushchev group. It serves as an automatic indication of what is acceptable and what is not acceptable to the

one or the other side. And this is explained by the fact that the Tito clique maintains as good relations with the U.S. imperialists, whom it faithfully serves, as with the Khrushchev group, with whom it is bound by the same ideals.

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The above are some facts witnessed by the year 1961 which most effectively prove two main things: First, Yugoslav revisionism has not changed at all, it remains what it always has been. The evaluation made by the 1960 Moscow Statement with regard to Yugoslav revisionism and to the task to further unmask it remains fully valid. Secondly, Khrushchev and his group are consciously seeking to draw nearer daily to the Yugoslav revisionists and to work in close cooperation with them to split the camp of socialism and to destroy the international communist and workers' movement.

As to our Party of Labour, it has stood and still resolutely stands on the position of the 1960 Statement of 81 Communist and Workers' Parties. It considers that a resolute and uncompromising struggle must be waged against revisionism, until its complete destruction. Any slackening of revolutionary vigilance against it, any weakening of the principled fight against it, as Khrushchev and his followers are striving for, under whatever pretext, will inevitably lead to the revival and invigoration of the revisionist trends which heavily damage our great cause. Without ruthlessly unmasking revisionism, and in the first place the Belgrade revisionist clique, we cannot properly unmask imperialism.

**FAILURE OF YUGOSLAV
"SPECIAL SOCIALISM"
AND THE NEW MANOEUVRES
OF THE
BELGRADE REVISIONISTS**

Article published in the newspaper
Zëri i Popullit

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At the beginning of this month, the Yugoslav president Josip Broz Tito delivered a lengthy speech in Split, Dalmatia, on the occasion of the inauguration of a hydro-power station on the Cetina River. On such an occasion one might expect that the head of the Yugoslav state should speak of "successes" in the economic field and of "prospects" for the future, as he used to do during the campaign to advertise his "special socialism". But the speech of the Yugoslav president was devoted indeed, from top to bottom, to the disastrous situation of the Yugoslav economy, to the chaos and anarchy which characterise it, to the corruption and degeneration of its managers, to the dissolution of the party organisation and the state apparatus.

What did Tito say in his speech? In Yugoslavia, he pointed out, everyone does what he desires and what is to his liking; there is no system of and control on the investments; the financing of economy is effected by the banks according to the bribes received by their clerks and not according to the needs of the economic sectors; the highest pay within a working collective is 20 times the lowest one. He said that many people needlessly travel abroad and stay there several months spending state money, that they receive gifts from the foreign capitalist firms because they make concessions by selling them Yugoslav goods at a cheap rate and buying their goods at a high price; there are even cases in which money is deposited in different foreign banks. Tito

devoted a part of his speech to the rise of prices of industrial and agricultural products. "We in Yugoslavia," he declared, "constantly feel, and not only feel but also witness the rise of prices of various products." He tried in vain to attribute this phenomenon which has been evident for a long time in the Yugoslav economy, to the poor organisation of supply, to the fact that people allow the rise of prices as they like. "Moreover," Tito said, "in the capitalist countries also there exist some regulators that prevent the undue rise of the prices, while in our country there appears such a phenomenon that our merchant, in my opinion, does what no capitalist so openly does: he raises the prices when there is a lack of different products on the market. In some cases, our commerce has kept the goods in warehouses to cause a shortage of such goods on the market and thus keep the prices high." It is obvious that this is not a matter depending on the desires of people, but it is a result of the unlimited action of the law of demand and supply in the conditions of anarchy in production — a characteristic of the capitalist economy. These anomalies in the Yugoslav trade have also led to the creation of the local closed markets so that commodities cannot be sold or purchased from one republic to the other.

Tito openly spoke also of the real chaos reigning in the field of foreign trade. In Yugoslavia there are some 540 enterprises, he said, which are engaged in the import and export of goods and rival and compete with one another in the home and foreign markets, squandering the state's foreign exchange. Pointing out that Yugoslavia's foreign trade has an adverse balance of 800

million dollars, he said that goods are purchased abroad which the country does not need.

Dwelling on the political consequences of this situation, Tito said that "many negative phenomena have appeared of late, such as localism and chauvinism. . . . Some communists have forgotten the broad interests of the whole community; they see only their own narrow circle so that political dissatisfaction and injustice have appeared in some republics".

Tito presented a no less obscure picture of the situation in Yugoslav agriculture. He said that the small plots of land stretching like carpets near one another are unable to feed even the peasant himself. As he said it, "a large part of the financial means allocated by the state for agriculture is lost on its way to the banks. Today, there are cases in which the banks give their clerks 18-month salary for a year".

Dealing with crimes committed in matters of economy, Tito emphasized that they are widespread and not punished. "When someone steals 5, 6 or 7 million dinars he is sentenced to 2 years' imprisonment and in this way he gains more than when he is free." They steal in economic enterprises, they steal in banks, they steal in villages, they steal at the social insurance, they steal everywhere and when there is a possibility — such is the real picture of the situation that has arisen. We could continue at length with what Tito said, but it would cover a very large space because his speech in which such facts are mentioned fills several newspaper pages.

The fact that the Yugoslav president is obliged to speak so openly and admit the impasse in which the Yugoslav economy has landed, shows that the situation there is

indeed much worse than he describes it and that the dissatisfaction of the people is much greater. But this is not something new, nor unexpected. Whoever has objectively followed the development of present-day Yugoslavia, ever since the Tito clique openly betrayed Marxism-Leninism and step by step passed over to the fold of the imperialists, has forecast without any difficulty that the road onto which the Yugoslav revisionist leadership has led the country could result only in the loss of the victories which the Yugoslav people achieved through their national-liberation struggle, and in Yugoslavia's transformation into a country dependent on the big monopolies of the Western capitalist world, with all the ensuing consequences. The difference is that now the Yugoslav leadership is obliged to admit openly the disaster, seeking to conceal the real causes that have brought about this situation. But why does Tito speak in these days about the serious situation of the Yugoslav economy? Why does he pretend to criticise the shortcomings and a series of negative phenomena in various sectors of the country's life? Why does he rebuke and draw the attention of the party and the state apparatus to a series of ugly things the causes of which he does not uncover and does not show even the way of removing them?

In the first place, the economic difficulties and the dissatisfaction among the people are so great that one can no longer remain silent: an explanation must be given in one way or another. But the Yugoslav leaders want, in connection with the situation that has arisen, to remove the blame from themselves and lay it on some individuals, speculators, trade employees who go abroad

and do not know the foreign market, or on the unscrupulous enterprise managers, on communists who no longer play the role or on corrupted persons. Had it been a matter of certain individuals, this would not constitute any serious problem and Tito would pass it in silence, he would take measures and everything would be mended up. But such individuals are not just "some"; they constitute a whole stratum of party and state officials, the stratum of the employees of the whole bureaucratic and police machinery set up by the Tito regime itself and which are at the same time its principal mainstay. It is, therefore, they that rule present-day Yugoslavia and without whom Tito cannot get along.

Another reason which compels the Belgrade leaders to denounce publicly the great difficulties which Yugoslavia is undergoing at present, is that the people's disgust has considerably grown. Therefore, to mitigate it, to appease it there must be used such a demagogical manoeuvre: to take the initiative and denounce them from above and give pledges. Tito needs this to create the impression that it is not the leadership to be blamed, but some employees, that the leadership is itself aware of these things and condemns them, and has even thought of taking measures to improve the situation. The aim is evident: to throw dust in the people's eyes, to make them take hope and behave as they did before. Demagogy is the favourite weapon of the revisionists; of this they are masters. All this serves to conceal the real cause of this situation: the treachery of the Tito clique and their passage to the fold of the imperialists.

Finally — and this, in the present-day conditions, is of special importance — the public denunciation by the

Yugoslav leaders is effected in order to create the impression that in Yugoslavia some forward strides of a socialist character are being made, that some positive corrections are being made in the economic policy and that some indications are given that Yugoslavia "is embarking on the right path". The aim pursued by Tito and his imperialist masters through this new game is big and very dangerous. The question is to get "the Trojan horse" into the castle, into the socialist camp as now people have come out who are ready to breach the walls and greet it in with ceremony, even reserving a place of honour for it. It has been trumpeted for a long time that the Tito clique show some "positive aspects" as regards the foreign policy. Now the modern revisionists will trumpet that "positive signs" are appearing also with regard to the home policy. Thus, under the pretext that the Yugoslav leaders are making some turning point and, by making some "objective, comradely remarks" on what the Belgrade traitors themselves have denounced, they are able to stretch a friendly hand to the Tito clique. It must be said that all this story by no means damages either Tito or imperialism but helps the Yugoslav revisionists to find new loopholes to split and undermine from within the camp of socialism and the international communist movement.

Everybody remembers with how much fanfare the "Yugoslav way to socialism" was advertised; everybody remembers the advertising of the 1958 Ljubljana Congress and of the programme of the Yugoslav Communist League. It was said at that time that an invention had been made in Yugoslavia, that a kind of "special socialism" had been found which would work

miracles within a short period of time, that the theory and practice of Marxism-Leninism had become obsolete and that they should now be replaced by Tito's "national communism". According to the Yugoslav revisionists, in order to build socialism, the party and state leadership in economy should be abolished, planning should be renounced, the so-called workers' councils should replace the single management of the enterprises, or the workers' self-administration system should be substituted for the state centralized management of the enterprises, the collectivisation of agriculture in the countryside should not be carried out, etc., etc. Liberalisation, self-administration, decentralisation, democratisation — these slogans so often used by Tito and his propagandists were the means that should create the "Yugoslav miracle" which would afterwards illuminate the whole world. What now remains of this "miracle"? What remains also of the "Yugoslav experiment which deserves to be carefully studied" and about which the whole of the revisionist chorus shouted? "Liberalism" brought about the freedom to rob the national wealth, "self-administration" — the workers' right to be exploited by the bureaucratic apparatus and that of the managers to receive salaries 20 times those of the workers; "decentralisation" led to everybody's acting according to his own will, thus giving rise to anarchy in production, market competition and the free game of prices; "democratisation" — to the stealing of millions with impunity, to the complete degeneration of the state machinery.

The real Marxist-Leninists have long since pointed out that the so-called "Yugoslav road to socialism" is

nothing but an ideological diversion of imperialism to disorientate and hit the building of socialism in the countries of the people's democracy, while in respect to Yugoslavia proper it would inevitably lead to the expansion of the capitalist elements.

What now characterises the Yugoslav economy? According to Tito's speech and from the daily reports of the Yugoslav press, it is characterised by non-fulfilment of the industrial production plans, by a great diminution in agricultural production, by the constant growth of the adverse balance of foreign trade and by the rapid increase of living costs.

Last year many branches of the Yugoslav industry, including electric power, coal industry and metal-working, metal-processing industry, chemical, building materials, textile and other industries, did not fulfil their production plans. In many industrial branches the value of goods produced was smaller than in 1960. This has happened, as indicated also in the Yugoslav press, for many reasons. The Yugoslav industry has been built up very chaotically. Enterprises have been set up according to the narrow local interests of the republic and communes, without a raw material base and without proceeding from the real necessities of the home market or from the export demands. Many enterprises depend on imported raw material which is often not secured. In these conditions it is understandable that the small enterprises, which are numerous in Yugoslavia and do not have sufficient financial means, have no chance to conduct their economic activities normally. The lack of planning, anarchy in production, rivalry, a bad administration, thefts and abuses are doing, of course, their job.

In these conditions, an important factor determining this situation in Yugoslav industry is also the dumping by the Western monopolies headed by those of the United States, onto the Yugoslav market.

In recent years Yugoslavia has got 2 billion dollars in economic loans from the United States and other Western countries, and this does not include the military and other aid. Of course, these billions of dollars have been granted to Yugoslavia for definite political aims, for the services which the Tito group renders to imperialism; at the same time the capitalist trusts do not give their dollars without drawing other dollar profits from them. In reality, the loans which imperialism gives Yugoslavia are an export of capital. Although there is no Western monopoly capital directly invested in the Yugoslav industry, an important condition attached to the loans for Yugoslavia has been that they should be used for the purchase of manufactured and semi-manufactured goods, wheat and consumer goods in Western countries. The capitalist monopolies sell the goods to the Yugoslav state enterprises and organisations at higher prices than those of the world market. In his speech Tito laid the blame for this on the trade representatives sent abroad who are corrupted by the motor-cars or other things which the capitalist firms give them as bribes. This is true — bribery has been raised to a system; but the main fault lies elsewhere. Early last year, the Yugoslav ruling circles adopted the policy of free imports and, by their "reform" in foreign trade and in the currency exchange system, they lowered the customs tariffs, raised the value of the United States dollar in Yugoslavia and gave the importers complete freedom to purchase all kinds of goods

from Western firms. The Yugoslav revisionist leadership did not do what even the most developed capitalist states do, i.e. adopt strong protective measures for their own industry. Thus it happens that the foreign goods, although purchased abroad at higher prices, for a number of reasons compete with the domestic goods, which remain unsold on the Yugoslav market. The Yugoslav press carries numerous articles saying that the Yugoslav industry is by no means able to resist the competition of Western monopoly capital. In reality it must be admitted that this "reform" is a concession to the Western monopolies, in this way they get the reward for their loans and draw profits.

If we add to this picture also the fact that the purchasing power of the masses in Yugoslavia is very low, then one can easily imagine in what a situation the Yugoslav economy is at present. The lack of raw materials on the one hand, the accumulation of stocks and the sales crisis on the other are ever more leading to a stagnation of production. It goes without saying that in these conditions, lacking sufficient financial means, many enterprises are unable to cope with the expenditures for the normal development of production and bankruptcy is inevitable.

Of course, it is not those who get bribes from the Western capitalists, not those who are paid 20 times more than the ordinary worker nor those who steal millions of dinars that are suffering from this plight in the Yugoslav industry and throughout the country. In a word, it is not those men who crop up like mushrooms after a shower but the working class and the toiling peasantry that suffer from this plight.

Facts show that the so-called "workers' self-administration", in which the workers administer nothing, is but a subtle form of their exploitation by those who have the enterprises in their hands, by the men of Tito's bureaucratic apparatus. The luxurious life which they and their families are leading, the villas, motor-cars, the money "deposited in foreign banks", the tour, etc., on which Tito also dwelt in his speech — they are all at the expense of the blood and sweat of the Yugoslav workers. In the final analysis, they are doing nothing but following the example of their president, who is known for his sumptuousness and tour around the world. The vice-chairman of the Federal Executive Council of Yugoslavia, M. Todorovic, in a recent report delivered at the session of the Federal People's Assembly, had to admit that "our bureaucrats want to have freedom of action, to realize excessive incomes and enjoy special privileges and they are trying to achieve this by suppressing democracy and the freedom of their inferiors". If we translate this more clearly, it means: by oppressing and exploiting the workers.

It follows from the above that in Yugoslavia, due to all these factors, the cost of living is continually rising. As reported by the Belgrade newspaper *Politika* in its March 9 issue, prices in Yugoslavia for February this year had risen by 8 per cent as compared with the average level of the past year, the prices of agricultural products had risen by 16 per cent, while those of industrial products had risen by 5 per cent. At the same time there have also been increases in taxes, which in 1961 were 22 per cent higher than in the previous year and which are imposed on the enterprises but shouldered by the

working masses in Yugoslavia just as they are in capitalist countries. From all these things it is evident why Tito in his speech called on the workers not to go on strikes which, although the authorities try to hide them, are not rare.

The problem of agricultural production in Yugoslavia is perhaps more serious than that of industry. Yugoslavia, which formerly was known as an exporter of agricultural products, now is compelled to import large quantities of United States wheat to feed the population. This happens, in the first place, because the land is divided into very small plots, because there is a lack of modern technical means for its cultivation, etc., etc. Moreover, agriculture in Yugoslavia is the object of great speculation by the trade enterprises which, proceeding from the aim of drawing the greatest possible profits, are manoeuvring at their pleasure with the purchase and sale prices of the agricultural products. This has resulted in the constant destruction of the small peasant farmsteads and in the consolidation of those of the kulaks, so that in Yugoslavia, as Tito puts it, "the onions cost more than gold".

All the efforts exerted by the Yugoslav leadership to increase agricultural production have failed. Even those few means that have been earmarked for agriculture have gone, as the newspaper *Borba* reported, into the hands of the kulaks. In 1961 Yugoslav agriculture yielded 20 per cent less than was forecast and 9 per cent less than in 1959.

Tito, who recognized in his speech, just as the other Yugoslav leaders did in their statements of late, the difficulties which the Yugoslav economy is undergoing,

tried to characterise this situation as a temporary and transitive phenomenon, whereas indeed it is a chronic disease which is inherent in the very nature of the relations dominating the Yugoslav economy, just as anarchy in production, competition, the exploitation of the working people, etc. are chronic and permanent in every capitalist country. The Yugoslav revisionists are reaping what they have sown: They renounced socialism — here are the consequences of it.

Lenin had long ago warned that during the transition period, when the question arises "Who will win?", there exist the possibilities for either socialism or capitalism to win. In Yugoslavia, owing to the fact that her leaders have betrayed Marxism-Leninism and placed themselves in the service of imperialism, the question, as plainly seen, is decidedly in favour of capitalism. The facts are so obvious that the revisionists themselves cannot conceal them. Anarchy in production and in the distribution of social funds, competition and speculation on the market, the process of differentiation and the consolidation of the capitalist elements in the countryside, the extension of private economic enterprises, especially in handicrafts, etc. — these are phenomena not of the socialist economy, but of the capitalist one. Let the Belgrade revisionists and their supporters talk as much as they want about the building of socialism in Yugoslavia, the reality shows the opposite.

There remains nothing of the "Yugoslav road to socialism". Practice indisputably confirmed that our party and the other communist parties were right when they criticised the anti-Marxist and anti-Leninist nature of this "road" and condemned the splitting and undermin-

ing policy of the Yugoslav leaders. They rightfully pointed out that Tito's "special socialism" has nothing in common with socialism. The Yugoslav revisionist leaders have already done much harm to the cause of socialism and the people's struggle for freedom and national independence, for democracy and social progress, for peace and socialism. But at the same time the tragedy of the Yugoslav peoples, for which Tito and his group are responsible, is an example showing at what point one can arrive if one trusts the revisionist demagogy, alienating oneself from the principles of Marxism-Leninism and from the tried and tested practice of the construction of socialism in the other countries on the foundation of the teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin. The chaos caused in the economy and in the whole life of the country by the revisionist theories has brought about also the corruption and degeneration of the cadres of the state and party apparatus in Yugoslavia. Some time ago at Novi Sad, as reported by the foreign news agencies, an important court trial took place against some state enterprise managers who, in collaboration with a large group of private undertakers, had speculated on and stolen property, which is worth tens of millions of dinars. Tito openly speaks of embezzlement of state funds, of financial speculations, of the stealing of state property. These things have by now obviously grown to such proportions that the leaders can no longer keep silent about them. In his speech Tito said that, in accordance with a decision which was scheduled to come into force on May 2, the importation of automobiles into Yugoslavia had been prohibited. "But what happened?" — he asked. "Two thousand automobiles arrived

at our border one day before. . . ." It is the question of private motor-cars representing bribes which are now quite a usual thing for those who are trading with foreign firms, and which was mentioned above. Tito admitted also that many enterprise managers, in collaboration with leaders of local organs, use the property entrusted to them as they like and that they draw huge profits for their personal use.

Such a situation has also created favourable conditions to incite further localist and chauvinist feelings among regions and republics. It is understandable that as long as there exists group property in Yugoslavia, every group seeks to develop its own property to the detriment of the others', to draw as much profit as possible at the expense of others', to liquidate others' in order to maintain its own. Thus, for example, Zagreb is not interested in the development of Prizren, Croatia not in that of Montenegro. The competition between the different economic enterprises and between the republics, the drive each one is conducting to draw as much profit as possible for itself, the efforts to grab at the expense of the others — all these give rise to profound political contradictions which, in the long run, are ever more complicated. The relations that have been established in the Yugoslav economy, relations of the capitalist type, lead not to a rapprochement and cooperation between classes and nationalities, but to a split and hostility among them. This is the "settlement" of the national question in Yugoslavia according to Tito's programme!

Chauvinism is deeply rooted in Yugoslavia. But in the new conditions it gains a still greater momentum. Other new disproportions in the economic, cultural and

other fields are added to the previous unequal development among the nationalities. In order to maintain this inequality which concerns the Serbian chauvinists on the one hand, and the Croatian ones on the other, it is obvious that there must be put into operation both the political oppression and the repressive state machinery — police, courts, prisons. This once more confirms what has been said and which is common knowledge about the miserable situation of the Albanians of Kosovo, Macedonia and Montenegro and of many other nationality regions of Yugoslavia.

Of late, the Yugoslav leaders, including Tito himself with his latest speech, compelled by the ever deepening of the contradictions in the Yugoslav economic and political life, have been promising that they will strengthen state control, etc. But the measures they promise, as always, do not touch the real causes. The interests of the groups which draw profits not from their work, especially those of the petty bourgeoisie and kulaks, and the interests of foreign monopoly capital, remain untouched.

The causes of the present situation in Yugoslavia are not subjective, as the Belgrade revisionists are seeking to present them. The causes are objective. It is the very system of the Yugoslav economy, it is the very nature of the relations dominating the economy, it is in the final analysis the very revisionist conceptions that give rise to all those negative phenomena, to all those failures which are manifested in Yugoslavia's life at present.

But recently, the Yugoslav revisionist leaders have blamed Stalin for their economic difficulties and they

continue to attack him even now, alleging that he impeded the normal development of Yugoslavia. Life itself, however, indisputably confirmed that Stalin was right when he unmasked the true features of the Tito clique and warned about the dangers that were threatening the cause of socialism in Yugoslavia and the whole international communist and workers' movement as a result of the treason of this clique. Life showed that Stalin's predictions about the fate that lay in store for the Communist Party of Yugoslavia and the Yugoslav people, about the degeneration of the party and state in Yugoslavia were true. The leadership of the Yugoslav Communist Party betrayed Marxism-Leninism and led to the loss of the fruits gained by the Yugoslav peoples, to Yugoslavia being attached to the chariot of imperialism. The present situation of Yugoslavia is, then, another confirmation of Stalin's correct and principled attitude, which once more shows how useless and slanderous is the fight carried out by the modern revisionists against this prominent Marxist-Leninist, a worthy disciple of Lenin.

In his lengthy speech Tito did not show any way out. Nor could he do so. To do this one must change the whole system established by the revisionists in Yugoslavia, one must detach oneself from imperialism. But the Tito group cannot do this, you cannot expect this from those who have betrayed Marxism-Leninism.

The Tito clique is politically, economically and militarily connected with imperialism. The words "socialism" and "neutrality" which are used according to the needs, are only masks used by the Yugoslav revisionists to

conceal their dependence on imperialism and the services they render to it. In reality, there is nothing socialist or neutral in Yugoslavia. Yugoslavia is attached to NATO through the Balkan pact. Not in vain has the United States of America given her billions of dollars and military equipment. Today, Yugoslavia is quite an armed country and she continues to arm. The Western observers noticed this also during the May Day parade this year in Belgrade where American armaments mainly struck one's eyes, although new Soviet-made tanks were not missing. The arming of Yugoslavia by United States imperialism is not without purpose. It is part and parcel of the general armament of the imperialist powers and their allies; that is why it constitutes a permanent danger and menace to the socialist countries in the Balkans, and in particular to our country, because Yugoslavia's annexionist aims towards Albania are well known. Therefore, in such conditions, cooperation with the Tito clique means to play into the hands of imperialism. Neither Tito's demagogy nor the sophistry of his supporters is able to change what is known and publicly confirmed: that Tito is the apprentice while the United States imperialism is his master.

A Marxist-Leninist party capable of implementing the great ideas of scientific communism does not exist in Yugoslavia today. The Yugoslav League of Communists and the Yugoslav state apparatus have long since submerged into the mire of revisionism, of the betrayal of the interests of the Yugoslav peoples and of the international communist and workers' movement. To nourish illusions and to hope that there is still a possibility of

the Yugoslav revisionist leaders "mending their ways" and starting properly to "build up" socialism means to lose completely the sense of objectivity, to be in open opposition to what is shown by the daily practice of the present-day Yugoslav life, or to judge by not on the basis of Marxist-Leninist analysis of the facts but of the idealistic considerations of the revisionists.

The complete failure of the Yugoslav economic line, just as the political failure of the Yugoslav revisionists, does not mean at all that they are no longer dangerous. As long as they continue their splitting and undermining activities against the socialist camp and the international communist movement, as long as imperialism is unsparingly financing their traitorous activities, all the communists must constantly enhance their revolutionary vigilance and carry out to the end their struggle of principle for the unmasking and the complete ideological and political destruction of the Yugoslav revisionists, these sworn traitors to socialism and loyal servitors of imperialism.

The Moscow Declaration of the 81 communist and workers' parties says that "further exposure of the leaders of Yugoslav revisionists and active struggle to safeguard the communist movement and the working-class movement from the anti-Leninist ideas of the Yugoslav revisionists, remain an essential task of the Marxist-Leninist parties". The reality of these tasks continues always as previously. The Yugoslav revisionists, in spite of the defeats they have suffered and continue to suffer, will try to find new "arguments", new ways of fighting socialism, new allies to split the socialist camp and undermine the ranks of the anti-imperialist front. There-

fore, the more we unmask the demagogical manoeuvres and subtle tactics of the Yugoslav revisionists, the better we promote the great cause of the triumph of socialism and peace.

Sofokli Lazri
Javer Malo

**THE HUE AND CRY
ABOUT
A "CHANGE" IN TITO'S POLICY
AND
THE UNDENIABLE TRUTH**

Article published in the newspaper
Zëri i Popullit

June 30, 1962

The recent hue and cry about a certain "change" in Tito's policy has again given rise in the West to the question "of guarantees to safeguard the independence of Yugoslavia from world communism". It is, however, clear to all who have followed closely the American policy towards Yugoslavia and the manoeuvres of Tito's clique to sow dissension in the socialist camp and the international communist movement, that there is actually no such "change" nor can there be any. In any case, the American Senators, who do not know all that the State Department knows, demanded new guarantees. Mention was even made of a resolution which the American Senate supposedly passed to refuse further aid to Yugoslavia and that Kennedy himself had later intervened to have this resolution annulled. What a comedy!

Nevertheless, the guarantees did not fail to come forth. The Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs of Yugoslavia, Kocha Popovich, paid an official visit to Washington where he was cordially received by the head of the State Department, Dean Rusk, and by President Kennedy himself. News agencies reported that the topics dealt with at these talks, at "these pleasant and interesting talks", as Kocha Popovich described his talks with Dean Rusk, included "the Common Market, Berlin and the whole question of East-West relations, the aid to be given by the United States to Yugoslavia and, probably, an eventual visit of Marshal Tito to Washington towards

the end of the current year". In other words, time-pieces were set and new guarantees negotiated for the days to come.

The American Ambassador to Belgrade, George Kennan, who is no second-rate diplomat but is considered as a "Number One American expert on Eastern affairs", stated, according to the Yugoslav Tanjug News Agency itself, that "there is no reason to doubt that Yugoslavia is an independent state and that it will continue to maintain this stand in the days to come, too".

Lastly, Kennedy himself gave "guarantees". At his press conference on June 7, he justified the policy of his Government towards Yugoslavia, calling the aid to Tito's clique as in keeping with "the national interests" of the United States of America. Nothing more need be said under the circumstances. Let those who have eyes see and those who have ears hear, as the saying goes.

It is thus plain that the hubbub about some kind of a "change" in Tito's policy, which was started after his speech at Split in which, for obvious reasons, hints were dropped about some "changes in Yugoslav politics", is only a pill intended to put to sleep those who have shut their eyes and stuffed their ears so as not to see and hear that this is only another ruse and nothing else.

Both Belgrade and Washington brag about the so-called "independence" of the Tito clique. A lie, pure and simple! When we know that the imperialists consider only the socialist states as dependent and in bondage and that Taiwan, south Korea, south Viet Nam, etc. are proclaimed by them as champions of independence, it is not hard to draw the conclusion that Yugoslavia, too, is as

"independent" as these classic countries of imperialist slavery. Nobody envies them for this kind of "independence".

But there is nothing new in this: such words as "independence" or "socialism" applied to Yugoslavia are nothing less than masks which the Belgrade revisionists and their friends use to cover up the truth. It is plain that if these masks were to fall off the Yugoslav revisionists would be good for nothing.

Close, all-round American-Yugoslav collaboration is so extensive and so conspicuous that it cannot be kept secret. The history of American-Yugoslav relations bears full evidence of the "independence" of Yugoslavia and the role that has been assigned to it. We need to mention only a few facts of recent years. At the 7th Congress of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia Tito stated:

"We received economic and military aid from America at the time when it was most urgently needed, that is, when Stalin exerted political, economic and propaganda pressure on our country. This was of great help to us in overcoming the difficulties we encountered at that time."

Let us assume for a moment that it was only during a certain specific period that the Yugoslav revisionists received economic and military aid from the United States of America. Why, it should be asked, did the American imperialists give this help to Yugoslavia at that time?

If one can describe as disinterested the "aid" which the American imperialists gave the Greek monarchical fascists to oppress the Greek people or the "aid" which they are giving the reactionary cliques in the Far East, then one can equally describe as disinterested the "aid"

which they have been giving to Yugoslavia. There is no case in history of imperialists giving disinterested aid. American "aid" has always and everywhere been aimed at making the countries which receive it dependent economically and politically on American imperialism. Yugoslavia can make no exception.

It is to the best of everybody's knowledge that the economic, military and political aid allocated by the United States to Yugoslavia is not confined to any specific period but has been continuous and in ever increasing proportions.

It is publicly known that from 1948 to the end of 1961, Yugoslavia, as the American magazine *U.S. News and World Report* of November 27, 1961, wrote, received military and economic aid amounting to 3 billion 500 million dollars from the United States of America. Newspapers and periodicals abroad do not hesitate even to publish time-tables listing in detail the amounts of this "aid" given in various forms, in some cases openly and in others not, at times directly in dollars, at other times in surplus agricultural produce and in many cases in armaments. Nor are conclusions lacking as to why this "aid" is given in specific situations. Thus, for instance, the Tito clique received large sums of dollars at the time of the counter-revolution in Hungary, in the preparation of which the Yugoslav revisionists took active part, and following the speech by Tito at Pula, in which he made a violent attack on and slandered the Soviet Union and all the other socialist countries. On November 3, 1956 Yugoslavia and the USA concluded an agreement whereby 98,300,000 dollars worth of American surplus agricultural produce would be furnished, and at the end of December

of the same year the American Government handed to Yugoslavia a cheque for nearly 6 billion dinars.

In 1957, when the League of Communists of Yugoslavia refused to sign the Moscow Declaration of the Communist and Workers' Parties of the socialist countries and made public their revisionist program, as a counter-balance to the entire international communist and workers' movement, the USA gave Yugoslavia another huge loan. A news item reported on November 22, 1957 by AFP said: "There have been clear indications that the Yugoslav stand (in connection with the Moscow Declaration) has given rise to great interest in the State Department. The impression prevails in Washington that the Yugoslav President, Marshal Tito, has again stood firm in showing his independence from the communist bloc". A few days later, on December 8, 1957, Tito received the former Ambassador of the USA to Yugoslavia, James Ridelberger. The next day *The New York Times* stated that "Tito mentioned Yugoslavia's refusal to sign the Moscow Declaration as a further proof of its continued independence". These are not sheer coincidences. But there is more yet.

On June 15, 1958 Tito delivered his infamous speech at Labin, the main objective of which was to justify the revisionist nature of the program of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, a program repudiated with disdain by all the communist and workers' parties of the world, and to give a new tone to his slanders against the communist and workers' parties of the socialist countries. The speech was acclaimed by the imperialist camp, and only three days later, on June 18, President Eisenhower praised Tito for attempting to "create centrifugal forces"

within the socialist camp, expressing at the same time his readiness to strengthen the ties with Yugoslavia.

During the same period and precisely on June 19, Robert Murphy, then Assistant-Secretary of the State Department, declared: "He (Tito) has never faltered in his determination to safeguard the independence of Yugoslavia from intrusion into the internal affairs of his country". There is no doubt that all these declarations would be followed by gifts of dollars. And that is exactly what happened. On June 18 a Yugoslav military mission paid a call to the Department of Defence of the USA and asked that military equipment be furnished more speedily. *Newsweek* said during those days: "The United States has decided to give Yugoslavia a political priority in the American aid, and a loan as well". Further down it added: "The United States of America will give Yugoslavia a special aid in the form of a 10-15 million dollars as well as 80-90 million dollars worth of surplus agricultural products, and plans are being examined to sell to it armaments directly".

What do all these things speak of? The complete harmony of the Yugoslav policy with that of the imperialists leaves no room for us to consider it casual. This policy persistently pursued by Belgrade has been received with enthusiastic approval in the imperialist camp. The Yugoslav leaders have even been encouraged by these periodic "aids" to tread on this road. "The elastic trend shown by America towards Yugoslavia in the past," *The New York Times* wrote, "was justifiable from the standpoint of our own interests".

American aid did not fail to pour forth during 1959 as well as the following years. It is publicly known that

this year's aid amounted to the gross sum of 156,300,000 dollars.

But the catastrophic consequences of the economic policy of the Yugoslav revisionists were clearly manifested in 1960. It was the time when the Yugoslav leaders were about to launch a new system of foreign trade and rate of exchange, through which the penetration of American capital in Yugoslavia would be greatly facilitated. The revisionists stated at that time that they needed 350 million dollars to meet the difficult situation of payments. It was precisely at this point that the American Department of State sent to Belgrade its Under-Secretary, Douglas Dillon, one of the most powerful men on the New York Stock Exchange. Following his talks with the Yugoslav leaders he stated: "The USA has tried to help Yugoslavia for a number of years to consolidate its position as an independent country . . . Yugoslavia and the USA maintain constructive mutual relations which are reflected in economic collaboration, in an ever increasing exchange of men and mutual programs of technical development". He said further: "We continue to look for fields of collaboration in which our common efforts will bring about the rise of well-being and security for our peoples". Just how much the well-being of the Yugoslav people has improved through this collaboration with the USA Dillon is well aware. This was further elucidated by Tito's recent speech at Split. It had been made clear in time by the American press as well. On December 26, 1961 the American news agency UPI gave this tableau of the situation in Yugoslavia:

"Changes have been introduced in Yugoslavia in these years that have pleased the West but on the contrary have made the Kremlin uneasy. Forced collectivization has been practically eliminated by the Tito regime. The economy of the country has increasingly been adapted to Western trade. Some aspects of free trade in industry have come to the fore. Internal and foreign trips have been encouraged. Some Yugoslavs continue to have a 'Marxist conscience'. They still like to show (pro forma of course) time and again that they are good socialists, that they are opposed to the capitalist system. Because of this they often align themselves with the leaders of the African and Asiatic bloc against the United States and Western imperialism".

How then can one say that American "aid" is lavished on Yugoslavia without economic and political concessions made by the latter?

But let us return to Dillon's visit. As expected and as it had always happened whenever American personalities visited Belgrade, the Tito clique received more dollars. This is a fact. It is likewise a fact that the Belgrade revisionists gave further pledges to the "Generous Uncle". Wherefore all this generosity?

"Why is the Government of the United States trying to strengthen the communist regime in Yugoslavia at the same time as it is trying to fight the other communists throughout the world?" asked *U.S. News and World Report* in one of its last year's issues. And at the same time it gave its answer: "The Americans should put the question: 'Do Tito's interests coincide with ours?'. Viewed from this standpoint, our policy towards Tito is correct". Here is the reason. Everything is plainly said.

But, as it was then explained, this article was written in order to appease some short-sighted individuals in America who, listening to Tito's phraseology, took him for a real communist. It was the same people, as it can be remembered, who raised their voices against the 130 fighter planes which Kennedy's Government would be giving to Yugoslavia and against training Yugoslav pilots in American military bases. Some went even so far as to say that the Kennedy Administration would re-examine American policy towards Yugoslavia. But these rumors were speedily hushed up. On October 18 last year Dean Rusk stated in one of his press conferences that he "has not the least doubt that the policy of American military aid to Yugoslavia has helped the latter preserve its independence vis-a-vis the Soviet bloc", and that "since 1948 Yugoslavia has not only safeguarded its independence, but it has been a source of dissension in the bosom of international communism". Moreover, to remove any misgivings about the stand the Yugoslav revisionists maintained at the conference of non-aligned countries in Belgrade, the head of American diplomacy deemed it necessary to state that "the stand of the Yugoslav Delegation at the conference of non-aligned countries does not show that Yugoslavia has departed from the road of her independence".

Dean Rusk's various speeches and statements, although camouflaged in diplomatic phraseology, lay bare the services which the Yugoslav revisionists render to American imperialism, especially in their role as sowers of dissension in the international communist movement and in their work of disrupting the national-liberation movements. In this connection it is worth citing another sig-

nificant statement made by Dean Rusk on February 5 of this year. In his controversy with Senator Paul Kitchin, Head of the Special Committee of the House of Representatives, the Secretary of State declared: "The American aid given by Eisenhower and Kennedy consolidated the independence of Yugoslavia and made Tito a leading example of how to successfully detach a communist country from Soviet imperialism". He made this statement more explicit when he said that "the Kennedy Administration is convinced that Yugoslavia takes no part in the international communist plot to undermine the independence of other countries".

Dean Rusk called "the first decision" to "help" Yugoslavia as "full of vision and daring" and wound up by saying that "the results have surpassed our expectations". Or, as his assistant, Herlan Cleveland, stated recently when speaking about the aid that the United States had given Yugoslavia: "I think we have received a good reward for our money".

The facts we have mentioned speak for themselves, they show that the Tito clique are from first to last in the service of American imperialism. This is confirmed not only by the assistance, statements and praises which the leaders of American imperialism have always lavished and continue to lavish on the Belgrade revisionists but also by the revisionist policy and activities of the Yugoslav leaders who keep pursuing the same objective, namely, to sow dissension in the socialist camp and prolong the life of imperialism. Participation in the Balkan Pact, which connects the Tito clique with NATO, bears full witness to this; Tito's open attacks on the socialist camp, likening it to the imperialist bloc, bear witness

to this; and the numerous slanders against the Soviet Union, against the socialist system, bear witness to this. It was Tito who called the decision of the Soviet Government to resume nuclear tests "a thing that has alarmed the whole world on a very large scale" and called the Economic Council of Mutual Assistance "a serious obstacle" to economic cooperation, "bearing resemblance to" the Common Market. Going all the way to embellish the capitalist system, to preach revisionist ideas about war and peace, about coexistence, about revolutions, about the nature of imperialism and so on is another proof of this.

To whose benefit and in whose service the Yugoslav revisionist leaders carry out their policy and activities is also clearly demonstrated by their hostile stand towards the struggle of the oppressed peoples to free themselves from American imperialism and other colonialist powers as well as towards the revolutionary war of the working class against capitalist exploiters. Doesn't the stand of the Yugoslav revisionists towards the struggle of the Congolese people for independence — i.e., their considering American intervention as "a factor that helped stabilize the situation", a very "significant and valuable factor" — speak of this? To praise Kennedy's "Alliance for Progress" which aims at prolonging the period of bondage for the Latin Americans, and to preach that American imperialism "is beginning to realize that times have changed" and that it is "showing readiness to correct mistakes and adjust wrongs", as the Yugoslav revisionists have done — is this not to the advantage of American imperialism and prejudicial to the fight of the Latin American peoples for freedom? To praise Wash-

ington's "endeavours" to solve the Laotian problem because American imperialists "are really eager to see a peaceful and neutral Laos", as the Yugoslav revisionists have done — is this not to the advantage of American imperialism and prejudicial to the struggle of the Laotian patriots for freedom?

Tito's clique is in fact not different from the other allies of the USA except for its "socialist" and "neutralist" mask which it is obliged to wear, and its special role as a "Trojan horse" in order to sow dissension in the socialist camp and in the international communist and workers' movement. One thing is certain: If now and then Rusk and other American politicians find it expedient to blurt out certain fragments of the truth in order to quiet down those who do not know as much as the State Department, they do a thousand other things to keep this mask on.

In the present state of things, when the Yugoslav revisionists are meeting with complete failure in their economic and political system and their activities have been so openly exposed in the international arena, the Tito group have to resort to shrewd tricks and find new ways of sowing dissension in the socialist camp and the international communist and workers' movement. Both the American imperialists and the modern revisionists deem it expedient today to paint in deeper red the mask of the Tito group which has lost colour. And that is what they are doing. At the same time that Koccha Popovich went to Washington to strengthen relations with the USA and to coordinate his policy with the American Government, Tito, in his speech at Split, pretended he was making "socialist improvements in Yugoslavia". These

manoeuvres are inseparable parts of that notorious big international plot of imperialist reaction directed against socialism and peace.

Therefore, we would be doing a great disservice to the socialist camp and the international communist and workers' movement if we slackened our vigilance against the danger of Yugoslav revisionists, or, what is worse, if we nourished illusions that they are correcting their mistakes and embarking on the right road, illusions that the socialist elements are being strengthened in Yugoslavia, that socialism is being built there, and so on and so forth.

The international communist and workers' movement has more than once emphasized that it behooves the communists throughout the world to expose and denounce the activities of the Yugoslav revisionists thoroughly. This is indispensable to the consolidation of the unity of the socialist camp and the international communist movement, of the anti-imperialist front of peace and socialism.

