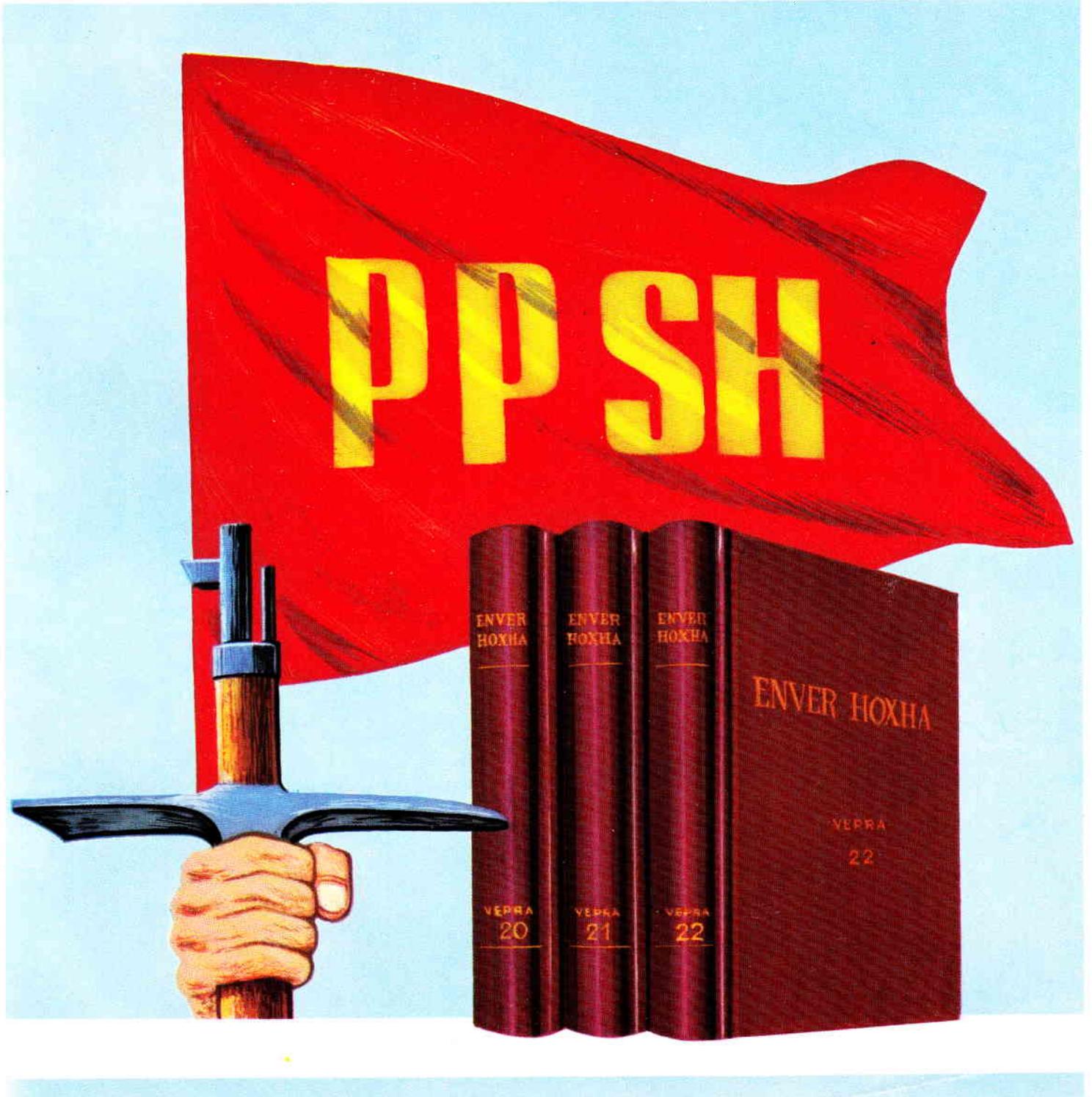


Albania today

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The editorial office of the review «Albania Today» is publishing in the present issue a part of the documents of the volumes 20, 21 and 22 of the works of comrade ENVER HOXHA, which include speeches, talks and writings of the year 1961, year of the ever greater intensification of the struggle of the Party of Labour of Albania against the revisionist leadership of the Soviet Party and State which, through most vicious means, tried to force the PLA and the Albanian people to their knees.