And yet, what is actually happening? While all facts go to prove that Yugoslavia, far from building socialism, has embarked on a comprehensive, all-round drift towards capitalism, the modern revisionists try their utmost to prove the contrary. But such statements as "Yugoslavia is a socialist country" and "socialism is being built in Yugoslavia" and the like are mere bluffs which cause no harm to the imperialists but which allow the modern revisionists of all stripes to throw their arms around Tito and justify him to a certain extent in the eyes of the world. In other words, Tito is the link which connects the other revisionists with imperialism at a time when

this cannot yet be done openly and directly. Vain are all efforts to conceal this truth, though the "arguments" used in explaining why imperialism helps "socialist" Yugoslavia and why the revisionists tighten their connections with the treacherous Tito clique are diverse. If "socialism is being built in Yugoslavia" then what explanation can be given for the fact that the imperialists aid the Tito clique? According to this logic either the imperialists are no longer imperialists and are beginning to set their hearts on building socialism, or Yugoslavia is not building socialism and the imperialists are actually helping to reinstate capitalism. Either the one or the other. The modern revisionists categorically deny the second and stick to the first. If so, then let them say it openly.

If Yugoslavia is a "socialist country" we are justified in asking: How many kinds of socialism are there in the world? According to modern revisionist logic there must be two kinds of socialism: one kind of socialism hostile to capitalism, against which the imperialists wage a relentless fight, and another kind of socialism harmless to capitalism, which the imperialists aid unsparingly. Yugoslav "socialism" therefore is harmless to capitalism, otherwise the imperialists would not be aiding it. The truth is that Tito's "socialism" aided by American imperialism has nothing in common with socialism. Tito's clique simply uses it as a mask. It is like saying that there are two kinds of imperialism: a bad one, hostile to the working class and to all the laboring people, exploiter and warmonger, and a good one that looks after the welfare of the working class and of all the laboring people, liberator of the peoples and peace-loving. But there

are not two kinds of socialism for Marxist-Leninists, just as there are not two kinds of imperialism.

It is not very easy for the modern revisionists to justify their shaking hands with Tito so generously today. To make friends with him they have to renounce the 1960 Moscow Declaration which has designated the Yugoslav revisionists as traitors to Marxism-Leninism. But the modern revisionists have recently let it be understood that they are determined to do even this. After all did they not say immediately after the 1960 Moscow Declaration was signed that this historic document, drawn up and signed by all the representatives of the 81 Communist and Workers' Parties of the world, was a document of compromise? And these are the consequences. Compromises are of short duration and that is why the revisionists began to violate the 1960 Declaration and set aside one of the most essential items: the attitude towards Yugoslav revisionism.

Of course, those who are opposed to what was jointly decided upon and clearly written in the 1960 Moscow Declaration are obliged to go on manoeuvring.

This is only a question of tactics. Naturally, at the present phase the modern revisionists are obliged to maintain a certain "distance" from the Tito group, who are highly compromised by their open connections with imperialism. But this "distance" does not at all affect the main thing, namely, the ideological reconciliation which binds the revisionists to one another in their opposition to Marxism-Leninism. This "distance" does not at all affect their blatant manifestation of mutual sympathy and collaboration. On the other hand the Belgrade revisionists are not so foolish as to fail to un-

derstand the "necessity" of this "distance". This is what the "Trojan horse" is after: once the walls are down the rest follows suit. This was what happened in 1956 too, but the Hungarian events, with Tito's group and the American imperialists jointly organizing a counter-revolution, did not come up to their expectations. A lesson was drawn from the mistakes and work has now been started on a more comprehensive plan.

Thus under the masks of "peaceful coexistence" and "normal state relations", the process of fusion began. The statements of "normal relations" were replaced with "good relations", followed by the exchange of numerous delegations, by the extension of economic, cultural and other relations. In short, the modern revisionists mustered their forces through "fruitful and all-round" collaboration for the struggle against Leninism. This process of collaboration is in full swing and is intended to take more concrete form in the days to come.

The fig leaf which is still in use for pretending that "we have opposite ideological views with Yugoslavia" is counter-balanced and neutralized by the other slogans about "socialist Yugoslavia" and such statements as "identical views on the most important international and political issues". What is yet to come is a full identity of views not only in politics but also in ideology and aims.

Another "reason" why it is necessary to make friends with Tito has recently been spread around. It is rumored that the Americans are trying to take advantage of the economic crisis which Yugoslavia is undergoing in order to organize a "counter-revolution there". And it is added: it is therefore just and Marxist-like to "rescue"

Tito from this imperialist "danger" by pursuing a policy of conciliation towards him, regardless of what is said in the 1960 Moscow Declaration. And thereby hangs an amusing tale: the imperialists will overthrow Tito. Why? In order to establish socialism? This remains to be said and everything will be crystal clear. But it is yet too early for this. But then what need is there of saying everything? The revisionists are especially careful not to say everything.

How long this will last is, for the time being, unimportant. The unequivocal and determined stand of the international communist and workers' movement towards the Tito clique is a stumbling-block which the modern revisionists cannot fail to take into account. But the revisionists have not taken into account the consequences resulting from their reconciliation with Tito. Plain common sense tells us that so long as Tito is tied up with the imperialists, reconciliation with him is a step towards reconciliation with the imperialists. Whatever the modern revisionists do, whether they are fully reconciled to or keep a certain "aloofness" from "Yugoslav comrades", whether they speak of "disagreement" with them on certain matters or make any "comradely criticism" to them, what is said in the 1960 Moscow Declaration remains unaltered, namely, that the Yugoslav revisionists are traitors to Marxism-Leninism and the Marxist-Leninist Parties are duty bound to continue to expose them.

In his speech to the electors, Comrade Enver Hoxha was therefore right to stress that "the Communist and Workers' Parties of the world, the communists through-

out the world, acting on the Moscow Declarations, will continue to thoroughly expose the modern revisionists, will tear off the mask of the Belgrade renegades and their bosses, the American imperialists, and will frustrate all their plans”.

**MODERN REVISIONISM
HELPS THE FUNDAMENTAL STRATEGY
OF AMERICAN IMPERIALISM**

Article published in the newspaper

Zëri i Popullit

September 19 and 20, 1962

On August 7 this year the leader of the Yugoslav revisionists, Tito, gave an interview to the American newspaperman Drew Pearson of the *Washington Post*. In this interview which we published in our paper on September 18, 1962, Tito displayed once again his true nature, the nature of a renegade from Marxism-Leninism, of a servant and an experienced agent of the American imperialists in their struggle against communism and the movements for national liberation and peace in the world, and of the imperialist go-between for Khrushchev's revisionist group.

Facts and day-to-day occurrences clearly demonstrate that imperialism, with American imperialism in the lead, is becoming more and more aggressive and warlike. Through Kennedy, Rusk and its other spokesmen, American imperialism has of late proclaimed once again its "fundamental strategy", i.e. to exterminate the socialist countries and the people's revolutionary movements for national liberation, and to establish its domination of the world. It is feverishly striving to attain this fundamental objective by all methods and in the economic, political, military and ideological spheres.

By their views and activities the modern revisionists, especially the treacherous Tito revisionist clique, are rendering great service to the imperialists, headed by American imperialists, in carrying out their strategic plan. Tito's last interview is a proof of this.

Tito denies the separation of the world into two antagonistic systems, cancels all distinction between them and expresses his regret that the "unity" of the capitalist world has been ruptured and the world socialist system, which he identifies with a political and military bloc, has been established. Tito openly denies the existence of the fundamental contradictions of our epoch — contradictions between socialism and capitalism, between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, between the oppressed peoples and imperialism, between the forces of peace and those of war, between democracy and reaction — and preaches putting an end to all struggles against imperialism and reaction, and to all revolutionary and national liberation movements. In his interview Tito made an open confession of the ultimate aim of the revisionists, namely, the integration of socialism into capitalism and the establishment of complete imperialist domination over the world.

On the one hand Tito preaches that imperialism has changed its aggressive and warmongering nature, saying that its exponents have now become "wise", "peace-loving" and "spokesmen of the aspirations of mankind"; he champions the policy of war and aggression of the imperialist powers, especially of the American imperialists, shows grave concern for the prestige of the USA (that is why he suggests that the USA should abolish atomic weapons in its initiative in order to raise this prestige), extols the economic potentiality of the USA, and so forth. On the other hand Tito slanders the peaceful foreign policy of the Soviet Union and of the other socialist countries, calling it a militaristic policy determined by military circles, puts the economic and

political organizations of the socialist countries in the same category as those of the imperialists, and belittles the magnificent achievements of the Soviet Union.

In the role as the "Trojan horse" Tito drives wedges into the unity of the socialist camp, especially into the friendship of the Soviet people towards the Chinese.

At the head of the spokesmen of the views and aims of the modern revisionists Tito, in his recent interview, openly pointed out the objective towards which the revisionists should proceed at the present time. People still have a fresh memory of Tito's speech delivered at Pula in November 1956. He was then the first to call upon all modern revisionists, masked and revealed, to "come out of their shells" and take a more active part in the fight for the triumph of their revisionist line, to carry to the end their war against "Stalinism" and "dogmatism", to courageously do away with the consequences of the "cult of the individual". This was the way which Tito recommended to the modern revisionists. The Khrushchev group and those who follow them pursued this road with determination, sparing no methods or means which included demagoguery and intrigues, plots and intervention, pressure, blackmail and open threats.

This was the first step. In his recent interview Tito urged the revisionists to courageously take the second step: to proceed boldly towards reconciliation and affiliation with the imperialists, towards "economic and political integration" with the capitalist world, in other words, towards capitulation to the imperialists. In the interview Tito told the revisionists openly that "economic

integration is our perspective" and that "political integration comes after economic integration". He even tried to provide a "theoretical" basis for this revisionist line of action.

It is interesting to note that in the interview given to the American newspaperman Tito became the interpreter of Khrushchev's views and ideas to the imperialists. He described Khrushchev as a pacifist who is set on rapprochement and friendship with American imperialism by all means. Tito told the American newspaperman very clearly that he is well acquainted with Khrushchev, knows what he thinks, has nearly the same views and the same aims and uses the same tactics as Khrushchev, that they heed each other's words and that he is certain that an agreement with Khrushchev is possible. Tito advised the American imperialists to have patience and not to "dramatize" things, for the devil is not so ugly as they say.

It is equally interesting that the Khrushchev group said nothing in response to Tito's interview, nor did they contradict Tito's interpretation of Khrushchev's ideas, tactics and aims. This is significant indeed. This means that Khrushchev and his group approve of what Tito said in his interview and thereby confirm once again that they agree with the views and activities of this experienced agent of imperialism.

It is, therefore, important that we should analyze in greater detail the revisionist views expressed in Tito's interview, looking at them in close connection with all the concrete views and actions of the modern revisionists.

I. SUPPORTERS OF THE IMPERIALIST POLICY OF WAR, AGGRESSION AND OPPRESSION

The main concern of the revisionists has been and still is to convince communists and the people that imperialism has changed its oppressive, exploiting and aggressive nature, to persuade communists and the people to give up their revolution and national liberation struggle and in this way to justify their opportunist and pacifist policy which is detrimental to the interests of the people and renders good service to the imperialist bourgeoisie. This line of the revisionists has been clearly expressed in Tito's recent interview. In this interview he said among other things: "Why is it necessary for people to fight today and what problems are they to solve? . . . Hitler in his days had the crazy notion of dominating the world. But for wise people, for people who are fully aware of and feel the aspirations of humanity, I see no 'raison d'être' for such an idea as to wage war. The world has already passed the period when people fought for economic reasons. History has recorded a whole series of wars from the highwaymen's adventures to the occupation of colonies. But the countries of Asia and Africa are no longer colonies, no longer territories subject to contentions among the Big Powers, for these ex-colonies are now independent countries. The development of productive forces in the advanced countries has reached a very high level and for them there is no need to conquer other countries for the purpose of securing the means of production, for they can produce these themselves and in ample quantities. . . . Besides, war is a hindrance to world integration. . . . Therefore war is

an absurdity, for which no one feels any necessity. But wars appear on the horizon because people have armed themselves to the teeth and do not know what to do with their armaments. . . . It is equally absurd to let the military circles determine and suggest to their governments and people what they should do."

These theses of Tito's make up the nucleus of the arguments of the Yugoslav revisionists with regard to the fundamental issues of our times, to the problem of the struggle between two opposing social systems, the struggle for peace, the struggle of the peoples against oppression and colonial exploitation, the struggle of the working class and of all workers against capitalist domination, etc. They are a badly-disguised adaptation from the "fundamental strategy" of American imperialism. They are at the same time a more explicit and more fundamental essence of the views of all modern revisionists on the main issues of present world developments.

HAS THE AGGRESSIVE AND WARMONGERING NATURE OF IMPERIALISM CHANGED?

One of the main topics that Tito discussed in his interview was that of war and peace. Speaking on this matter Tito repeated his notorious theses that imperialism did not present any danger today and that it was no longer the carrier and initiator of aggressive wars. According to the revisionist Tito it turns out that there is no reason whatsoever to have wars at all, that "the world has already passed the period when people fought for economic reasons", that "viewed from all angles war between states is absurd", that imperialism has changed

its nature, it is no longer imperialism, it is no longer the source of aggressive wars, for the imperialist countries, he says, have attained a high level of development of their productive forces, secure everything in sufficient quantities at home and therefore need no longer go after conquests (!). Moreover, according to Tito, no danger exists today that the imperialists will launch wars, because at the head of the imperialist nations stand "wise men" and "peace-lovers", like Kennedy and Co., who "express the aspirations of mankind"(!).

In a slightly different way the Khrushchev group stand more or less on the same ground. People are already well aware of the dangerous opportunist illusions disseminated by the Khrushchev group that "a world free from wars, armaments and armies" can be realized right away, that Eisenhower, Kennedy, de Gaulle and the other heads of imperialism are for peace, that the imperialists would use the resources released by disarmament to help the backward countries develop their economy and their culture, etc. In his article, "The Urgent Problems of the Development of the World Socialist Movement", published in the journal *Communist*, No. 12 of August 1962, Khrushchev states almost quite openly that there is no more danger of an aggressive war against the socialist countries on the part of imperialism, for the imperialists have "renounced" war as a means of solving the contradictions between the two systems, for "the reasonable personalities of the West" (in other words the heads of imperialism) "are continually tending towards a more realistic way". "The imperialists," Khrushchev continues, "have taken our challenge to compete in economic development to heart. . . . We are

gradually drawing the capitalist countries onto the road of peaceful competition between the two systems." According to Khrushchev, the imperialists have at present almost given up their military preparations for aggressive war against the socialist countries and "aim at mobilizing all their resources to fight the world socialist movement in the field of economy, politics and ideology". Khrushchev arrives at the conclusion that "the question at issue today is: which system will show more vitality, that is, which system will give the peoples more material and spiritual well-being in as a short time as possible. It is precisely in this field, I think, that the hardest battles between socialism and capitalism will be fought".

From what premises does Khrushchev proceed and arrive at the conclusion that the danger of imperialist aggression against the socialist countries is out of the question? As he himself points out in his article he proceeds from the change in the balance of forces in the international arena in favor of socialism, from the fact that the "imperialists cannot fail to see that in the development of modern weapons which correspond to the latest achievements of science and technique, the socialist camp is not lagging behind, but in many instances is ahead of them", that although the imperialists "refuse to give up their fight against the socialist countries, yet this struggle in the military field leads them to a blind alley so long as both sides, the socialist countries and the capitalist countries, possess powerful nuclear armed forces", that under these circumstances the imperialists today cannot hope "to solve the historical rivalry between socialism and capitalism through war", that the

imperialists do not do this of their own free will but they are compelled to do it "as a result of the new balance of forces in the international arena arising from the growth of the power of the socialist system".

It is more than true that the balance of forces in the international arena has changed in favor of socialism, that the world socialist system has become today a colossal international force, that the Soviet Union possesses modern weapons of war and in many aspects is superior to the imperialist powers. This, naturally, is a real fact which the imperialists cannot fail to take into account, a factor which holds them in leash and compels them to think twice before they decide to undertake aggressive action against the countries of the socialist camp. But can one so readily draw the conclusion from this, as Khrushchev does, that at present the imperialists have given up or are giving up their aggressive designs against the socialist countries and that they are really inclined to carry out peaceful competition with socialism? By no means.

While Khrushchev and his followers try to persuade the people that the imperialists have given up or are giving up their attempts to launch an aggressive war against the socialist countries and are seriously embarking on economic competition with socialism, the representatives of imperialism themselves have openly stated and continue to maintain that all the strategy of imperialism, especially American imperialism, is imbued with the idea of preparing for an aggressive war against the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries for they consider the war, especially nuclear war, as a means of solving international problems. They never make a

secret of the main objective of their policy, namely, to abolish the socialist system and establish imperialist domination over the world with American imperialism in the lead.

And everyday facts show that the imperialists do not only talk about war against the socialist countries but they are actually preparing for it. Is the unbridled armament race which has taken on colossal proportions in the imperialist countries not a proof of this? Do we not see a proof of this in the encirclement of the socialist countries by a dense network of American military bases, in the consolidation of the aggressive military blocs and their feverish activities, in the revival and rearming of the military revanchists of West Germany, in the attempts to revive Japanese militarism in the Far East, in the creation of hotbeds of war in various parts of the world so as to pass from local wars to a world war, a war principally against the socialist countries, and so on, and so forth?

We can include within the framework of this imperialist strategy a number of recent war preparations and dangerous activities of American imperialism, such as the new tests of nuclear weapons in the atmosphere, the fighting in south Vietnam, inciting Chiang Kai-shek to attack the People's Republic of China, the dispatch of armed forces to Southeast Asia, the continuous provocations in Berlin, the savage bombardment of Havana, the preparations for a new plot to launch new aggression on socialist Cuba, the undermining of disarmament talks at Geneva, the continued flight of "U-2" spying planes over the territories of the Soviet Union and the

People's Republic of China, and President Kennedy's decision to mobilize another 150,000 reservists in the USA.

In face of all these facts — the aggressive activities and war preparations of imperialism — who can guarantee that the danger of imperialist aggression against our countries is non-existent? Who can guarantee that the imperialists will not make other plans and one day undertake a crazy military adventure against the socialist countries just as Hitler did in the Second World War? There is no absolute guarantee of this.

The war danger today is even actual in view of the fact that the armament race continues ever so feverishly and that the weapons of war are continuously being improved, and under these circumstances war may even break out, as experts maintain, due to some error on the part of the men who handle the means of war, due to defects in the signal-giving apparatus, etc.

It is likewise evident that military circles are exerting more and more influence on the policy of the imperialist countries. Even Khrushchev himself is compelled to affirm that in the imperialist countries there are "sworn enemies of socialism", "crazy people", "people who have lost their senses". They openly declare that they prefer "to die under capitalism rather than live under communism". And these are by no means men of no significance, but high military and political personalities who hold key positions in imperialist military staffs and governments.

We cannot pass on without mentioning that the Khrushchev group itself "called attention" only three months ago to the danger of an aggressive imperialist war against the socialist countries. In his message ad-

dressed to the Soviet people on June 1, 1962 concerning the raising of retail price of meat and dairy products we read among other things: "We do not live in cosmic space. So long as imperialism exists, the risk of fresh wars exists too. It is no secret that international reaction, with the USA in the lead, brandishes its weapons, keeps up a feverish armament race and concocts plans for an unexpected rocket and nuclear assault on the USSR and other socialist countries. Its politicians and generals speak openly of this, the President of the USA, John Kennedy, spoke openly of it. He stated: 'under certain circumstances we may take the initiative in the nuclear conflict with the Soviet Union.'"

The question then arises and justly so: How can this statement of the Khrushchev group square with what Khrushchev writes in No. 12 of the journal *Communist*? Could imperialism have made such a radical change during the recent three or four months as to give up its aggressive intentions and activities against the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries? This is hard to believe. It looks as though the Khrushchev group needed an interpretation of that kind at that time and now it needs another. This is not the first time that the Khrushchev group trifles with Marxist-Leninist principles, adapting them in a pragmatic way to the exigencies of the day.

Khrushchev's views, which he also expressed recently in the article published in the *Communist*, are openly at variance with the Leninist teachings on imperialism and with the programmatic documents of the international communist movement, that is, the Moscow Declarations of 1957 and 1960. It is clearly emphasized in the Dec-

laration of 1960 that "the aggressive nature of imperialism has not changed", that "so long as imperialism exists the basis for aggressive wars exists too", that "the peoples of all countries realize that the risk of a new world war has not yet been eliminated", and that "only the triumph of socialism throughout the world will ultimately eliminate the social and national cause of wars of all kinds". Proceeding from these theses of principle and the actual policy and activities of the imperialists, the Declaration adds as an obligation "not to underestimate the risk of war", and it is forcefully stressed that "the peoples are called upon to exercise as high a vigilance as ever".

Why did Khrushchev need to declare that the imperialists have given up preparations for aggression against the socialist countries and that they have taken the call for peaceful economic competition with the socialist camp to heart? Apparently he needs this to justify his opportunist policy of open reconciliation with the imperialists and of establishing broad economic and political collaboration with the imperialist countries of which we shall speak in greater detail. Here we only stress that these views of Khrushchev's are very detrimental to the security of the socialist countries and to world peace.

This is evident today as it is also stressed in both Moscow Declarations that "as a result of the growth of the forces of peace" throughout the world and in particular of the consolidation of the world socialist system with the Soviet Union in the lead, it has become possible to avert a new world war and the local wars which imperialism wages. The confidence in the possibility of averting imperialist wars reassures the peace-loving peo-

ples of their own strength, arouses their optimism in safeguarding peace, and mobilizes them for a more determined struggle to that end. But in spite of the great changes in the balance of forces, in spite of the new possibilities that have been created to avert war, the danger of war and the possibility of the imperialists launching it, still exists as long as imperialism exists, for there is no absolute guarantee that there will be no war. To stress the danger of war as well as the possibility to avert it, does not at all mean to frighten the peoples or to arouse in them a feeling of panic and insecurity, but to acquaint them with the situation as it exists in the world and to make them highly vigilant and properly prepared, so as not to be caught unawares and to ward off imperialist aggression in time.

The struggle to preserve and consolidate peace is inseparable from the struggle to expose imperialism, especially American imperialism which is the main stronghold of aggression and war in the world. It should be made clear to the people whence the danger of war comes and who threatens peace, for otherwise their struggle for peace will be futile and without a goal. To speak of peace in the abstract without at the same time exposing the imperialist warmongers and, what is more, to create illusions about "the good and peaceful intentions" of the imperialists, as the Khrushchev group is actually doing, to say that imperialism today has renounced and is renouncing its aggressive action against the socialist countries, and so on and so forth — all this is very dangerous indeed for it lowers the vigilance of peace-loving peoples, leads to the weakening of the defensive forces of the socialist countries on which depends

the preservation of peace, weakens the struggle of the peoples against the imperialist warmongers and helps the latter to carry out their designs with less difficulty.

OPPONENTS OF THE PEOPLE'S ANTI-IMPERIALIST NATIONAL LIBERATION WAR

The aggressive and warmongering nature of imperialism with the American imperialists in the lead, manifests itself not only in imperialism's hostile activities against the socialist countries but also in its aggressive attitude towards other peoples and countries and towards world peace in general. The imperialists are carrying out aggressive acts in various regions of the world every day, they are seriously threatening peace and the security of the peoples every day. American imperialism's gory hand is seen everywhere, in Asia, in Africa, in Latin America, and in the fight against the progressive revolutionary movement in Europe. Everyday experience rejects the absurd revisionist preachings that the aggressive and warmongering nature of imperialism has changed, that in our times the economic basis for imperialist wars has itself disappeared, and that imperialism has renounced economic expansion, as the renegade Tito tries to make us believe.

Then why did the USA forces fight against tiny Guatemala if not to protect the interests of the United Fruit Company? Why did they launch an act of aggression against Cuba if not to protect the interests of the trusts dealing in sugar-cane? Is not the fighting in the Congo for uranium and other resources? Did not Franco-British aggression against Egypt have as its aim the interests of the shareholders of the former Suez Canal

Company in addition to those of politics and strategy? Was not the landing of American troops in Lebanon and that of the British troops in Jordan to protect the interests of the oil monopolists in the Middle East? Was not the seven-odd-year-long fighting in Algeria prompted, among other motives, by those of protecting the enslavers' interests of the Rothchilds in the Sahara and the shareholders companies and French colonialists in Algeria?

Of course the present days are not those of the "highwaymen's adventures" but of the civilized plunderers who not only plunder the spoils of war but the wealth of whole states and whole continents. The Latin American countries, for instance, are very rich in iron, copper, coal, zinc, naphtha, tin, lead and other minerals. But all this wealth is in the hands of the monopolists of the USA; 60% of the foreign trade of the Latin American countries is in the hands of the United States which determines the price of goods itself. Thus, for instance, Colombia received from the "Alliance for Progress" fund an aid amounting to 150 million dollars but Colombia lost 450 million dollars from the price the USA set on coffee. American monopolists have invested 10 billion dollars in Latin America and while they draw an ever increasing amount of income from these investments, Latin America is as poor as it has always been. From 1950 to 1955 the USA invested 2 billion dollars there and gained 3.5 billion dollars of which 1.5 billion went to the USA. It has been reckoned that Latin America has lost 2 billion 679 million dollars through these transactions during the last seven years. The Latin American countries boast of a population of 200 million,

140 million of whom labor under conditions of slavery, writes the *Siempre* of Mexico, 70 million have no means of subsistence, 100 million are illiterate, 140 million lack foodstuffs. Where lies the reason for this misery if not in large-scale plunder of a whole continent by the trusts of the USA which possess the oil wells, the iron mines, the large sugar-cane and coffee plantations, the seaports, the telephone and electric companies?

In spite of the blows that the colonial system has received, the imperialists are doing their utmost and using all means to maintain colonial exploitation in the newly liberated countries. They are doing their utmost to keep their old positions, especially their economic and military positions, and to get the new Asiatic and African states hitched on to their aggressive political cart. To attain this, they make use of all methods and means, from colonial wars, as in the case of Laos and Congo, to the corrupting of the leaders of the national bourgeoisie. Under the pretext of helping the under-developed countries the colonial powers try to maintain their all-round rule over these countries and turn their independence into a symbolic one. In those countries from which they were forced to withdraw, the colonial powers still hold sway over the people in other forms of colonialism, such as neo-colonialism and military penetration. The imperialists never cease to wage colonial wars in Asia, Africa and Latin America. No year passes without a war waged by the colonialists in one corner of the world or another. The colonial wars in Angola and Oman, the preparations to invade Cuba, American aggression against the patriotic forces of Vietnam and Laos, the persecution of patriots in Congo, Kenya, Rhodesia and elsewhere — all this

shows that the imperialists do not hesitate to use all possible means to keep or re-establish their old positions. Why does the United States maintain nearly half of its effective armed forces in the Asian, African and Latin American countries if not to keep the people in those countries in constant fear, so as to strengthen its colonialist positions and to be prepared for armed intervention where these positions are threatened by national liberation movements? Is it for pleasure voyages that the United States keeps its 6th Fleet in the Mediterranean, its 7th Fleet in the Pacific and will be creating a 5th Fleet in the Indian Ocean? In terms of military aid the American imperialists have given France 4.5 billion dollars, Britain more than 1 billion dollars and Belgium 1.2 billion dollars. A good part of this "assistance" has been used for colonial wars.

Under the pretext of assistance and through economic pressure and bribery the USA has drawn into its military blocs a number of Asian, African and Latin American states or has bound them to itself through bilateral treaties. Pakistan, Thailand and the Philippines join the CENTO and SEATO blocs which were set up by the USA to suppress the national liberation movements on the continent of Asia. In the Far East the USA is busy creating the NEATO bloc with the participation of Japan, south Korea and Taiwan. In the American hemisphere the USA is trying to turn the Organization of American States into a military bloc directed against Cuba and the national liberation movement in Latin America. An instrument in the hands of colonial powers is to be found in the so-called "Defensive Pact" concluded last year between the member countries of the African Union and

Malgache, which are bound by military pacts with France, one of the principal partners in NATO. The NATO powers have 17 military and 7 naval bases on the African continent which are used in fact to oppose the national liberation movements of the African peoples and the independence of the countries of this continent.

These facts demonstrate that imperialism makes extensive use of aggressive wars, that colonialism is still up and doing and spares no means to hold its own. But the existence of these facts in themselves and the existence of aggressive wars by imperialism shows that it dreads the national liberation movements that the struggle for national liberation has grown and has greatly extended in breadth, that it has become an irresistible force, a primary factor in our times in destroying imperialism, a factor for progress and consolidating the cause of peace.

The revisionists are certainly not so blind as to fail to see this reality, but they want to assist imperialism by lowering the vigilance of the peoples and by creating a split in the ranks of the national liberation and anti-imperialist fighters. If, as Tito claims, there are no more colonies and no more colonialism, because the advanced imperialist states "produce everything themselves" and thus "need no more" conquests and expansion, then, according to his reasoning, the oppressed people need no longer fight for their national liberation, need no longer consolidate their independence and develop their economy independent of the imperialists. Thus through these theses the revisionist Tito aims to persuade the people to give up their national liberation struggle and

their resistance to the neo-colonial policy which the USA and other imperialist powers pursue; he urges these peoples to "collaborate" with imperialism and to receive "aids and credits" from it since it "no longer" cherishes evil designs against them, in other words, he urges them to submit completely to imperialism. The Tito clique itself is a most clear example in this connection for it has received from the USA and other imperialist powers more than 5 billion dollars.

But the Yugoslav revisionists do not confine themselves to the ideological and theoretical field alone, they take vigorous actions as well. Under the pretext of "positive non-alignment" the Tito clique has tried to hitch the neutral countries to the American imperialist cart, has tried to curb the anti-colonialist and anti-imperialist spirit in these countries which have just won their freedom and independence and to alienate them from the countries of the socialist camp. The yacht, *Galeb*, belonging to the leader of the Yugoslav revisionists has more than once put to sea in order to take this "neutral" missionary of American imperialism to various countries in Asia and Africa whenever the interests of imperialism has demanded it. A new excursion of *Galeb* is under preparation to go to Latin America now that the people's national liberation movement has spread throughout the continent.

The views and activities of the Khrushchev revisionist group are also detrimental to the cause of the peoples, to their national liberation and anti-imperialist movements. They subordinate the liberation struggle of the oppressed peoples to general and total disarmament; they claim that "disarmament is the primary condition that

will bring about independence", "the most important factor for bringing about the liberation of the colonial peoples", that it is even "the main objective of the peoples fighting for national liberation". This actually means that the enslaved peoples should discontinue their national liberation struggle and should strive to achieve general and total disarmament which, according to the Khrushchev group, will secure freedom and independence for the peoples "through negotiations" (!). All these things are nothing other than beautiful dreams and dangerous illusions.

There is no gainsaying the fact that general and total disarmament is beneficial to all the peoples of the world, including the peoples who are struggling for freedom and national independence. It is precisely on this account that the just proposals of the Soviet Government for disarmament have met with general approval and the support of the progressive peoples of the world. But experience and day-to-day events show that the imperialists are offering dogged resistance to disarmament, that they have rejected and continue to reject all reasonable proposals and are systematically undermining disarmament talks. Under these circumstances it is a crime to hinder the people's struggle for their national emancipation from colonial and imperialist rule, and condemn them to a life of want and misery as well as to waiting until general and total disarmament is achieved. The decisive factor in liberating the oppressed peoples, as the Moscow Declaration of 1960 stresses, is their determined struggle against the imperialist colonialists. "They can only attain complete victory on the basis of the powerful national liberation movement." This is the

common stand of the whole international communist movement on this question.

Contrary to the wishes and plans of the revisionists the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America who are fighting side by side against the imperialist invaders cannot afford to lay down their arms and wait until imperialism consents to disarmament. They need arms in order to disarm the imperialist invaders in their countries.

By opposing imperialism, weakening its positions and narrowing down the sphere of its domination, the national liberation movement of the oppressed peoples has become one of the main strongholds of peace, an effective and important factor in imposing disarmament on the imperialists. By their fighting, these peoples render a direct contribution to the defence and consolidation of peace. They second and uphold at the same time all movements for peace, all actions in favor of peace and in opposing the aggressive and warmongering schemes of the imperialists which constitute a grave menace to all peoples. The movement of the partisans of peace on its part should feel duty bound to support the national liberation movement of the oppressed peoples unconditionally and in great measure. The national liberation movement and the struggle for peace and disarmament are two fronts of the struggle against the same enemy, imperialism.

The attempts of the Khrushchev group to alienate the movement of the partisans of peace from the national liberation movement which it should support, and to subordinate the national liberation movement entirely to the policy of disarmament— attempts which were

clearly evident once again at the World Congress for Peace and Disarmament held in Moscow during June of this year— weaken both the national liberation movement as well as the movement for peace, causing great damage both to the cause of emancipation of the peoples and the cause of world peace.

At present the imperialist powers with the USA in the lead, are doing their utmost to maintain, by new methods and in new forms, the colonial exploitation of the peoples of former colonies, and to consolidate their economic, political and military positions in the newly liberated countries. They are trying to draw and hitch these countries to their carts and to arouse the hostility of their leaders towards the socialist countries. To attain this end, the imperialists are trying to establish military dictatorial regimes in these countries as their puppets, they are trying to buy off national bourgeois elements and to place them in the service of their own interests. The Khrushchev group and their followers, on the other hand, distort the Leninist principle of peaceful coexistence, uphold and support the elements and reactionary circles of the bourgeoisie in former colonial countries, such as the Indian reactionary circles who in their foreign policy manifest an ever increasing tendency to affiliate themselves with the imperialists and to maintain a hostile attitude towards the socialist countries, whereas in internal policy they persecute the democratic and progressive forces in the country, siding more and more with reaction. While trying to weaken the defensive power of the socialist countries, as in the case of the People's Republic of Albania, the Khrushchev group has even gone so far as to sell armaments and airplanes to the

reactionary circles of India, who actually use them to suppress communists and progressive people and carry out armed provocations against socialist countries.

It is thus clear that although the Khrushchev group tries to give the impression that it is a supporter of the national liberation movement of the peoples, its views, acts and attitudes are far from helping to consolidate the struggle against imperialism and for freedom and national independence, but on the contrary, they weaken it, create greater difficulties for the struggle of the progressive anti-imperialist forces and encourage the reactionary, pro-imperialist and anti-socialist forces in the newly liberated countries.

TITO CLARIFIES HIS POSITION

The Yugoslav revisionists also deliberately confuse the concrete problems in present international life, of which the solution rightfully preoccupies the mind of all peoples of the world; they place the sign of equality between the policy of the imperialist countries and that of socialist countries in order to protect the imperialists and in fact throw the responsibility for tension in international relations on the socialist countries.

In the interview accorded to the correspondent of the *Washington Post*, the leader of the Yugoslav revisionists came out openly in support of the imperialist policy concerning the questions of Germany, Berlin and disarmament.

It is a known fact that in order to justify its reconciliation with the treacherous Belgrade clique the Khrushchev group proclaimed far and wide that the Yugoslav views on these matters "fully coincided with the

foreign policy of the Soviet Union", that Yugoslavia supported the proposals of the Soviet Union, the German Democratic Republic and all the other socialist countries regarding the peace treaty with Germany and the solution of the problem of West Berlin by turning it into a free demilitarized city, and that Yugoslavia supported the Soviet proposals on disarmament.

But in his recent interview Tito made his position very clear to those who seem to have misunderstood him (!?). He stated: "The Berlin question is a problem which the big powers that came off victorious in the Second World War still hold in their hands and will settle themselves. These powers are the Soviet Union, USA, Britain and France and so long as this question lies within their competence I see no special possibility for its solution. According to my opinion this matter should be left to the Germans to decide themselves." This cut and dry and "very principled" solution means that the Berlin problem will drag on and never find a solution. The idea that "this matter should be left to the Germans to decide themselves" is practically meaningless, demagogical, dust in the eyes of the naive and an "argument" for further deceit for those who support the Tito clique. There is only one way to solve the Berlin problem and that is to carry out to the letter and as soon as possible the proposals of the Soviet Union by signing the treaty of peace with both German states, and if that is impossible, with the German Democratic Republic alone and at the same time by turning West Berlin into a free demilitarized city. As regards the solution of the German problem, that indeed is one for the German people to settle so long as there are two German states with dif-

ferent social and political systems. The signing of the peace treaty with both German states about which Tito kept silent in his interview, would serve this end. Whereas Tito's hazy views are nothing else than a tactful withdrawal, an echo of the stand of the American imperialists and their allies on the so-called "free elections", which imperialist propaganda turns out now and then in connection with the solution of the German problem. Tito thinks it is high time to make another departure from this question, too, in order to appease both the American imperialists and Adenauer.

In connection with the problem of Berlin, Tito goes even further. He encourages the imperialists to stand their ground. Replying to another question by Drew Pearson he said: "Khrushchev has given broader interpretations to his former stand regarding Berlin and the whole affair has become less critical." This and the whole tone of the interview points to the fact that Tito favors an "easing" of the Berlin issue, he favors further concessions in this sense and further delay in solving it. From this point of view the foreign policy of the Yugoslav revisionists fully coincides with the policy of Khrushchev and his group.

On the question of disarmament, too, Tito champions quite openly the stand of the American imperialists. He not only refrains from any comments to condemn the unbridled armament race which the imperialists have launched or their attempts to foil disarmament but on the contrary tries to blackmail by accusing the Soviet Union of an armament race on the same scale as the USA. Moreover, the only thing that disturbs Tito is the prestige of the USA being recently lowered in the eyes

of the world due to its aggressive, warmongering activities. Speaking about an agreement to ban atomic weapons, the leader of the Yugoslav revisionists, in his capacity as a loyal servant of American imperialism, took the liberty to suggest to his master: "Under the circumstances, if the United States of America would take the initiative for this, this would be of great political significance to it. . . . With an agreement of this kind the USA would win politically more than if it continued nuclear tests." In other words, Tito tells the American imperialists that there is no harm in nuclear testing but that they would not benefit *as much politically* from it. Besides, Tito stated to the American newspaperman that "nuclear tests do not bring anyone military supremacy" and that "such tests have only purely political significance". This statement made by Tito following the decision of the Soviet Government to resume nuclear testing as a consequence of the last series of nuclear tests made by the USA means that he opposes this justifiable decision of the Soviet Government which aims at raising the defensive power of the Soviet Union, and of the entire socialist camp.

It is thus clear that the "support" which Tito seemed to give to the proposals of the Soviet Government and of the other socialist countries with regard to the questions of Germany, Berlin and disarmament was nothing short of a bluff, a demagogical statement which Tito and his revisionist friends needed to prepare the ground and add another "argument" for his penetration into the ranks of the socialist camp in order to play his role of splitter more easily. And those who took upon themselves the task of "rehabilitating" the Tito clique or,

more precisely, of fully reconciling themselves with Tito, trampling the 1960 Moscow Declaration underfoot, have often used and continue to use the "convincing argument" that towards the questions of Germany, Berlin and disarmament Tito maintains the same attitude as the socialist countries, and that "in foreign affairs the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia have the same views".

The policy of bluffing is however not lasting, as everyone can testify. Tito used it this time too as long as it suited him. Such manoeuvring in politics is not unusual among revisionists of all types, the Yugoslav revisionists not excluded, and we have not come into contact with them for the first time. And it cannot be otherwise. The Tito clique has acquired some skill in this kind of work, but this is not so much its merit as the merit of its allies, the modern revisionists, who, for reasons well known, allow this clique of traitors to manoeuvre as and when it pleases.

In contrast to the road pursued by the modern revisionists Marxism-Leninism teaches us that peace, peaceful coexistence, national independence, disarmament and the solution of other international problems cannot be begged as a boon from the imperialists, they must be imposed on them. Talks between statesmen are undoubtedly useful but people cannot pin their hope of securing peace on these meetings and talks *alone*. Experience has shown that leaders of imperialist states have gone to such talks under the pressure of public opinion, not favorably inclined to reach any specific agreements to preserve peace but aiming to deceive the people, pretending they are for peace, to gain time and to prepare for war behind the backs of the people. Reply-

ing to the question of the interviewer on how America could persuade Khrushchev that it, too, was for peace, Tito said: "Talks should be carried on and not only once but many times."

When for a number of years in succession the imperialists have rejected all proposals on disarmament made by the Soviet Union and the other countries of the socialist camp, when they foil all attempts to conclude a peace treaty with Germany to solve the Berlin and other international issues, it is obvious that the endeavours of the Tito clique, the Khrushchev group and other revisionists are very risky and arouse dangerous illusions as they try to persuade the peoples that peace may be secured, general and total disarmament may be achieved and the other important international issues may be solved through the approval, good wishes and free will of the imperialists and only through talks with the heads of imperialism, or international meetings controlled by them. The problem of maintaining peace is the problem of the peoples themselves. It is only by drawing the masses into the fight against imperialism, by mobilizing them for concrete actions in favor of peace that the hand of warmongering imperialism can be stayed, that it can be compelled to subscribe to peace, disarmament and peaceful coexistence. Talks and various meetings in favor of peace can only yield positive results if they are backed by the struggle of the international working class and the masses.