This issue includes:

- **The open political and economic pressure of the Soviet revisionists will fail in the face of the determination and iron will of the Albanian people and communists**
- **Slanders and pressures do not frighten us - We do not fall on our knees**
- **We must give the open attacks of the Soviet revisionists the reply they deserve**
- **The dictatorship of the proletariat in Albania is alive, vigilant and active**
- **An act of unprecedented hostility against the PRA and the Albanian people**
- **Speeches, reports and other writings.**



ENVER HOXHA

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Recently the 21st and 22nd volumes of the works of comrade Enver Hoxha came off the press in Albania. These two volumes as well as volume 20 which came off the press at the beginning of February, include speeches, talks and writings of comrade Enver Hoxha of the year 1961.

1961 was the year of a fierce struggle in the ranks of the international communist movement. The modern revisionists, with the Khrushchevite revisionists at the head, after having been badly exposed at the Moscow Meeting, intensified their disruptive activity, pressures and blackmail against the parties which were opposed to revisionism and particularly against the Party of Labour of Albania. In these conditions, the Party of Labour of Albania considered it as a duty of first-rate importance to vigilantly defend and consistently continue its correct revolutionary line. A major contribution in this direction was the IV Congress of the PLA which was held from February the 13th to the 20th 1961. This congress was another powerful blow against the anti-Marxist views and hostile activity and aims of the modern revisionists. Unanimously approving the historic report delivered by comrade Enver Hoxha as well as the activity of the delegation of the PLA at the Moscow Meeting of the 81 communist and workers' parties, the IV Congress of the PLA demonstrated the steel-like unity of the Party of Labour of Albania, the maturity, courage, valiance, the fighting spirit and firm determination to always advance on the correct Marxist-Leninist course.

The Soviet leadership with Khrushchev at the head, was infuriated by the clear-cut, principled, Marxist-Leninist stand of the PLA, and consistent on its anti-Marxist and anti-Albanian course, suspended all the agreements concluded and prepared the economic, political and military blockade against socialist Albania. It accompanied this blockade with secret and open activity which reached its peak at the XXII Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. From the tribune of this congress Khrushchev publicly attacked the PLA and made open counterrevolutionary calls to strangle socialist Albania and to bring down its Marxist-Leninist leadership. In December 1961 Khrushchev went even further; he went as far as to sever diplomatic relations with Albania.

During this period the Party of Labour of Albania maintained a cautious but resolute and consistent stand. This is clearly seen in all the writings, talks and speeches of comrade Enver Hoxha.

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He wisely clarified the communists and all the working masses ideologically and politically, he mobilised them to overcome with success the many difficulties and obstacles which had been and would be created for them and at the same time he defended with courage the principles of Marxism - Leninism, exposing with arguments all the anti - Marxist actions of the Khrushchevite leadership of the Soviet Union and its satellites.

Comrade Enver Hoxha made a profound scientific analysis on a sound Marxist - Leninist basis of the most acute international problems in general and the Albanian - Soviet relations in particular in his speech delivered on November 7, 1961, on the occasion of the 20th anniversary of the founding of the PLA. Through this historic speech he publicly exposed the betrayal of the Soviet leaders with N. Khrushchev at the head, their revisionist and capitulationist line which had brought about the disruption of the socialist camp and the international communist and workers' movement, as well as the ruin of the Soviet - Albanian relations.

Although 15 years have gone by since the time when the documents of these volumes have been written, they are of major current importance for the communists and all the genuine revolutionaries as they shed light on the traitorous, anti - Marxist and counterrevolutionary course which the Khrushchevite clique of the Soviet Union had taken as early as then. At the same time they show the high maturity in the implementation of the Marxist-Leninist principles and the consistency of the correct revolutionary line followed unwaveringly, even at the most difficult moments, by the Party of Labour of Albania and comrade Enver Hoxha, their profound loyalty towards the people, the homeland and socialism, the determination not to bow before any enemy and situation, before any pressure, blockade or blackmail, but to forge ahead with Marxist-Leninist valiance and courage.