It is clear to everyone who examines closely the views and deeds of the Tito clique and of the Khrushchev revisionist group and is not befooled by their demagogical phrases, that their goal is to alienate the peoples and

the communist and workers' parties from the determined struggle against imperialism, from the national liberation movement and from revolution, to strangle their militant revolutionary spirit and throw them into passivity. This wholly opportunist line of action of Khrushchev and his group is nurtured by the illusion which they proclaim far and wide, namely, that imperialism has lost its aggressive and warmongering nature and that the important problems facing the peoples of the world today can be solved by "peaceful" methods and in agreement with the imperialists. In addition to this, the Khrushchev group is apparently of the opinion that by pursuing a conciliatory and opportunist policy towards the imperialists it will succeed in making the imperialists "peace-loving" and "reasonable" and create in this way favorable conditions for rapprochement and all-round economic and political collaboration with the capitalist world, with imperialism, particularly with American imperialism, a thing which constitutes one of Khrushchev's principal objectives. It is not hard to comprehend that this entirely anti-Marxist and opportunist line which sacrifices the vital interests of the peoples for the sake of reconciliation with the imperialists, serves, in fact, only the imperialists.

The opportunist and treacherous line of the Khrushchev revisionist group is being unmasked from day to day and they are losing credit in the eyes of communists and the peoples throughout the world. That is why Khrushchev is obliged now and then to manoeuvre with demagoguery and pronounce some "harsh words" against imperialism. But these are nothing more than a coat of paint on a policy that is fading.

II. RAPPROCHEMENT WITH IMPERIALISM IS THE GENERAL LINE OF THE MODERN REVISIONISTS

The synthesis of all revisionist views expressing the ultimate goal which the modern revisionists have set themselves is rapprochement and subsequent merge with imperialism, in other words, the so-called "integration" of the world. In his interview with Drew Pearson Tito stated openly that "economic and political integration is our perspective". The whole line of action which the modern revisionists pursue leads to the ultimate realization of this perspective.

THE ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL INTEGRATION OF THE WORLD IS THE REVISIONIST VERSION OF KENNEDY'S THEORY OF "PEACEFUL EVOLUTION"

The idea of "economic and political integration" in the world is nothing new in the theories of the Yugoslav revisionists. But the fact that Tito raises this question with force at this time is not fortuitous.

It is a known fact that much is made of the "economic and political integration" of the capitalist world today in Western countries. This has found tangible expression in the form of "European Economic Union" (The "Common Market"). Integration in the capitalist world is nothing other than an attempt to solve, or at least to mitigate, the contradictions and difficulties of present-day capitalism, to alleviate in some way or other the sore spots to the benefit of the big capitalist monopolies and to the detriment of the broad masses of laborers; it is a counterbalance to the growth of the power and attractive force of the world socialist system, which is giving daily

proof of its superiority over the capitalist system; it is a form of collective colonialism which aims at subjugating the less advanced countries and maintaining colonial rule over them by new methods and means; it is an instrument of the "cold war" which serves to strengthen the military aggressive blocs of the imperialists as a basis for political union by creating the corresponding super-national organs of administration; it is a contrivance to prepare for an aggressive war against the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, and to suppress the national liberation, revolutionary and democratic movements in various countries. Monopolist integration has been and continues to be part and parcel of the fundamental strategy of American imperialism which aims at extending European integration to include the Atlantic region and later the entire world with the USA in the lead, in other words, to establish American imperialist world domination. "As soon as full European Union is achieved," President Kennedy has said, "we will be ready to discuss ways and means of establishing a tangible Atlantic alliance. . . . This Atlantic alliance will serve as a nucleus for an eventual union of all free men, of those who are today free and of those who will some day regain their freedom." This is what the imperialists, particularly the American imperialists, understand by "integration".

In his interview Tito also spoke of "world integration". But he did not specify the kind of integration he was thinking of as whether it is on a socialist basis or on a capitalist basis, and his vagueness was not unintentional for a serpent never lets its fangs be seen. He only said that he did not favor integration "that is of a discriminat-

ing character" and that he "does not subscribe to such an integration". In spite of his carefulness to hide his tracks, his theory of integration, in fact, means to merge socialism into capitalism and to let American imperialism swallow up the world.

Tito says that in order to achieve integration all kinds of wars should be discontinued for "wars keep us away from integration", and he makes no distinction between wars. Thus, according to him, in order to achieve the integration of the world, it is necessary to give up the revolutionary struggle of the working class and of all workers to overthrow the capitalist order and make socialism triumph, it is necessary to give up the national liberation struggle of the peoples against oppression and imperialist exploitation and to abandon the ideological struggle of socialism against capitalism, against the aggressive and warmongering designs and activities of imperialism. What does this actually mean? This means to keep intact the capitalist order, and to let the imperialists have a free hand to carry out their policy of aggression the ultimate goal of which is to overthrow the socialist order and establish capitalism wherever it has been overthrown. This would mean that the socialist countries would be swallowed up by imperialism and the integration of the world would be achieved on a capitalist basis.

It is plain to every Marxist-Leninist and to every man who is a realist that under conditions of a world divided into two antagonistic systems it is futile to talk about integration of any kind, be it economic or, less still, political, for a unified world where socialism and capitalism would merge together cannot even be conceived.

The world could be united only on one social basis, either on a capitalist basis or on a socialist basis. There is no middle course nor can there ever be. The Yugoslav revisionists consider the creation of a unified world, an integrated world, possible even today, because, according to them, the existence of two opposing systems, socialist and capitalist, is not something objective, conditioned by the laws of development of human society in our epoch, but an artificial division into military and political blocs which, according to the program of the Yugoslav Communist League, "has brought about the economic division of the world" and "hinders the process of world integration and the social progress of mankind".

But we all know that the world was formerly "unified" and that there existed but one single world system, namely, the capitalist system. This "unity" was rent asunder as a result of the triumph of the socialist revolution in Russia and in a series of other countries, as a result of the establishment of the world socialist system. It is thus clear that Tito regrets that the former "unity" of the capitalist world was destroyed and considers the creation of the world socialist system something negative which "hinders the process of world integration and the social progress of mankind". Therefore according to Tito's logic, in order to create a unified world it is necessary to do away with the cause of this division, namely, the existence of the world socialist system. Thus it follows that Tito is speaking of the economic and political integration of the world on the basis of capitalism, in other words, of integrating socialism into capitalism.

It follows from all this that Tito publicly upholds the "fundamental strategy" of Kennedy, one of whose main

goals is "to create the possibility of a long constructive evolution of the communist bloc and the influx of the communist states into the community of the free world". The theses of the Yugoslav revisionists on "economic and political world integration" in fact presuppose the peaceful integration of socialism into capitalism, the abolition of socialism and the re-establishment of full imperialist sway over the world.

RAPPROCHEMENT WITH IMPERIALISM UNDER THE MASK OF PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE

In his capacity as an agent of imperialism and a principal revisionist, Tito speaks more openly about the perspective of integration into capitalism and of submission to imperialism. But the views and acts of the other revisionists lead objectively to the same road. A proof of this lies in the views of the Khrushchev revisionist group on the fundamental issues of our epoch and especially its anti-Marxist conception of peaceful coexistence.

On the one hand, the Khrushchev group overestimates the power of the imperialists, is scared by their atomic blackmail and threats of war and therefore tries by all means to be on good terms with imperialism and to come to understanding and reconciliation with it, by flattering and making concessions of principle, concessions which lead as far as to the sacrifice of the interests of the world revolutionary and national liberation movements. On the other hand, by overestimating our forces and underestimating the power of the imperialists the Khrushchev group spreads the illusion that imperialism, especially American imperialism, has changed or is changing its nature, has become peace-loving, has renounced or is

renouncing its aggressive and warmongering designs against the socialist countries and other peoples, and has earnestly embarked on a peaceful economic competition with socialism.

Although these are two contradictory assessments they lead the Khrushchev group to one and the same revisionist conclusion: actual renunciation of the ideological and political struggle against imperialism, discontinuance of unmasking its policy of war and aggression, cessation of help to the national liberation struggles and revolution, and establishment of all-round economic and political collaboration between socialism and capitalism. This is in fact the line of rapprochement and blending together with imperialism, a line which constitutes the essence of the anti-Marxist conception of the Khrushchev group regarding peaceful coexistence.

According to the Khrushchev group, peaceful coexistence is "the general line of the foreign policy of the socialist countries" and "the only right way to solve all the vital problems that face human society at present". Therefore, according to the Khrushchev group, all other tasks and problems as well as the world revolution and the national liberation struggles should be subordinated to peaceful coexistence while the peoples should cross their arms and await their national liberation until the realization of the policy of peaceful coexistence. This in reality means that oppression and exploitation of the peoples by the capitalists and the imperialists should continue *ad infinitum*.

We do not deem it necessary to analyze in detail the anti-Marxist and revisionist conception of the Khrushchev group on peaceful coexistence for this subject has

been dealt with in great detail in the former articles and publications of our Party. We only want to point out that this conception has nothing in common with the teachings of Lenin and with the theses of both Moscow Declarations on peaceful coexistence. In the 1960 Moscow Declaration it is pointed out that: "In a world divided into two systems the only correct and reasonable principle in international relations is the principle of peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems." But peaceful coexistence, the Declaration goes on to emphasize, "does not mean renunciation of class struggle, as the revisionists claim". Peaceful coexistence among states of different social systems is a form of class struggle between socialism and capitalism, it "does not mean reconciliation of socialist ideology with bourgeois ideology. On the contrary it presupposes the intensification of the struggle of the working class, of all the communist parties to assure the triumph of socialist ideas". It is likewise stressed in the Declaration that "the success of the revolutionary class and national-liberation struggle promotes peaceful coexistence", since it leads to "the weakening and continuous narrowing of the positions of imperialism". The Declaration stresses that to fight for peace and peaceful coexistence "means to be highly vigilant, to expose the policy of imperialism indefatigably, to be on one's guard against the machinations and intrigues of the warmongers, to arouse the righteous indignation of the peoples against those who pursue a policy of war, to organize all peace-loving forces still better, to continuously intensify mass actions for peace, and to strengthen ties and co-operation with all states which have no interest in new wars".

The anti-Marxist, revisionist conceptions of Khrushchev and his group regarding peaceful coexistence as the line of rapprochement with imperialism and of discontinuance of all the struggles against it, are closely connected with their opportunist preachings on the ways of transition to socialism, which try to deviate the attention of the working people and communist and workers' parties from a determined and effective struggle to overthrow capitalism and from the socialist revolution, and make them wait until the policy of peaceful coexistence has created favorable conditions for socialism to be established by peaceful methods. Thus the Khrushchev group lays one-sided emphasis on the peaceful transition to socialism, ignoring the urgency of preparing for both eventualities, peaceful and non-peaceful transition to socialism, at the same time. It claims that the possibilities of peaceful transition to socialism are continually increasing and, what is worse, it sets forth the peaceful road as a plain parliamentary road, a plain majority triumph in the bourgeois parliament, ignoring altogether the fundamental teaching of Marxism-Leninism on the necessity of doing away with the bourgeois state machinery and replacing it with the organs of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Khrushchev's propaganda agents have of late gone so far as to consider state monopoly capitalism in the capitalist countries as one of the principal factors for the decline of bourgeois monopoly and almost, yes almost, as the first step towards socialism. Thus in winding up the discussions at the international forum of Marxist scientists in Moscow on the actual problems of modern capitalism, a summary of which was transmitted by the

TASS news agency on September 3, 1962, A. Arzumian, director of the Institute of World Economy and International Relations of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR, said among other things: "Now, at the third stage of the general crisis of capitalism, state ownership cannot be considered as an ordinary reform. It is connected with the revolutionary struggle to do away with monopolies, to overthrow the rule of financial oligarchies. Through a correct policy of the working class based on the impetus of the struggle of the broad masses of people, it can become a radical means of doing away with the domination of the bourgeois monopolists. The state ownership of industry and of banks is now becoming the slogan of the anti-monopolist coalition." And what difference is there between this conception and the notorious and extremely opportunist point of view of the program of the League of Yugoslav Communists as embodied in such statements as "the specific forms of state capitalist relations can be . . . the first step towards socialism" and "the ever growing wave of state capitalist tendencies in the capitalist world is the most eloquent proof of the fact that mankind is heading more and more and in an irresistible manner towards the epoch of socialism"?

We need not dwell here long in order to argue in detail how groundless these openly opportunist views of the Yugoslav revisionists and of the Khrushchev group are. We need only mention that not very long ago the propaganda agents of the Khrushchev group, debating the draft program of the League of Yugoslav Communists, stressed that "the growth of state monopoly capitalism would mean further strengthening of the monopolies, further concentration of economic and political power in

their hands, would mean that the monopolists would utilize the state for their own selfish interests at the expense of the workers" (see the article "On the Draft Program of the League of Yugoslav Communists" published in *Communist*, No. 8, 1958). Commenting on the above statement on the program of the League of Yugoslav Communists, the present secretary of the Central Committee of the CPSU, B. Ponomaryov, wrote in *Communist*, No. 8, 1958 that this was "exactly what Bernstein and Kautsky had said that capitalist society integrates itself spontaneously into socialism". It turns out that the Khrushchev group was wrong in former days to oppose the Yugoslav revisionists, and Bernstein and Kautsky since they are essentially propagating the same opportunist viewpoints (!).

In connection with this matter we cannot help recall that in his time Lenin sharply criticized the bourgeois reformist evaluation of state monopoly capitalism as a non-capitalist order, as a step towards socialism, an evaluation which the opportunists and reformists need in order to question the necessity of a socialist revolution and to make capitalism look prettier (see Lenin: *Works*, Vol. 25, pp. 414 and 415, Russian edition). Lenin stressed firmly that "steps towards larger monopolies and bigger state ownership of production lead for certain to more ruthless exploitation of the working masses, to further oppression, to making resistance against exploiters more difficult, to the strengthening of reaction and military despotism and, parallel to this, to an extraordinary growth of profits for the big capitalists to the detriment of all the other strata of the population" (*Works*, Vol. 24, pp. 276 and 277, Russian edition). The above thesis

of the Khrushchev group is in flagrant opposition to the 1960 Moscow Declaration which maintains: "By expanding the rule of monopolies in the life of a nation, state monopoly capitalism joins the strength of the monopolies to the strength of the state into a single mechanism to save the capitalist order and increase to the maximum the profits of the imperialist bourgeoisie by exploiting the working class and plundering the broad masses of the population."

By making much of the "ever growing possibilities" of peaceful transition to socialism Khrushchev takes the shadow for the substance. But what do the facts of present-day life show? They show that monopoly capital is making its reactionary and anti-democratic nature more evident. It does not even uphold the liberties of former bourgeois democracy, it denies the popular masses the opportunity to express their free will and elect the true defenders of their interests to state organs. When the bourgeoisie finds that even those limited rights which the constitution accords to workers constitute a menace to its rule, it renounces them without ceremony, makes arbitrary changes in its electoral system, proclaims the elections "illegal", and does not hesitate to suppress the organs elected, as, for instance, it recently did in Argentina. In fact the monopoly bourgeoisie has established fascist regimes in some countries and it is showing a continuous tendency to establish similar regimes in other forms in a series of other countries. Do not the terrorist operations of OAS in France, the persecutions of the Communist Party and the activities of the "ultras" in the USA, and the establishment of military dictatorships in the countries

of Latin America, in south Korea and elsewhere show this tendency? Today the reactionary bourgeoisie is depending to an ever increasing degree on the armed forces — army, police and gendarmerie — to safeguard its rule and suppress every revolutionary and progressive movement of the working masses. How can this reality be ignored and be underestimated when the Khrushchev group itself is in some cases compelled to own (naturally in a make-believe way)? How can the Khrushchev group lay stress only on the peaceful way of transition and claim that the possibilities for it are growing every day in the present circumstances?

Recent attempts of the Khrushchev group to establish all-round economic collaboration with the imperialist countries and with their monopoly groups come within the framework of rapprochement and appeasement with the imperialists. In his article published in *Communist*, No. 12, Khrushchev stresses that taking into account “the objective trends of internationalization of production operating in capitalist countries we formulate our own policy and take our own economic measures”. But what is this policy and what are these economic measures about which Khrushchev is speaking? Among other things he wants an extension of economic collaboration not only with separate capitalist states but also with their economic unions, specifically with the “Common Market”, and what is more, not only in the field of trade but also in that of production, “to deal with deficient raw materials, to increase the resources of energy, to make common use of waterways and so on”.

Socialist countries, of course, are in favor of carrying on trade with capitalist countries on the basis of mutual

benefit, and this is beneficial to the peoples of both parties, to the easing of international tension and to the improvement of relations between states. But the line which Khrushchev pursues for collaboration and establishing economic relations with the capitalist world, viewed in the framework of his general opportunist line, clearly testifies to the tendency of the Khrushchev group to enter into unprincipled relations with imperialism. This is more plainly seen if we take into account that while the Khrushchev group is gravely concerned about strengthening economic ties and collaboration with the capitalist world and coming to terms with it, it does not hesitate at all to impair economic co-operation among the countries of the socialist camp, going so far as to discontinue all economic relations, even ordinary trade transactions. The most eloquent example of this is the anti-Marxist, discriminating attitude of the Khrushchev group towards the People's Republic of Albania, which is already publicly known. And this happened at a time when, in view of the imperialist attempts to create a unified economic, political and military front directed first and foremost against the socialist camp, the socialist countries were faced with the urgent and imperative duty to strengthen their unity and internationalist co-operation in all fields, a thing to which Khrushchev himself gives lip service, of course not to put it into effect but to disguise his anti-Marxist and revisionist activities against the unity of the socialist camp.

The measures which Khrushchev sets forth in his article give rise to justified doubts and suspicions among communists and all reasonable people, because on the one hand he stresses, for instance, that “the so-called

economic unions of the imperialists have the same aims as the aggressive military blocs (NATO, SEATO, etc.)", and that "the leaders of the Western powers make no secret of the direct mutual ties and interdependence between the 'Common Market' economic organization and the aggressive NATO alliance", and for this reason he calls upon communists and the people to fight against the "Common Market" and other capitalist unions of the kind, to expose their anti-popular and aggressive aims. On the other hand Khrushchev however calls for the broad collaboration of the socialist countries with these economic unions of the imperialists in all economic fields, including the field of production; in other words, he calls for some kind of international division of labor between the two systems. But so long as the "Common Market" has the same aims as the aggressive NATO bloc as Khrushchev himself says, and so long as "it is turned into an economic base of this bloc in Europe" as is pointed out rightly in the theses "On Imperialist Integration in Western Europe" published in August this year by the Institute of World Economy and International Relations of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR — so long as matters stand thus, to call for broad economic collaboration in all fields with the "Common Market" really means to establish broad collaboration with the NATO aggressive military bloc which opposes first and foremost the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries.

Does not all this give rise to the dangerous illusion about which Khrushchev speaks so openly, namely that imperialism in our days has given up and is giving up its aggressive aims and actions particularly against the socialist camp, that it has responded to the challenge of

peaceful competition with socialism, that it is seriously taking it to heart, and that ever growing possibilities are daily being created for all-round collaboration between the two systems, socialism and capitalism? It is not hard to find out how near and similar these views of the Khrushchev group are with the anti-Marxist views of the Yugoslav revisionists about the economic and political integration so clearly set forth in Tito's recent interview.

TITO—ADVISER AND GO-BETWEEN WHO BRINGS THE KHRUSHCHEV GROUP CLOSER TO THE IMPERIALISTS

It is now becoming ever so clear that both the imperialists and revisionists want to come to terms with each other, to approach each other, and to gain the confidence of each other in order to break ground for "the economic and political integration of the world". In his interview with Drew Pearson Tito tried to render his contribution precisely along this line, but no longer in the role of the servant. He posed this time at least to the eyes of the world as the "adviser". The American journalist said openly to Tito: "You understand the Soviet Union and the USA and have friends both in the one as well as in the other. Would you be able to become the go-between?" And Tito somewhat taken aback answered: "I do not choose to become an intermediary but when I meet Prime Minister Khrushchev I will tell him what I think. This will be my own personal opinion and I can tell it to both Prime Minister Khrushchev and to President Kennedy if I have the occasion to meet the latter." To assure the American imperialists that he might be able to succeed in his mission as "adviser",

the leader of the Yugoslav revisionists stated: "Up to now too, I have communicated with Prime Minister Khrushchev, verbally or by writing, about how we view international issues and I must say that I have encountered no resistance against this. Prime Minister Khrushchev knows how to size up opinions and I have noticed this also among leading American personalities." To indicate that he did not intend to leave it at that, Tito disclosed the following information: "I have been invited to spend my vacation in the Soviet Union. . . . I will go there on vacation towards the end of the year or in the spring of the coming year. On this occasion I will certainly carry on talks."

The functions of an "adviser" and the idea of closer understanding between the imperialists and the revisionists seemed to be very alluring to the revisionist Tito. Therefore, in order to remove any misgivings and in order that both parties might carry conviction that each was a fighter for peace (by revisionist standards, of course), Tito "advised" not without pride: "Talks and more talks must be carried on and not only once but many times, and continued contacts must be maintained for that is the way to proceed toward 'the consolidation of peace' and to remove mistrust."

Tito advised his imperialist masters not to "dramatize" things and said that he was very well acquainted with Khrushchev and he was fully confident that one could easily come to terms with Khrushchev. To the query of the American journalist whether he thought that "eventually the USA and the USSR will become good friends", Tito stated with full confidence that the day would come when a thing of that kind would be attained.

And why should it not be achieved? said he. There is no obstacle in the way, all the ways lie open for such a thing.

Thus it is evident that Tito does not play badly the role of the "servant to two masters", promoted to the rank of adviser, and his mission for the rapprochement and drawing the Khrushchev group closer to the imperialists.

III. THE REVISIONISTS — SPLITTERS OF THE UNITY OF THE SOCIALIST CAMP AND OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST AND WORKERS' MOVEMENT

Tito's interview lays bare the other objective of the revisionists, that of splitting the socialist camp and the international communist movement. It is not a question of a new role or of a new task for the revisionists. To split the socialist camp and the communist movement is one of the main objectives of the activities of all the revisionists of our days.

It is a well-known fact that one of the most subtle and dangerous forms of the fight of the imperialists and their agents against the world socialist system is their attempt to undermine the unity of the socialist camp from within by setting the socialist countries and the communist and workers' parties against one another. To realize this end of its fundamental strategy, imperialism headed by American imperialism has assigned the main role to the revisionists, particularly to the revisionist and traitorous clique of Belgrade.

Facts go to prove that the Tito clique has spared no effort to play the role of the "Trojan horse" to the best

of its ability, not only by disseminating its anti-Marxist views but by its practical hostile activities against the socialist countries and the communist and workers' parties. Everyone is now aware of the role the Yugoslav revisionists played in stirring up and organizing the counter-revolutionary rebellion in Hungary, in organizing plots against the People's Republic of Albania, in carrying on subversive acts to undermine the security of the socialist countries, in launching slanderous attacks against the Soviet Union, against the other socialist countries, against the Marxist-Leninist parties and their leaders, etc., in order to sow dissension and split them asunder.

Tito tried to cause a split through his last interview too. The target for his splitting attacks this time was the People's Republic of China and Soviet-Chinese friendship. It was not without purpose that Drew Pearson asked Tito: "What is your opinion on the divergence between China and the Soviet Union?" And it was not without purpose that Tito too went into great detail about this matter. He slandered the People's Republic of China and its peaceful foreign policy, he accused it in a round-about way of being opposed to disarmament, to peace, to almost all agreements and so on. He went so far as to tell the American imperialists almost to their face that China wanted war, not peace, that danger came to them from China, and therefore it is towards China that they should direct not only their attention but their operations and provocations, their armies, guns and rockets! And all these things were said and done at a time when the American imperialists in close co-operation with Chiang Kai-shek's clique and their allies of the

aggressive SEATO bloc were concocting dangerous plots and provocations against the People's Republic of China and against the consolidation of peace in the Far East. This is another evidence of the coordinated policy of the Yugoslav revisionists and the American imperialists.

Tito set forth once again, and not without purpose, the old thesis of the Yugoslav revisionists, which is now being reiterated far and wide by all modern revisionists, that there were socialist states that stood for peace but there were also other socialist states that favored war. "I am of the opinion," Tito replied to the American journalist, "that the Soviet Union acts in a conciliatory way towards the problem of the Chinese islands and Chiang Kai-shek and brings its influence to bear to avoid the aggravation of matters and a major conflict." He added: "The same is the case with the Indian-Chinese border incidents in which the Soviet Union tried to forestall any conflict." In this he openly upheld the American plan to create "two Chinas", which obviously aims at perpetuating the occupation of the Chinese territory of Taiwan and of the other Chinese islands by the American imperialists and Chiang Kai-shek's clique. In this matter, too, the Belgrade revisionists do not side with the Chinese people and their lawful leaders but with the imperialist invaders and their aggressive policy. Tito took the same stand when he came out openly in defense of the Indian reactionary circles with regard to the Chinese-Indian border conflict, a conflict which everybody knows has been incited by the American imperialists in order to aggravate the relations between the two great neighbouring countries and in that important region of Asia in general, and which serves the

aims of the American imperialists and their policy of aggression and war. It was precisely the same stand that A. Mikoyan took towards the Chinese-Indian border conflict during his sojourn in India in July this year. Replying to a speech by the Indian Minister of State Mr Krishnamachari in which he openly stated that it was not India but the People's Republic of China which carried on aggressive acts on the Chinese-Indian border, Mikoyan stated: "The honorable host delivered such a good speech that there is nothing left for me except to agree with him. In his speech he found particularly clear and correct expressions" (*Pravda*, July 26, 1962).

Taking advantage of the occasion, Tito tried again to drive wedges into the unity and friendship between the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China. But neither Tito's wedges nor the acts of the modern revisionists to undermine this friendship, will be of any avail, as they have been of no avail up to now. The friendship between the Soviet Union and China will become ever stronger and will flourish for centuries, for it is not a product of casual political combinations, but a friendship of the peoples, a friendship kneaded with the immortal Marxist-Leninist ideology, inspired by the common ideal of socialist and communist construction.

This is not the first time, nor can it be the last, that modern revisionists direct their attacks, sometimes openly and at other times in a round-about way, against the People's Republic of China. The modern revisionists as well as the American imperialists find an insuperable obstacle to their plans in the People's Republic of China, a great power that stands firmly against imperialism and in defense of the cause of socialism, peace

and the independence of the peoples; they find a stumbling block to the realization of their designs in the Communist Party of China, a persistent fighter in defense of the purity of Marxism-Leninism and of the unity of the socialist camp and the international communist and workers' movement. Time has shown and will show that all the attacks, slanders, provocations and plots of the imperialists and revisionists against the People's Republic of China will meet, as they have always met, with failure and disgrace. Led by its glorious Communist Party with Comrade Mao Tse-tung at the head, the People's Republic of China will march ahead in triumph, holding aloft the banner of socialism and communism, of peace and national independence, the banner of unity of the socialist camp and of the international communist and workers' movement.

In his interview Tito posed, with the hypocrisy typical of all modern revisionists, as a friend and well-wisher of the Soviet Union. He even went so far as to take the liberty to "interpret" the foreign policy of the Soviet Union and to speak in the name and on behalf of the Soviet Union. But the whole spirit and content of Tito's interview bear witness to the contrary, to his hatred of the Soviet Union, to his old and inveterate anti-Soviet attitude. The Yugoslav revisionists have never been nor can they ever be sincere friends of the Soviet Union as Khrushchev tries to describe them. The Yugoslav revisionists are and will continue to be the same as they have been: agents of American imperialism, who try to get promotion from the rank of servants to that of advisers; they are experienced provokers and plotters against the unity of the socialist camp.

In their activities of splitting the unity of the socialist camp and the international communist and workers' movement the imperialists and the Yugoslav revisionists receive ample incitement and encouragement from the anti-Marxist and anti-socialist stand and activities of the Khrushchev group itself. The Khrushchev group has been engaged in acts of dissension and splitting for quite some time and went so far at the 22nd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union as to launch public attacks of hostility against a Marxist-Leninist Party and a socialist country, namely, the Albanian Party of Labour and the People's Republic of Albania, calling for open counter-revolutionary action to overthrow the Party and state leaders of Albania. Following the 22nd Congress the Khrushchev group even broke diplomatic relations with the People's Republic of Albania. Through its attacks and hostile activities against fraternal parties and fraternal socialist countries the Khrushchev group has caused serious damage to the unity of the socialist camp and of the international communist and workers' movement and has given our imperialist foes weapons to attack us.

The Khrushchev revisionist group has never ceased for a moment its splitting and hostile activities against our unity. Khrushchev's fine words about unity are only a bluff and demagogy; they are a mask which he needs to deceive, to gain time, so that he may calmly carry out his splitting activities and take other and more ominous steps against the unity of the socialist camp and the communist movement.

Experience has shown that the modern revisionists do not care a pin about the unity of the socialist camp and

the international communist movement. They are not at all concerned about the interests of the socialist countries. They are trying hard to undermine this unity and trample upon the highest interests of the socialist system. We won't dwell here on the Yugoslav revisionists who have stated publicly that they are opposed to the existence of the socialist camp and who, in collaboration with the imperialists, have concocted plots against the socialist countries, as, for instance, the chauvinist plan of Tito and King Paul of Greece to partition Albania, or the plot organized by the Tito clique in conjunction with the Greek monarchical fascists and American imperialism against the People's Republic of Albania. What is important and needs be emphasized is the fact that for the sake of getting closer to the imperialists at all costs and to the bourgeois governments and politicians and under the pretext of "peaceful coexistence", the Khrushchev group does not hesitate to trample underfoot the sovereign rights of socialist countries. People are well aware by this time of the unprincipled bargains struck between Khrushchev and S. Venizelos in defiance of the territorial integrity of the People's Republic of Albania. It was precisely the Khrushchev group which stood up for the traitors and enemies of the Albanian people, who joined the Yugoslav revisionists, the Greek monarchical fascists and the American imperialists in plotting for aggression against the People's Republic of Albania. And when our Party and our people justly condemned the inhuman, chauvinistic Serbomanian policy of the Belgrade revisionist band which they carried out against more than a million brother Albanians in Kosovo, Montenegro and Macedonia, when we exposed by

facts their policy of discrimination, the homicidal crimes; judicial repressions, administrative deportations and mass extermination of our brothers by the Belgrade clique, the Khrushchev group did not hesitate to reproach us as "nationalists", approving thus the inhuman and anti-Albanian acts of the Belgrade renegades. It is not only against the People's Republic of Albania and the Albanian people that the Khrushchev group maintains such an anti-internationalist attitude as this.

Facts thus show that as far as the unity of the socialist camp and the international communist and workers' movement is concerned the line of the treacherous Tito clique and that of the Khrushchev revisionist group coincide and both serve, in fact, the imperialists in their designs and plans. In this matter, too, the Khrushchev group tramples underfoot and without scruple the 1960 Moscow Declaration which stresses that when imperialist reaction musters its forces to fight communism, it is highly essential to strengthen by all means the unity of the socialist camp and the international communist movement, for it is the supreme internationalist duty of every Marxist-Leninist Party to see to it that this unity is continuously strengthened.

Our Party of Labour has always stood and continues to stand for the unity of the socialist camp and the international communist movement; it has struggled and continues to struggle with all its might and in accordance with the principle of strengthening this unity on the sound basis of Marxism-Leninism. In this unity our Party has always seen the indestructible force of our camp and our movement, the important factor in establishing socialism in our country, the guarantee for

the successful development of the struggle for the great cause of socialism and communism, of national liberation, of democracy and peace. Proceeding from this principled stand our Party has faithfully followed and continues to follow the common line of the international communist movement expressed in the two historical Moscow Declarations of 1957 and 1960 and has carried out this line to the letter. In its relations with the fraternal parties and with the fraternal socialist countries our Party has been and continues to be strictly guided by the principles of proletarian internationalism and by the Marxist-Leninist norms that govern the relations between communist parties and socialist countries.

Determined to strive for unity, the Party of Labour of Albania has been, continues to be and will always be in the vanguard to preserve and strengthen the friendship and affection of our people for the glorious fraternal Soviet people, to preserve the affection and respect for Lenin's great Party, for just as before, the Party of Labour of Albania considers the friendship with the Soviet people and the unity with the Soviet Union and with the Communist Party of the Soviet Union as one of the fundamental questions of principle of its revolutionary activities. Our Party has never confused nor will it ever confuse the Soviet Union and its Communist Party with the Khrushchev revisionist group. Regardless of the Khrushchev hostile attitude towards our Party and our country, regardless of his attempts to impair Albanian-Soviet friendship, this sacred friendship is kept intact in the hearts of our communists and of all our people.

Our Party has striven and continues to strive for the sound unity of the socialist camp and the international

communist movement, unity based on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, for strict implementation of the Moscow Declarations, and for a united front against the imperialists and the renegades from Marxism-Leninism, the modern revisionists. The struggle for unity and the fight against the splitters of unity, the modern revisionists, are inseparable. Only a Marxist-Leninist unity of this kind can be a real, effective and lasting unity of which the international communist movement stands in need.

An analysis of Tito's interview with the American journalist Drew Pearson and of the deeds of the Yugoslav revisionists shows them up in their true colors, in their treacherous hostile role as servants of American imperialism and its fundamental strategy. But it is precisely this active service to American imperialism that has exposed the Belgrade revisionists before the eyes of the world. Communists, progressive men and women and the people as a whole see for themselves what the Tito clique represents and what danger it constitutes to the cause of peace and the national independence of the peoples. In the 1960 Moscow Declaration of the 81 communist and workers' parties the leaders of the Yugoslav revisionists are denounced as traitors to Marxism-Leninism, as servants of imperialism, as enemies to the national liberation movement and to peace.

But the Tito clique has friends, accomplices and allies who by means of all sorts of cunning methods try to preserve its bankrupted "prestige" and to re-establish its lost "credit". Working in this direction is its imperialist master with the USA at the head whose aim is

to squeeze the lemon until it is dry; working in the same direction are the modern revisionists with the Khrushchev group at the head, whose intention it is to recruit Tito and his clique as active co-fighters and effective allies in their opposition to Marxism-Leninism and as go-betweens in their machinations with imperialism. These bilateral endeavours have become more obvious in recent days.

The American imperialists are raising a hue and cry about Tito joining up with the East. Proposals are made in Congress and in the Senate to discontinue help to Yugoslavia for it is "shifting its ground" and "changing sides". The Khrushchev group and its followers on their part and contrary to the Moscow Declaration of November 1960 proclaim far and wide that "Yugoslavia is a socialist country", that "in the most important issues the foreign policy of Yugoslavia fully coincides with that of the Soviet Union and of the other socialist countries" and that "Yugoslav experience must be studied carefully". By way of carrying out this admonition various delegations have been exchanged, Yugoslavs have been attending meetings of socialist countries, temporarily as "observers", boundaries are being opened for big meetings, and so on and so forth.

It is clear that both sides are bluffing, they are trying to create illusions among the people and communists; they help each other in order to be able to continue to utilize the Tito revisionist clique in the manner and for the purposes each side desires. Because in reality nothing has changed. Regardless of the fuss raised in the American Congress or Senate, Tito continues to serve imperialism, he continues to receive credits and "help",

he continues to be bound from head to foot to the imperialist cart. Regardless, likewise, of the bombastic statements of the Khrushchev group about "socialist Yugoslavia", etc., etc., socialism in Yugoslavia continues to be a mere expression, a mask to allow the Tito clique to undermine the socialist camp, and carry out subversive acts, as is required by its role of "Trojan horse".

In short, the Tito clique continues to be what it was regardless of the illusions which the imperialists and the Khrushchev group try to create about it. The Tito clique continues to play the double role of serving two masters, in other words, to serve both the imperialists in their designs against communism and against the movements for liberation and for peace as well as the Khrushchev revisionist group in its fight against Marxism-Leninism and in its designs to come to terms with imperialism.

The Khrushchev group had no response to Tito's interview, thus taking upon itself and approving what Tito said about Khrushchev. This goes to show that both the Tito clique and the Khrushchev group pursue the same road. But the Khrushchev group could not help but maintain an attitude of this kind towards Tito's interview for yet another reason: for else it would have to go back on what it had said in defense of the Tito group, and to own that it had made a mistake in its policy of reconciliation with the Yugoslav revisionists. Facts of recent days, however, show that the Khrushchev group and the Tito clique are getting closer and closer as time goes on. It has already been announced that L. Brezhnev will soon go to Yugoslavia while Josip Broz Tito, upon the invitation of Khrushchev, will go

to the Soviet Union towards the end of this year or during the spring of the coming year. These visits are not without a purpose; evidently they are intended to better coordinate their common operations and activities.

Every passing day goes to show more and more clearly how dangerous the views and operations of the modern revisionists, particularly the agent of imperialism, the Tito clique, are to the cause of socialism and the struggle of the peoples against imperialism. To keep silent and not expose these dangerous views and activities of the revisionists means to take upon oneself a great responsibility before the communist movement and before all the peoples of the world who are engaged in a great struggle for their national liberation and social emancipation. Therefore, as stressed with force in both the Moscow Declarations of 1957 and 1960, it behoves us now more than ever before to fight with determination against modern revisionism which continues to be the main threat to the international communist and workers' movement, and to expose the Yugoslav revisionists as traitors to Marxism-Leninism and as the foes of socialism and peace, of the freedom and independence of the peoples.

**HIGH TREASON
AGAINST
MARXISM - LENINISM**

Article published in the newspaper
Zëri i Popullit

October 13, 1962

On Tito's invitation the President of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, L. Brezhnev, paid an 11-day official visit to Yugoslavia. Both the Soviet and the Yugoslav press proclaimed this as a return visit for that paid by Tito to the Soviet Union in 1956.

Brezhnev was seen off at the Moscow airport by Khrushchev. Immediately upon his arrival in Belgrade, where he was given a pompous reception by Tito and his clique, Brezhnev hurried to express to "honorable Comrade Tito" his thanks for the "friendly invitation" and to convey to him on behalf of Khrushchev "hearty greetings and good wishes for success in life and work, in his struggle for durable peace and socialism".

During the visit neither president spared himself in speech-making. In his speeches Tito expressed great pleasure at having been given the chance to show Comrade Brezhnev "the results of developing and building socialism in Yugoslavia" achieved under the leadership of the Communist League of Yugoslavia. He said that "the existence of certain differences should not be a stumbling-block for they are a normal phenomenon which often arises in the present world from the fact that the actual ways of economic and social development, and of the development of specific countries, differ, depending on the various historical and other conditions". Tito spoke of the "assistance" and "support" which Yugoslavia had offered to the national-liberation and progressive movements in the world and to the indepen-

dent countries in Asia and Africa. He loudly proclaimed before the President of the Supreme Soviet that "the attitudes of the Yugoslav Government and of the Government of the Soviet Union coincide or are identical on a number of fundamental international questions". Alluding to the period of certain aggravation in the relations between the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia, Tito laid down the following line: "We need not call each other names. We must put an end to this once and for all time and become good friends. I am certain that the present visit will be a great step towards developing the relations of our countries." In the speech delivered at Kraguyevac Tito said: "We may openly tell our friends that they have come to a country in which socialism is being built and in which there can be no other way of development. We will continue on this path and we have the ways and means to build our socialist social order (of course he made no mention of the American aid — Ed.). In winding up I would like to thank our Comrade Brezhnev and the other friends for their visit here and the words they said which are in complete accordance with our views on socialism" (Tanjug, Sept. 26, 1962).

Brezhnev, President of the Supreme Soviet, member of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, on his part applauded Tito and made various statements. In his first speech on September 24 and in his subsequent speeches at other times he repeated that "collaboration with Yugoslavia is to the advantage of all the countries that build socialism and communism". (!). Having pointed out that "the field of activities in Soviet-Yugoslav relations is very broad", he said: "We highly appreciate the efforts and expres-

sions in favor of peace, of friendly collaboration between states, etc. on the part of the Government and the President of the FPRY, Comrade Josip Broz Tito." In a speech delivered before a rally at Split, Brezhnev reported to the "Yugoslav comrades" on the elimination of the "cult of the individual" and its "harmful consequences", emphasizing that "the exposure, bold denunciation and condemnation of Stalin's cult of the individual went a long way towards building communist society with success". Brezhnev expressed here also his impressions on "socialist construction" in Yugoslavia, saying: "We have seen how the Yugoslav peoples, united in a fraternal community, have set to work to build their new life." He often referred to "the interesting and valuable talks with President Tito and other distinguished personalities of Yugoslavia", to "the very interesting things he saw", to "the very interesting visit", to "the very interesting trip through Yugoslavia".

In his trips through Yugoslavia the President of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR was accompanied by A. Rankovich, notorious for having tortured and killed thousands of Yugoslav communists who had dared oppose the revisionist line of the Tito clique after 1948 and onward.

Taking "cordial" leave of Tito, Brezhnev stressed once more "the sincere talks with him on many problems of the common struggle for peace and of the all-round development of the Soviet-Yugoslav relations for the good of peace and socialism", thanked again "cordially his cherished friend, the President of the Republic, Comrade Tito" and on behalf of Khrushchev asked him to visit the Soviet Union. According to TASS, Tito accepted this

invitation with pleasure and will pay his visit to Khrushchev in December this year.

At the end of Brezhnev's visit the newspaper *Borba* announced with overzealous delight that "the friendship and fruitful collaboration between the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia will certainly assume the qualities of long standing, more stable and better relations".

These are the things that were said openly and in public. But the things that were left unsaid, that were omitted purposely both in the speeches and in the communiqué that was published cannot but attract one's attention. It is not a question here of the secret talks which have been carried on for some time between the Khrushchev and Tito groups, of their plans for collaboration and coordination of their splitting activities. Time will again expose them as it has already done time and again. We refer to those questions which have been met by silence or which have been incorrectly touched upon. Anyone who has closely followed Brezhnev's visit to Yugoslavia and has carefully read the final communiqué of the Tito-Brezhnev talks cannot but note that no mention is made of the danger from American imperialism — the danger which lies in store for peace, for the national independence of peoples and for socialism; nor can anyone fail to note the illusions spread purporting that the time has come when as a consequence of disarmament the imperialists will devote a good part of their funds to the welfare of the peoples, particularly those of the underdeveloped countries; nor can anyone fail to note that when speaking of Cuba no mention is made of American imperialism which threatens it with aggression, but of certain aggressive circles of imperialism; nor can any-

one fail to note that when speaking of admitting the People's Republic of China into the UNO, no mention is made of ousting the Chiang Kai-shek representative from the UNO and that no objection is raised to the imperialist plan of "Two Chinas", etc.

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All this shows that Brezhnev's visit, the visit of this personal envoy of Khrushchev's to Tito, is not a simple, ordinary trip to see "the marvellous and picturesque sights of friendly Yugoslavia" in spite of the futile attempts to include it formally within the framework of peaceful coexistence in inter-state relations. This visit was made soon after Khrushchev's speech delivered at Varna in Bulgaria in which he praised the Tito clique "who are building socialism", and said his relations with Tito were "not only normal but also good"; in which he appealed for closer relations with the Yugoslavia of today, considering collaboration with and assistance to Yugoslavia as a factor which "will not only help improve the mutual relations between the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia but will be to the advantage of all the countries which are building socialism and communism". (!?). Against the background of the Tito group's splitting activities — which are directed against the socialist camp, against the national-liberation movement, against the revolutionary movement of the working class, against progressive movements in general — and the revisionist views and splitting machinations of Khrushchev's group, coupled with the attempts of Khrushchev and Tito to coordinate their anti-Marxist activities, Brezhnev's visit

is certainly beyond the framework of visits of courtesy demanded by diplomatic protocol. Brezhnev's visit, this "visit of friendship" of his, this "important visit" as the Soviet press itself calls it, is of a highly political and ideological nature and is a link in the chain of Khrushchev's attempts to get closer to the Yugoslav revisionists, to coordinate with them the new revisionist line of action, to split the socialist camp, to do away with socialism.

It is a known fact that Khrushchev began his endeavours to get closer to the Yugoslav renegades publicly as early as 1955 when he went to Belgrade and kowtowed to Tito, apologizing to him for the "mistakes" which the communist and workers' parties of the socialist countries had allegedly committed against "the Yugoslav leaders", using in this way the authority of the Soviet Union to make amends for the sins of the Titoites. This was the first step. Having again placed a mask of Marxism-Leninism on the Yugoslav revisionists Khrushchev took one step after another, as experience has shown and continues to show, to get closer and closer to them.

Events following Tito's visit to the Soviet Union in 1956, especially the Hungarian counter-revolution and the publication of the revisionist program of the Communist League of Yugoslavia, made it difficult for Khrushchev to continue along the road on which he had embarked. The 1957 and 1960 Moscow meetings, at which the Yugoslav revisionist clique was rightfully condemned as traitors to Marxism-Leninism for undermining the socialist camp and for being in the service of the American imperialists, greatly embarrassed Khrushchev. However, under pressure of the struggle which the communist and workers' parties justly waged against re-

visionism, especially Yugoslav revisionism, as the main source of danger to the communist movement, he felt compelled to say a word or two, now and then, against the Tito clique. But in his frequent speeches which experience has shown to be ill-timed, Khrushchev has always left a leeway for an understanding with the Tito clique and in some manner or other has always urged others not to aggravate relations, not to oppose the Yugoslav revisionists under the absurd pretext of "not raising their importance".

At the 22nd Congress, however, Khrushchev showed himself to be a downright splitter of the socialist camp and of the communist movement. The first thing he had to do at this time was to remove all obstacles lying in his way and to begin official state and Party contacts with the Titoite clique. This was essential for him to continue his splitting activities, and his best ally in this undertaking was of course Tito who had already given ample proof of his treachery to Marxism-Leninism. To attain his goal Khrushchev had to trample under foot the Moscow Declaration of 1960 and being determined to carry out his scheme he did not hesitate to do this.

Thus began their collaboration in the economic field. As early as 1961 the exchange of goods between the two countries increased 2.5 times that of 1955, and in 1962 it will be well over 30% more. In July this year all the problems of mutual economic collaboration were easily solved "in the atmosphere of cordial talks in the spirit of friendship and complete mutual understanding". Agreements were signed one after the other envisaging a considerable increase in the mutual exchange of goods for the period from 1963 to 1965 as against the volume

set for this period in the long term agreements in force. All steps were taken to coordinate their industries, to collaborate in the technical and scientific fields, to exchange specialists, etc.

Having solved the economic problem, it was essential for Khrushchev to fully settle with the Titoite clique the problems of a political and ideological nature. For instance, one of Khrushchev's intimate collaborators, J. V. Spiridonov, Chairman of the Union Soviet of the Supreme Soviet, has said: "If we have increased contacts between states and Parties on the problems of foreign, economic and cultural policies then we can also aim at doing away with differences in the field of ideology" (excerpt from a speech delivered by Spiridonov on July 2, 1962 at a reception given in honor of the Yugoslav parliamentary delegation). Collaboration was extended in the form of exchanges of numerous delegations in all sectors, including delegations in the political and ideological sectors. Delegates have been exchanged representing mass organizations such as the trade unions and associations of journalists, men of letters, artists and scientists. The clamour raised by Khrushchev and his propaganda agents about his policy being identical with that of the Tito group was the prologue to Brezhnev's visit.

Khrushchev masked his rapprochement with the Titoite clique by statements that "Yugoslavia is a country which is building socialism". A mask of this kind is too thin to cover the high treason which is being committed by collaborating with the Belgrade renegades.

On what grounds and with what logic do Khrushchev and his followers base their statement that Yugoslavia is building socialism? How can a group of traitors to

Marxism-Leninism build socialism when it is a known fact that Marxism-Leninism is the scientific ideology of socialist construction? How can socialism be built by allowing free rein to the development of capitalism in the countryside, by steering the economy nearer and nearer to capitalism? How can socialism be built on the billions of American dollars which have gripped the whole Yugoslav economy? How can socialism be built in a country whose leaders undermine the unity of the socialist camp? Hence, underminers of socialism and builders of socialism! How can a country be called a socialist country when its leaders, under the pretext of pursuing a policy of non-alignment in foreign affairs, cause damage to the cause of the unity of all the peace-loving forces and states? What changes have come about in Yugoslavia since the 1960 Moscow meeting to justify such an attitude and such considerations as those of Khrushchev's group? Nothing has changed. The Yugoslav revisionists have not only not reversed themselves but are daily plunging into the service of imperialism, on the road to the restoration of capitalism in Yugoslavia.

Khrushchev's group stands in need of precisely this treacherous splitting activity of the Titoite clique. Khrushchev stands in need of Tito's experience in this direction in order to execute his revisionist line of action. Therefore he ignores the present reality of Yugoslavia, which is following a line that leads to the restoration of the capitalist system, and recants everything he has said against the Yugoslav revisionists. This explains all the various ideological concessions, all the attempts made to harmonize views during Brezhnev's recent visit to Yugoslavia.

It was not unintentional that Brezhnev, throughout his visit and in every one of his speeches in Yugoslavia, avoided using the term "socialist camp". He was compelled to do this, firstly because Tito would have objected to it, for he is "opposed to camps" and stands "above camps". Secondly, and of more importance, because as Brezhnev's speeches bear out, instead of referring to the socialist camp as such, he speaks of "the world of socialist countries", of "the socialist forces in the world", of "the association of the socialist states", he tries to find suitable forms of doing away with the socialist camp, of getting the wolf into the fold, of enrolling "friendly socialist Yugoslavia" in the family of socialist countries in order to carry out the common objective which is by now an open secret to all.

To carry out his objective of rapprochement Khrushchev gave Brezhnev a sure support in the composition of the delegation which accompanied him to Yugoslavia. This support was made up of the closest and most experienced men of his revisionist trend, such as Adjubey, Firyubin and Andropov. Adjubey, whose only qualification as "a statesman" is that he is Khrushchev's son-in-law, is notorious for having called the multi-millionaire President of the American monopolists, Kennedy, "a hero of whom the American people should very well be proud", a statement quite in keeping with his father-in-law's views, and for his being Khrushchev's direct intermediary in his transactions with Kennedy. Firyubin has been an ambassador in Belgrade and has served as an official intermediary between Khrushchev and the Tito clique with special merit in the Tito-Khrushchev rapprochement. Andropov, ex-ambassador to Hungary and now an im-

portant functionary in the apparatus of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, is known as the executor of Khrushchev's manipulations during the 1956 counter-revolutionary events in Hungary and in Khrushchev's plots against the Party of Labour and the other communist and workers' parties of the world.

Khrushchev's group and Tito himself consider that it is high time for an all-round rapprochement, that it is high time for open collaboration in all spheres and forms. This is clearly demonstrated by Tito's words to Brezhnev: "Enough with calling each other names. We must put an end to our quarrels. We must become good friends, now." In other words Tito says: "Enough with throwing dust in other people's eyes pretending we are opponents. Let us tear off the mask. It is high time for us to shake hands and work together towards our common goal."

During his sojourn in Yugoslavia Brezhnev frequently repeated Khrushchev's widely known formula on their "concurrence" in views and conduct as regards problems of foreign policy.

In our former articles we analyzed in detail and proved by facts that the stand of the Yugoslav revisionists has nothing in common with the foreign policy of the Soviet Union and of the other socialist countries. Therefore we will not enlarge on this here. We will only point out that precisely at the time when Brezhnev was trying to round up the stand and policy of the Yugoslav revisionists and represent them during his sojourn in Yugoslavia as identical with the Soviet policy, the representative of the Yugoslav revisionists at the present

session of the United Nations Organization General Assembly, Popovich, in his speech played the policy of the Soviet Union and of the other socialist countries, paralleling it with the policy of aggression and war of the American imperialists.

The attempts of Khrushchev's group to place the policy of the Yugoslav revisionists on the same plane as that of the Soviet Union, to identify the Soviet position in foreign affairs with that of Yugoslavia, are only a bluff, a mask which Khrushchev needs in order to present the renegade clique of Belgrade as socialists. In reality these attempts have been invalidated by numerous facts and by Tito himself in his recent interview when he stated: "First of all our representatives do not always vote in favor of the side opposed to USA. There have been cases when our representatives, in conformity with our viewpoints, have taken sides identical to the stand of the American representatives."

It is now publicly known that the Yugoslav policy in foreign affairs is an appendage of the policy of aggression and war which the American imperialists pursue and it cannot be said that it concurs with the state policy of the Soviet Union or of any other socialist country. The policy of the Yugoslav revisionists is fully at one with the views and aims of Khrushchev's revisionist group.

Of paramount importance to Khrushchev is the fact that the attitude of the Tito clique towards various international problems should be in accordance with the fundamental strategic problems which unite Khrushchev's group and the Tito clique. These problems are: class reconciliation of socialism and capitalism, political and ideological coexistence between them, peace and coex-

istence at all costs, renunciation of every revolutionary movement, the economic and political integration of the world. As to activities and attitudes in specific cases Khrushchev himself is often self-contradicting and out of line with the principles of the state policy of the Soviet Union and of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. There are many examples of Khrushchev saying one thing today and quite another thing tomorrow, one day praising Eisenhower and the next day reprimanding him. One day he says the German question must be solved without delay and sets a time limit, the next day he shamelessly says the question of a time limit is of no importance; one day he says that Yugoslav revisionism is a Trojan horse, the next day he says that Yugoslavia is building socialism. These tactics are a distinctive feature of the modern revisionists, for they are men of no principles. In their capacity as anti-Marxists they try to adapt themselves to the turn of events brought about by insignificant political events and forget the vital interests of the proletariat and the nature of the capitalist order of things.

Khrushchev's group tried in vain at times to give Brezhnev's visit also an anti-imperialist appearance in order to camouflage the real purpose of the visit which was to bring their revisionist views and deeds into agreement. The Soviet newspaper *Izvestia* in an article entitled "In the Name of a Common Goal", stressing "the pure atmosphere of Soviet-Yugoslav relations", tries to make the point that Brezhnev's visit was received with a feeling of "uneasiness and restlessness" in Adenauer's leading circles and in imperialist circles in general. But the truth points in the opposite direction. As a matter

of fact Brezhnev neither thought much of this nor did *Izvestia* persist in authenticating its statement. On the contrary, fearing lest the imperialists lose their temper and turn their backs on the Tito clique, Khrushchev's group stressed in particular that "by trying to extend its good relations with Yugoslavia, the Soviet Union does not intend to have Yugoslavia aggravate her relations with other countries" (*Izvestia*, September 29). And this is not done without a purpose: Khrushchev by no means wants the Yugoslav revisionists to detach themselves from the imperialists, especially from the American imperialists. The Tito clique is an important bridge between Khrushchev and Kennedy. Nor is the hubbub purposeless which has been raised in the United States recently about a resolution passed by the American Senate to drop Yugoslavia from the list of the most favored nations in foreign trade with the USA. The facts are that the reactionary press could not suppress their joy and called this amicable gesture of Khrushchev's group towards Tito a "springtime in Soviet-Yugoslav relations".

All this shows clearly enough that Khrushchev's group and Tito's renegade band are politically and ideologically at one on all fundamental questions, that they are at one in tactics and strategy in getting closer to the imperialists, that they are at one in opposing Marxism-Leninism, against the unity of the socialist camp, that they are at one in their joint efforts to drag onto the road of betrayal, to corrupt certain leaders of the communist and workers' parties in some socialist countries of Europe and of some capitalist countries as well. They are at one in the strategy and tactics of undermining the national-liberation

movement and subordinating it to general and total disarmament; they are at one in their strategy and tactics of integrating the world economically and politically.

All this makes it very clear that we are faced with high treason to Marxism-Leninism. This treachery may escape the eyes only of those who do not want to see, or deem it inexpedient to see.

* * *

We must look at things as they are and call them by their right name. Modern revisionism has become a real menace to the great historical achievements attained by the proletariat, to the revolution, to socialism. It has become aggressive and impudent.

As an anti-Marxist trend, revisionism has not been fully exposed as yet. And it is precisely in this that the danger lies. It is true that the Yugoslav brand of revisionism has been amply exposed but at present it is the united front which the modern revisionists are setting up in their fight against socialism, against revolutionary Marxism-Leninism, that should be thoroughly exposed.

Where does the force of modern revisionism lie? We are not dealing today with an opportunism like that of the Second International in the period between 1894 and 1917 which depended entirely on the alms that the ruling bourgeoisie gave it from the unlimited profits it reaped by exploiting colonial and dependent peoples. The great tragedy that has befallen the international communist movement today is that revisionism is represented by Khrushchev's group, who stand at the head of the Soviet Union and of the great Lenin's Communist Party.

By exercising an unbridled demagoguery the revisionists utilize the great international authority which the Soviet Union acquired under the leadership of Lenin and Stalin as well as the glorious revolutionary past of some communists of various countries. Modern revisionism uses Marxism-Leninism and especially Lenin's name as a label under which they spread their anti-Marxist theories and views to mislead the masses. One could not of course prohibit Khrushchev, Tito and their followers from using any labels they like in order to sell their stale goods. But they become a danger when they are used by persons whose mask disguising their true anti-Marxist features has not yet been torn off. V. I. Lenin persistently stressed that open opportunism is not so dangerous and harmful as that which is disguised under the cloak of Marxism-Leninism.

Moreover, modern revisionism enjoys the support of international imperialism, which helps it in various ways and by various means, both openly and in secret. As an example, it suffices to take Yugoslavia, where the American monopolists have handed Tito, one of the leaders of modern revisionism, the sum of five billion dollars, which should go to help the imperialists attain their main strategic objective, namely, the elimination of the socialist system and the establishment of world imperialist domination.

The source of modern revisionism was revealed and well defined at the meetings of the representatives of the communist and workers' parties held in Moscow in 1957 and 1960. "The existence of bourgeois influence is an internal source of revisionism," states the Declaration of

1957, "whereas capitulation to imperialist pressure is its external source."

Thus modern revisionism is not something casual; it did not spring up all at once like Minerva out of Zeus's head. It sprang up as a result of the ruthless class struggle between socialism, to which the future belongs, and the imperialist bourgeoisie, which is doomed to die. It is the embodiment of capitulation in this struggle of aristocratic wavering members of the working class as a consequence of the strong and persistent pressure which imperialism exerts.

At present, as well as in the past, the essence of opportunism is the concept of class collaboration. Modern revisionism has based all its activities on this concept.

The scientific definition of our epoch given in the 1960 Moscow Declaration sounds harsh to the ears of Khrushchev's group and that is why they never make any reference to it. This Declaration defines the present epoch as an epoch of struggle between the two antagonistic social systems, the epoch of socialist and national-liberation revolutions, the epoch of the fall of imperialism, of the extermination of the colonial system, the epoch of the adoption of socialism by other countries, of the triumph of socialism and communism on a world scale, whereas Khrushchev and his followers in reality define the present epoch as an epoch of peaceful coexistence during which the social and political problems that split the world today should find solution in a peaceful way through talks. According to them the main trend of our epoch is the peaceful economic competition between the two world social systems, socialist and capitalist. Therefore much is made of peaceful coexistence by Khrush-

chev's group as the general line of the foreign policy of the socialist countries, as a general road leading to the triumph of socialism on a world scale. The assessment which Tito's group make of the present epoch, which he calls the "epoch of peaceful integration of the world into socialism", leads to the same conclusion.

We stress the essential difference between the definition of our epoch given by the 1960 Moscow Declaration and that given by the revisionists, because it is here that the diametrically opposite paths of revolutionary Marxism-Leninism and modern revisionists separate.

Proceeding from the scientific definition of the present epoch the Marxist-Leninists draw correct revolutionary conclusions regarding the radical changes that have taken place in the new balance of forces in the international arena, a balance which is in favor of socialism. They consider the growth of communist forces in the world, the consolidation of the influence of the revolutionary, Marxist-Leninist socialist system as a factor which has created very favorable conditions and new opportunities for the communist and workers' parties, for the working class and all the revolutionary forces in the capitalist countries as well as for the people oppressed by imperialism, for the *inevitable triumph of the socialist and national-liberation movements*, for the triumph of socialism and communism throughout the world. But no triumph ever comes of itself, nor is it bestowed by anyone; it is attained through struggle and effort of the popular masses guided by a revolutionary leadership loyal to the cause of the people, to the revolution. This is what history teaches. The situation today demands more than ever that the communist and workers' parties stand

in the vanguard of the struggle of the masses against imperialism, that they effectively demonstrate their ability to lead the proletariat and their allies in the struggle for the triumph of the socialist and national-liberation revolutions. "It is not enough to call ourselves 'the vanguard'," V. I. Lenin says, "it is essential that we should act in a manner so that everybody else may see that we march in the lead in order that they may accept our leadership" (*Selected Works*, Volume 1, page 174). The historical development of events does not at all ask what name you bear, "communist" or any other name, nor what slogans and programs you proclaim. The revolution does not call for words but for deeds. If you do not meet the situation with deeds it will cast you aside, and it will hurl you with such force that it will completely destroy you and no one will care about you. Examples are not lacking, and there are even concrete ones which show what harsh treatment the development of revolutionary events has meted out to those who have stood aloof as a result of having pursued Khrushchev's revisionist line of action.

American imperialism constitutes today the main force of aggression and war; it is the most frenzied foe of mankind. The world is an eye-witness to the numerous acts of aggression and war which the imperialists have launched in various countries. It is an eye-witness to the feverish preparations for new wars and acts of aggression by the American imperialists and their partners in the aggressive blocs against the socialist countries, against the peoples who have newly acquired their freedom and independence, against the peoples who have risen and are continuously rising to overthrow the yoke

of the imperialist colonialists, to do away with the abominable regime of oppression and exploitation by the capitalists.

The present situation demands more urgently than ever before the creation of a united front in the struggle against imperialism, for peace, national independence and socialism, a united front of the socialist countries, of the revolutionary movement of the workers in capitalist countries, of the revolutionary national liberation and democratic movement, of all the peace-loving countries and peoples of the world, for imperialism is today the main and common foe of mankind. Only in this way can a stable peace be attained and a new world war avoided, and at the same time can imperialist rule be quickly done away with and socialism triumph on a world scale.

But the modern revisionists do all they can to hinder the creation of a solid front against imperialism. They leave no stone unturned and go even so far in their criminal acts as to wreck the liberation struggle of the oppressed peoples against imperialism, hinder the union of all anti-imperialist forces in their struggle for peace, national independence and socialism, prevent the ideas of revolutionary Marxism-Leninism from spreading and taking root. In this connection the modern revisionists make great concessions of principle to the imperialists.

Meanwhile the imperialists, with the American imperialists at the head, take full advantage of the weaknesses and leniency of the modern revisionists, especially Khrushchev's. The opportunistic, anti-revolutionary policy and activities, the policy of conciliation with the imperialists which the modern revisionists pursue, split and weaken the socialist camp, weaken the revolutionary

movement of the peoples against imperialism, favor the imperialists and give them time to strengthen their positions in different parts of the world which have been turned into hotbeds of aggression against the Soviet Union, the People's Republic of China and the other socialist countries as well as against the liberation movements of the oppressed peoples.

In spite of the ruthless measures and the billions of dollars which imperialism uses in order to stamp out the revolutionary anti-imperialist movements with the help of the modern revisionists, the revolutionary movement and the international communist movement keep getting wider and stronger every day. And it could not happen otherwise. The contradictions of various kinds in the imperialist camp keep going from bad to worse. Today more than at any time in the past the timeworn capitalist world is pregnant with socialist and national-liberation revolutions. A ruthless class struggle is being waged in the international arena. The flames of revolutionary wars are widespread in most oppressed countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America. Nor is the class struggle stamped out in the more advanced capitalist countries, and it can never be stamped out because it is not subject to the whims of the revisionists or of the imperialist bourgeoisie but is brought about by the objective conditions of oppression and of the exploitation of man by man, conditions which cannot be removed unless the capitalist order is overthrown and the socialist order of things is established. A certain unusual rise in production in some capitalist countries is nothing more than an accidental, temporary phenomenon, for there has not been nor can there be a continuous, peaceful development

of capitalism. The capitalist system of the world is plunged into severe general crises, therefore the situation of "peaceful development" of capitalism in certain parts of the world cannot last indefinitely.

As pointed out in the 1960 Moscow Declaration no attempts of the imperialists can prevent society from moving ahead, from doing away with the imperialist system and fully establishing socialism on a world scale. But this may come about in a shorter or in a longer period of time. This will depend on whether the proletariat and the other oppressed and exploited masses will be ready and well prepared in all respects to act in the revolutionary situations which have now become inevitable, whether the communist and workers' parties will be in a position to take all-round measures for revolution, to make them fully aware of and lead them to complete victory over the external and internal foes. No party of the working class is in a position to carry this task out if it is infected with the noxious germs of revisionism, if revisionist leaders are sitting cross-legged at the top, if the solidarity of the world revolutionary movement, the unity of the international communist movement, the unity of the socialist camp in opposition to revisionism, are not safeguarded and consolidated. The spread and consolidation of revisionism in the international communist movement not only prolongs the life of imperialism but imperils the gains attained by the working masses in countries where socialism has already triumphed.

Therefore, how true is the definition which the 1957 and 1960 Moscow meetings gave of revisionism as the main danger to the international communist movement

as well as their pointing out the fight against and the ideological liquidation of revisionism as the present task. This fight has become an urgent historical necessity.

Revisionism not only benumbs and saps the revolutionary energy of the masses but it finds suitable ground to thrive on this languor and debility. We come across this phenomenon today in countries where the communist parties were in the hands of revisionists, whereas Marxism-Leninism and the Marxist-Leninist parties depend on and become strong precisely on the revolutionary energy of the masses. Thus the fight against revisionism and the exposure of its carriers invigorates the revolutionary drive of the masses and they become more politically conscious and learn to fight in defense of their rights, of the revolution, of their full national independence, of democracy, socialism and communism.

Imperialism cannot be successfully fought and overthrown without fighting and exposing revisionism. V. I. Lenin always stressed: "The fight against imperialism will become an empty and misleading phrase if it is not closely bound with the fight against opportunism" (*Selected Works*, Volume 1, page 858).

To wage a successful struggle against revisionism, which has become so dangerous a menace, it should be made clear to the communists and the masses what revisionism actually is. Khrushchev's group too sometimes feels obliged to say a word or two about the struggle against revisionism. Of course the "fight against revisionism" in the minds of Khrushchev's group is only something abstract, with no objective but only empty phrases. Formerly, when the press of the present Soviet leaders referred now and then to "the fight against re-

visionism" in their speeches, it might be interpreted to refer to the Yugoslav revisionists. But now that the coordination of Khrushchev's policy in all fields with that of Tito's is a fait accompli, there is no doubt left but that Khrushchev's group, far from fighting revisionism in any form, has taken the banner of modern revisionism in its own hands.

Under the present conditions of relentless class struggle between communism and imperialism, when imperialist reaction is mustering its forces against communism, it is essential to safeguard and strengthen to the utmost the unity of the socialist camp, the communist movement and the international revolutionary movement of the workers. It is clear to every true Marxist-Leninist that this unity has been heavily prejudiced by modern revisionism. One of the main objectives of Tito's revisionist group has always been to split the unity of the socialist camp and of the international communist forces. But Khrushchev's revisionist group is now also acting against this unity by its vile and criminal attacks, plots and other hostile acts against the Party of Labour of Albania and the other revolutionary Marxist-Leninist parties, against the socialist camp as well as against the entire world revolutionary movement.

The preservation of the unity of the socialist camp as well as the further consolidation of this unity demands that we firmly oppose modern revisionism, that we fight to expose it in all its forms and in all spheres, so as to draw once and for all a demarcation line between ourselves and revisionism. Revisionism is a tumor in the body of the communist movement which must be promptly removed however painful the operation may be.

The revolutionary slogan **"Proletarians of all lands, unite!"**, which has guided the bitter class struggle and has led to victory for the proletarians and all the oppressed and exploited masses for over a hundred years, is still the order of the day as it was in Marx's and Lenin's heroic times. As always, this unity can be achieved only on the bedrock of revolutionary Marxism-Leninism, only on the immortal ideas of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, and never on the rotten ideas of the revisionists.

Even when the modern revisionists hold leading positions, in some parties they have no followers among the mass of communists, or among the proletarians and the revolutionary peasantry although they have made it a habit to refer to the "masses" every time they want to advertise their anti-communist theories and deeds as perfect. Their followers consist merely of some privileged persons they have promoted for the purpose of upholding them in their anti-Marxist exploits. The rank-and-file communists and the masses of workers are daily growing wiser to the fact that high treason is being perpetrated at their expense and to the detriment of Marxism-Leninism, and that the revisionists are incorrigible renegades from communism. At these historical moments it behooves the rank-and-file communists and the masses of workers to have their say and show the revisionists their place and to do it soon, for revolution and counter-revolution, Marxism and anti-Marxism, proletarian ideology and bourgeois ideology, an offspring of which is revisionism, cannot live long together neither within the framework of one party nor within the framework of the movement at large.

Moreover, it is high time for those communists who are wading through the quagmire of Khrushchev's swamps and have an opportunity to see, some more and some less clearly, the betrayal of Marxism-Leninism, to pluck up courage to halt and detach themselves from the revisionists. They face two alternatives: either to hurl themselves into the abyss to which Khrushchev's group is leading them or to pluck up courage and react, to join the rank and file of the party, to hold on fast to the working masses and to deal a death blow to the revisionists. Only in this way can they help their Party, their country, socialism, communism, and peace.

It is not the first time that the workers' and communist movement has encountered a high treason like the treachery of the modern revisionists. The history of the struggle of the world proletariat has confirmed time and again that whenever capitalism was in the throes of general crisis the opportunists, the offspring and agents of the bourgeoisie, have got busy, have stirred themselves and tried to throttle the parties of the working class, coming thereby to the assistance of the international imperialist bourgeoisie to establish their sway over the world and to stamp out the revolutionary movement of the masses. Everybody is now familiar with the treachery of the Second International and its failure, with the betrayal by Kautsky, Plekhanov, Trotsky and their failure, with the betrayal of Zinovyev, Kamenyev, Bukharin and their failure. True Marxist-Leninists have acted with determination at the decisive moment of impending danger from the opportunists; they have stood up bravely and courageously and waged an uncompromising, bitter struggle of principle against the foes of

Marxism-Leninism. Lenin and his Bolshevik comrades were never intimidated even when they had to face fire from many sides, from the frenzied tsarist autocrats and later from Kerensky's bourgeois dictatorship, from the international imperialist bourgeoisie and from the treacherous leaders of the Second International; they courageously stood for the principles of Marxism-Leninism, and drew a clear distinction between themselves and the Mensheviks, the Trotskyites and the others in order to unite around the ideas of Marxism-Leninism with more firmness. We know very well what the Bolsheviks with Lenin in the lead did when they saw that all hopes to reform the Mensheviks were futile and that their continued membership in the same party with them was both harmful and impossible. Only when the Mensheviks were finally cast out in 1912 was the real unity of the Bolshevik Party established, and only in this manner could the latter become a revolutionary party, a vanguard in the whole international communist movement. In 1917, in response to those who continued to demand the union of all the Russian social democrats, Lenin wrote: "The union of the social democrats in Russia is out of the question. It is better to be reduced to two persons like Liebknecht — **and that means to stand by the revolutionary proletariat** — then to accept even for one moment the idea of uniting with the Party of the Organizational Committee (the Mensheviks — Ed.) with Ceixhen and with Tcheretel" (Volume 24, page 62, IVth Russian edition).

Marxism-Leninism has always emerged victorious in the struggle against capitalism and opportunism because, first and foremost, the Marxist-Leninists have always

drawn a line between themselves and the traitors to the proletariat, because all the masses oppressed and exploited by the international imperialists and the domestic bourgeoisie as well as the working class have sided with the revolutionary communists.

The process of ideologically unmasking, isolating and doing away with modern revisionism as a noxious disease in the body of international communism has already begun and is making speedy headway. This is a dialectic process which nothing can stop. The demagogy which Khrushchev's group uses cannot stop it, nor can Khrushchev and his followers, who misuse the authority of the great Lenin's Party, stop it for any considerable length of time. The high authority of the Soviet Union and of Lenin's Communist Party cannot be considered as the property of certain people, least of all the property of a group of renegades and revisionists like Khrushchev's group. The authority of the Soviet Union and of Lenin's Communist Party is preserved and defended not by words but by deeds, by those who consistently pursue Lenin's line, his successful teachings, by the fraternal parties which strive for the purity of Marxism-Leninism, by the Party of Labour of Albania, by the Bolsheviks of Lenin's Party itself, loyal to his revolutionary ways, by the communists and the revolutionaries of the entire world. By fighting modern revisionism they at the same time express their affection and respect for the country of the October Revolution, for the Party and ideas of the great Lenin, which a group of revisionists are trying to defile.

The creation of the Khrushchev-Tito common front of the revisionists, their collaboration, their common whet-

ting of weapons speeds up the process of political and ideological deterioration of modern revisionism, because the communist parties, the international communist movement, the working class see in their open coordinated deeds the ever increasing threat today to the international communist and workers' unity, and to the unity of the progressive and peace-loving forces in general. Therefore, fully confident of the inexhaustible revolutionary energy of Marxism-Leninism, we can say that there is no force in the world that can stop the triumphal march of its ever victorious ideas.

**THE TITO CLIQUE
AND
THE DRAFT OF THE NEW YUGOSLAV
CONSTITUTION**

Article published in the newspaper

Zëri i Popullit

December 13, 1962

The draft of the new Yugoslav constitution was approved and published some time ago. The official propaganda of the Yugoslav revisionists has attached great significance to this document, claiming it as "the first monument of real emancipated labour" and a pattern for all the countries which aim to build socialism.

An analysis, be it a general one, of this document shows that in reality it has nothing in common with a socialist constitution, but is merely a substantiation and legalization of those principles of the modern revisionists concerning the social and state order which found their expression in the infamous program of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia. This document openly ignores and intentionally distorts the principles of Marxism-Leninism concerning the state, puts new garments on the worn-out anarchical, syndicalist and Bukharinist theses branded by Lenin as attempts to restore capitalism and repeats the widely-known revisionist conceptions about political and economic integration both on the internal as well as on the international front. At the same time, this draft constitution repeats a set of principles typical of the bourgeois constitutions and doctrines on the state, although they are formulated in pseudo-revolutionary and pseudo-socialist terms in order to mislead the working masses and international public opinion. Viewed from this angle it is befitting to apply to the Tito clique Marx's censure of the bourgeois republicans of his time, "for whom," he said, "the constitution is a downright **intrigue**."

It should, above all, establish the rule of their own clique" (Marx-Engels, *Selected Works*, Vol. 1, page 154).

I

Why are the Yugoslav revisionists in need of a new constitution at this time? It is plain that a change in the basic law of a state, one of the most important and responsible issues in its political and social life, must in itself reflect a great turn in the development of its social relations, a transition into a new qualitative situation. In his report to the Federative Assembly of Yugoslavia in connection with the draft of the new constitution, E. Kardelj pretended that "the decision of the People's Federative Assembly to draw up a new constitution is based, above all, on the fact that the provisions of the constitution in power no longer reflect, in many cases, the actual situation of the social relations in our socialist country, and as such, they no longer meet the present social needs in these fields of social and political development". In reality no change has come about in the social and state structure in the socialist development of this country from the adoption of the 1953 constitution to this day. On the contrary, everything has tended towards encouraging and extending capitalist relations in all fields of activity, and tended towards a gradual and inevitable elimination of the revolutionary achievements of the peoples of Yugoslavia.

But the Yugoslav revisionists need the proclamation of a new constitution in order to legalize many anti-Marxist conceptions of the program of the League of

Communists of Yugoslavia, to legalize their line of action towards the re-establishment of capitalism, to replenish the concentrated attack which the modern revisionists have now launched on all fronts against Marxist-Leninist ideology and to extend the revisionist subversion into the international arena.

The draft constitution, Kardelj's report and the subsequent discussions in the Yugoslav Skuptchina, expose their intention of advertising this revisionist document as a "charter of special socialism" and of broadcasting the experience of Yugoslavia as a universal experience of value to all peoples in all countries. This document ignores the universal significance of the experience of the Soviet Union, the first socialist state in the world, ignores and opposes the experience of all other socialist countries. "The orientation in the general establishment of the political system and the organizational machinery of the socialist state, depends on whether a socialist state **tends towards an ever growing state power** — very widely spread in the socialist world a short time ago — **or on social self-administration and the use of the greatest possible democratic forms in settling contradictions in the development of socialism,**" says Kardelj (emphasis by the ed.).

Thus, by rejecting the Marxist-Leninist thesis on the necessity of consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat under conditions of the existence of imperialism, Kardelj vindicates the revisionist thesis of doing away with the socialist state by integrating antagonistic classes, a process which would open the way to the restoration of capitalism within the country, and to capitulation to imperialism in the international arena.

In order to reconcile their revisionist thesis of gradual elimination of the state at the present stage with the need of drawing up a new constitution — a constitution that cannot be conceived without the existence of the state — the Yugoslav leaders claim that “the draft provides that the constitution is not only a constitution of the state but it is, at the same time, a **special social charter** (emphasis by the ed.) which will comprise the material basis, the political framework and the stimulant for a growing internal development of the machinery for social self-administration and direct democracy”. It is not the first time that the Yugoslav revisionists have placed the sign of equation between society and the state, a conception typical of the bourgeois and social-opportunist ideologists.

What strikes one as a main characteristic of the draft of the Yugoslav constitution is the fact that nowhere is the established principle of state sovereignty, as an expression of the authority of the ruling class, of its dictatorship, typical of the social and state order of socialism, nowhere is this principle formulated, directly or indirectly in this draft. This omission is not accidental, it reflects the revisionist conception of the role of the state, its integration into society, and its elimination as early as at the present stage.

While the socialist constitutions envisage not only the legal guarantees but also the material means and conditions to enforce democratic rights and prerogatives, the bourgeois constitutions are characterized by a formal proclamation of certain democratic principles and, at the same time, their juridical curtailment and limitations, through subsequent provisions in the same constitutions. In such cases the limiting provisions actually eliminate

the democratic principles, endow the state organs with unlimited power to decide whether or not the conditions exist for the citizens to take advantage of the rights proclaimed.

This is also the case with the draft of the Yugoslav constitution which simultaneously is a jumble of theses and antitheses, affirmation of principles and their negation. Of course, this has nothing whatsoever to do with the dialectic unity of opposites; on the contrary, as Karl Marx has said when referring to bourgeois constitutions, “every paragraph of the constitution contains in itself its antithesis, its upper and lower chamber: freedom, in general terms, and lack of freedom sub rosa” (see Marx — *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte*). The first paragraph of Article 24 of the draft of the Yugoslav constitution reads: “The exploitation of another’s labour in order to reap profit is prohibited”; whereas immediately after that in the second paragraph exploitation of man by man is allowed: “In agricultural production as well as in the field of trades and crafts which citizens carry on with their own means of production, auxiliary work by others may be allowed within the bounds and under definite conditions prescribed by law.” The same thing is noticed in connection with the exercising of the most important prerogative of citizens, such as the freedom of the press and of the other means of information, freedom of association, freedom of speech and of meetings, which are proclaimed in the first paragraph of Article 41, while the subsequent paragraph of the same article limits and even prohibits their exercise. These provisions manifest the falsity and demagogical pretensions of the Titoite ideologists who describe

the political and social system of Yugoslavia as a "system which would enable the workers to decide their own destiny and justice in the freest and most democratic way".

II

Vladimir Ilich Lenin has divided constitutions into fictitious and non-fictitious ones according to their content. The first group contains all those constitutions which by demagogically proclaiming democratic rights and prerogatives, actually aim at sanctioning and consolidating the political hegemony and the dictatorial power of the exploiting minority against the workers. Historically this group comprises the constitutions which the liberal bourgeoisie have drawn up at certain periods in order to safeguard their own political and economic monopoly. In this respect, the draft of the Yugoslav constitution too, in addition to the theses which openly ignore or distort the well-known principles of Marxism-Leninism, contains many clauses which proclaim literally, for deceptive purposes, principles inspired by socialist ideas, but which are at variance with Yugoslav reality.

The draft is permeated throughout with alleged concern about man. "The starting point of our new constitution," E. Kardelj has stated in an interview to the Italian newspaper *Unità*, "is not really the state, but man and the relations between men." But who is this man? How can man be visualized apart from classes, and the state? Man cannot be conceived and treated as something abstract, as man "in general" separated from his environment and especially as separated from the actual

social relations arising and developing in society, relations in which he participates by carrying out a definite task. Such a one-sided treatment of man, as that by the Yugoslav revisionists, is typical of the bourgeois constitutions and doctrines of the state, which through conceiving of man "in general" try to conceal the true relation that exists in bourgeois society between the separate social groups which constitute it.

According to E. Kardelj, "the draft of the constitution always takes into account two main factors in the development of society, namely, the interest of emancipated labour and the interest of socialist society". The draft constitution proclaims that "the socialist system in Yugoslavia is based on the relations among men as free and equal producers and creators, whose work serves to meet their individual and common needs alone". It proclaims "the emancipation of labour brought about by doing away with the wages system".

But what "emancipation of labour" can one speak of in Yugoslavia when there are a number of private artisan workshops employing over 300,000 workers, that is, one-tenth of the total number of workers and employees in the country? The number of these workshops has recently been increasing. Some of them have tens of wage-earners in them, while others employ over two hundred workers. These are capitalist enterprises pure and simple, which wrest large profits from exploited workers.

As in capitalist countries, the continuous rise of unemployment is a typical feature of Yugoslav economy. According to data furnished by the Yugoslav press itself, the average number of unemployed workers rises year after year. During the first six months of 1962 it reached

266,000 or 20 per cent above the same period of the preceding year or 52 per cent above 1960. The capitalist system of purchase and sale of labour-power is widely practised in Yugoslavia. Not only the adult peasants but children also sell their labour-power and thus become "hirelings of agriculture". The Yugoslav newspaper *Omladina* has this to say about this disgraceful phenomenon of Yugoslav life: "Children are traded in the market-place like calves, like a sack of oats or any other commodity." Of what kind of "emancipation of labour" can one speak when this newspaper itself is obliged to admit that these "hirelings of agriculture" work on the average 10 hours a day, some of them even 16 hours a day in the fields of others, receiving only a paltry sum for their exertion?! Under such circumstances it is not accidental that the draft constitution, while sanctioning the exploitation of others, makes no mention of the great socialist principle "no work, no food", a principle which, as Lenin says, "is understood by every worker. This is admitted . . . by all those who have experienced poverty in their lives, all those who have at any time lived by their labour. . . . It is in this plain, very plain and clear truth that the basis of socialism, its inexhaustible strength, and the unshakable warranty of its final victory lies" (Lenin, *Selected Works*, Vol. 2, page 362).

Since this draft bears the name "Draft of the new Constitution of the **socialist** Federal Republic of Yugoslavia" its authors feel obliged to sprinkle its text with socialist principles. One of these is the socialist principle of compensation according to work done: "from each according to his ability, to each according to his work". But this important socialist principle of compensation

according to work done is actually tampered with in Yugoslavia. As Josip Broz Tito himself admits, "workers' payments are low" and "the differences in the scales of payments to people are so great that they are inconceivable", and "the accumulation of personal wealth" has become alarming.