Taking into account the many demands it has received, the editorial board of the review «Albania Today» is publishing in the present issue a part of the materials of the volumes 20, 21 and 22 of comrade Enver Hoxha's works, with the conviction that they will help the readers become better aware of who the revisionist leaders of the Soviet Union are and what base means and methods they have used and still use to realise their base aims and to stifle the voice of the truth.

THE OPEN POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC PRESSURE OF THE SOVIET REVISIONISTS WILL FAIL IN THE FACE OF THE DETERMINATION AND IRON WILL OF THE ALBANIAN PEOPLE AND COMMUNISTS

Letter sent to the CC of the CPSU

January 14, 1961

TO THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE SOVIET UNION

Moscow

By means of a note of the Soviet embassy in Tirana, on January 6, 1961, the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania was informed of the reply of the Government of the Soviet Union concerning the conclusion of the clearing agreement between the People's Republic of Albania and the USSR for the period 1961-1965, and the signing of the agreement on the credit accorded to the People's Republic of Albania by the Soviet Union for the mechanisation of agriculture. In its reply the Soviet government, after announcing that it does not accept the proposal of the Albanian government to send a deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers to Moscow for this purpose once again «reaffirms that the economic issues, which, as is known, are directly linked with the normalisation of relations, can be discussed in the existing conditions, only at the highest level of the parties and governments».

Such an attitude on the part of the Soviet government does not seem to us just, in conformity with the very question under discussion, and even less in conformity with the character of relations among the member countries of the socialist camp.

The Soviet Union has helped the Albanian people and the People's Republic of Albania in their efforts to eliminate the centuries-old backwardness as quickly as possible and to build socialism. The Party of Labour of Albania, our Government and the entire Albanian people have always been grateful for and appreciative of this assistance, and have always considered and still consider it as an expression of proletarian internationalism, as assistance between comrade and comrade, between brother and brother.

In this spirit our Central Committee and Government turned to the Central Committee of the Communist Party and the Government of the Soviet Union for new credits for the successful realisation of the 3rd five-year plan 1961-1965, of the development of the people's economy of Albania.

As is known, on the basis of talks held in Moscow in regard to this question in December 1958, between the representatives of the parties and governments of the two countries at the highest level, the Soviet Union accorded the People's Republic of Albania a credit for the period 1959-1965 and the relevant agreement, together with the lists of the works to be extended or built in Albania with the assistance

of the Soviet Union on the basis of this credit, was signed in Tirana on July 3, 1959. Likewise, in response to the request of the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania, on April 30, 1960, for a special credit for agricultural machinery and chemical fertilisers, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union agreed to accord the People's Republic of Albania another credit for this purpose and on July 25, 1960 the Soviet government presented the Albanian government the relevant draft-agreement for signature. As to exchanges on a clearing basis for the period 1961-1965 after the talks held for this purpose, the relevant protocol has been signed by the government delegations of our two countries, since April 3, 1959.

In such conditions, considering all these issues decided at the highest level of the parties and governments of the two countries and properly concluded, the Albanian government, proposed that the agreement on clearing for 1961-1965 and the one presented by the Soviet government on the credit for the mechanisation of agriculture should be signed by the deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers and chairman of the State Planning Commission of the People's Republic of Albania. It is clear that no question had remained unsettled, except some changes of objects sought by the Albanian government through the note of the Albanian embassy in Moscow on the 28th of October 1960, and which could have been settled quite easily by the two delegations.

Here it is opportune to mention that a few months ago the Soviet government itself considered the issues in the same way, and showed itself ready to send the Minister of Foreign Trade of the Soviet Union to Albania for the signing of these agreements. When we were informed by the Soviet side that he was unable to come to Albania, for health reasons, the necessary official approaches were made from our side so that an Albanian government delegation, headed by the deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers and chairman of the State Planning Commission, would go to Moscow.