The Belgrade revisionists describe the organization of the economic life of Yugoslavia, on the basis of the so-called social self-administration, as a "creative" development of Marxism-Leninism, as a proof of the superiority of the Yugoslav "special socialism" over "bureaucratic and state socialism". The problem of self-administration occupies an important place, and is even raised to a fetish in the draft of the Yugoslav constitution. It is proclaimed as one of the "inviolable bases of the state and the role of man". Moreover, Article 36 sets forth as an "innovation" the declaration that "the right of citizens to social self-administration is inviolable, having priority over all other rights".

The Yugoslav revisionists consider the principle of the so-called social self-administration as the nucleus of "direct" or "integral democracy".

According to them, socialism appears to be divided into two phases: a lower phase, which is "state socialism" and an upper phase, "socialism on the basis of self-administration". The upper phase, according to them, has been attained by Yugoslavia alone while the socialist countries are still in the lower phase of "state socialism". They claim that "state socialism" is characterized by a lack of socialist democracy, such a democracy seems to be an attribute only of "socialism based on self-administration". The Yugoslav revisionists consider state owner-

ship and centralized socialist planning, that is, the economic function of the socialist state which contains in itself the basis of the practical application of true democracy, as the main drawback to socialist democracy. Therefore, it is not accidental that the draft of the Yugoslav constitution bases the economy of the state not on the socialist system of economy and socialist ownership of the means of production, but on "emancipated labour combined with the means of production, which belong to society, and the self-administration of the workers in the production and distribution of the social wealth . . ." thus making a muddle of conceptions and notions unrelated to each other.

The "self-administration" of the Yugoslav revisionists is a reproduction of the anti-Marxist formulae of the anarcho-syndicalists and of the "Workers' Opposition", raised to the height of a basic law. By basing their ideas on economic decentralization they ignore the decisive importance of centralized and planned socialist economy and do not recognize state ownership as the highest form of social ownership, on which socialist relations in production are established as relations of the highest type. On the contrary, by failing to define explicitly (in Article 8) what composes social proprietorship and by leaving it to the usual federal laws to decide on the "disposal" and "other rights on the means of production belonging to society", the draft constitution of Yugoslavia provides legal leeway for such important enterprises as industrial factories, for instance, to belong not to the entire people but to groups of people, at times to very limited groups of people and to cliques who would derive great profits for themselves.

Just how far "socialism" can develop through decentralized economy and through the "workers' council administration" and what consequences follow as a result of such a development of the "free initiative" and "autonomy" in production and distribution, can be seen today in the Yugoslav economy which has been and continues to be plunged further and further into a blind alley, being gnawed at by all the contradictions typical of capitalist economy. In a letter which the Central Committee of the League of the Communists of Yugoslavia addressed to its members some time ago, it admitted that "economic life still faces grave problems". Increased payment deficits and higher prices of goods "have further aggravated the economic situation". The newspaper *Borba* admitted, in April this year, that "many factories in Yugoslavia work only at 10 or 15 per cent of their capacity. The *Federal Bulletin* likewise announced that 618 enterprises were closed last year because of inability to sell their products and that 259 other factories were closed, during the first 5 months of this year, for the same reason. Such phenomena of capitalist economy as over-production and rivalry for markets are typical of the present Yugoslav economy. Thus, Tito himself is obliged to own that "we have also at present industrial enterprises which must be closed tomorrow because of over-production and deficient sales". According to Tito's own words "the national debt has risen to nearly one billion dollars", "the deficit in foreign trade is large". The system of social self-administration has given rise to "the local policy of the closed door", "provincialism and chauvinism".

Pursuing the policy of "free initiative" and of "autonomy", arising from the reforms of foreign trade and the

currency, the Yugoslav state control over foreign currency was altogether abolished. The new system of foreign exchange and foreign trade, established last year with the direct financial assistance of the American imperialists, is a capitalist system which aims at binding Yugoslavia and "integrating it more and more with the Western economic and political world". By granting Yugoslavia credits in the form of goods, the Western capitalist countries throw into the Yugoslav market their unsold goods, thus competing with the Yugoslav industry which is inferior to their own.

Thus "social self-administration" has brought to the political and economic life of Yugoslavia such typically capitalist phenomena as over-production and competition, an increase in unemployment and a rise in the cost of living, and also great economic disproportion and social differences between the classes. The increase of imports and foreign capital investments through the "open door" policy is actually turning Yugoslav economy into one dependent on imperialist monopolies.

But "Yugoslav socialism" exposes its true nature in what is happening in the countryside, where it is clearly seen that it bears no semblance whatsoever to socialism. Yugoslav agriculture gives a true picture of the failure of the economic line followed by the Yugoslav revisionists, of its retrogression into the positions of capitalism. The Belgrade revisionist clique have long since abandoned the Leninist line of collectivization of agriculture, they have dissolved most of the agricultural cooperatives that were set up during the post-liberation period and have given a free hand to the kulaks and other capitalist elements. By setting agriculture "free from administrative

management" the state fostered the development of individual and kulak economy, as well as the free competition of the various economic forces. Engels in his time stressed that the "plight of the peasants came primarily from individual economy conditioned by private ownership" (Marx-Engels, *Selected Works*, Vol. 2, page 412). Lenin also teaches us that the small individual property inevitably gives rise to capitalism. That is what is happening at present in Tito's Yugoslavia.

The draft of the Yugoslav constitution envisages, in Article 19, that agricultural cooperatives "may be established". But the establishment of agricultural cooperatives is after all also allowed in certain capitalist countries. The question here is, what kind of cooperatives should these be and why is nothing said, in any of the stipulations of the draft of the Yugoslav constitution, about the typical principle of the socialist constitutions and of the state aid and all-round assistance to the socialist agricultural cooperatives. It should be further stressed that the draft does not even mention the principle that "the land belongs to those who till it".

What are the results of the "Yugoslav way" in agriculture? Ninety per cent of the entire arable land in the Yugoslav villages today belongs to individual owners. Land is freely sold and bought or leased out, and farm workers on quite a large scale are freely hired and exploited at low wage rates by rich landowners. Nearly 50 per cent of individual farmers in the principal grain growing regions possess neither draft animals nor ploughs, and are obliged to either sell their land or lease it to the kulaks. The State Secretary for Agriculture, Slavko Komar, was obliged to admit, some time ago, that

the rich peasants in the Yugoslav villages have become "the managers of production". "Trade in labour-power" has recently appeared in many agricultural regions of Yugoslavia.

III

The question of the state is a basic one which reflects the diametrically opposite views of Marxism-Leninism on the one side and of bourgeois and modern revisionist ideology on the other. Marxism-Leninism considers the socialist state, the dictatorship of the proletariat, as the main weapon with which the working class and all the labouring masses can expropriate the bourgeoisie, can do away with all remnants of capitalism in economy and in men's minds, can put an end to antagonistic classes and the exploitation of man by man, and can fully build socialist society and create the conditions for the establishment of complete communism, under which the socialist state will finally cease to exist. "Between capitalist and communist society," Marx has said, "there exists the period of the revolutionary transformation of the first into the second. A political transition period corresponds to this period and the state of this period can be no other than the revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat" (Marx-Engels, *Selected Works*, Vol. 2, page 23).

In this transition period, the state, through its economic, organizational, cultural and educational functions, is the main lever of the working class to bring about radical changes in the field of economy and culture under the guidance of its party. This transition period is a

long historical period which continues until conditions are ripe for full communist equality among men. Therefore, as far as internal conditions are concerned "complete elimination of the state is incumbent on complete communism" (Lenin, *Selected Works*, Vol. 2, page 209).

In contradiction to this basic Marxist-Leninist thesis the modern revisionists like the Yugoslav revisionists openly expound the need to do away with the socialist state immediately, or, when they dare not come out in the open with a proposal of this kind, they advocate the elimination of the dictatorship of the proletariat and its transformation into "a general state of the people".

To the Yugoslav revisionists, the socialist state is not a new and more advanced type of state, and it is not essentially different from a bourgeois state. The bourgeois state, according to them, "is characterized by those attributes that belong to the socialist state during the phase of transition from capitalism to socialism" (see "Problems of Political Economy of Socialism" — Belgrade, 1958, page 138). Under conditions of "gradual and peaceful integration" of capitalism into socialism, according to them, "state capitalism" is the highest phase of imperialism and at the same time, the first phase of socialism. It is therefore obvious why the draft of the Yugoslav constitution fails to define the class nature of the Yugoslav state and the leading role of the working class, which is blended into the general conceptions of "workers" and "people".

According to the Yugoslav revisionists, "socialism and the state, like socialism and state ownership, are two irreconcilable opposite conceptions". According to them, "no state exists in an advanced socialist society and, as a

consequence no state capitalism exists". According to them, it is impossible to establish so-called economic and political democracy when the state governs relations in production. Since "the state apparatus and bureaucracy are essentially identical notions", the Yugoslav revisionists, in opposition to the Leninist principle of democratic centralization, put forward the thesis of decentralization of power, for without decentralization there is, allegedly, no "self-administration" and without "self-administration" there is no direct democracy and, consequently, no socialist democracy.

In the draft of the constitution the basis of the political system of Yugoslavia is built in conformity with these revisionist principles. Although the communes, with their assemblies of representatives, are proclaimed as the basis of this system (even though the assemblies of representatives within the federated republics are also proclaimed as and formally constitute the only permanent basis of all state systems and organs) yet, in essence, they have neither the character of representative bodies in the real sense of the term, nor do they play any decisive role in state affairs in general. Moreover, the draft lays no constitutional obligations on the representatives to render account of their work to the electors nor does it recognize the right of the electors to recall their representatives. Such a right is a direct expression of the sovereignty of the people and, consequently, of the democratization of the state apparatus as well.

In defiance of the slogans of "direct democracy" and "social and political self-administration" the draft consolidates and extends the prerogatives of the executive organs to the detriment of the representative organs, thus

strengthening the hands of the clique in power. The so-called "system of rotation" of Article 210, whereby no person is elected to the same state position for more than two terms in succession, does not apply to the first President of the Republic, Josip Broz Tito. This serves the same purpose. E. Kardelj justifies this immutability of Tito's personal presidential power by declaring that "the clause of the constitution which exempts the person of Comrade Tito from all restrictions at the polls is not an exception but a constitutional provision of principle".(!) Such "constitutional provisions of principle" are not to be found in any bourgeois constitutions of the past, not even in that of the Karageorgioviiches except in the "Constitution of the Albanian Kingdom" of 1928, which explicitly designated Ahmed Zogu as King!

Contrary to the formal proclamation of decentralization, the draft of the Yugoslav constitution extends and strengthens the prerogatives of the Federation to the detriment of the rights of the federated republics and the autonomous regions. Oppression of national minorities, and the outstanding inequality of economic development in the various republics and regions are typical of Tito's Yugoslavia. The draft provides for the establishment of a special fund of the Federation in order to finance the economic development of the underdeveloped republics and regions. But, regardless of this formal statement of principle in the draft, the essence of the economic policy of the Belgrade revisionists has been laid bare by Tito himself, who stated at Split that "it is better to furnish the underdeveloped regions with means and other things for public works and for cultural activities, than to set up factories which would again cost. . . ."

Such concentration of power in the federative organs and the discrimination against other nationalities has turned the Yugoslav Federation into a screen behind which is concealed a strict centralization of political power, and a denial of the rights of the other nationalities. The draft of the constitution disguises this reality behind a lot of "democratic formulae" which, nevertheless, reveal the expansionist and chauvinist trends of the Tito revisionist clique. "The Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia," the draft maintains, "as a free community of peoples, which strives to attain political, economic and cultural cooperation with other peoples and states, considers that this cooperation should contribute towards setting up new forms of democratic integration of peoples and of states which would serve the interests of the peoples, and the need for speeding up social progress; in this respect it is an **open community**" (emphasis by the ed.). Does this mean that Yugoslav revisionists look forward to swallowing up other peoples in a legalized constitutional way in the days to come?

* * *

The whole make-up of the draft of the Yugoslav constitution points clearly to the incontestable fact, of primary importance, that far from being a socialist constitution it is a typical bourgeois constitution draped in "socialist" garments. It is, as a consequence, the continuation, development and further promotion of the anti-Marxist program of the League of the Communists of Yugoslavia. It is another document of betrayal by the Tito clique.

THE NEW REVISIONIST CRUSADE AGAINST MARXISM-LENINISM WILL MEET WITH SHAMEFUL FAILURE

Article published in the newspaper

Zëri i Popullit

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As inveterate agents of American imperialism, the treacherous clique of Yugoslav revisionists have recently set more zealously to work to split the socialist camp and the international communist movement and to dismember them for good, with active support and all-round help from Khrushchev. This is plainly manifested in the proceedings of the last Plenum of the Central Committee of the League of Yugoslav Communists held on May 18 of this year.

Much had been said about and threefold publicity given to the Plenum of the Central Committee of the League of Yugoslav Communists and particularly to Tito's report. The Yugoslav revisionist press and propaganda extolled its "extraordinary significance" and made a lot of noise about it. According to the news items and comments in the Yugoslav press itself Tito's report was given wide publicity in the Western bourgeois press. Similar publicity was given to it by the Khrushchev group and their supporters. The *Pravda* of May 26 gave a whole page to the summary of Tito's report. This "tripartite alliance" is very significant. It points clearly to the common purpose of the joint assaults of all the participants in this "Holy Trinity": opposition to revolutionary Marxism-Leninism and to the parties which firmly uphold it.

It is not at all incidental either that the Plenum of the Central Committee of the League of Yugoslav Communists, which was "dedicated to the problems of the

international workers' and communist movement", was held soon after Tito's meeting with Dean Rusk, on the eve of parliamentary elections in Yugoslavia, prior to the Plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union on ideological matters, prior to the bilateral talks between the representatives of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the representatives of the Communist Party of China, as well as under conditions of the growing resistance and opposition of the more sober communists and of the whole world to the revisionist trend headed by the Khrushchev group, which opposition has brought about misgivings and perplexity within the ranks of the revisionists. Under such circumstances Tito's renegade clique, in compliance with the needs and interests of the imperialists, took a new step in their treacherous activities. They urged that "de-Stalinization", the fight against "dogmatism", in other words, against revolutionary Marxism-Leninism, should be carried to the end "without compromise", and that a crusade be launched against the "dogmatists", wherever they might be, that is, against the parties which maintained a firm Marxist-Leninist stand.

The Plenum of the Central Committee of the League of Yugoslav Communists and Tito's report are another clear indication that the renegade clique of Belgrade, as the number one spokesmen of the modern revisionists, persist in carrying out their treacherous aims of exterminating the revolutionary communist movement, subordinating it to imperialism, trying to draw onto this road all the ranks of the revisionists and to encourage and incite them for more active work in this direction. It is a well-known fact that it was Tito and his clique who

first raised the banner of "de-Stalinization". In his infamous speech at Pula in 1956 Tito called upon all the modern revisionists, masked or unmasked, "to break the shell" and strive more actively for the triumph of the revisionist line over "Stalinism" and "dogmatism", for eliminating the "consequences of the cult of the individual", and so on. When the Khrushchev group and their supporters resolutely embarked on this road, especially at the 22nd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and thereafter, the bitter campaign against "Stalinism" was carried to its acme. In an interview with the American journalist Drew Pearson in August 1962 Tito called on the revisionists to take another step towards betrayal, to proceed with more determination towards greater proximity to and open reconciliation with the imperialists, and towards their "economic and political integration" with the capitalist world, which, in fact, means to submit to the imperialists. Now he calls for total liquidation of anyone who has become a stumbling-block on this way of betrayal; he calls for an organized frontal campaign of all the combined revisionist forces against Marxism-Leninism and the parties that uphold it and oppose the revisionist course.

The proceedings of the Plenum of the Central Committee of the League of Yugoslav Communists lasted 3½ to 4 hours, just enough time to hear out Tito's report of 11,000 words and hold 8 discussions. This fact too shows clearly that this was not "a thorough, all-round discussion of the major issues of present international developments and the world revolutionary movement" as the Yugoslav propaganda tries to describe it, but a

political manoeuvre of the Tito clique dictated by the present moment.

What first arouses one's attention is the fact that, defending, supporting and encouraging Khrushchev's revisionist line, Tito in his report tried to reaffirm with unrestrained joy their complete unity of views on the basic issues of present world developments and of the international communist and workers' movement. Thus he pointed out their similar and downright anti-Marxist, anti-revolutionary views on the problems of peace and war, of peaceful coexistence, of the ways and forms of transition to socialism, and so on and so forth. It is noteworthy that on all these matters Tito spoke in Khrushchev's terms, used the same language and the same arguments which we have seen in Khrushchev's widely known address to the Supreme Soviet of the USSR on December 12, 1962 (an address which, as is well known, was delivered in Tito's presence) as well as in the other written material of the Khrushchev group.

In reading Tito's speech at the Plenum and the speeches by those who took part in the discussions, we see clearly enough that the Tito clique have changed nothing of their basic revisionist theses consecrated in the infamous program of the League of Yugoslav Communists. As a matter of fact, by presenting his views through Khrushchev's formulae, Tito reiterates in a different way his old anti-Marxist theses formulated five years ago in the anti-Marxist and revisionist program of the League of Yugoslav Communists, a program from which Khrushchev himself finds a source of inspiration. But Tito is shrewd. In his 11,000-word report to the Plenum he never made any direct reference to the pro-

gram of the League of Yugoslav Communists. And this is not unintentional. The infamous program of the League of Yugoslav Communists is unanimously condemned as the code of the modern revisionists by the entire international communist movement. Therefore if Tito had made direct reference to the theses of the program, it would have been prejudicial to himself and his friends, Khrushchev and his partners, who would not like to mention rope in the home of the hanged. And why irritate the sore spot when the program is in force as such, when its theses are being persistently carried out by the Yugoslav revisionists themselves, when they are being adopted and further developed even by other revisionists, by Khrushchev and his ilk? Why lay new obstacles in the way of Khrushchev's attempts to rehabilitate Tito's clique and present the League of Yugoslav Communists as a "Marxist party" and Yugoslavia as a "socialist country"? Tito is well aware of his basic duty: at this moment Khrushchev must be supported, be given unreserved assistance in his attempt to split the socialist camp and the communist movement, and be urged ahead in this direction. Tito's main objective is to unite the wavering ranks of the modern revisionists and consolidate the united front of revisionism for further opposition to revolutionary Marxism-Leninism and its supporters.

Tito and his accomplices sang hymns of triumph for the first successes they had scored; they sang hymns of triumph because their line of betrayal had been extended to include, first and foremost, Khrushchev and his group, because their views had taken root in the Soviet Union and in certain other countries and parties, as was so

clearly borne out especially at the 20th and the 22nd Congresses of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, which Tito did not fail to hail openly again. It was precisely this that he stressed in a roundabout way when he spoke of "the rise of the international authority of Yugoslavia and the League of Yugoslav Communists". It was he who likewise stressed when he boasted of the "success" of Yugoslavia in improving the relations and strengthening the links with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. Tito on his part thanked Khrushchev in public for having created possibilities for his clique to play, with more chances of success, their role of the "Trojan horse" in the service of imperialism in splitting and undermining the socialist camp and the international communist movement. "Thanks to Khrushchev and the other colleagues," Tito said, "we have been able to gradually improve our relations with the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, though at a slow rate."

The patrons of the Tito clique, the American imperialists, have no reason to be displeased at the success of their lackeys and at their policy of "getting closer" to the socialist countries. Nevertheless, Tito did not fail in his speech at the Plenum of the Central Committee of the League of Yugoslav Communists, as in other previous speeches, to clear up any misunderstanding and to calm any "disturbed soul". He stated in very explicit terms that the reconciliation with certain socialist countries "does not mean that Yugoslavia intends to prejudice its state relations with the capitalist countries or to give up its co-operation with these countries". And to prove his "correct" stand towards his tutelary he never once

mentioned in his speech the words "American imperialism" or the menace it presents to world peace.

As a matter of fact the American imperialists have not been nor are they upset by Tito, their obedient agent, because Tito's affiliation with Khrushchev's group is fully to their advantage and is made on their instructions. This affiliation enables the "Trojan horse" to better play the role which imperialism has assigned him, namely, to undermine and split the socialist camp and the international communist movement; it enables the Tito clique to carry out more easily and in a better way the role of the intermediary for the gradual reconciliation of all the modern revisionists with the American imperialists, the role of "detector" of Khrushchev's views, intentions and designs. If the American imperialists have begun, especially in recent times, to be less disturbed by Khrushchev's "firm stand" or his speeches and notes filled with "threats", if they (the American imperialists) themselves make statements to the effect that their attitude towards the Soviet Union and towards the problem of peace should be revised, that Prime Minister Khrushchev should be supported and so on, a role of no little significance has, of course, been played through the recommendation of their Titoite agents, apart from the fact that the American imperialists are "well acquainted" with their partner who has been fully "exposed" during these ten years.

In his report to the Plenum of the Central Committee of the League of Yugoslav Communists Tito gave unreserved support to the Khrushchev group in their assaults on the communist and workers' parties which firmly uphold the principles of proletarian ideology. As

a faithful servant of American imperialism and in its service, Tito said: "We side with the communist and workers' parties which strive to do away with dogmatism and Stalinist methods in the communist movement. . . . When I say that we side with anti-dogmatic forces in the communist movement, I mean to emphasize our duties and the international obligations of the League of Yugoslav Communists in the ranks of the international workers' movement." Such is the treacherous mission assigned to him by American imperialism; such are the "international obligations" which this clique of renegades, this "fraternal party" of Khrushchev's, has taken upon itself.

The terms "elimination of dogmatism", "elimination of Stalinist methods" and "elimination of the consequences of the cult of the individual" are the inventions of the modern revisionists, of the Khrushchev group and of the Tito clique. In fact the essential goal of the modern revisionists is to do away with Marxism-Leninism, with the revolutionary spirit, and with the cadres who are faithful to the revolution. It is now already clear that just as they try to hide their real features as traitors under the label of "creative Marxism" and "true Leninism", the modern revisionists try to hide their real objective of destroying communism and quelling the revolution, under false labels and absurd assertions about the need of fighting "dogmatism", the "consequences of the cult of the individual", "Stalinism", "bureaucracy", and so on and so forth.

But Tito did not stand aloof nor did he confine himself to giving unreserved support to the activities of the Khrushchev group. He passed over to the role of abettor

and instigator of the fight against Marxism-Leninism and against the revolutionary spirit. He launched violent attacks especially against the Communist Party of China and the Party of Labour of Albania, and by way of suggesting to Khrushchev: "That's the way! Keep it up with more fervor!", he trumped up all sorts of slanders and fabrications against them, particularly against the glorious Communist Party of China. It must be said that in this matter, too, Tito was very cautious to keep to the slanders which Khrushchev himself has been formulating from time to time against the "dogmatists".

In what way did Tito in fact slander? By repeating in essence the familiar thesis of imperialist reactionary propaganda which, in order to hoodwink public opinion and justify the unbridled armaments race and aggressive warmongering policy of the imperialists headed by the United States, makes a lot of noise about the "communist menace" coming from the socialist states, the renegade Tito in his report presents the matter as if the threat of war came from the People's Republic of China, from the "dogmatists" and "pseudo-revolutionary phrasemongers", who, according to him, are opposed to peaceful coexistence, to general and total disarmament, and are in favour of settling the various issues by force of arms regardless of the consequences, and so on and so forth. The traitor Tito labelled as Trotskyite and adventurous the Marxist-Leninist principled stand of the Communist Party of China on the issues of peace and war, its consistent stand, which is fully in agreement with the teachings of Marxism-Leninism on revolutions, and the resolute struggle which the Communist Party of China waged to expose the warmongering activities of the

imperialists, especially the American imperialists. Khrushchev too has in fact said the same thing about the "dogmatists". Thus in his speech on December 12, 1962, he stated: ". . . on the one hand it is the adventurous aggressive forces of imperialism, the so-called frenzied forces, that try by all methods to launch a war . . . on the other, it is those who pretend to be Marxist-Leninists but in reality are dogmatists that try to push matters in that direction." And "some dogmatists have shifted to Trotskyite positions and are prodding the Soviet Union and other socialist countries to the course of unleashing world war".

Tito's and Khrushchev's slanders and accusations have their real source in their renunciation of the teachings of Marxism-Leninism, in their betrayal, in the change of their ideas, which are no longer based on the materialist conception of history, on the class analysis of the various phenomena or on the objective study of the real status of things in the world, but on their subjectivism. Tito's and Khrushchev's slanders and accusations have their source in their argument that imperialism has changed basically, that wars no longer spring from the nature of the capitalist social order itself, from its internal and external contradictions, from the aggressive and warmongering policy of imperialism, but come from the frenzied, crazy persons, that the invention of new weapons has abolished from the world the conception of just and unjust wars, that the danger of nuclear war has blocked the way to revolutions, etc., etc. Of course, whoever opposes these treacherous conceptions which serve only the imperialists and run counter to the interests of the peoples and of revolutions is, according to the revisionists,

an adventurist and a Trotskyite. The revisionists forget, however, that if these terms are to be applied they really apply to Khrushchev more than to anyone else, for it was he who not so long ago, in the Caribbean events, behaved both as an adventurist Trotskyite and as a capitulationist.

The renegade Tito, in his chain of slanders, especially against the Communist Party of China, labelled the resolute, principled struggle of the glorious Communist Party of China for preserving the purity of Marxism-Leninism and opposing the counter-revolutionary views and hostile assaults of the modern revisionists, as "a struggle for hegemony", in precisely the same way as Khrushchev tried to do. It is clear that both Tito and Khrushchev assess others by their own chauvinist standards. For everyone knows that pretending that they have a monopoly of the "creative development of Marxism" and that all others should pursue the line dictated by them, they have left no stone unturned to impose their views on others: from dealing blows plotted behind others' backs (by organizing counter-revolutionary rebellions, such as that in Hungary) and removing leading cadres of fraternal parties who oppose their revisionist line of action (by sending for this purpose special emissaries to persuade the leadership of these fraternal parties), to economic and military pressure and the use of cajolery and means of corruption.

Tito called the active support and the unreserved, internationalist aid which the Communist Party of China gives to the revolutionary struggles and the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America in order that they may free themselves from imperialist oppression and the

clutches of colonialism, as a tendency to set the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America against the peoples of Europe and of other advanced countries. It was precisely a thing of this kind that Khrushchev reiterated on May 24, 1963 when he accused the "dogmatists" of trying to split and isolate the revolutionary forces by grouping them according to continents, to the colors of the skin or other distinctive signs. This really means that when one catches a cold the other coughs! Through such slanders both Tito and Khrushchev try, in fact, to conceal their own hostile attitude towards the national-liberation movement of the peoples fighting against the imperialists; they try to weaken the struggle against imperialism by sowing seeds of distrust and discord among the oppressed peoples and the persistent fighters for their emancipation. As a matter of fact, if there is anything to be said about discrimination it is precisely the modern revisionists who split the communist and workers' parties and the socialist countries according to the criterion of advanced and backward countries and try to prove that those parties which carry on their work in under-developed countries are "dogmatic", "sectarian" and "adventurist" whereas those in the more advanced countries stand in the positions of "creative Marxism" (Tito's speech and V. Vllahovich's talk at the Plenum of the Central Committee of the League of Yugoslav Communists in May 1963, and Khrushchev's address to the Supreme Soviet of the USSR in December 1962).

The Titoites, in their attempts to discredit the Chinese Communist Party and the People's Republic of China, devoted a lot of time at their Plenum to the favorite theme of the imperialist and revisionist anti-Chinese

propaganda, namely, the Sino-Indian border conflict. Of course, as had been expected, China was called the aggressor, and all kinds of slander were hurled at her. We will not stop here to disprove these false accusations; for every honest man in the world is fully aware of the fact that the tension and the aggression on Chinese territory in the Sino-Indian border incidents were provoked and begun by the Indian reactionaries. But the "theory" formulated by the Belgrade revisionists (which is certainly the "theory" of the Khrushchev group as well) on which they based their slanderous accusations against the Communist Party of China as regards the Sino-Indian border, is quite interesting. According to the revisionist theoreticians, the Chinese have not taken into account the teachings of Lenin on the border issue for they have been "guided by bourgeois views of sovereignty" and "not by the point of view of the rights of a sovereign socialist state". The modern revisionists view Lenin in a cynical way and distort him impudently. The gist of the Sino-Indian conflict lies in the fact that the Indian reactionary circles launched aggression against the People's Republic of China (they occupied about 90,000 sq. kilometres of Chinese territory) at the instigation and with the direct support of the American and other imperialists. Lenin has never said in any of his works that a socialist country has not the right to defend its sovereignty and territorial integrity from capitalist and imperialist aggression; he has never said anywhere that the sovereignty and the borders of a socialist or of any other country are items for bargaining.

We need not dwell here at greater length to list the hostile and splittist assaults and slanders of Tito and his

accomplices against the fraternal parties which defend Marxism-Leninism with determination. And what we said above clearly proves: firstly, that the Tito-Khrushchev group act in unison against revolutionary Marxism-Leninism and in splitting and undermining the international communist movement and the socialist camp; secondly, that the acts of the united revisionist front are fully at one with the deeds, purposes and interests of the American and other imperialists.

Encouraged by the stand and unlimited support of Khrushchev and his group, by their manifestation of sympathy and solidarity with him, and having stressed that the target of their blows should be the "dogmatists", the Communist Party of China, the Party of Labour of Albania and the other revolutionary parties, Tito in his speech warned Khrushchev and his revisionist group against any concession in what they had decided, otherwise "it would be bad for the communist movement"! In an authoritative tone Tito said: "Every compromise and unprincipled agreement detrimental to any one and to the main principles on which the present struggle for socialism rests, would cause great damage to the workers' movement in general." And as if to remind Khrushchev of what he was alluding to, Tito stressed: "The decisions of the 81 parties about Yugoslavia at the 1960 Moscow Meeting do not comply with facts and have not been based on principle." This means no less and no more than: we revisionists must hang closely together and launch more determined, irreconcilable attacks against Marxism-Leninism, against the unity of the socialist camp, against the Chinese, Albanians and other "dogmatists". *Pravda*, the organ of the Central Committee of

the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, devoted one whole page to this provocative and hostile speech. It was also favorably commented upon. The fact that no voice was raised against this speech, or against any of its theses, by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union or by any other party that followed Khrushchev's line, shows that Khrushchev and all his revisionist followers admit once again that they are fully in accord with Tito's slanders against the Communist Party of China, the Party of Labour of Albania and other fraternal parties which abide by Marxism-Leninism, that they are in full agreement with Tito's call for splitting the socialist camp, with his call for undermining and dismembering the communist and workers' movement, with his demand for trampling underfoot the 1960 Moscow Declaration. We, on our part, are absolutely convinced that Khrushchev and his group are by no means at variance with Tito's ideas, views, plans and objectives. And not only this, but Khrushchev himself and his followers pursue the same plans and objectives in their activities.

The hard times which imperialism in general and American imperialism in particular are experiencing are not very pleasing to the foes of socialism, freedom and peace. This is best manifested by the development of events, by the growing contradictions within the ranks of the imperialists, by the growth of the revolutionary and liberation movement of the people, by the consolidation of the peace-loving forces in the world, and by the strengthening of the socialist countries. For the modern revisionists likewise, the times are not as pleasant as they used to be or as they may seem on the surface. Modern revisionism is continuously being gnawed by the resist-

ance of the Marxist-Leninist communists and of the parties and people in the socialist countries where revisionist elements hold sway, by the waverings of the people who are temporarily deceived and who are continually finding the right road and have enough courage in themselves to fight, as well as by the inevitable contradictions among the revisionists themselves. It was under such circumstances that Tito made another effort at the last Plenum, trying his utmost to unite and consolidate the wavering ranks of the modern revisionists — those special agents of imperialism — for more determined action against Marxism-Leninism, against the unity of the socialist camp and the international communist movement, against freedom and peace.

Thus the world is now face to face with the coordinated attempts and feverish preparations of all revisionist cliques to organize a new crusade against Marxism-Leninism, against the unity of the socialist camp and the international communist movement, and in favor of the most reactionary forces of the world led by American imperialism. The enemies of socialism and peace have of course pinned great hopes on this crusade. Our Party, like all Marxist-Leninist parties, is deeply convinced that the attempts of the revisionists to sow discord will meet with shameful failure as they have always done heretofore. And this is not a statement springing from subjective speculation but from objective reality. The imperialists and revisionists will never be able to stop the wheel of history from rolling ahead, to destroy the seed of socialism and communism sown by Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, and to extinguish the flames of revolution. The resistance against these plans

by the communists and the people in the parties and countries where revisionists hold sway is taking more clear-cut and tangible form. The ranks of the “allies” of the imperialist and revisionist crusades are dwindling. Revolutionary Marxist-Leninist forces are rising everywhere in the world, from one party to another, from one country to another, from one continent to another, raising far and wide the Marxist-Leninist battle cry: proletarians of all countries, the oppressed peoples and nations, unite in the fight against imperialism and all its tools, and for peace, freedom, democracy, socialism! Marxism-Leninism and the sacred cause of the revolution will triumph; revisionism and all the foes of communism will perish!

**15 YEARS SINCE THE ISSUE
OF THE INFORMATION BUREAU
RESOLUTION "ON THE
SITUATION IN THE YUGOSLAV
COMMUNIST PARTY"**

Article published in the newspaper

Zëri i Popullit

June 29, 1963

Fifteen years have elapsed since the Resolution of the Information Bureau of the Communist and Workers' Parties "On the Situation in the Yugoslav Communist Party" was made public on June 29, 1948. This resolution was an historical document of special significance for the international communist and workers' movement. It disclosed a grave and threatening menace, the manifestation of modern revisionism, represented by the leaders of the Yugoslav Communist Party. Revisionism, which had existed also before in the communist movement as an opportunist trend, prevailed now for the first time over the leadership of a party which had taken the reins of state in its hands.

The representatives of the communist and workers' parties participating in the Information Bureau made a deep Marxist-Leninist analysis of the situation created in the Yugoslav Communist Party and detected the roots of the anti-Marxist and revisionist errors and deviations of the Yugoslav leaders. They proceeded in this matter from the urgency of safeguarding the purity of Marxism-Leninism and the destiny of socialism and the revolution in general as well as from the intention of helping the Yugoslav Communist Party and the Yugoslav people to overcome this grave danger manifested within their ranks.

The historic decision of the Information Bureau was a program of action and combat for all communist and workers' parties, a serious warning, a call to all the com-

munists of the world for revolutionary vigilance against the danger of the new-emergent revisionist trend, and to fight firmly against it until it is totally destroyed.

The Resolution served practically as a weapon for the Marxist-Leninists in their struggle to strengthen unity of views and activity in the ranks of the parties, to further improve the ideological, theoretical and political work of the parties, to safeguard the socialist achievements in countries where the working class had established its rule, to protect the socialist camp, to consolidate the revolutionary forces throughout the world, to intensify the struggle against imperialism, to prevent the imperialist agents from penetrating any further into the people's democracies.

The errors and deviations for which the Yugoslav leaders were reproached in the Resolution of the Information Bureau were grave indeed. As a whole they represented an entirely erroneous and opportunist line, a complete departure from Marxism-Leninism, a downright betrayal of the ideology of the proletariat and their cause.

In their internal policy the leaders of the Yugoslav Communist Party deviated from the Marxist theory of classes and class struggle, denied the dictatorship of the proletariat, preached the opportunist theory of peaceful infiltration of the capitalist elements into socialism. The Yugoslav leaders revised the Marxist-Leninist theory on the Party, lowering its role by fusing it with the non-party People's Front. They violated democracy within the Party, introduced into it Trotskyite military methods of leadership and displayed positive tendencies of liquidation, which constituted the danger of deteriorating the Party and the Yugoslav state.

The leaders of the Yugoslav Communist Party abandoned internationalism and embarked on the road of nationalism. "The Yugoslav leaders," the Resolution pointed out, "apparently do not understand or pretend they do not understand, that such a nationalist orientation may only lead to the degeneration of Yugoslavia into an ordinary bourgeois republic, to the loss of its independence, to the transformation of Yugoslavia into a colony of the imperialist countries."

The Document of the Information Bureau was unanimously approved and received full and unreserved support from all the communist and workers' parties of the world. They firmly condemned Yugoslav revisionism and exposed it in all aspects.

The Resolution of the Information Bureau was of a programmatic nature, for it clearly defined that under the new circumstances, after the victory over fascism and at a time when socialism had triumphed in a number of countries, the stand to take towards modern revisionism, was to re-emphasize the role of the Party of the working class in the state of the people's democracy, the role of the dictatorship of the proletariat in building up socialism, the policy of the Party in liquidating the exploiting classes during the period of transition from capitalism to socialism and the consolidation of the young state. It was to re-emphasize the necessity of strictly carrying out the principles of proletarian internationalism and of maintaining fraternal relations and mutual aid among socialist countries, drew our attention again to the danger of the possibility of the re-establishment of capitalism in countries where the revolution has gained the upper hand and pointed out that the only way to protect the achieve-

ments of the revolution and of socialism is the way of irreconcilable struggle against imperialism.

The 1948 Resolution of the Information Bureau and the historic letters of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union undersigned by Stalin and V. M. Molotov "On the Situation in the Yugoslav Communist Party" were of special significance to the whole communist movement of the world and to the socialist camp. For our Party and our country they spelled salvation. Tito's clique brutally interfered in the internal affairs of our Party and of our country and, proceeding from their covetousness to plunder and colonize, they attempted to turn Albania into a "7th Republic of Yugoslavia". In their relations with Albania and the Party of Labour of Albania, Tito's group displayed all the characteristics of modern revisionism: ideological and political deviation, lack of respect for equality, the chauvinism of the big state, arrogance, plots and so on. Therefore, their attitude towards our Party and our state constitutes the gravest indictment against the Yugoslav revisionists.

The leaders of the Yugoslav Communist Party rejected the just, principled criticism of the Information Bureau and the entire communist and workers' movement. What is worse, they kept moving further and further away from Marxism-Leninism, they continued betraying the interests of the working class and of all the workers of Yugoslavia, they strengthened their collaboration with the imperialists, becoming dangerous counter-revolutionaries.

Fifteen years of persistent counter-revolutionary activity of the Tito's clique has more than corroborated the correctness of the Resolution of the Information Bureau and of the other documents of the communist and work-

ers' movement on the situation in the Yugoslav Communist Party. Life has provided many facts to prove how far-sighted, correct and beneficial to the communist and workers' movement and to the socialist camp was Stalin's warning on the danger of the revisionist deviation of the Tito's clique. Stalin's great merit lies in the fact that he was the first to discover the anti-Marxist course in its incipience and the anti-Marxist treacherous role which the Belgrade renegade bond would later be playing and which took new impetus when Khrushchev seized and monopolized the leadership of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

The Tito clique was transformed into a band of counter-revolutionaries, into an agency of American imperialists, into an advanced detachment of saboteurs and plotters against the socialist countries and the international communist and workers' movement, into a band of nationalists and bourgeois chauvinists.

In internal affairs they pursued the policy of nullifying the achievements of the national-liberation war of the Yugoslav people, the policy of liquidating the true cadres of the party and of debasing the party into a tool in the hands of the Tito's clique to carry out their anti-Marxist-course. Following the announcement of the Resolution of the Information Bureau, the Tito's clique launched a big campaign against the internationalist communists by making short work of them physically or attacking them ideologically. They set up for this purpose a large police force of terror whose methods were provocation, threat, terror, torture and murder. The jails and concentration camps at Goli Otok in Dalmatia, Stara Gradishka and other regions are the stain and stamp of Titoite shame and

crime which nothing can efface. Much as Khrushchev may try, he can never succeed in whitewashing Tito's mask, for the specter of the infamous UDB has held and continues to hold sway over Yugoslavia to this very day. Facts prove that over 200,000 communists, half of the total membership, were expelled from the Yugoslav Communist Party during the period from 1948 to 1952. In Montenegro alone they sent to jail nearly all the members of the government and of the Central Committee, and deported 800 Montenegrans to Goli Otok. Over 5,000 officers, among whom were a number of generals and colonels, mainly commanders or commissars of brigades, divisions, army corps, were cast into prison, while 12,000 officers were "discharged" from the army.

The documents of the Information Bureau of the communist and workers' parties bear clear evidence, based on many facts, which reveals not only the reign of terror in Yugoslavia but also the aims and plots of the Tito clique to overthrow the people's rule in the socialist countries, to detach these countries from the camp of socialism and democracy, to transform the countries of Central and Southeastern Europe into agents of the American imperialists. Experience corroborates the fact that the criticisms made of the Yugoslav revisionist leaders were not related to certain mistakes of an ordinary kind but to an open counter-revolutionary, anti-Soviet and anti-communist policy.

The view of the Party of Labour of Albania has been and continues to be that the conclusions arrived at by the Information Bureau and Stalin regarding the Yugoslav communists have been correct and remain so to this day.

They retain their great value as being completely principled and factual. New facts are daily cropping up to prove that in appraising the Yugoslav problem and the stand towards the Tito's clique, it was not the communist movement nor Stalin, but Khrushchev who erred so gravely by viewing this whole matter subjectively and contrary to the teachings of Marxism-Leninism, contrary to objective reality, contrary to the common attitude of the international communist movement.

As a distinguished Marxist-Leninist and a firm defender of the Leninist teachings and norms of relations between fraternal parties, Stalin examined the situation in the Communist Party of Yugoslavia proceeding from the basic interests of the socialist camp and of the international communist movement, of the working class and people of Yugoslavia itself, viewed it from positions of Marxism-Leninism and assessed the situation on the basis of facts and reality. The meeting of the Information Bureau, in conformity with all Leninist rules and regulations, pursued a correct procedure in examining the issue and adopting its Resolution. This was also one of the major reasons why the communist and workers' parties approved the Resolution of the Information Bureau unanimously and carried it out with determination.

The Marxist-Leninists will guard with vigilance the Leninist spirit and the methods based on equal and comradely consultations which Stalin pursued in examining and solving problems arising in the international communist and workers' movement. The methods of arbitrariness, pressures, inequality, mutual disrespect — Trotskyite and putschist methods — to which the modern revisionists Tito and Khrushchev resort today, have been

and continue to be alien to Stalin, and to the communist parties.

The correctness of the conclusions of the Information Bureau is borne out clearly by the splitting undermining and plotting activities of the Tito clique. Their counter-revolutionary, anti-socialist acts in the service of American imperialism are numerous indeed. Their experience as agents of imperialism is of long standing. As early as 1951 the Tito's clique signed with the USA the military agreement on the so-called "mutual defence", which aimed at increasing tension through provocations especially in the Balkan region. Two years later the Belgrade clique together with two member states of the aggressive NATO bloc set up the Balkan Pact as an appendage to NATO in this region.

The peoples of the socialist countries, especially in the Balkans and in Europe, are well aware of the counter-revolutionary plots hatched by the Yugoslav revisionists through their agents in Hungary, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Albania and other countries. They are well aware of the counter-revolution which broke out in Hungary and imperilled its very existence as a people's democracy, a counter-revolution incited and organized by the Tito's clique and their agents in collaboration with the American imperialists. They are well aware of the plot which the Yugoslav revisionists hatched in April 1956 against the Party of Labour of Albania through their agents in collaboration with anti-Party and treacherous elements, a plot that was discovered and exposed at the Party Conference in Tirana. They are likewise aware of the 1960 plot contrived jointly by the Yugoslav revisionists, the Greek monarchic fascists, the American imperialists and

certain traitors like T. Sejko, P. Plaku, inveterate agents of Greek and Yugoslav espionage, aimed at overthrowing the people's regime in Albania. With regard to all the hostile activities against the People's Republic of Albania from abroad, the Yugoslav revisionists account for 58 per cent of all the armed saboteurs smuggled into our country, for 15 per cent of the border provocations since 1949, as well as for 37 per cent of the centers of espionage, for 35 per cent of the staff of these centers and for 21 per cent of the agents unearthed. It is only due to the firm Marxist-Leninist stand of the Party and the people, united by ties of steel, that the independence and sovereignty of the people and the Fatherland are saved when these are threatened by the imperialists and the modern revisionists. No hostile force whatever can withstand this mighty power of our Party and people.

The Yugoslav modern revisionists made use of all means possible to nullify the achievements of the people's revolution in Albania, to enslave the People's Republic of Albania. The whole world knows this. It is already known what shameful failure they met. But it is worth recalling them for one should bear in mind that the modern revisionists do not renounce their final objective of crushing the socialist order and of enslaving peoples, they do not give up their vicious methods of splitting, of blackmail, of political and economic pressures and even of military pressures. This is how the Yugoslav modern revisionists have behaved towards the People's Republic of Albania.

The Titoites smuggled their spies into the ranks of the Albanian Communist Party, penetrating even as far as its Political Bureau and its Central Committee. This was

the treacherous group of Koçi Xoxe. But the Party got rid of these traitors without hesitation and so consolidated the Party and its unity. The revisionists raised a hue and cry, hurled foul invectives at us and trumped up all sorts of pseudo-Marxist theories to discredit us; but our Party and our people knew what they were about, for they based their acts on facts, and right was on their side. This purge was just and necessary for the highest interest of our Fatherland.

The Yugoslav modern revisionists threatened us with starvation, with economic pressure and sabotage, as in the naphtha industry and so on, but they received hard blows in return. Our Party and our people could not be intimidated. They mustered all their efforts, and with these sturdy efforts we had overcome all obstacles. We had loyal friends to come to our assistance, we had the people of the Soviet Union, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union with Stalin at the head, the peoples of the people's democracies and their Marxist-Leninist parties; we had right on our side.

The Yugoslav revisionists tried to bring their troops, their divisions to Albania and, in this way, to lay hold of the strategic points of our country and to suppress the resistance of the people and the Party, to colonize our Fatherland through military pressure and such agents as Koçi Xoxe and his company. Let us not forget that they intended to carry out this military **coup**, this occupation under the guise of the military treaty of mutual assistance, under the guise of the so-called menace threatening Albania, under the guise of military measures, under the guise of "friendship". All of these were smoke-screens but our Party and people told the Yugoslav modern re-

visionists and their divisions to halt, otherwise there would be bloodshed. Stalin, glorious protector of Marxism-Leninism, of the freedom and sovereignty of peoples, came to our assistance and the subversive Yugoslav revisionists met with disgraceful failure.

The Yugoslav modern revisionists and their like thought they could easily curb the iron will of a party and of a people like the Party of Labour of Albania and the Albanian people. But they were crushed, they were vanquished, they met with failure. The Yugoslav modern revisionists will meet with the same failure if they try to encroach upon the liberty, independence and sovereignty of any other people's democracy with their intrigues or force of arms. Another such attempt will spell their doom, and put an end to their treacherous, putschist, enslaving deeds. The ground will burn under their feet and the fire they kindle will swallow them alive, they will burn up like mice. Let both friend and foe bear in mind the experience of a small country, of a small Marxist-Leninist party that knows no defeat. Our Party and our people have never been afraid of the enemy, no matter how numerous they are. Our Party and our people have always been on the alert and prepared to fight to the end against any who wanted to rob us of our achievements, of our freedom, of our independence, of our sovereignty. This is what our Party and our people have been and will continue to be: warm and always true to friends and ever ready to come to their assistance, but severe and irreconcilable to foes of every hue.

Serbian chauvinism and the policy of chauvinistic nationalism has assumed a new impetus in Yugoslavia. Civic inequality has become more outspoken and the

national minorities have been deprived of many more rights. The region where the consequences of this policy are particularly evident is Kosova. The Yugoslav revisionists have implemented the policy of denationalization and genocide towards the Albanian minorities. They have neglected this province and turned it into an undeveloped and totally backward region. A new manifestation of the policy of liquidating the alien nationalities, especially the Albanian minorities in Yugoslavia, is seen in the new constitution in which it is stated that "any citizen unwilling to emphasize his nationality may be considered as a Yugoslav citizen and, as such, a full member of the Yugoslav socialist society". Thus, the long and short of it is that one must change one's nationality in order to become "a full member of the Yugoslav socialist society". It is precisely this bourgeois nationalist chauvinist policy of the Tito clique that finds all-round support among the Khrushchev group. The propagandists of Khrushchev's course, in their attempt to carry out his opportunist line of supporting Tito in every way, go so far as to encourage the Titoites to liquidate the alien nationalities in Yugoslavia. The Soviet publication *Mezhdunarodnaya Zhizn*, quoting recently the above paragraph of the new Yugoslav constitution, stresses: "the new constitution of the Federative Socialist Republic of Yugoslavia will help consolidate the fraternal unity of the Yugoslav peoples in promoting a mutual approach to national culture".

While all the communist parties unanimously and resolutely opposed the anti-socialist views and acts of the Tito clique, within the communist movement the Khrushchev group and its followers, appeared as a group of

admirers and ardent supporters of Yugoslav revisionism. Having assumed the leadership of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union through intrigues, counter-revolutionary strokes and plots, Khrushchev proceeded on the road of discrediting Marxism-Leninism. In order to attain this objective of betrayal, he had to assail Stalin, follower and great defender of Lenin. Renegade Tito was, according to Khrushchev, his closest and most faithful ally in this infamous undertaking, for Tito had for years given ample proof in this matter. This was the beginning of the line of approach and collaboration between Khrushchev and the Yugoslav revisionists.

To realize this approach and collaboration Khrushchev had to remove firstly the obstacles which severed the communist movement, Marxism-Leninism from the Yugoslav revisionists. Such obstacles were the Resolution of the Information Bureau, the joint documents of the communist and workers' parties, the relentless struggle which the communist parties waged in exposing the Yugoslav revisionists and the total elimination of them ideologically and politically, and the correct line and firm stand pursued by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union under Stalin. Moreover, he needed time to look for allies, or better still, blind followers who would trot along behind him on this road. It was no easy job for Khrushchev to get closer with, to reconcile and rehabilitate the Tito's clique. The fact that the Tito's clique had totally committed themselves as servants of the imperialist bourgeoisie made it even harder.

Persisting in his line and violating the Leninist norms governing relations among parties, Khrushchev went to Belgrade in 1955 to hand to imperialist agent Tito a cer-

tificate of good conduct, rehabilitating him without complying with the usual procedure of consulting the other fraternal parties, though with the approval, which he had obtained, through intrigue and cajolery, of the parties composing the Information Bureau. He begged the revisionists' pardon. He launched the slogan about the "superstructure" that had weighed so heavily on the "Yugoslav comrades", accusing Stalin of deteriorating relations with Yugoslavia, because of the alleged "totally erroneous assessment which he had made of the Yugoslav comrades".

This kowtow to the Yugoslav revisionists by the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union made them ruffle up their feathers like cocks and proclaim far and wide that their cause was a just one and that it had triumphed, that it was not the Yugoslav leadership that had erred, but the communist and workers' movement which made them increase their activity, causing a split in the socialist camp, in the communist movement, in the movement for national liberation and among various peace-loving forces. This was Khrushchev's first official act of betrayal.

By opposing the joint decision of the communist and workers' movement approving the Resolution of the Information Bureau, by opposing the line jointly formulated by these parties to combat Yugoslav revisionism, by getting closer to the Tito clique, Khrushchev gave rise to grave differences on principle between his group and the workers' movement. By so doing, he struck a heavy blow at the unity of views and acts within the communist movement.

The Party of Labour of Albania, well acquainted with the features and bearing the brunt of the hostile activity of this clique, was convinced of the justice of combating Yugoslav revisionism and was, therefore, opposed in principle to Khrushchev's plan of going to Belgrade to rehabilitate the Tito clique. Changing the attitude towards the Yugoslav revisionists and modifying the Resolution of the Information Bureau were not matters for Khrushchev alone to decide. They were matters pertaining to the entire communist movement and any decision about them should have been taken after due consultations among partners, according to Leninist principles. Therefore the Central Committee of our Party wrote to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in May 1955 expressing our Party's opposition to Khrushchev's going to Belgrade to rehabilitate the Tito clique. Time has further corroborated how correct and timely was the warning of our Party that the rapprochement with the Yugoslav renegade band would bring a great danger to the communist movement and to socialism. As a matter of fact, Khrushchev's ideological and political approach to Tito, the latter's rehabilitation and the coordination of their activity constituted the prelude to the 20th Congress of the Communist Party, where the theses of modern revisionism were promulgated to the communist movement. It is significant that only a few months later Tito was warmly received by Khrushchev in Moscow as a distinguished Leninist. And the counter-revolutionary **coup** took place in Hungary with the direct participation of the Yugoslav revisionists only a few months after that.

Following the November 1956 counter-revolution, Tito, in his speech at Pula, issued an open call for subversive activity. "Yugoslavia," he said, "should not keep itself in its own shell. It should set to work in all directions in the field of ideology so that the new trend may triumph." He was not satisfied with the first steps taken by Khrushchev in fighting for "de-Stalinization", or with his opportunist theses preached at the 20th Congress, and called upon him and all revisionists to carry the war against the so-called cult of the individual and its consequences to the end. "We have said," the renegade emphasized, "that it is not only a matter of the cult of the individual but of a whole system which made the pursuance of the cult of the individual possible; there lie the roots of the matter, this is the hardest thing to combat. These roots lie in the bureaucratic apparatus, in the methods followed and attitudes maintained, in ignoring the role and the wishes of the working masses, in Enver Hoxhas and Shehus and various other leaders of certain parties in the West and in the East who oppose democratization and the decisions of the 20th Congress."

No sooner had the clique uttered these words than they acted on them. In 1958 they published their program which was approved by the 7th Congress of the League of Yugoslav Communists. This program was an out-and-out anti-Marxist and anti-socialist one, it was the ideological platform and code of international revisionism, zealously comprising every notorious theory of the various anti-Marxist trends of all time. It was a serious ideological deviation, a general assault against the basis of the revolutionary theory and practice of scientific socialism, an attack on the joint document of the inter-

national communist movement, the 1957 Moscow Declaration.

The communist and workers' parties unanimously condemned the program of the League of Yugoslav Communists as entirely revisionist. They criticized the anti-Marxist line of the Yugoslav revisionists as regards the nature and assessment of the actual international situation, as regards the two world systems and camps, as regards the interpretation of the experience of the Soviet Union and other countries in building socialism, as regards the role of the communist parties and socialist state in building the new society, as regards the application of Marxist-Leninist theory and the conflict with bourgeois ideology, as regards the principles of proletarian internationalism, as regards the mutual relations among socialist countries and fraternal communist parties and as regards a whole range of important issues concerning the theory of Marxism and its practice in the world communist movement.

Consistent in its line of principled combat against revisionism, and considering that every leniency in exposing revisionism is to the advantage of imperialism, to the advantage of the class enemy on a national and international scale, the communist and workers' movement unanimously and firmly condemned the Tito clique for the third time as traitors to Marxism-Leninism, as wreckers and splitters of the socialist camp, the communist movement and all peace-loving forces and states of the world, condemned it as servants of American imperialism through the 1960 Moscow Declaration signed by the representatives of 81 communist and workers' parties. "Further exposure of the leaders of the Yugoslav revi-

sionists and active efforts to guard the communist as well as the workers' movement against the anti-Leninist ideas of the Yugoslav revisionists," the 1960 Moscow Declaration insisted, "continues to be an essential duty of the Marxist-Leninist parties."

But how do matters stand now, in June 1963, fifteen years after the Resolution of the Information Bureau, as regards the struggle against Yugoslav revisionism to safeguard the purity of Marxism-Leninism and to safeguard the unity of the socialist camp and of the communist movement, and as regards the ideological and political smashing of this agency of imperialism?

While the Marxist-Leninist parties, strictly abiding by the 1957 and 1960 Moscow Declarations, have been waging a determined, principled struggle against modern revisionism, especially against the dangerous views and treacherous acts of the Tito clique, the Khrushchev group, in flagrant convention of the common line of the entire international communist movement, has not only failed to oppose the Tito clique, but on the contrary, has taken definite steps towards getting closer to and making common cause with this clique of renegades.

A few of the many well-known facts will suffice to prove this:

A month had hardly elapsed since the publication of the 1960 Moscow Declaration when Foreign Minister A. Gromyko, member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, speaking on the relations with Yugoslavia to the Supreme Soviet on December 23, 1960, stated: "It should be pointed out with satisfaction that on basic international issues our positions are identical."

On September 10, 1961, scarcely a year after the Moscow meeting, Khrushchev himself told a correspondent of the American newspaper *New York Times* that "we, of course, consider Yugoslavia a socialist country".

On October 3, 1961, L. Brezhnev told the Yugoslav Ambassador "we have all the conditions for further and all-round co-operation". And these statements were followed by a great wave of exchanges of declarations, of signing of agreements of all kinds under the slogan of peaceful coexistence. All the problems lying in the way of extending all-round economic and political relations were resolved with marvellous speed and alacrity and the ground was systematically prepared for ideological approach and collaboration between them.

The 22nd Congress from whose rostrum Khrushchev sparkled the differences within the ranks of the communist and workers' movement through his open attacks on the Party of Labour of Albania, served as a means of approach to "the Yugoslav comrades" and of establishing ideological relations and collaboration with them.

The Party of Labour of Albania, on its part, rightly protested against Khrushchev's opportunist conceptions. Our Party emphasized that Khrushchev intended to bring about the rehabilitation of the Tito clique under the slogan of coexistence in state relations with Yugoslavia. The Party of Labour of Albania was subject to reproaches and slanders of the revisionists, who accused it as an opponent of the policy of coexistence, as a warmonger, as a disturber of peace in the Balkans. What did time prove? It proved that revisionists Tito and Khrushchev were guilty of slander; it proved that the Party of Labour of Albania was altogether right.

In his attempts to rehabilitate the treacherous Tito clique, Khrushchev met of course with the determined opposition of the Marxist-Leninists. That is why he has had to manoeuvre and say, now and then, something or other against the views and undermining acts of the Yugoslav revisionists. But his basic line, for all its zigzags, has always been one of rapprochement and reconciliation with the Tito clique. Even when he gives the impression that he is criticizing severely the Yugoslav revisionists, he leaves a leeway for approach and collaboration with them, for keeping alive the "spark of hope" for their rehabilitation. His statements to this effect are widely known. At a rally in Moscow on June 19, 1956, he greeted the Tito clique as a "militant party of the Yugoslav working class, tested leader of the Yugoslav peoples", and on July 13, 1957 in Prague, he stressed the need of "exchanging the experience of socialist construction" with the Yugoslav comrades. At the Congress of the Bulgarian Communist Party on June 3, 1958 Khrushchev stated that "the Yugoslav leaders caused great damage to the cause of socialism through their public utterances and their acts at the time of the Hungarian events", that "the Yugoslav Embassy in Budapest became a real center for those who started the struggle against the system of people's democracy in Hungary", that "in his speech at Pula Comrade Tito vindicated the rebels in Hungary and called the fraternal aid of the Soviet Union for the Hungarian people 'Soviet intervention'" and so on and so forth. He did not even spare figurative expressions, calling Yugoslav revisionism a "Trojan horse" in order to keep in line with the unanimous and determined opposition of the communist movement to the

Tito clique at that time. At the Congress of the United German Socialist Party on July 11, 1958, Khrushchev stated: "Even in the situation created in our relations with the League of Yugoslav Communists it would be beneficial to preserve a spark of hope, to look for acceptable forms in certain matters."

Six months later, the tone became "harsher" again. At the 21st Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in August 1959, Khrushchev said: "The Yugoslav leaders pretend that they stand outside blocs and above camps, while in reality they participate in the Balkan bloc which unites Yugoslavia, Turkey and Greece. The latter two countries, as everybody knows, are members of the NATO aggressive bloc, and Turkey takes part in the Bagdad Pact besides. And precisely for this reason the positions of 'outside blocs' and of 'neutrality', which the leaders of the League of Yugoslav Communists recommend with such zeal, smack of the American monopolies which nourish Yugoslav 'socialism'. In the history of the class struggle there is not yet a case of the bourgeoisie giving moral and material help to its class enemy to build socialism."

But time has proved that all these "harsh reproaches" directed against the "Yugoslav comrades" by Khrushchev were nothing but sheer bluff, a demagogic manoeuvre to throw dust in the eyes of the communist movement. Although Tito's open acts and Khrushchev's "criticism" seem contradictory, they are in fact far from being so. Both parties pursue the same objective, but each is obliged by the circumstances to resort to different methods. Tito thinks it is high time for them to speed up the process of all-round reconciliation and collabora-

tion aimed at setting up a united front against Marxism-Leninism, while Khrushchev, who has not yet secured the necessary supporters, followers and "allies", tries to camouflage Tito's acts by advising him to be moderate. The aim of his "criticisms", therefore, is to lengthen the period of Tito's masking as much as possible. The result: Tito does not give up his line, his objective. The one who adjusts himself to his collaborator is Khrushchev.

We need not here go into greater detail on Khrushchev's zigzags and acrobaticism. The final result is the full rapprochement and collaboration of Khrushchev's group with the Tito clique of renegades, which was culminated at the Supreme Soviet of the USSR in December 1962, where the Khrushchev-Tito united revisionist front was set up to attack revolutionary Marxism-Leninism and the fraternal parties which resolutely uphold it. This was a brutal violation of the 1960 Moscow Declaration. What is even more, Khrushchev launches wild attacks on all those parties which, in upholding and abiding by the Declaration, continue their principled struggle against Yugoslav revisionism.

Khrushchev has turned on all his loudspeakers with a view to persuading the world that the Yugoslav renegades have become Marxist-Leninists and that Yugoslavia is building socialism. On the other hand he hurls bitter attacks on the Party of Labour of Albania, and the People's Republic of Albania, on their correct line, ignoring the work of our people in building socialism. In dealing with our country Khrushchev has trampled under foot and violated, in a most flagrant way, not only the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, but also those of peaceful coexistence, which

he advertizes so loudly. It was precisely Khrushchev who extended the ideological differences with the Party of Labour of Albania into the field of state relations, who exerted all-round pressure on our Party and our people, who set up a true economic blockade against Albania, who even severed diplomatic relations with the People's Republic of Albania, who brutally intervened in the internal affairs of our country, going so far as to make an open counter-revolutionary call for the overthrow of the leadership of the Party and of the state in Albania.

In his address to the Supreme Soviet Khrushchev clearly defined his stand towards the Tito clique. He stated that his stand towards the League of Yugoslav Communists "is in full accord with the lines of the 20th and 22nd Congresses of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union", that he is prepared "to do his utmost to overcome the differences that have still remained" which seem to spring from "the concrete historical and geographical conditions", that "it would be unfair to draw up a stereotyped pattern (referring to the Moscow Declarations) which all should abide by", that those who oppose Yugoslav revisionism "borrow the jungle laws of the capitalist world and introduce them into the relations among socialist countries, as the Albanian dissenters do, who are ready to tear the Yugoslav communists to pieces for their mistakes", that it behooves the communist movement to help the Tito clique "to occupy the place they deserve in the family of all the fraternal parties", that "consolidation and development of economic connections, of state and social relations between our countries create the basis for the approach of our attitudes in ideological matters as well", that "the Yugoslav comrades are

strengthening the achievements of socialism and, proceeding from objective laws, from the teachings of Marxism-Leninism, it is impossible to deny that Yugoslavia is a socialist state", and so on and so forth.

According to Khrushchev's logic it turns out that the 81 communist and workers' parties, who unanimously condemned the Yugoslav revisionists, did not proceed from an analysis of the real situation in Yugoslavia, from objective laws, from the teachings of Marxism-Leninism in formulating their judgment, but that they borrowed the jungle laws of the capitalist world and introduced them into the relations among socialist states. It turns out, therefore, that today there is one and only one supreme judge of Marxism-Leninism: Khrushchev.

But how do matters really stand? What are the arguments Khrushchev uses to repudiate the Moscow Declarations, to call them "bad specimens", and to declare that the Tito clique is no longer committing acts of betrayal, splitting and undermining acts, and that they are building socialism? Why have these arguments been trumped up, and what does the actual Yugoslav situation show?

In order to reject the conclusions of the 1960 Moscow Declaration, Khrushchev props up his thesis with the argument that the Yugoslav leaders have made "changes" both in internal and in external affairs. This argument does not hold water. The Yugoslav revisionist leaders — Tito, Kardelj and others — have themselves rejected them; they have more than once stated that they have made no change nor do they intend to make any changes in the days to come. The Yugoslav revisionists have even forewarned those who are looking forward to such changes not to cherish illusions and vain hopes. Of signif-

icance in this connection is a radio broadcast from Belgrade on December 26, 1962, which, in reply to its listeners on "the open and bitter criticism of the many manifestations in the economic, political and social life of the country", posed the question: "Does this imply something new as regards the views of the program of the League of Yugoslav Communists and the heretofore practice of the League?" And the answer: "The decisions of the fourth plenum and all the activity following it contain nothing new as regards the views of the program of the League of Yugoslav Communists and the steps regarding the policy so far. On the contrary, they aim at putting into effect the ideas set forth in the program in a consistent and all-round way. Nor is there anything new with regard to the views envisaged in the program on the co-operation of the League of Yugoslav Communists with the other communist and workers' parties."

Is not the stand of the American imperialists themselves, their assessment of the activities of the modern revisionists, a strong and persuasive argument to prove whose interest the political course of the Tito clique serves? The billions of American dollars are not lavished in vain on "Yugoslav socialism". It was not without purpose that Dean Rusk rose against certain rumors heard in the American Congress demanding a re-examination of the aid to Yugoslavia, and warned: "If a change was made to the wise policy of the USA towards Yugoslavia, a thing of this nature would be a very serious drawback for the West." For, as Dean Rusk said on another occasion, "Yugoslavia has been and continues to be a source of discord within the ranks of international communism." This subversive role of the Tito

clique is clearly expressed by J. Kennan, United States Ambassador to Yugoslavia, who, according to the newspaper *Long Island Press*, stated before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee that "Tito is putting all his efforts to overthrow Enver Hoxha's regime in Albania through secret operations within the Communist Party. If these subversive operations fail, he will resort to military operations".

The fifteen years since the announcement of the Resolution of the Information Bureau have fully corroborated the correctness of its warnings on the deviation and departure of the Tito clique from socialism, on the re-establishment of capitalism in Yugoslavia, and on the betrayal of the Titoites and their utter degeneration into agents of imperialism. The 15-year period has proved that the Yugoslav revisionists have departed totally from the Marxist-Leninist theory in basic matters of the theory and practice of "building socialism" in Yugoslavia, in matters of the ways to develop socialism in the world today, in the so-called "outside blocs" position of Yugoslavia, in matters of the way to preserve peace and practise peaceful coexistence, in further revising the Leninist theory on the Party and the state, and in other matters of Marxist-Leninist ideology and so on.

Therefore, if we are to speak of changes, we must say that the change that has been made is not in the attitude of Tito towards Khrushchev, but in the attitude of Khrushchev towards Tito.

To us it has been made clear that the noise Khrushchev makes about "changes" and "turn-about" in Yugoslavia, is only a tactical measure to justify his complete agreement with the Tito clique and the admission of Yugo-

slavia into the socialist camp. Experience has confirmed our Party's statements, which have long since laid bare the possibility of such a manoeuvre on Khrushchev's part. As early as May 17, 1962 an article entitled "The Failure of Yugoslav Special Socialism and the Latest Manoeuvres of the Belgrade Revisionists" appeared in *Zëri i Popullit*, pointed out that the public denunciation by the Yugoslav leaders of the hard times which Yugoslavia was experiencing at this time, is made, among others, for the purpose of creating the illusion that some progress is being made towards socialism in Yugoslavia, that some positive modifications are being made in its economic policy, that some signs are appearing that "Yugoslavia is treading on the right road". The aim of Tito and his imperialist patrons in this new manoeuvre is dangerous and far-reaching. The objective is to make the Trojan horse force its way into the castle, into the socialist camp, and there are now people who are eager to batter down the walls and to usher it in with due formality, even reserving a place of honor for it. For some time now it has been trumpeted abroad that the Tito clique is showing "some positive signs as far as foreign politics is concerned". Thus, under the pretext that the Yugoslav leaders are effecting some sort of a turn and by making certain "objective, comradely" observations on what the Belgrade traitors themselves have denounced, one can now stretch one's hand to the Tito clique. It must be said that this whole affair costs neither Tito nor the imperialists anything, but helps the Yugoslav revisionists find new ways of splitting and undermining the socialist camp and the international communist movement from within.

Time will again show how hard it will be to build socialism in those socialist countries which have begun to open the door to the Tito deviationist clique, which have tightened their relations with them, which have taken up the study of the Yugoslav experience and are trying to profit by it. The first signs of this are already apparent.

Let us consider the attitude of the Yugoslav revisionists towards international matters. The Tito clique have effected no change in their foreign policy, which has served and continues to serve the interests of the imperialists. Examples are numerous: What, for instance, is the stand of the Yugoslav revisionists towards the Caribbean crisis? Referring to the causes of the Cuban crisis, the newspaper *Borba* dated October 1, 1962, instead of denouncing the American imperialists as aggressors and warmongers, wrote: "If we look for the cause of the Cuban crisis we will find that it lies in the unfortunate creation of blocs and in that state of mind which raises the policy of force and of nuclear power to the height of a principle." This places the countries of the socialist camp and the imperialist countries on a par. The Yugoslav revisionists called the firm stand of the revolutionary government of Cuba against imperialist aggression a "biased foreign policy", "an aggravation of relations with the USA", "lack of tact", and "Cuba becoming a front in the cold war". They denounced Cuba because "it dealt blow for blow" and they reproached the Cuban Government as "being a stumbling-block in reaching the Kennedy-Khrushchev agreement", they denounced Cuba's refusal of "international inspec-

tion", considered Cuba's just 5-point demands as a hindrance to the solution of the Cuban crisis, and so on.

The attitude of the Tito clique towards the Sino-Indian border conflict is even more hostile and more openly pro-imperialist. In this matter, the Yugoslav revisionists, together with all the reactionary bourgeois propaganda, condemn the People's Republic of China as aggressor, as having caused the Sino-Indian conflict, as "pursuing a policy of creating tension", and as trying to settle the border issue with India by resorting to the use of force", and so on. Even as the question of the well-known proposals and initiatives of the People's Republic of China to settle the conflict peacefully, proposals which have met with full approval by all the peace-loving forces of the world, the Yugoslav revisionists, lining up with the Indian reactionaries and the most warmongering circles of imperialism, hastened to declare that "Peking's conditions are utterly unacceptable to India", that "the initiative taken by China contain in them elements which are hard for the other party to accept". It is clear that the attitude of the Tito clique in the Sino-Indian border conflict does not at all aim at preserving Sino-Indian friendship and settling this conflict in a peaceful manner. On the contrary, this attitude serves the anti-Chinese plot of international imperialism and revisionism.

Under the guise of the so-called policy of non-alignment, the Yugoslav revisionist leaders carry out their counter-revolutionary task of undermining the people's national-liberation struggles. Facts show that whenever questions arise for parties and states to take a stand and clarify their positions in various conflicts, in struggles between the imperialists and the oppressed peoples and

nations, between the bourgeoisie and the working class, the Yugoslav revisionists have always backed the imperialists and the bourgeoisie and opposed the peoples and the working class.

It is a well-known fact that Tito considered the aggressive intervention of the American neo-colonialists in the Congo as a "factor that helped stabilize the situation, a very important and valuable factor". The Yugoslav revisionists called Kennedy's "Alliance for Progress", which is a plan to colonize Latin America, "readiness to adjust and correct errors"; they called the brutal intervention of the USA in the internal affairs of Laos "true concern for peace and the security of Laos"; they called the rightful struggle of the Indonesian people to free West Irian unjustifiable and preached its settlement by "peaceful means", whereas the liberation of Goa by the Indian reactionary bourgeoisie was considered a just one, only because their ally Nehru had demanded it. This is the policy and principle of the modern revisionists.

In order to justify his reconciliation with the Tito clique, Khrushchev makes a lot of noise about Yugoslavia building socialism. He delights in posing as a self-appointed judge determining which country is and which country is not socialist. Who entitles him to force his views on others? It is well known that at the 1960 Moscow meeting the Soviet leaders, with Khrushchev at their head, not only signed the Declaration wherein it is stressed that the Yugoslav revisionists "detached their country from the socialist camp, placed it under the tutelage of the so-called 'aid' of the American and other imperialists", but also stated in public through their mouthpiece, M. Suslov, that they would no longer call

Yugoslavia a socialist country. Why then do they deny today what they said yesterday? Can the Yugoslav reality have changed in these last two or three years? In fact nothing has changed in Yugoslavia; there is nothing new.

In Yugoslavia there is an ever growing manifestation of the characteristics of capitalist economy — typically local and chaotic trends, rivalry between republics, provinces and economic organizations, broad operations in market relations, free play of prices, violation of the principle of distribution according to work, disproportion in development of the branches of economy, low standards of specialization and cooperation of production, unemployment and exploitation of man by man, and so on.

The features of capitalist economy are even more evident in the Yugoslav countryside. What is most striking in the present Yugoslav village is the process of differentiation and polarization. The wealthy economic units become richer, while the poorer units deteriorate and are being eliminated. The larger rural estates, which make up less than 14 per cent of the total number of the rural estates of Yugoslavia, own nearly 40 per cent of all private land. By taking advantage of such conditions as the free purchase, sale and rent of land, the exploitation of laborers through the wages system, speculation in farm products, and also by taking advantage of state credits, the kulaks keep strengthening their economic positions. At the same time, tens of thousands of poor peasants, having been totally ruined, are compelled to abandon their land and go to the cities in search of jobs. The growing dependence of the Yugoslav economy on

American dollars shows along what lines the Tito clique has pushed Yugoslavia.

But whatever manoeuvres the Khrushchev group may resort to in assessing the Yugoslav reality, his statements cannot change it. The revisionist course taken by the Tito clique is inevitably bringing about the re-establishment of capitalism in Yugoslavia. The American imperialists have started to speak openly about this trend. They are witnessing that American dollars were not sunk in enterprises that yield no profits. "During recent years," the UPI news agency announced, "changes have been effected in Yugoslavia which have pleased the West. Collectivization has been practically eliminated. Its economy has been adjusted more and more to trade with the West." The *Wall Street Journal* and other American journals said that Yugoslavia is becoming a capitalist country without capitalists and the West is drawing it ever nearer to the Western economic and political world. This is the direction along which the changes in present Yugoslavia are actually proceeding.

Khrushchev himself declared at the 7th Congress of the Bulgarian Communist Party that the American dollars which the Yugoslav clique had received were not given to it to develop socialism. "It is a well-known fact," he said, "that no one will believe that there are two kinds of socialism in the world: a socialism which the world reactionaries resent in a frenzied manner and another socialism acceptable to the imperialists, to which they give support and assistance. Everybody knows that the imperialists never give anybody money for nothing, for 'his good looks'; they invest their capital only in those enterprises from which they expect to get good profits."

Just as before the Tito clique still receives today large sums in the form of credits, loans and alms from the American and other imperialists. On November 28 last year, the Yugoslav Government and the USA Government signed an agreement on the basis of which the USA would supply the Tito clique with agricultural surplus products to the total amount of 103.3 million dollars. The Yugoslav press reported that in 1962 the USA gave the Tito clique a new credit of 46.6 million dollars and 31.6 million dollars more through international organizations supervised by the USA. Britain extended a credit of 28 million pounds sterling.

But, according to Khrushchev's logic, receiving dollars from the imperialists is of no significance at all, nor is it detrimental to socialist construction in Yugoslavia. This poses a question: are we to assume that imperialism is no longer imperialism, that it is now willing to help sincerely and with the best intentions the development of socialism in various countries, that American dollars can be put to good use for socialism, that the dollars are now given without the intention of securing profits and that the imperialists now demand no interest for their dollars?

The letter of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China dated March 30, 1963 says: "As far as Yugoslavia is concerned the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union think it is a socialist country, and in their relations with them they are striving to draw the Federative People's Republic of Yugoslavia closer to the socialist commonwealth, a thing which is in line with the stand of the fraternal Parties to unite all the anti-imperialist forces

in the world." What is this line of the fraternal Parties? Which are these fraternal Parties? When have they formulated the line that coincides with the anti-Leninist program of the League of Yugoslav Communists? It is publicly known that there is only one general line of the fraternal Parties, clearly formulated in the 1960 Moscow Declaration on the basis of Marxism-Leninism. The line of which Khrushchev speaks is only the line of his revisionist group, a counter-revolutionary line which aims at liquidating the general revolutionary line of Marxism-Leninism and of the communist and workers' movement.

The wily tactics of implicating others and making them accomplices in crime, are today widely used with subtlety and secrecy in all forms by Khrushchev towards the leaders of those parties, in socialist as well as capitalist countries, who, under given circumstances and for various reasons, have come to uphold him, to support him in his line of revising Marxism-Leninism and of splitting the socialist camp and the communist movement. These tactics, beneficial to Khrushchev's intentions, are very dangerous and of grave consequences to those leaders who blindly follow in his tracks; they are very dangerous to the cause for which their Parties have fought and continue to fight, and to the masses of revolutionary communists. To keep silent, about what Khrushchev speaks and acts, not only in his own name but in behalf of your Party, against Marxism-Leninism, against the unity of the socialist countries, when he assails the fraternal Parties for the only fault that they abide resolutely by the Leninist principles, that they firmly uphold the Moscow Declarations, that they wage a persistent and unwavering struggle against the com-

mon enemy of the proletariat, of socialism and of peace, namely, the imperialists with the American imperialists at the head, and against their agents, the Tito clique — this would mean to become an accomplice in Khrushchev's plots and to assume a heavy responsibility before the Party, the people, and in history. It would mean spurring Khrushchev on, encouraging him to make further and speedier progress in realizing his anti-socialist intentions, which is to the advantage of the enemy.

It is high time to put an end to silent submission and to the giving of approval to the dictates of others. It is a disgrace for one to be afraid of giving free expression to one's thoughts, but instead to echo the frenzied attacks of others against fraternal Parties in order to please Khrushchev when you see that those Parties you are attacking, against whom you are hurling mud, have said nothing against your Party, but have shown comradely respect for your Party, respect of a communist, and loyalty to Marxism-Leninism.

The Party of Labour of Albania is of the opinion that to make common cause with the Yugoslav revisionists, with those dangerous agents of imperialism, especially today when a bitter struggle is raging in the world between socialism and capitalism, between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat, between the imperialists and the oppressed peoples and nations, would mean accepting their program as a just and Marxist-Leninist one and consequently rejecting as out of date the teachings of Marxism-Leninism and the joint and unanimous decisions of the communist and workers' parties condemning Yugoslav revisionism. This would mean revising the

whole strategy and tactics of the communist and workers' movement, replacing its revolutionary Marxist-Leninist line with the strategy and tactics of the renegade Tito group, with their opportunist anti-Marxist line of submission to imperialism, as the Khrushchev treacherous group are doing on a large scale. This would mean renouncing the true unity of the socialist camp and of the communist movement based on Marxism-Leninism and on the Moscow Declarations and adopting a false unity based on the anti-Marxist political and ideological platform of the program of the League of the Yugoslav Communists. It would mean wiping out the distinction between friend and foe, between Marxism-Leninism and revisionism, between the defenders of unity and the splitters, between the anti-imperialist fighters and the imperialists' agents — as the Khrushchev treacherous group are doing on a large scale.

The question now is: either to agree with the Moscow Declarations in exposing the views and acts of the Yugoslav revisionists, of the revisionists of every hue and defending the Marxist-Leninist unity of the movement; or to agree with Yugoslav revisionism in opposing the Moscow Declarations and Marxism-Leninism and splitting the communist and workers' movement.

As concerns the position of the Party of Labour of Albania towards the Yugoslav revisionists, it has always been a principled position, precise, firm and inalterable during these 18 years. This was proclaimed once more by the leader of our Party at the 4th Congress of the Party in February 1961 when he said: "Our Party stands firmly on the position of the 1960 Declaration of the 81 communist and workers' parties, because the further ex-

posure of the leaders of the Yugoslav revisionists and the active struggle to guard the international communist movement against the anti-Leninist ideas of the Yugoslav revisionists, continue to be an essential duty of all the Marxist-Leninist parties. It holds the view that a determined and irreconcilable struggle should be waged against revisionism until its complete and final elimination. Every laxity of revolutionary vigilance against it, every weakening of the principled struggle against it, every wavering in this struggle under whatever pretext, leads inevitably to invigoration and activation of revisionist trends, which will seriously prejudice our great cause. Without mercilessly denouncing revisionism and the Belgrade revisionist clique in the first place, it is impossible to denounce imperialism as it should be denounced. Without drawing a clear line between the revisionist views and Marxism-Leninism it is impossible to fight dogmatism and sectarianism with success and from correct positions. The fight for the complete ideological and political elimination of this band of renegades is an internationalist aid to the Yugoslav people themselves."

The attitude of our Party towards Yugoslav revisionism has never been a haphazard policy dictated by narrow interests. Our Party has always considered the struggle against revisionism as an internationalist duty and, as such, has carried it out regardless of difficulties, regardless of any sacrifice. Our Party withstood with pluck and prudence the hard trials of recent years, when Khrushchev launched frenzied attacks against the Leninist stand of our Party which was fighting against revisionism, with a view to curbing the spirit of the

Party of Labour of Albania, and alienating it from the correct Marxist-Leninist road. It did not slacken, it did not withdraw from its Marxist-Leninist principled stand. The justice of the cause for which it fights strengthens its trust and unflinching confidence that in the fight against modern revisionism the victory will be on the side of Marxism-Leninism.

In the light of the events that have taken place during these fifteen years following the announcement of the Resolution of the Information Bureau on the situation in the Yugoslav Communist Party, all the communists and revolutionaries of the world feel proud of the victories in the great and consistent struggle of principle against modern revisionism in general and against Yugoslav revisionism in particular.

Constant adherence to the teachings of the Resolution of the Information Bureau and of the historic letters of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union on the situation in the Yugoslav Communist Party and of the 1957 and 1960 Moscow Declarations will insure the communists and the revolutionaries of the whole world holding aloft and unstained the revolutionary banner of Marxism-Leninism, the banner of proletarian internationalism, will insure their fighting with tenacious courage and unshakable confidence so that Marxism-Leninism in any situation, however complicated, in any storm and hurricane, will triumph over modern revisionism, over this principal menace threatening the international communist movement, over this dangerous agency of imperialism.

KHRUSHCHEV AND TITO HATCH

NEW PLOTS

Article published in the newspaper

Zëri i Popullit

August 22, 1963

On August 20 Nikita Khrushchev arrived in Yugoslavia upon the invitation of J. B. Tito. This visit has been officially announced as a pleasure trip, a few days' vacation, but in reality it is for the purpose of increasing collaboration and hatching new plots between the Khrushchev group and the Tito clique.

The present visit to Belgrade marks the seventh encounter between these revisionist leaders. It must be noted that every previous meeting was followed by some odious event perpetrated by these revisionists contrary to the interests of socialism and the international communist and workers' movement and in favor of the imperialists. Their first encounter in May 1955 was followed by the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union where Khrushchev revealed his revisionist ideas, launched public attacks on J. V. Stalin and on Marxism-Leninism and caused ideological confusion in the communist and workers' movement. The second, third and fourth encounters that took place during the years 1956 and 1957 were followed by or connected directly with the counter-revolutionary events in Hungary and with plots in other European socialist countries, in which the main role of organizer and provocateur, as everybody knows, was played by the Yugoslav revisionists. The two met for the fifth time at the General Assembly of the United Nations Organization in New York in 1960. That meeting was followed by Khrushchev's attempts to split the international communist and workers' movement,

which began with his open attacks and hostile attitude towards the Party of Labour of Albania and the Communist Party of China at the Moscow meeting of 81 Parties. Their sixth meeting in Moscow in December 1962 was followed by Khrushchev's intensified anti-Albanian and anti-Chinese campaign which he clearly enunciated in his address to the session of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR on December 12, 1962 and in subsequent speeches at the congresses of certain Communist Parties in Europe. This was followed by his frontal attack on Marxism-Leninism which culminated in the publication of the open letter of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, in the signing of the tripartite treaty on a partial nuclear test ban, in Khrushchev's capitulation to the imperialists, and in his open betrayal of the interests of socialism and peace.

All along Tito and Khrushchev have supported and actively encouraged each other in these activities. Khrushchev on his part has done his uttermost to rehabilitate Tito's renegade clique, to give it a certificate of "good conduct" in the international communist and workers' movement regardless of the joint decision of the 81 Parties expressed in the Moscow Statement which designates the Tito clique as renegades from Marxism-Leninism, as disrupters and splitters of the international communist and workers' movement, of the socialist camp and the world forces of peace, and as hirelings of U.S. imperialism. Khrushchev stood in need of the renegade Belgrade clique because they would play an important role, the role of the Trojan horse, in the work of destroying the socialist camp and the communist movement, because they would serve as intermediaries in drawing

Khrushchev closer and closer to the U.S. imperialists. That is why, in defiance of the assessment made by all the Communists in the world, he refers with sympathy to "Comrade Tito" and to "fraternal Yugoslavia which is building socialism", and that is why Khrushchev consults and carries on hearty conversations with his close friend Tito before he takes any important step in plotting.

Tito, on the other hand, has played his role well as an active participant in revisionist plots against socialism, as Khrushchev's supporter, "adviser" and instigator in his anti-Marxist and anti-socialist efforts, and as a trusted intermediary between Khrushchev's group and the U.S. imperialists.

We need not go into detail on the role of the Yugoslav revisionists as active accomplices in the plots against socialism. It suffices to mention here the role they played in the Hungarian counter-revolution, in hatching the plot against the People's Republic of Albania in collaboration with the U.S. 6th Fleet, the Greek fascist monarchists and a few Albanian traitors, the numerous acts of diversion which they continually carry on against various socialist countries, not to mention the acts of sabotage which they carry on under the guise of "non-alignment" in the various countries which have just won their freedom or which are fighting against the colonialists and the neo-colonialists.

As to their role of "advisers" and instigators, the Yugoslav revisionists, at certain decisive moments, have hurried to encourage Khrushchev to be more daring and determined in taking the next step whenever the latter shows signs of hesitation or resistance to their actions. This is what Tito did in his speech at Pula in November

1956 in which he urged that the course charted by the 20th Congress be pursued with pluck and courage, that the so-called battle against the personality cult be fought to the end, that the policy of "democratizing" and "liberalizing" the dictatorship of the proletariat be adhered to, and so on and so forth. This is what he did also in connection with the Moscow Declaration and the Moscow Statement, which he called "ill-adapted to reality and unprincipled", in order to encourage Khrushchev to trample them under foot. In the report he made in May this year to the Vth plenum of the CC of the Yugoslav League of Communists, Tito advised Khrushchev to stand firm on his revisionist position and make no concessions whatsoever in his talks with the Communist Party of China. "It goes without saying," Tito said, "that we are on the side of those communist and workers' movements which strive to liquidate dogmatism and Stalinist methods in the international communist movement." He added, "Any unprincipled agreement of compromise in favour of anyone whatsoever and prejudicing the main principles on which the present battle for socialism is based would be highly detrimental to the workers' movement in general." In the same speech he made monstrous charges against the Communist Party of China accusing it of pursuing a racial policy such as that of Genghis Khan. These "instructions" of Tito's found expression in Khrushchev's subsequent attitude; they have been textually reproduced in the open letter of the CC of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and in all the anti-Chinese propaganda of the Soviet press.

Of no less significance are Tito's "help" and tempting advice to Khrushchev to take more daring steps towards

reconciliation with the U.S. imperialists. As early as August 2, 1955, two months after Khrushchev's first visit to Belgrade, Tito said to a group of American citizens, "Yugoslavia serves as a bridge between the East and the West. I think it is better that we be a bridge than a ditch." During these years Khrushchev's group has succeeded in making good use of this bridge and crossed well over to its western end.

The clearest evidence of his having gone over is the conclusion of the shameful Moscow treaty on a partial nuclear test ban which constitutes Khrushchev's downright capitulation to U.S. imperialism. It must be stressed that, in addition to Khrushchev's own "ability" and willingness, Tito's contribution has been quite effective in this process of affiliation with U.S. imperialism. A year ago, in an interview with the American journalist Drew Pearson, Tito said, "Our perspective lies in the economic and political integration of the world"; this means, in other words, the integration of socialism into capitalism, and its subjugation to capitalism. Moreover, with a view to egging Khrushchev on, Tito gave this advice: "One should talk and talk again, not only once but many times. . . . I think it is high time for both sides to show good will and conclude an agreement on a nuclear test ban. . . . From an agreement of this kind the United States would win more politically than through the continuation of nuclear tests." We would like to say in passing that what Tito said a year ago about the USA winning more by an agreement of this kind has now been publicly repeated by Kennedy, Rusk and McNamara. And Tito was not prophesying when he told the American journalist that conditions were ripe for an agreement

on a nuclear test ban. The oracle that whispered in Tito's ear was, on the one hand, the U.S. imperialists who used their hireling as an intermediary, and on the other, Tito who was certain that Khrushchev was prepared to capitulate to the imperialists, thus betraying the interests of the Soviet Union itself and the socialist camp.

From what has been said above it is clear that the seventh meeting and the present talks in Belgrade between Tito and Khrushchev will follow in the same tracks as former meetings. This encounter will help these chiefs of the revisionist front to hatch new plans and plots against the communist movement, the socialist camp and the world's peoples.

Firstly, after becoming closely acquainted with the reality of "socialist Yugoslavia", Khrushchev will try this time to seal the full and all-round rehabilitation of Tito's clique, a thing which is essential to Khrushchev so that he may be able to collaborate with his "comrade" in a more legal way and hatch new plots. Preparations for this have long been under way. Referring to a news item from Belgrade, the newspaper *L'Unita* wrote on July 31, 1963 that attempts had been made through repeated exchange of delegations to iron out the remaining "ideological divergences" between the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the League of Yugoslav Communists, of which Khrushchev's group had felt itself obliged to speak *sotto voce* for demagogic reasons. *L'Unita* wrote that talks had been conducted in Belgrade and at Brioni between Tito and other Yugoslav leaders on the one hand, and V. Mazhavanadze, member of the Presidium of the CC of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, and another delegation headed by

A. Pelyse, on the other. At the same time L. Brezhnev received in Moscow Velvo Vlahovich, President of the Committee on Ideology of the League of Yugoslav Communists, and S. Stephanovich, Minister of the Interior of Yugoslavia, with whom he has discussed matters of relations between the two Parties.

Secondly, the present talks will mark the beginning of Khrushchev's new steps towards closer connections with the imperialists. On the eve of Khrushchev's arrival in Yugoslavia, the Yugoslav press, commenting on the Moscow treaty on a partial nuclear test ban, wrote, "It is clear that it is not yet the time to stop and be content with minor successes, but it is high time for a major action which aims at consolidating and furthering the results of the Moscow talks." (Bulletin of the Yugoslav Foreign Affairs, August 1, 1963.) And the weekly *Kommunist* of the same date underlined, "Now is not the time to stop, but to act." This points to the fact that their discussion will be centred on the question of how to forge ahead, to conform to the interests of imperialism and help it realize its global strategy.

Thirdly, as renegades from Marxism-Leninism Tito and Khrushchev will undoubtedly also discuss their plans and hostile intentions towards the socialist camp and the international communist movement as well as towards the national-liberation movements of the peoples. This is made clear by the unbridled campaign which has begun especially recently in the Soviet Union against the Communist Party of China, the Party of Labour of Albania and the revolutionary Communists in all countries, a campaign which has been hailed with great enthusiasm in Yugoslavia. Another sign is the

provocations and increasingly hostile attitude of the Yugoslav revisionists against our country, provocations which were intensified and aggravated on the eve of Khrushchev's visit to Belgrade. Finally, it is evident in Tito's announcement that he plans to visit Latin America, where he will try to bring his influence to bear, through his sabotaging activity, and restore tranquility for the imperialists in "their sphere of influence".

Khrushchev's visit to Yugoslavia does not at all disturb the imperialists. In one of its commentaries on August 12, 1963, the BBC said, "It has been announced that Mr. Khrushchev, the Soviet leader, will visit Yugoslavia towards the end of the month. Had this announcement been made some time earlier, the question would have no doubt been put as to what Washington would say to this visit. But as the times have changed a great deal these recent days, no one poses this question any longer." It then continued, "Some days ago a Yugoslav diplomat was asked whether Khrushchev's visit to Yugoslavia would prejudice American-Yugoslav relations. He answered that the Americans themselves are on the best of terms with the Russians." After all is said and done the Americans are well aware that the plans and plots which Tito and Khrushchev have hatched and will continue to hatch are to the advantage of the U.S. imperialists and not at all contrary to their interests. Dean Rusk stated that he was satisfied with his talks with Tito after the latter had returned from Moscow. He also stated after his talks with Khrushchev, on the eve of the latter's visit to Yugoslavia, that he had likewise been pleased with their meeting at Gagra. After the conclusion of the Tito-Khrushchev talks, President Kennedy will hear

a verbal report by Tito himself, who, as the Governor of California said on August 19, intends to pay a visit to the USA and meet Kennedy very soon.

Thus, nothing but new schemes and plots more dangerous than before can be expected from Khrushchev's visit to Yugoslavia and his talks with Tito. Therefore it behooves us now more than ever before to sharpen the vigilance of the peoples, to mercilessly expose the Tito-Khrushchev revisionist group and to condemn their anti-socialist and anti-Marxist acts. It is now clearer than ever that the united front of the modern revisionists, which constitutes the main danger to the international communist and workers' movement, threatens not only the future of socialism and communism, but also the struggle of all peoples for freedom, national independence and peace.

**KHRUSHCHEV REHABILITATES
THE AGENTS OF IMPERIALISM
AND SUPPORTS THE MURDERERS
OF COMMUNISTS**

Article published in the newspaper

Zëri i Popullit

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The danger of Nikita Khrushchev's revisionist line is now becoming more and more evident. There is a logical sequence and a definite platform in all his acts ranging from his agreement with and capitulation to the imperialists to his attacks on the People's Republic of China and the People's Republic of Albania, from his assaults on the so-called cult of the individual of Stalin to the compliments and praises showered on Tito, from his rehabilitation of agents of imperialism to his attacks and anathemas against the Marxist-Leninists.

In order to expound and spread his opportunist line, Khrushchev needed first of all to depose Stalin and his theoretical and practical work. J. V. Stalin, the distinguished Marxist who headed the Soviet Party and state for a long, very critical and decisive period of time, was characterized by Khrushchev as a "brutal", "capricious" man, a "despot", a "murderer", a "blood-sucker", and a "criminal", as a man who killed Communists and faithful and experienced revolutionaries. Showing no concern neither for the truth nor for the good name and prestige of the Soviet Union and even slurring this name and prestige, the Khrushchev group and its press and publications wantonly spread slanders about "the extermination of thousands of cadres" through "sham trials", and about the so-called "reign of terror" in the Soviet Union during Stalin's time. By doing this, the Khrushchev group merely corroborates what the enemies

of the Soviet Union had written in many volumes on "the reign of terror and the extermination camps in the Soviet Union" long before Khrushchev's speeches, the present articles in the Soviet press or in the numerous books printed today in many copies in the Soviet Union.

Following this campaign Khrushchev rehabilitated all the enemies of the Soviet Party and state, all the agents of imperialism who had formerly been protected by imperialist propaganda. He has gone so far as to suggest that a monument be set up in Moscow to these agents, "victims" of Stalin, thus insulting the Soviet people and their feelings, their gigantic struggle and indomitable heroism in building socialist society in the face of countless difficulties and obstacles.

"When it came to the question of the revolution, to the defense of the class interests of the proletariat in the revolutionary war against our class enemies, Stalin bravely and unwaveringly defended Marxism-Leninism in its main and basic thing, and the main and basic thing for Marxist-Leninists is to defend the interests of the working class, the cause of socialism, and the struggle against the enemies of Marxism-Leninism. In this main and basic thing, as the saying goes, may God grant that every Communist know how to fight as Stalin fought." One cannot help but agree with such an estimation of Stalin. But who uttered these words? Khrushchev himself, although they are in such flagrant contradiction to all the accusations he made against Stalin and to the view of rehabilitating "the victims of his reign of terror". Unmindful of these flagrant contradictions, Khrushchev calls certain prosecutions against various enemies in

the Soviet Union "sham trials based on trumped-up charges".

This stand reveals Khrushchev as a persistent advocate of anti-Marxist conceptions regarding the imperialists, whom he describes as harmless to the builders of socialism, thereby lulling the vigilance of the peoples who are fighting against the agents of imperialism.

Everybody now understands that, by besmirching Stalin, Khrushchev tries to deal a blow to Marxism-Leninism and to give free play to revisionism. His concern is neither to correct "injustices" nor to fight the so-called cult of the individual of Stalin. For if that were the case Khrushchev would not exchange kisses with Tito nor lavish praise on him, when everybody knows that thousands upon thousands of Communists, victims of Titoite terror have really been arrested, tortured and murdered in Yugoslavia and when the cult of the individual, the cult of Tito, has been reigning supreme and to a higher degree there than ever before. Khrushchev changed the name of Stalingrad, the name by which this city became known in history, but paid a rapturous visit to the city of Titograd. It seems that Khrushchev uses two yardsticks to measure and two scales to weigh matters, in the Soviet Union and in Yugoslavia. But in reality he does the same thing. In both the first and the second case he supports the same kind of people, in the Soviet Union the enemies of the Soviet Union and the agents of imperialism, whom the Communist Party of the Soviet Union headed by Stalin had rightly condemned and crushed, and in Yugoslavia the enemies of the Soviet Union and the agents of imperialism like Tito, Rankovich and Co., who have tortured and murdered

internationalist Communists and set up infamous extermination and death camps like Goli Otok.

* * *

In a series of articles published in *Zëri i Popullit* in August 1960 we referred to these murders, jails and camps. Our statements were based on indisputable documents. Let us refer back to these again.

In his speeches in Yugoslavia, Khrushchev praised Tito for his participation in the October Revolution, but he did not and could not mention the hundreds and thousands of Communists who took part in the October Revolution, in the International Brigades in Spain and in the brigades of the Yugoslav national liberation army, but who were murdered or tortured by Tito over many years. He did not and could not mention these comrades: Drezdich, participant in the October Revolution, who took his own life at Goli Otok because he could not stand the tortures there; Nicola Petrovich, a veteran member of the Yugoslav Communist Party whom the UDB (Office of State Security) tortured and finally murdered; Pavkovich, participant in the October Revolution, who died two months after his release from jail because of the tortures he had undergone there; Adolf Shtumf, a veteran member of the Yugoslav Communist Party, who died in jail in a very suspicious way; Mita Despotovich, who had lived a number of years in the Soviet Union and who took his own life in Tito's jail; Vilim, who became insane as a result of tortures; Istvan Dobosh, who was brutally tortured by Rankovich's guards and died under torture; Ozren, who shared the same fate; General

Rade Zhigich, who also died under terrible tortures, and so on and so forth.

Khrushchev made no mention of the veteran Communists who suffered so much in concentration camps, such as Nicola Kovachevich, participant in the October Revolution; Vladislav Zheriavich, veteran member of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and participant in the October Revolution; Vyekoslav Smolyan, participant in the October Revolution; Meizen, Lyubonir Kraguyevich and Ilia Vuyovich, all participants in the October Revolution; Nicola Petrovich, a veteran member of the Yugoslav Communist Party; Andria Militz, veteran member of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and participant in the International Brigades in Spain; Trayko Mishkovski, veteran member of the Yugoslav Communist Party and former battalion commander in the International Brigades in Spain; Marko Spahich, invalid of the Spanish War; Christina Kusovacz, veteran member of the Yugoslav Communist Party; Franic, one of the earliest members of the Yugoslav Communist Party and member of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union; Ante Zorich, veteran member of the Yugoslav Communist Party; Ivan Karda, veteran member of the Yugoslav Communist Party; Mustafa Begich, one of the earliest members of the Yugoslav Communist Party; Demetriye Stanisavlevich, a very early member of the Yugoslav Communist Party; Petsarsky, Maria Prezheli, Lozhe Loncharich, Mirko Markovich, Vidak Arseniyevich, Silvester Furlan, all veteran Communists.

In the articles we published in 1960 we wrote among other things, "Thus the Vth Congress (of the League of Yugoslav Communists) which was very carefully pre-

pared to approve the treacherous Trotskyite revisionist line, marked, at the same time, the beginning of mass persecutions, the victims of which were thousands upon thousands of internationalist Communists, loyal sons and daughters of the Yugoslav people. The first to fill the jails were veteran members of the Party like those who had taken part in the October Socialist Revolution, Communists who had resided in the Soviet Union, Yugoslav fighters in the International Brigades in Spain, veteran cadres of the Yugoslav national liberation army. Over 200 thousand members, or 50 per cent of the membership of the Party, were expelled during the period from 1948 to 1952.

The wave of Titoite terror carried away a large number of members of the Central Committee and the Government of that time.

In Montenegro nearly all the members of the Government and the Central Committee headed by Bozho Lumovich, one of the earliest members of the Yugoslav Communist Party, were put in jail. Out of the entire Government and Central Committee, only Blazho Jovanovich and two or three other ministers remained in office with Tito. Twenty-two ministers and deputy-ministers of the Montenegrin Government were confined and tortured in the infamous concentration camp at Goli Otok. Such massive resistance was offered in Montenegro that the UDB arrested all the members of the Party registered before and during the war. All the members of the regional and district committees as, for instance, those of Nikshiq, Tivari, Danilograd and Berana, were put in jail. The Titoites arrested one committee and appointed another committee to replace it, but a month

later they arrested the new committee, too, and replaced it with a third one, which like its predecessor, landed at Goli Otok.

In Croatia a large number of members of the Central Committee and the Government and many high functionaries of the state and the Party were imprisoned. In the Sinj District of Dalmatia, one of the centers of the national liberation war, all those who bore the Medal of Remembrance (1941) were put in jail. Nearly all the members of the Party were arrested at Gorska Kotor and along the Croatian seashore. The entire regional committee of the Party was imprisoned in Istria. A good part of the district committee and the majority of the members of the Party were either put in jail or expelled from the Party. In Slovenia, some of the Communists took to the mountains to avoid the terror and arrests. In their encounters with the UDB and the army, some of them were killed or captured while others were forced to flee.

Many members of the government were arrested in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Nearly all the members of the local committee of Sarajevo, a good number of members and secretaries of district committees and of nearly all the UDBs of the Republic were imprisoned. Similar arrests took place in Serbia, too.

About 5,000 officers, among whom were 5 generals and over 30 colonels, mainly commanders and commissars of brigades, divisions and army corps, were put in jail during the period from 1948 to 1952. They also arrested members of the High Court of Justice headed by General Mirko Kerdjich, whom they later killed in jail, and all the members of the Attorney-General's of-

face with General Velko Zhigich at its head, because they refused to try and pass sentence on internationalist Communists. Solidarity with the Resolution of the Information Bureau was for them no crime but an entirely internal affair of the Party. Twelve thousand officers were dismissed from the armed force during the period from 1948 to 1952.

Khrushchev tries to make people believe that he has taken up the banner of socialist legality and loudly criticizes the so-called violation of this legality in the Soviet Union and other socialist countries during Stalin's time. This legality seems to have been observed in Titoite Yugoslavia although extremely large number of arrests have been made merely on grounds of differences of opinion, or because the victims have expressed agreement with the Resolution of the Information Bureau or have made a random remark about some person or other. What is more, it is even claimed that this country should be taken as an example for observance of legality.

The Titoites can boast of being "champions of legality" because not only of the unparalleled number of Communists arrested but of the extraordinary terror directed against them!

In the articles published in August 1960 we gave detailed accounts of the calvary of these thousands upon thousands of Communists from the day of their arrest to their deportation into the concentration camps and then to the time they met their death or their health was permanently broken by the tortures.

Let us look back briefly on the facts as related to us by those who succeeded in escaping from the Titoite hell.

"When a large enough group of arrested people had been through the investigation, the UDB men bound them in twos, put them in special police cars and drove them to the railway station where they were crowded into special cells in which there was hardly enough air to breathe. From there they were packed like sardines into closed wagons and they were dispatched, without food or water, to unknown destinations. The train proceeded to Bakar, a little town on the northern coast of the Adriatic. As a rule the train arrived at its destination at night when the exhausted prisoners were asleep. The agents of the UDB spared no blows with whips or clubs to awaken them. The street from the railway station to the quay was lined with officers of the UDB and militiamen. The prisoners were driven helter-skelter through this passage and woe to him if any fell down on the way! The UDB agents and the militiamen, following close behind, delighted in kicking them with their boots and hurrying them along. On board ship the roll was called and each prisoner was hurled three to four meters down into the hold. The agents used to call some prisoners back in order to hurl them down a second time. As the prisoners were bound in twos, whenever the UDB agents beat one of them on deck the other hung down over the hold.

"The ship cast anchor off the Island of Grief but this brought no relief to the suffering prisoners. When they began to clamber up from the hold, they heard loud shouts coming from the pier. Before they could guess what the uproar was about, a group of wild-looking men consisting of provocateurs armed with clubs, whips and rubber lashes began to flog the prisoners and hurl the

vilest invectives at them. They hit the prisoners on the head, back and belly, knocked them down and trampled on them. Blood oozed out of the prisoners' noses, ears and ribs. The floggers vied with one another in cruelty to prove to the authorities that they were willing fighters against the 'enemy'.

"But this was just the beginning. The roll was called on board again and as each one stepped up, he was subjected to another ordeal. The path he was to walk to the camp was lined with two rows of other prisoners confined in the camp whose duty it was to beat the newcomers as they passed by. This was the notorious column. The director of the camp and the inquisitors together with the so-called 'heads of the self-government committee of the prisoners' consisting of provocateurs and prisoners who were ideologically and morally degenerated and who had become spies, floggers and murderers, stood at the head of the column. The newcomers had to walk with heads down. The inquisitors and armed militiamen moved at the side of the column. Some one of those bearing no arms now and then dashed through the column and gave an exhibition of his prowess by hitting the people in shackles. Most of the prisoners fell down and lost consciousness, and some of them died immediately. This massacre was accompanied with horrid shouts and insults: 'Fall in! Fall in!' 'Death to the bandits!', 'Death to the lackeys of Stalin!', 'Down with the traitors to the people!' and the like. But the greatest irony was when the provocateurs shouted 'Long live socialist measures of re-education!', 'Long live Tito — the Lenin of our day!', 'We are Tito's — Tito is ours!' The newcomers were physically exhausted and mentally numb. They did not

know who hit them and why. They did not know what was going on except that they felt blows coming from all sides. Those who had been commanders and commissars in times of war and had often been face to face with death bowed their heads waiting to be hit without knowing which side to guard."

But this was only the prelude to hell and not the real hell of torture itself. In addition to the notorious column, which was used not only upon the arrival of the prisoners but during their stay in the Titoite camps, other methods of torture practised there were:

1) The circle (krug). The prisoners were gathered in one place. The provocateurs started singing, then push a victim into the circle and flogged him until he bled and became unconscious. This method of torture resembles lynching.

2) Investigation by provocation. The provocateurs awoke the Communists at night and took them to the kitchen where they were flogged for hours at a stretch. There were two alternatives for them: either to admit what the UDB wanted them to admit or die at their hands.

3) Forced labour. The prisoners were ordered to carry stones from one place to another and then back again to the place where the stones had been moved from.

The UDB divided the prisoners into three categories: the "activists", the "passives" and the "band". The first category included all those who submitted and became provocateurs. The word "passive" applied to those who generally had finished with the interrogators and had formally stated they had revised their stand, but were

not willing to take part in the various forms of "re-educating" the other prisoners. The "bands" included those who firmly abided by their ideas, by Marxism-Leninism. The place of work for this category of prisoners was a real place of torture. They were ostracized and continually persecuted. At work they were repeatedly tormented by specially assigned provocateurs and all other prisoners were not only entitled to but also called upon to flog and persecute them. The hind handles of stretchers on which they carried stones were long and the fore handles short, so that the main weight was carried by the "ostracized", who were always forced to go ahead. The "ostracized" were hurried along and if they slackened their pace, the provocateurs standing nearby would scold and beat them. The provocateurs kept urging them to give in to the interrogator and to sign as demanded of them. Nearly all the prisoners bore scars and wounds on their feet, bodies and hands which caused them great pain. This was a real Golgotha. People who had lived through the First and Second World Wars, the Great October Socialist Revolution and the Spanish War, who had been persecuted in the jails of old Yugoslavia and of other capitalist countries, who had languished in the concentration camps of the fascists and who claimed distinction for their heroic stand under all these various situations, wept like children at these daily tortures, at the sight of the horrible scenes and for their inability to do something to change their plight and that of their fellow prisoners. For purposes of torture, special stretchers were built, the so-called "labud", "galeb", on which some 250 kilograms of stone were loaded. Each of these loaded stretchers were carried by four prisoners

who were compelled to carry it over sharp rocks where it was hardly possible to walk. And these stretchers were loaded in such a manner as to concentrate all the weight on the "ostracized". Many Communists were either crippled or lost their lives during this torture.

During the winter these prisoners were compelled to work in rain, snow and storms, underfed and in rags. In order to make them go about in rags, the senior Communists were very seldom supplied with clothes and shoes. In summer the prisoners were not only exposed to hard work but also to heat and thirst. Another means of torture was thirst. Even when the "ostracized" were carrying large caldrons filled with water, the provocateurs would not let them drink.

In order to torture the staunch Communists, the UDB agents gave them heavy sledge-hammers weighing 12 kilograms each to crush large rocks under the supervision of the provocateurs. In the concentration camp at Bileq, they used to tie halters around the prisoners' necks and forced them to work like beasts. A hood was placed over their heads and one of the guards pulled them by the halters while one or two others behind hit them and urged them to hurry on with their load. When the prisoners' hands were too sore to carry the stretchers, they tied cords around their necks to the handles of the stretchers. If the prisoners fell down exhausted or said one single word of protest they would be subjected to another form of torture.

4) It was called "placing under press". This torture was applied as follows:

The Communist was laid on the ground, face downward, and a large boulder weighing up to 100 kilograms

was placed on his back. This heavy boulder stifled the victim's breath as though it would break his ribs and smother him to death. The prisoner would shriek out loud, cry for help and promise to continue to work.

5) The fifth method of torture to wilt the prisoners was called "hitting on the head". They were made to stand up after work without sleep. Immediately after lunch or supper, which was very scanty indeed, and after they had toiled and sweated all day, the "ostracized" were compelled to break stone, not with hammers but with bigger stones, or to stand at attention.

While these prisoners broke stones with stones, the provocateurs, surrounding them on all sides, sang insulting songs, beat them on their heads not with their fists but with the knuckles of their hands. While they were being hit, the "ostracized" were forced to keep on breaking stone with stone. Many victims became insane because of such tortures.

6) The sixth method was torture by hunger and thirst.

Torture by hunger, thirst, forced labour, flogging and many other methods brought about the complete physical breakdown of the prisoners. In 1952 the situation in all the concentration camps was so bad that there were mass deaths among the prisoners.

We could go on dealing with the other forms of torture practised in the concentration camps of Titoite Yugoslavia, but that would take too long. Readers who would like to know more about this are referred to the pamphlet *Jails and Concentration Camps in Yugoslavia*. However, we cannot help but point out here that the man who conceived and put into practice this multiplicity of tortures of inflicting sufferings which was beyond all

imagination was none other than "Comrade" Alexander Rankovich, Khrushchev's escort of honor in his travels through Yugoslavia. In 1948 when the Resolution of the Information Bureau on the situation in the Communist Party of Yugoslavia was issued, Rankovich's UDB very carefully worked out a plan to suppress all revolutionary opposition. The carrying through of this plan was entrusted to the so-called "Staff to fight the followers of the Informbureau", which was also headed by Rankovich. This staff utilized the experience of the Gestapo concentration camps and those of the Greek fascist monarchists.

It is true that there was a time when Khrushchev also accused Rankovich of something else before the Albanian leaders. He accused him of smuggling saboteurs into the socialist countries. But the way Khrushchev exchanges kisses with Rankovich now shows that we are faced with hypocrisy and bluff. Rankovich's real face is revealed by what we have disclosed of his most outstanding work of crime and terror and the extermination camps. To his credit are 30,000 Communists put in jails and concentration camps, 1,000 Communists murdered and thousands upon thousands of others brutally tortured!

The Yugoslav revisionists have resorted to all possible kinds of crime and terror. They liquidated the former Yugoslav Communist Party by their ferocious police methods. Thanks to their attitude they won the complete confidence of the imperialists who spared and still spare no help in dollar aid to them.

By enrolling themselves completely in the service of the U.S. imperialists, the Tito clique was not satisfied

with smashing the former Communist Party of Yugoslavia and liquidating all the achievements the Yugoslav people attained in their war for national liberation, but has been used and continues to be used as a Trojan horse by the U.S. imperialists when and where it is needed.

Tito's crimes and betrayal are so stupendous that nothing can efface them. Khrushchev now tries to rehabilitate him by calling him comrade and a Marxist-Leninist. Why, may we ask, was Bulganin criticized when he, in his time, called Tito a Marxist-Leninist, but Khrushchev now generously gives him this honored title? What changes have occurred in these 6 to 7 years? Can it be that the more than 1,000 murdered Communists have come back to life? Can it be that the 30,000 Communists tortured in camps have not been imprisoned for years there, but have been sent to have a holiday at the picturesque Dalmatian seaside? None of these things have happened. What has really happened is that Khrushchev is acting more zealously and more openly to set up a common front with the agents of the imperialists and with the murderers of Communists.

**SOFOKLI LAZRI
YAVER MALO**

THE REVISIONIST KHRUSHCHEV AS AN ADVOCATE OF PAN-SLAVISM

Article published in the newspaper

Zëri i Popullit

August 29, 1963

The "vacation" of Khrushchev in Yugoslavia, taken on J. B. Tito's invitation, is being turned into a propaganda tour of speeches and talks, the aim of which is not only to prove the unity of views between the two revisionist groups which have betrayed Marxism-Leninism and thereby fully rehabilitate Tito and his companions, but also to hatch new plots against Marxism-Leninism and against the unity of the socialist camp and the international communist and workers' movement. Through his speeches Khrushchev has enriched the ideological and political fund of the modern revisionists with "new" ideas which increasingly reveal the true features of this unscrupulous politician who has new, hideous plans in mind. We are referring, among others, to Khrushchev's pan-Slavic ideas which he expressed in his August 21 speech to the workers of a workshop in the town of Rakovice in the neighborhood of Belgrade. In promoting the idea of pan-Slavism in this speech, Khrushchev revealed his nationalist, chauvinist and racist views. In order to support this "new" conception he referred to the words which Peter II Negosh, the Archbishop of Montenegro in the 19th century, addressed to Napoleon's diplomats: "We know very well that if the Russians die all the other Slavs will die too, and that whoever is against the Russians is against all the other Slavs as well."

Why at the present time does Khrushchev refer to the positive role of the fraternity and unity of the Slav

peoples and mention the words of Peter Negosh? This is, of course, not a lecture on history nor a casual statement. We have to deal here with another aspect of modern revisionist views which replace proletarian internationalism with racist ideology and, in this specific instance, replace the friendship and fraternity of the peoples — which are based on the common struggle against imperialism and for peace, freedom, democracy and socialism regardless of nationality, race, colour of skin or continent — with the narrow concept of unity based on the ethnic origin of a specific group of people.

The renunciation of the class struggle, of the socialist revolution and of revolutionary methods of struggle, the conversion of the idea of peaceful coexistence into an absolute issue, into the alpha and omega of Marxist revolutionary theory and practice, the unprincipled collaboration with the imperialists in the name of this coexistence — all these make up the ideological basis of modern revisionism which gave birth to, fostered and made more obvious the new, typical features of revisionism such as great-power chauvinism and racial discrimination in the form of pan-Slavism.

The international workers' and communist movement has witnessed the brutal policy of great-power chauvinism which Khrushchev's revisionist group has pursued towards the People's Republic of Albania. The facts of this activity exposed by our Party of Labour and our Government now also reveal, among other things, this odious proclivity of modern revisionism. In this respect too Khrushchev is following faithfully in the footsteps of Tito, who was the first to inaugurate, under the banner of false Marxism, a chauvinist policy towards our country

as far back as at the time of the war of national liberation against fascism and, after the war, pursued the purpose of turning Albania into a seventh republic of Yugoslavia.

During the last few days Khrushchev, true to himself, has taken another step towards his goal: he has come out openly as a champion of pan-Slavism. In the mouth of a chauvinistic revisionist, words about the unity and fraternity of the Slav peoples have a political implication. Through this demagogy, drawn from the arsenal of the Russian imperialist bourgeoisie but presented and embellished with colours befitting the times, the Khrushchev group tries to hoodwink the Slav peoples of the socialist countries and the peoples of Yugoslavia in order to hitch them to its cart in the name of Slav unity.

A policy of this kind aims at aggravating the split which the Khrushchev group has brought about in the socialist camp, a split which is only to the advantage of the imperialists. It is well known that the socialist camp is not made up of countries inhabited by peoples of Slav origin alone. To speak of Slav unity while pretending at the same time to uphold the interests of the socialist camp means to renounce proletarian internationalism and to undermine the fraternity of the peoples of the socialist countries which was achieved in the common struggle against fascism and, after the establishment of the socialist camp, in the common struggle against the imperialists headed by the United States. This is also borne out by the fact that Khrushchev has long since ceased to speak of the socialist camp. He has substituted this with Tito's favourite terms of "community" and "the socialist world".

This policy is also directed against the Slav peoples themselves. It arouses enmity between them and other peoples. In the 20th century, in the epoch of socialism and communism, it is absurd and altogether anti-Marxist to speak of the unity of interests of peoples based on their common ethnic origin. In our times the interests of the Slav peoples are no longer isolated. They are closely bound up with the interests of all peoples who fight against the imperialists and in defense of the ideal of socialism. To split, to pit one people against another, the Slavs against the Latins, the whites against the yellow people, and to divide people according to race and nationality — this has become a common practice of Khrushchev's revisionist group, a practice which is directed against the freedom and fraternity of the peoples. In view of all this, it sounds really ridiculous for this group to accuse others of racial discrimination, and so on.

On the other hand, the "Slavic" policy propagated by Khrushchev is directed also against the Yugoslav people themselves. It aims to arouse chauvinism among the Slavs against the non-Slav national minorities and particularly against more than a million Albanians in Kosovo, Metohia and Macedonia, who make up the largest national minority in Yugoslavia. Khrushchev's words are not only an approval of the barbarous persecution of the Albanian population by the Titoite authorities, but also an encouragement to the Tito clique to continue this nationalist policy. In this connection we should not fail to mention the special zeal which Tito and Khrushchev have shown in arousing national animosity between the Albanian and Yugoslav peoples. Khrushchev's hysterical slander that "the Albanians desire to tear the

Yugoslavs to pieces" serves this purpose. But the revisionists cannot fool anybody, or win success, with such slanders and trumped-up charges. The Albanian people have nurtured and still nurture friendly feelings towards the Yugoslav people. The friendship between our two peoples was cemented in the common struggle against fascism, with the blood of hundreds of our partisans who laid down their lives fighting for the liberation of Yugoslavia.

In his propaganda on Slav fraternity and unity Khrushchev cannot but take into account Tito's grandiose and vain pretensions. Relations between these revisionist chiefs have recently shown that Tito, as Khrushchev's supporter, "adviser" and abettor in anti-Marxist and anti-socialist activities, has always received due reward from his partner. This time it takes the form of the full rehabilitation of the Belgrade clique in the ranks of the international communist movement, for, as Khrushchev stated in his speech at Rakovice, "There isn't a single reason why we should not line up with all the peoples who have embarked on the road to socialism." But full rehabilitation is not enough for Tito; he intends, in addition, to play the leading role in the Balkans. This is an old goal of Tito's. It was manifested in a disguised form during the war for national liberation and more openly after the war when the Tito clique entered into the complete service of the imperialists. Exposed by the international communist movement through the Information Bureau in 1948, the Tito clique, relying on the support of the imperialists, never gave up their ambitious plans. Playing the role of the Trojan horse, they set to work to split the international

communist movement. With Khrushchev's revisionist group assuming power in the Soviet Union, Tito secured an ally willing to help him realize his old dream of making Yugoslavia the leading country in the Balkans. It was not accidental that Khrushchev pointed out in his speech at Rakovice that "Yugoslavia is one of the biggest countries in the Balkan Peninsula". And this is by no means a lecture on geography, but an initial step towards a new plot against the socialist countries in the Balkans in order to place at their head Titoite Yugoslavia, which Khrushchev called "an important factor in the safeguarding and consolidating of peace in this region of the world".

This "concern" of Khrushchev for the destiny of the socialist countries in the Balkan Peninsula, which constitutes a new aspect of his "Slavic" policy, is nothing but "placing the fox in charge of the chickens", as V. I. Lenin often said when he exposed the pan-Slavic policy of the Russian imperialist bourgeoisie in the Balkans.

Khrushchev's visit to Yugoslavia gives further opportunity to the international workers' and communist movement and to all peoples to obtain a clearer view of the dregs of revisionism, and to become aware of the danger of coming into contact with Tito. It helps them to understand better the urgent need to raise their vigilance, expose relentlessly the new plots which are being hatched in Belgrade and Brioni and to clip the wings of revisionism, the main menace not only to the destiny of socialism and communism, but also to the struggle of all peoples for freedom, national independence and the struggle for peace.

Our people are convinced that the revisionists will not be able to realize their diabolic plans. Marxism-Leninism, which is the granite bed-rock on which friendship among peoples rests, will stand firm against all reactionary trends, including that of great-power chauvinism and racial discrimination.

**DISDAIN FOR PUBLIC OPINION
CANNOT HIDE THE PLOTS OF
THE TITO-KHRUSHCHEV GROUP**

Article published in the newspaper

Zëri i Popullit

September 1, 1963

During his stay in Yugoslavia Khrushchev made many speeches and a great deal of statements. But his interview with the foreign newspapermen whom he received three days ago in the island of Brioni stunned not only the old foxes of bourgeois propaganda who are used to spicy sensationalism but also those who are fed up with Khrushchev's fickleness and usual extravagances. Khrushchev's answers to the foreign journalists' questions were at times jocular and empty, at other times arrogant and trivial, so much so that one wondered whether his words were those uttered by the head of a big state to the representatives of the world press in a foreign country or those of a ruffian. But let facts speak for themselves.

When the Western journalists asked him to enlarge on the statement he had made at Split in which he insinuated that Yugoslavia would take part in "the international division of labour among the socialist countries", Khrushchev answered, "You newspapermen have no idea of these things, you understand nothing about economic problems." In answering the question why he had stayed one day longer than planned at Brioni, he said, "I like it here." When one of the journalists wanted to know if he had talked with Tito about the Balkans, Khrushchev sharply retorted, "Why do you stick your nose into our affairs?" But the "cleverest" answer was reserved for another journalist who asked if it were true that the Yugoslavs were better off than

the Soviet people. Khrushchev answered, "You are after the stench from the posterior part of man. But this cannot be called the best part of man." His whole interview with 90 journalists at the White Villa in Brioni was filled with coarse language, obviously mocking at, and showing contempt for, not only the representatives of the press but their readers, too. The history of the civilized world has not yet recorded a case in which the leader of a state used such unrestrained, ruffian's language. A worthless man of this type discredits the Soviet Union and stains the good name of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

But one cannot help noticing an essential and quite important thing in Khrushchev's interview. In spite of all his buffoonery, arrogance, disdain and lack of restraint, he cannot quell the interest of public opinion, which is eager to know what these two old schemers, Tito and Khrushchev, are doing these days, what new plans they are hatching against the other Balkan countries, particularly the People's Republic of Albania, because it is well known that both of them are its sworn enemies, especially when they paraded in a demonstrative way along the Albanian borders. Public opinion is eager to know what new plans they are concocting against socialism and world peace, what new projects they are drawing up in order to come to terms with the imperialists.

The newspapermen did not ask Khrushchev, for instance, why he replaced the regional secretary of the Party committee in the virgin lands, or the Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Leningrad Soviet or of other cities; they did not ask him whether 70 percent

of the old cadres who were dismissed from their jobs in recent years are now in jail or deported to Siberia; they did not ask him why Kirichenko was discharged, or why Kozlov is not heard of any more, so that he might arrogantly answer: "Don't stick your nose into other people's affairs!" Above all, he has spoken on quite a number of occasions and in definite terms about the position and role of Yugoslavia in the Balkans. We have to deal here with a very queer case of interesting logic. When Khrushchev spoke openly at Rakovica of the place of Yugoslavia in the Balkans and defined its role in this peninsula, he considered this within the sphere of his own rights. But when he was asked at Brioni if he had spoken with Tito about the Balkans, he called this nothing less than an intervention in the internal affairs of Yugoslavia and of the Soviet Union. What Tito and Khrushchev have said about Yugoslav-Soviet relations is of course their internal affair. But since when have Balkan affairs become "their internal affair"? Apparently, having for so long been engaged in plots against the People's Republic of Albania and other Balkan countries, Tito and Khrushchev now have come to believe that Balkan affairs, or rather the plots they are hatching, are simply an internal affair of their own.

"We [Khrushchev and Tito] are businessmen. We want to do business," Khrushchev stated to the newspapermen during his interview with them at Brioni. This is quite a concrete and accurate definition he gives of himself, a definition which expresses very clearly the essence of his nature and deeds. But what business does Khrushchev want the Western journalists to promote? The answer is not hard to find. He has given ample

proof that he is a good partner for the imperialists when bargaining over the freedom and independence of peoples, in exchanging principles for bourgeois cajolery. Some years ago this same Khrushchev, who cannot bear being asked now what he has discussed with others about Balkan affairs, did not find it difficult to take up with Venizelos matters prejudicial to the sovereignty of the Albanian people. This acrobat of a merchant manifested great ingenuity at the time of the counter-revolutionary events in Hungary when he hesitated to go to the aid of the people's government, when he negotiated with Tito about Nagy who had taken refuge in the Yugoslav Embassy in Budapest, or when he bargained as to whom to place at the head of the Socialist Workers' Party of Hungary, Janosh Kadar or some one else. It is this same Khrushchev who was at a loss to know what to say to the journalists who asked him if they could accompany him on his visit to Havana, but who knew well enough how to bargain with the U.S.A., ignoring Cuba altogether, at the time of the Caribbean crisis in October last year. This Soviet counterpart of Basil Zaharoff is skilfully carrying on the armament trade with India and spares no arms for the Indian reactionaries with which to attack the People's Republic of China. It is this same "businessman" who swears by Marx and Lenin, by socialism and communism, and who, when negotiating with the heads of imperialism, sells out the vital interests of the Soviet Union, of the socialist camp and of all the peace-loving peoples in the world for a mere song. The recent treaty on the nuclear test ban is a good example of Khrushchevian salesmanship. In his latest negotiations with the U.S.A. he did not hesitate to put up for auction the

German question and to plot against the international status and sovereignty of the German Democratic Republic, not giving a darn that by so doing he would support the Bonn revanchists, intensify international tension and help the imperialists to prepare for war. He allowed the political corpse in Taiwan to attach its signature to the treaty on the nuclear test ban, without taking into account the fact that this act was directed against the great Chinese people and favours the imperialists. In all these things, it must be added, his partner also plays a good hand. In Tito, Khrushchev has found an experienced companion well versed in political transactions.

Khrushchev was placed in a very embarrassing position when the newspapermen asked him if there were any vestige of the ideological differences left between the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia. He gave no answer to this question but wound up by saying, "These are our own affairs." Khrushchev kept silent on this point, and, for fear of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and other Communist Parties, refrained from publicly declaring that there are no longer ideological differences between him and the Tito clique. The usual statement that "there still exist some ideological differences" is a bluff which the group of revisionist leaders use to hoodwink the masses of Communists. Tito himself confirmed that these differences have disappeared when he told the newspapermen, "Here [i.e., in his talks with Khrushchev] nothing has been said on this issue." And true enough, can anything be said about a problem that does not exist?

Although most of Khrushchev's answers to the questions put to him by the journalists were vague and evasive, there were some that were very explicit and significant such as the answer in which Khrushchev made an appraisal of the socialist camp and its future. He said, "Historically all the socialist countries are bound together by Marxism-Leninism and we uphold the same ideal. **It is wrong to speak of blocs, because these are temporary phenomena.**" (Emphasis is ours — *Ed.*) That Khrushchev has laboured and still labours to split the socialist camp is something of which everybody is well aware. But this time he fully and openly approved of the attitude of Tito, who placed the socialist camp on a par with NATO and who demanded the liquidation of the socialist camp as a condition for his affiliation with the Khrushchev group. As a matter of fact, to deny the socialist camp and identify it with an ordinary military bloc was one of the essential points in the programme of the League of Yugoslav Communists and in the bitter controversies that all the Communist Parties engaged in when the programme was made public. Now apparently for the sake of drawing nearer to Tito, Khrushchev falls headlong into Tito's position and, defying objective reality and the opinion of all fraternal Parties, he proclaims arbitrarily that the socialist camp, or "the socialist bloc", as the Yugoslav revisionists call it, is "a temporary phenomenon".

The objective historical conditions which made the creation of the socialist camp possible and determine its present and future development are already well known to all and it would be superfluous to enumerate them again. But we cannot but point out and sound the warn-

ing that by calling the socialist camp a temporary phenomenon and by adopting Tito's theses on such an important issue as the destiny of the socialist countries and peace-loving peoples throughout the world, Khrushchev's revisionist group is concocting new plots and assaults against the socialist camp. In his feverish rush to meet the imperialists, in the great wave of concessions and of capitulation to the imperialists and in his attempts to hastily conclude new bargains with them to the detriment of the socialist countries, Khrushchev gave ample proof of his impetuosity. As a matter of fact, Tito's eagerness to see the end of the Warsaw Treaty and of the socialist camp is nothing else but the demand of the U.S. imperialists embodied in their policy of the so-called "liberation of the enslaved Eastern European countries". The wide publicity which the Western bourgeois press and the Yugoslav revisionist press have given to Khrushchev's above-mentioned statement shows full well that they see in it not only a promise that Khrushchev will put an end to the unity of the socialist camp but also an assurance that he is again discussing and plotting with Tito on the liquidation of the camp so as to pave the way for the so-called economic and political integration of socialism into capitalism.

It is clearly evident that these peddlers are about to strike new bargains with Kennedy. It is not without purpose that Khrushchev went to see his friend at Brioni precisely at this time. Tito will soon be calling on the U.S. President and there is no doubt that he will transmit to him Khrushchev's new offers. This kind of diplomacy may seem somewhat queer, but Soviet diplomacy has been degraded to such an extent that the minister for

foreign affairs has been turned into a mere puppet and his functions delegated to a foreigner, to an agent of U.S. imperialism, Tito, or to Khrushchev's messenger and beloved son-in-law, Aleksei Adzhubei.

The idyllic talks on the White Villa terrace were supplemented with another of Tito's and Khrushchev's jokes when the journalists asked what went on at the meeting they had with the Christian-Democratic leader and President of the Italian Senate, Cesare Merzagora, who happened to land on the Brioni coast on a supposed pleasure trip. But in this case too the joke is on Khrushchev who, as a sympathizer of Popes and Christian ideology, is establishing further facilities for the Vatican, for diplomatic connections with the Holy See and for digging graves for the Italian Communists. Khrushchev may try to conceal this fact by saying, "Don't stick your nose in our internal affairs", or "This is our own business", but there is no doubt that the Italian Communists will know how to unmask these subversive plans and dangerous manoeuvres of Khrushchev's.

"In his talks with Western journalists at Brioni, where Marshal Tito was also present," the American Associated Press reported, "the leader of the Kremlin made light of and was very rude to the journalists." It does not go on to say why such a thing happened. Amused by his humour the journalists bore his insults with good grace, for the journalists of the big bourgeois press do not want to scratch sore spots. They prefer to watch the tragedy which Khrushchev and Tito are staging for Communists and peace-loving peoples covered up by the jokes of these two circus clowns. But however amusing this dramatic and comic show may have been, one thing must

be made clear: the extravagant use of banal speech and vile invectives, manifestations of arrogance and haughtiness do not indicate the security of the things their perpetrator wants to defend and cannot cover up the things he wants to conceal. On the contrary, as always, so in the case of Khrushchev, they reveal the weakness of his position, they show how low a man can fall when he renounces principles, the bargaining over which constitutes the main purport of his activity.

Now an ever increasing number of new individuals, Communists and non-Party people are rising up in the socialist countries of Europe and elsewhere to resist the treacherous, capitulationist policy of Khrushchev's revisionist group in the Soviet Union. It is precisely this resistance and the weakness of his position that Khrushchev cannot conceal, in spite of all the jokes and vulgarities he may use, all the acrobatics he may indulge in and the plots which he may hatch.

**RESULTS OF
KHRUSHCHEV'S VISIT
TO YUGOSLAVIA**

Article published in the newspaper
Zëri i Popullit

September 13, 1963

A few days ago Khrushchev concluded his visit to Yugoslavia. Both the propaganda machine of the revisionists and the Western press tried to give this visit as much "international political significance" as possible. It is now clear to all that Khrushchev did not go to Yugoslavia for a vacation as stated at first. He went there to complete the process of fully rehabilitating the Tito clique, openly to join with this band of traitors long condemned by all the Communist and Workers' Parties, to hatch new plots against the socialist camp, the international communist movement and peace, and to take another step in his rapprochement with the U.S. imperialists.

These aims of Khrushchev's on this visit are quite obvious from his blatant and unsparing statements about the "successful building of socialism in Yugoslavia", about "the correct Marxist-Leninist line of action and the brilliant merits of the present Yugoslav leaders" headed by his "friend and comrade Tito", about the contribution of the Tito clique to "the development of the principles of peaceful coexistence", "the consolidation of the unity of the communist and workers' movement" and "the creative development of Marxism-Leninism", about the contribution of the Yugoslav leaders to the "consolidation of the anti-imperialist front", about "the superiority of the Yugoslav road to socialism" and particularly about the "workers' self-government" which, it is claimed, deserves special attention and study by other socialist countries,

in order to copy it and about "the great role which Yugoslavia should play in the Balkans", and so on.

Tito, on his part, pointed out that certain differences of views which still exist are losing their significance in the face of their great common goals. He expressed his satisfaction at Khrushchev's high appraisal of his own activity, struggle for "socialism", and spreading of "communist" ideas and spirit in Yugoslavia. He expressed delight at the anti-Marxist, anti-socialist attacks which Khrushchev has launched against the communist movement, the Communist Party of China, the Party of Labour of Albania and other Marxist-Leninist parties.

* * *

The first main conclusion to draw from Khrushchev's visit is that, by rehabilitating the Tito clique completely and joining with it, the Moscow revisionist group has plunged itself deeper into the camp of the enemies of Marxism-Leninism, of socialism and peace, and farther into the mire of betrayal.

In his August 24 speech at Split, Khrushchev publicly declared, "We note with pleasure that the views of the USSR and Yugoslavia are similar on most international issues. The unity of views and actions of the USSR and Yugoslavia on international matters is a factor of paramount importance to world politics. This unity contributes to the development of the principle of peaceful coexistence in relations among all states." This and many other statements of this kind not only show a complete unity of views between Khrushchev and Tito on matters of foreign policy but they also demonstrate that Khrushchev has made Tito his equal partner in directing

world politics. But what role has Khrushchev assigned to his other partners? Apparently, like puppets, they are to blindly follow "the Yugoslav lead" of the revisionist caravan.

In the field of ideology Khrushchev himself has admitted on more than one occasion that complete unity has been achieved on fundamental matters. "For us Soviet Communists," he stressed, "there can be no basic contradictions with the Yugoslav Communists." And to the foreign journalists he said at Brioni on August 28, "We have the same ideas and are guided by the same theory."

There is no need for a guide to a village already in sight. It is now clear to the whole world and there is no special need to publicly acknowledge that Tito and Khrushchev are inspired by the same deep-seated revisionist ideas which have always inspired renegades from Marxism-Leninism and that in their practical splitting and anti-Marxist activity they are guided by the same objectives, which are to quell the revolutionary spirit of the international communist movement, to liquidate socialism and re-establish the rule of imperialism.

In addition to their unity of viewpoints and activities in the fields of politics and ideology, Khrushchev has laid the basis for closer collaboration with the Tito clique in the economic field. The purpose is clear. Side by side with the imperialists, he wants to make a contribution to the maintenance of this clique and keep it on its feet, not only through all-round political and ideological support but also through unlimited economic aid, in order to make Yugoslavia a show-window of revisionist "socialism". At Rakovica Khrushchev stated, "Good economic relations are also being established between

our countries. Compared with 1955, the volume of trade turn-over between our countries has risen nearly six times. In 1963 the exchange of goods is 50 per cent greater than it was last year."

Tito, on his part, confirmed in Velenja on August 30, "It is to the interest of both sides that we should increase and further develop our good relations. And we shall do this. We have, for instance, already reached an agreement to cooperate in certain branches of economy, which will expand through further collaboration." Yugoslavia has consented to participate in the "socialist division of labour". It was finally accorded the post of observer in the Council of Economic Mutual Aid. Tito, of course, has every reason to be satisfied with all this; he is like a horse which feeds in two or more mangers. This gives him a better chance to undermine the socialist camp.

During his sojourn in Yugoslavia, Khrushchev also revealed his determination to uphold the revisionist course of the Belgrade clique and, true enough, this admission made a great hit in, and was enthusiastically welcomed by, the Western press. Khrushchev revealed himself as a supporter of the Yugoslav road to socialism. In order to do this, he did not even hesitate to oppose the Soviet Union's path of building socialism and communism, to openly criticize Soviet methods of economic management, and to eulogize the Yugoslav system of self-government. There are no bounds to betrayal! This is how the Tanjug news agency describes Khrushchev's encounter with the managers of the Rakovica combine in the neighbourhood of Belgrade:

Stressing that in the Soviet Union they stick to the principle of a "single chief", Khrushchev said that he likes the form of workers' councils and that this form is progressive. "We, in our country," Khrushchev continued, "are seeking new forms of management, in which the people can fully express their own will and, therefore, we are interested in your experience." He emphasized again that the experience of Yugoslavia may be valuable to the self-government of Yugoslav workers. A study should be made of things which time has already confirmed. In connection with this, Khrushchev added that he would most certainly send a group of functionaries of the Party, trade unions and economic organs to study in detail these matters of Yugoslav experience.

What is readily apparent is the fact that through its detailed reports and information, the Yugoslav press shed light upon Khrushchev's opinions and remarks which he uttered at his meeting with the managers of the Rakovica combine especially on his high appraisal of the "self-government" and "workers' councils" which, as everybody knows, far from being "progressive forms", are links leading to the restoration of capitalism in the Yugoslav economy. But while the Yugoslav and Western press were making a great noise about these utterances of Khrushchev's, the Soviet press, which specializes in extolling his "sagacity" and in letting no chance go by without singing praises to his "wit" and "resourcefulness", was surprisingly mute on that day. It published not a word of this interview. Apparently, the Moscow revisionists do not feel certain and dare not come out

openly before their own people and praise the revisionist forms of economic management which have nothing in common with socialism and which they themselves not long ago criticized and rejected as anti-Marxist and anti-socialist and as a variant theory of anarcho-syndicalism.

It was precisely the present two secretaries of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, B. Ponomarev and J. Andropov, who in their article "In the Positions of the Old Revisionists" published in the Soviet journal *Komunist*, No. 8, 1960, defined Yugoslav socialism as one which "would please both the Right-wing social-democrats and the bourgeois nationalists and the bourgeoisie as a whole", and ridiculed Tito's statement at the 5th Congress of the Socialist Alliance of the Working People of Yugoslavia that "the other socialist countries would like to see the results of the Yugoslav road in their own practice". They stressed at that time that "socialism can triumph in Yugoslavia only if revisionism is vanquished" and that "the Yugoslav working people cannot be convinced of the story about the false superiority of the Yugoslav road". "Now," they pointed out, "Comrade N. S. Khrushchev's warning from the rostrum of the 21st Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union on the eventual consequences of the so-called Yugoslav road of development, which might lead to the loss of socialist achievements of the Yugoslav people, resound with ever greater force."

But how fast times change! Today the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Khrushchev, personally expresses his wish "to see the results of the Yugoslav road in practice in the Soviet Union". This fact very effectively shows who

is drawing nearer to whom, Khrushchev to Tito, or Tito to Khrushchev. Facts give the most exact answer.

Having secured Khrushchev's approval, Tito proclaimed once more the superiority of the Yugoslav road to socialism and stressed that it was no longer specific to Yugoslavia alone but should be inserted into the basic work of every party in the socialist countries. And the first successes have been manifested, Tito claims, in the Soviet Union during these last ten years. His exact words are: "When speaking of the self-government of workers reference is not made to the problems and needs of a specific country alone. Social self-government is one of the basic ideas of Marx, Engels and Lenin. That is why Comrade Nikita Sergeyevitch Khrushchev attaches great importance to this matter. When we visited the Soviet Union we had opportunity to be convinced that extraordinary progress has been achieved there during these last ten years."

Western observers took great pains to cover up their enthusiasm when Khrushchev approved of the Yugoslav-type of "socialism". They saw in Yugoslavia "a Khrushchev prepared to make many concessions and take many steps ahead". They have long looked on Yugoslavia as "a conveyor-belt" to carry the counter-revolutionary ideas of the West to the East. This is how the London Radio expressed it on August 30:

Many observers consider Khrushchev's interest in the "workers' councils" in Yugoslavia as the most important result of his visit to the Adriatic seacoast. These councils are nothing else but a symbol of Titoite communism, which constitute one of the main charac-

teristics of revisionism, which the Soviet Union and the entire communist world officially condemned less than three years ago. The system of workers' councils in Yugoslavia is half communist and half western. The only danger lies in its eventual falling between the two chairs. This system based on two patterns is still holding its own. That's why Khrushchev is eager to do something similar in Russia. And if he does this he will not only acclaim Tito but will also endorse the western economic system.

The mouthpiece of the big American monopolists, the *New York Times*, wrote:

The most interesting aspect . . . is the very friendly attitude of the Soviet Premier, Khrushchev, towards the Yugoslav system of carrying out orthodox communism. This may give rise to big changes in Moscow's economic organization. Yugoslavia has adopted a large number of ideas from the West, which enables it to play the role of a conveyer-belt to carry western economic ideas to the East.

Under these circumstances, is there any reason for the imperialist West to have the least worry about the results of Khrushchev's visit to Yugoslavia? None whatsoever.

Khrushchev cannot deceive the Soviet people, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the other Communist and Workers' Parties for long by means of demagoguery and with his legend that changes have been made in Yugoslavia towards socialism, that the Yugoslav leaders are correcting their former mistakes, and that Yugoslavia is consequently a country "which is building socialism".

Everybody knows how matters really stand, what "changes" have been made there. Day-to-day experience brings out many facts which go to prove that nothing has changed in Tito's Yugoslavia. Only the grave can straighten a hunchback. Tito himself has often stated that he has discarded nothing from his programme, that "there is no question of any concession" and that he has made no change and intends to make no change whatsoever.

He repeated this once again to Khrushchev's very face. Reassuring his friends in the West publicly, Tito said, "In connection with the visit [of Khrushchev] rumours are already being spread in the West, conjecturing as to who will make concessions. 'Will Tito and the Yugoslav Communists enter the camp or will N.S. Khrushchev make concessions to the Yugoslav Communists on behalf of the Communists of the Soviet Union?' " "This is altogether out of the question," Tito emphasized, "there is no question of any concessions, this matter will not be taken up in the talks." (*Pravda*, August 23.)

A good listener needs only a word. Tito's statements are true as far as he is concerned. Facts show that Tito has made no concessions to Khrushchev, but Khrushchev has made many concessions to Tito. The *Washington Post*, which stands very close to the U.S. Government and especially to the State Department, expressed the idea on August 24 that at the present state of international affairs, especially in the Sino-Soviet conflict, "Khrushchev stands in greater need of Tito than Tito of Khrushchev. Premier Khrushchev is again currying favor with the Yugoslav leader."

Khrushchev's demagogical utterances about the Tito clique having changed and corrected its mistakes aim at proving that Yugoslavia is a real socialist country and that socialism is being built there successfully, so that he may justify his full collaboration with the Tito clique, its final rehabilitation and the inclusion of Yugoslavia in the family of socialist countries and of the League of Yugoslav Communists in the ranks of the international communist movement. But this is one of the most crude and open violations of the 1960 Moscow Statement unanimously approved by all fraternal Parties, in which the Yugoslav revisionists are branded as renegades from Marxism-Leninism and as agents of imperialism, as splitters and underminers of the socialist camp, the international communist movement and the peace-loving forces and states.

But the achievement of full unity with the Tito clique shows clearly once again along which path the Khrushchev group is hastily proceeding. As the popular saying goes, "You judge a man by the friends he keeps." To unite with the Yugoslav revisionists means to unite with the enemies of socialism, renegades from Marxism-Leninism, the splitters of unity and the agents of imperialism who plot against the socialist countries and the entire world revolutionary movement. The Khrushchev group has not only united with the treacherous Tito clique but has launched frenzied attacks on all those Communist Parties which loyally abide by the Moscow Statement of the 81 Communist and Workers' Parties, carry out their international duty and expose the Yugoslav leaders with their revisionist ideas and anti-socialist activities. This means that the Khrushchev group has obliterated all dis-

tinctions between friend and foe, between Marxism-Leninism and revisionism, between champions and splitters of unity and between anti-imperialist fighters and agents of imperialism, and has plunged itself from head to foot into the camp of the enemies of Marxism-Leninism, of socialism, of the peoples and peace in the world.

* * *

The second main conclusion drawn from Khrushchev's visit to the Tito clique, from the public utterances and statements of both, is that they have coordinated their dangerous undermining activities against the socialist camp and the international communist movement, first and foremost against the Marxist-Leninist parties which are struggling, firmly and in a principled manner, against modern revisionism and in defence of the purity of Marxism-Leninism. This is clearly borne out by a series of incontestable facts.

It is now no secret to anyone that Khrushchev and his propaganda agents have for some time ceased to use the term "socialist camp". This was especially noticeable during his stay in Yugoslavia. In no address, in absolutely no speech or record of discussion appearing in print can one find an expression of this kind except at the August 21 banquet when Tito referred to it in a disdainful way. The question here is not merely one of expediency for Khrushchev in an effort to evade all that might prejudice his "cordial relations" with the renegade Tito, the use of such "obsolete" and "unnecessary" terms like "the socialist camp", towards which everybody knows the Yugoslav revisionists maintain a completely negative and hostile attitude. The fact is that Khrushchev upholds

and is fully at one with Tito's hostile attitude towards the socialist camp. When a foreign journalist asked him at Brioni whether "the fact that Yugoslavia is a non-aligned country will be in the way of Soviet-Yugoslav cooperation", Khrushchev answered, "No!" and added, "Historically all the socialist countries share the same Marxist-Leninist position, for we are bound by common ideas and are guided by one single theory. While expressions like 'blocs' and so on are 'temporary phenomena'."

What does this mean? What blocs does he refer to? It is publicly known that the Yugoslav revisionists consider the socialist camp as a "bloc", that when they speak about the so-called "neutrality" or "non-alignment" of Yugoslavia, they pretend that not only they stand aloof from blocs and military organizations but they stand outside and above camps. Under these circumstances Khrushchev's statement against the so-called "blocs" gives rise to two inevitable conclusions:

First, Khrushchev agrees in full with Tito's reactionary position, regarding the socialist camp as "a military bloc", and a negative phenomenon that has led to the aggravation of the international situation and as something "temporary". This is a hostile attitude which aims at liquidating the great socialist camp, the main historical achievement of the world revolutionary movement.

Secondly, in this way Khrushchev upholds and legalizes the demagogic manoeuvres of the Tito clique on the so-called "neutrality" and "non-alignment" of Yugoslavia. But how can there be a socialist country which is "neutral" in the great historical struggle between the two camps, the socialist and imperialist camps? There was a

time when Khrushchev himself unmasked and rejected this absurd pretension of the Tito clique. "The Yugoslav leaders," he declared at the 21st Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, "claim that they stand outside all blocs, above the camps. Yet in point of fact they are in the Balkan bloc, which consists of Yugoslavia, Turkey and Greece. . . . The leaders of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia resent our telling them that they are sitting on two chairs. They insist that they are sitting on their own Yugoslav chair. But for some reason this Yugoslav chair is held up by the American monopolies! And it is precisely for this reason that this 'non-bloc' position of the leaders of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia and the neutrality they extol so highly smell heavily of the American monopolies, which nourish 'Yugoslav socialism'. The history of the class struggle knows of no case when the bourgeoisie materially or morally supported its class enemy, assisted it to build socialism."

Thus, Khrushchev has now decided to strike out the socialist camp and has not hesitated to come out into the open about it. This is not only a big concession of principle to Tito's revisionist and anti-socialist position but also a real betrayal of the vital interests of socialism and an attempt to undermine the socialist camp itself and to liquidate it.

To facilitate his activities to undermine and split the socialist camp, the international communist movement and their unity based on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, Khrushchev deemed it necessary to revive the idea of pan-Slavism during his visit to Yugoslavia. Right at the start he

spoke of "our traditional friendship", "our common historical destiny" and "our final common goal", implying and stressing in this way the special connections between peoples of the same ethnic origin. It is not the first time that the Khrushchev group, departing from the Marxist-Leninist class position, has tried to build its political platform regarding the relations between states and Parties on such ethnic, racial and even religious grounds, going so far as to make one effort after another to get closer to the Pontiff of Rome in order to win the support of Catholics. But to replace the class principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism with pan-Slavism or with other similar non-Marxist ideas means to undermine the very basis of international solidarity and unity, and of the relations among the peoples of the socialist countries and the Communist and Workers' Parties. It means to vitiate and damage the cause of socialism. This is one of the many proofs that point to the ultimate and hopeless ideological degeneration of the Khrushchev group.

Khrushchev did not even fail to assign a special, if not a decisive, role to Yugoslavia in the Balkans and even in the world!

It was for this purpose that in his speech at Velenja he extolled in a one-sided way the fight of the Yugoslav peoples against the fascist invaders by deliberately belittling the great contribution of the other Balkan peoples in the anti-fascist war. Of course, the peoples of Yugoslavia waged a really heroic war for the liberation of their country, but the other Balkan peoples also shed a lot of blood in that war. But by setting one people against another and lavishing biased praises on the struggle of

one people and deliberately ignoring the contribution and struggle of other peoples, Khrushchev reveals once again his divisive and provocative aim which is to incite the nationalist and chauvinist passions of the friends he supports. Khrushchev took this occasion to fondle Tito's old dream of a special role in the Balkans for his hegemony in a type of "Balkan federation". During this visit Khrushchev's political and moral Machiavellism came out in all its nakedness.

Khrushchev and Tito puffed themselves up by posing as lords over the destiny of the Balkans. When a foreign journalist asked them at Brioni about this matter, observers could not help but notice Khrushchev's annoyance in his retort: "Why do you stick your nose into our internal affairs?" Just what lies hidden behind the phrase "our internal affairs" was brought to light by the British news agency Reuter, which wrote on August 18: "The possibility of new Balkan projects, whereby Yugoslavia would play a primary role, is not to be excluded." The peoples of the Balkans are justified in asking: Since when have Balkan affairs become Khrushchev's and Tito's "internal affair"? Who gave them the exclusive right to speak and act in the name of the Balkan peoples, to bargain and distribute roles behind their back and to their disadvantage?

But who are the Tito clique to which Khrushchev intends "to trust the destiny of the Balkans"? And what is the "special role" which Khrushchev has assigned to them? Our people as well as other Balkan peoples, particularly those of the socialist countries, are very well acquainted with the features of this band of renegades and agents of imperialism; we are well aware of their

intentions and role. Are we perhaps to forget the active role of the Tito clique in the Hungarian counter-revolution? Can it be that the subversive activity and plots of the Yugoslav revisionist agents, which have now and then been detected and exposed in Hungary, Bulgaria, Albania and Rumania have been so soon forgotten? The Albanian people will never forget Koçi Xoxe and Co's betrayal and plot against the sovereignty of our country, which was hatched by the Yugoslav revisionists in collaboration with the Greek fascist monarchists, the U.S. 6th Fleet and a handful of Albanian traitors; nor will they forget the numerous acts of provocation and hostility against the People's Republic of Albania and our people. Well, the Tito clique have in no way given up this type of action, and have changed none of their criminal intentions and methods. And it is precisely for these agents of imperialism, this "Trojan horse", that Khrushchev has opened the door so that they can penetrate into the socialist camp, act against the Soviet Union and other socialist countries in Europe, as well as against the socialist countries in the Balkans.

During his recent visit to Yugoslavia, Khrushchev coordinated his line of action against all the socialist countries with the renegade Tito. This was also evident in the provocative attitude of Khrushchev and the Yugoslav revisionist leaders towards our country. Tito accompanied his "dear friend" to the northern borders of our Fatherland in a demonstrative way. Khrushchev did not come to Titograd to pay a "cursory" visit to the ethnographic museum of Cettigne and see the relics of Nyegosh. He made a tour of inspection along the Albanian-Yugoslav border, in order to express his support for and approval

of the deep-seated hostile stand and intentions of the Yugoslav revisionist leaders against our people, and their notorious encroachment on the freedom and independence of our socialist Fatherland.

It is clear that "the special role" of Titoite Yugoslavia in the Balkans, and even in the world (!), is directed against the vital interests of the socialist camp and the international communist movement; that its aim is to undermine and split them; and that it is a component part of the campaign of the Khrushchev-Tito revisionist united front against those fraternal Parties which firmly uphold the principles of Marxism-Leninism, first and foremost, the Communist Party of China and the Party of Labour of Albania. This is best borne out by the fact that Khrushchev's entire visit to Yugoslavia was accompanied by a frenzied campaign of monstrous, coordinated attacks launched by Khrushchev and Tito and others against Marxist-Leninist parties.

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The third main conclusion drawn from Khrushchev's visit to Yugoslavia is that he has moved closer to the imperialists, particularly to the U.S. imperialists.

The fact is publicly known — and Tito has more than once confirmed it by his own words — that "socialist" Yugoslavia has been turned into a "bridge between the East and the West". Khrushchev is now openly using this "bridge" not only to get closer but actually to cross over to the West.

The establishment of a direct line of telephone communication between the Kremlin and the White House was recently inaugurated. This line is called "the hot

line", through which Khrushchev may talk directly to Kennedy and carry on further negotiations at the expense of the peoples. But Khrushchev and Kennedy also have a living telephone "line", Tito, who provides good service in a "creative way" to their common purpose.

Expressing his great satisfaction with the conclusion of the tripartite Moscow treaty, which is another capitulation of the Khrushchev group to the imperialists, a fraud and betrayal of the cause of socialism, Tito said in his speech at the banquet given by Khrushchev on August 21, "This is of course still too little. There is much yet to be done. . . ." Tito, the inveterate agent of imperialism, is not satisfied with the results attained so far, he wants further steps to be taken along the road which he clearly pointed out long ago to his revisionist colleagues. This is the road leading to the "economic and political integration of the world", in other words, the road towards the gradual and peaceful integration of socialism into capitalism to which Kennedy has also referred.

Analyzing Khrushchev's public utterances in Yugoslavia, everybody notices that he not only refrained from attacking U.S. imperialism openly but not once did he even refer to it by name. He confined himself to the usual terms of the revisionists regarding "the most aggressive circles of imperialism", which he mentioned only on rare occasions. The AFP news agency pointed out, "This moderation of speech may be explained, of course, by Khrushchev's desire to maintain the tone of 'peaceful coexistence', and also to avoid placing the Yugoslavs in an embarrassing position with regards to Washington." But this is not all. Khrushchev never launched an open attack against the imperialists, because

his views regarding imperialism in general and U.S. imperialism in particular are the same as those of Tito's, and because he has now proceeded along the road to full reconciliation and rapprochement with the imperialists. Western observers pointed out on this occasion, quite correctly, that pending the decision of the U.S. Congress on the re-establishment of the "most favored nation" clause in trade relations with Yugoslavia, Tito will have something to report and bring as compensation to President Kennedy at the White House on the occasion of his proposed trip to America, that is, Khrushchev's newer and more moderate attitude.

The attitude of the Tito clique towards U.S. imperialism is no secret to anyone nor is the attitude of U.S. imperialism towards the Tito clique. Their relations are like those of master and servant. It is clear that by lining up and joining with the servant and agent of imperialism, who is being nourished and kept on his feet by American dollars, Khrushchev is taking a big step towards approaching and joining with his master — U.S. imperialism. Everybody sees this. They see and condemn this open betrayal of Khrushchev who, by fraternizing with Tito, is spreading the carpet for the day not so far away when the imperialists and revisionists will celebrate Khrushchev's complete rapprochement with John Kennedy. Facts are now so clear that even those who have for some time habitually followed Khrushchev in his great betrayal can now see it. A truly great responsibility towards their Parties, their peoples and the international communist movement falls on those leaders who have had and still have reservations about Tito particularly, and about what Khrushchev and Tito are doing, and yet

who keep silent, are afraid to say what they think and dare not express their opinion. Friendship with Tito leads to friendship with Kennedy as well. Are all those leaders who call themselves Communists but who keep silent in favor of this, too? The Khrushchev group is trying to persuade the Communists and people that unity with Titoite Yugoslavia means unity with socialist and anti-imperialist forces and serves the interests of the socialist camp and the international communist movement.

In order to judge whether this union really has such a character or not, let us look at how the West reacted to Khrushchev's visit to Yugoslavia and whether the capitalist world was perturbed by Belgrade's "new approach" to Moscow.

Facts show that far from being disconcerted, the West and the imperialist powers were pleased with and hailed this visit. In one of its reports from Belgrade, the *Washington Post* said, "Western diplomats are pleased with the tone and results of the talks between Tito and Khrushchev." Therefore, instead of suspending its loans to Tito for its "rapprochement with Moscow", Washington is taking steps to increase them.

This fact alone suffices to prove how false Khrushchev's demagogic claim is that unity with Tito means unity with the socialist and anti-imperialist forces. If it were so, if the sharp edge of this unity were directed against imperialism, then from the imperialists we would not hear praise and congratulations for the Yugoslav road and the rapprochement of the Tito clique with Khrushchev, but we would hear the same anti-socialist and counter-revolutionary attacks which the imperialists

usually launch against their class enemy — the proletariat and its Marxist-Leninist parties and against the socialist and anti-imperialist forces in the world.

It is not difficult to understand from this who will benefit from such rapprochement and unity. The imperialists have good reasons to welcome and support this rapprochement and unity, because in it they see the establishment of the revisionist united front against socialism and all forces of the world revolutionary, anti-imperialist movement.

It is noticeable that Khrushchev's visit to Yugoslavia ended with no big rally in Belgrade or final statement or communiqué. This is by no means casual, for Khrushchev and Tito themselves stressed more than once that, although it was officially announced that Khrushchev went to Yugoslavia for a period of rest, this visit was a business one. In reality, under these circumstances, only business could be the outcome of the Tito-Khrushchev talks. Such is in fact the outcome of a conspiracy of plotters who are trying to hush up their crimes.

Both Tito and Khrushchev are fond of making a noise. They would have liked publicly to announce their full unity, but their career demanded restraint lest they should expose their plans and damage their position.

Tito, of course, was eager to have a rally held and official documents published, for that would officially put an end to the Moscow Statement, rehabilitate him completely, grant legal status to the "special" socialism of Yugoslavia, finally include the League of Yugoslav Communists within the ranks of the international communist movement as a "Marxist-Leninist party" and sanction at the same time their joint views on present

world developments and problems of the international communist movement. In other words, Tito would have liked everything Khrushchev said in secret talks and in public speeches in favor of the Yugoslav leaders and their common ideas to be proclaimed in a joint official document.

But Khrushchev feels obliged to maintain his mask for a while because however carefully a joint official document was drawn up, it would still be contrary to the Moscow Statement. Khrushchev is obliged to resort to manoeuvring and deceit by still swearing by the Moscow Statement. He reckons that the work is done, that is, Tito has been rehabilitated, the Moscow Statement has been violated, his activities have been coordinated with those of the Yugoslav revisionists and they hatched up plots together, yet all these things have been done without being sanctioned by any official document, which would provide Marxist-Leninists with more weapons.

Tito's dissatisfaction with this was clearly noticed in his farewell speech at the airport. While Khrushchev confined his speech to generalities, Tito defined specifically the results of his guest's visit and talks, enumerated the points they had agreed upon and did it in such a way as to leave no doubt that he intended to remind his friend and not let him forget the pledges he had given during this trip.

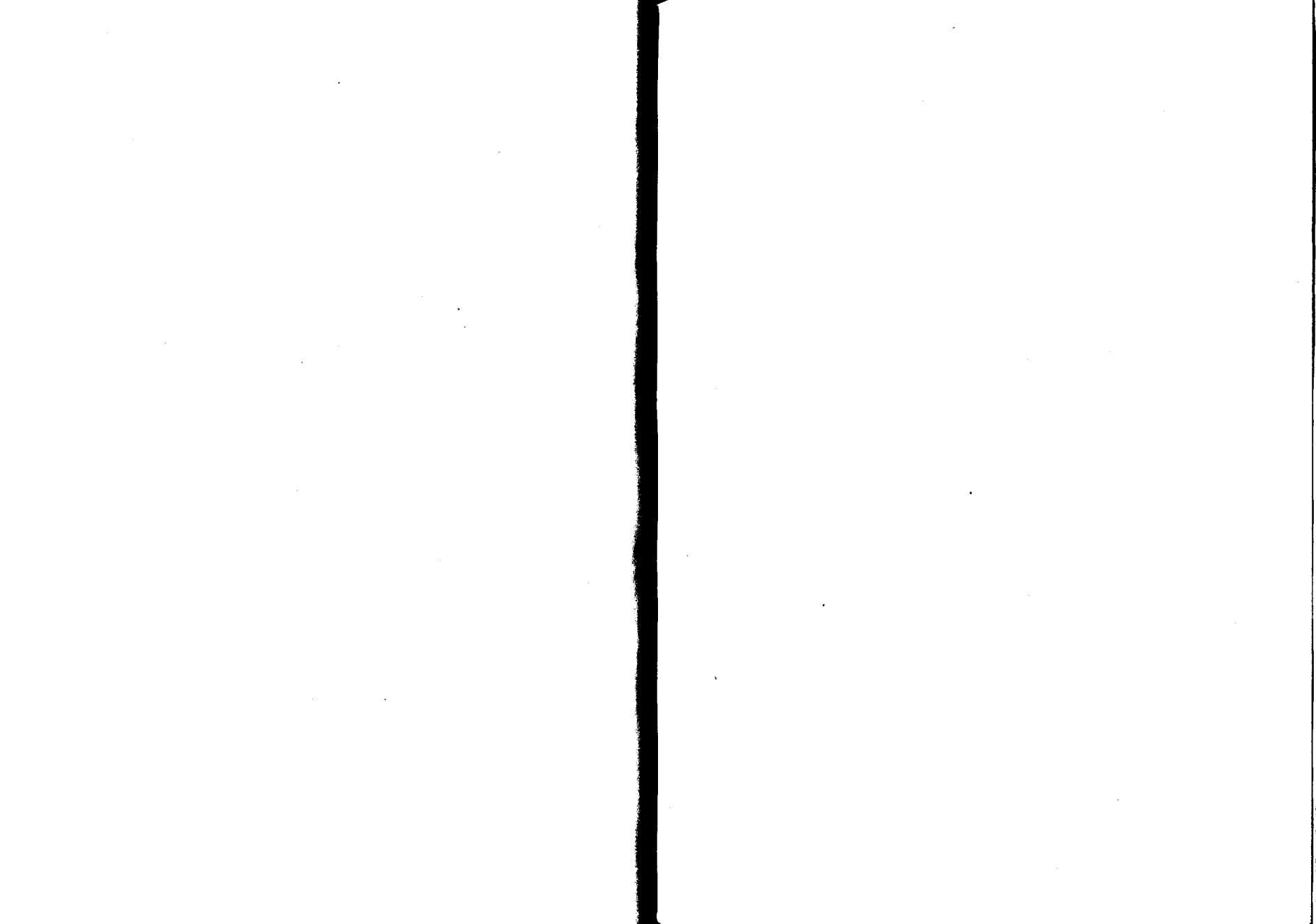
These are the main results of Khrushchev's visit to Yugoslavia and of his talks with the Tito clique there.

The whole world is becoming more and more convinced that by his policy of fraternizing with the Belgrade renegades and his rapprochement with the imperialists, Khrushchev is betraying the Soviet people and the other

peoples of the socialist countries, the international communist movement and the national-liberation and anti-imperialist struggle of the peoples of the world. Khrushchev had the audacity to say at Brioni, "I have much to be proud of!" Yes, indeed, Khrushchev has much "to be proud of". He may boast that he is carrying out the aims of the frenzied class enemies of socialism and of the Soviet Union, he may boast that he is seriously endangering the achievements of the Great October Socialist Revolution, that he is wrecking the socialist camp and splitting the international communist movement for the benefit of international reaction and U.S. imperialism.

But the peoples and history will not forget, nor will they forgive him. The Soviet people have come triumphantly through many grave trials in their life. Their Communist Party and all peoples, Communists and revolutionaries of the world will never forgive Khrushchev for his high treason against Marxism-Leninism and the international working class, against all peoples, socialism and peace.

Maintaining their revolutionary vigilance, and keeping up the spirit of proletarian internationalism and unbounded loyalty to Marxism-Leninism, and the interests of the proletariat and of the people, true Marxist-Leninists and revolutionaries will fight selflessly and with determination against modern revisionism, imperialism and reaction, to defend the purity of Leninist teachings and strive for the triumph of socialism, communism and peace in the world.



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