As can be seen, everything is very clear and the proposal of the Albanian government to send the said delegation for the above purpose, is completely normal and in order. In these circumstances, we are rightfully astonished at the stand now maintained by the Soviet government on these questions and we cannot understand from what bases it is proceeding

in unilaterally demanding the re-examination of the above mentioned issues, discussed and decided at the highest level of the parties and governments of the two countries and definitely settled. In its reply of January 6, 1961 the Soviet government also makes allusions to doubts about the relations between our two states and speaks of their normalisation.

In connection with this attitude of the Soviet government, we consider it opportune to express to you frankly our opinion that this attitude of the Government of the Soviet Union is not correct in principle and does not conform in practice to the real state of the facts and the issue under discussion. By mixing state relations with those between parties, the Soviet government, improperly and in a manner unacceptable in the relations between our socialist countries is trying to impose its will on the Party of Labour of Albania to send the main representative of the Party to talk about these issues.

Our view is that the issues raised by the Soviet government have a distorted character and can be rightfully considered as economic pressures exerted on our state and the Party of Labour of Albania on the eve of its IV Congress, in order to cause it economic and other difficulties. We think that the relations between our two states are quite normal and in questioning their true character, the Soviet government is making a very wrong and unilateral assessment, with which we cannot reconcile ourselves.

We want to point out that the Party of Labour of Albania and the Albanian government have considered and will always consider the meeting of delegations of our two parties and governments at the highest or any other level as a pleasure. But in such conditions as the Soviet government presents the issue, the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania does not find it reasonable nor proper to send a top level delegation. First, because, as it was stated above, the issues concerned have been examined and decided definitely by the two sides, in full agreement and at the highest level, and second, because the Soviet government raises these issues in an incorrect way, contrary to the spirit of relations between socialist countries, hence, unacceptable to us.

The Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania hopes that the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union will take measures so that in the future, too, the relations between our two countries will continue on the correct course of the friendly relations which have existed for

a long time, relations which have closely linked our two countries and peoples. The Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania hopes that the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union will take the necessary measures so that the delegation appointed by the Albanian government can come to Moscow as soon as possible and, with the representatives of the Soviet government, sign the accords concerning the previously concluded agreements.

The Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania would like to point out to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union that, if things proceed in the way that the Soviet governments presents the issues, in connection with the relations between our two countries, seeking to create difficulties for the socialist construction in Albania, that is a hopeless course. Naturally, the Soviet government would bear responsibility for the consequences these actions would have on the Albanian-Soviet relations, actions which are incompatible with the practice of relations among the Marxist parties and socialist countries heretofore. The Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania trusts that the artificial obstacles raised to the Party of Labour of Albania and to a friendly and allied country, a Marxist Party and a small socialist country which are fighting unwaveringly, in the conditions of the hostile geographic encirclement, against the imperialists and the enemies of Marxism-Leninism, the Yugoslav revisionists in defence of the interests not only of the Albanian people, but also of all the socialist countries, will be removed.

The Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania points out that whatever circumstances may present themselves for the Party of Labour of Albania and the Albanian people, who are determined to face any difficulty with heroism, the friendship with the great Soviet people will remain inviolable.

We hope that the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union will carefully examine these important questions and will give us a reply within a short time, so that the said agreements will be signed as soon as possible.

On instruction
of the Central Committee of the PLA

First Secretary
ENVER HOXHA

SLANDERS AND PRESSURES DO NOT FRIGHTEN US - WE DO NOT FALL ON OUR KNEES -

From the conversation with the delegation of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union which participated in the IV Congress of the PLA¹

February 20, 1961

The first to speak was P. Pospelov, candidate of the presidium of the CC of the CPSU and head of the delegation of this party to the IV Congress of the PLA, who said that the purpose of the request by the Soviet delegation for this meet-

ing was «to talk about some issues which have to do with our comradely mutual relations.» After having said that true, «a great deal was said at your Congress about strengthening the friendship between the Albanian people and the Soviet people»,

but that they had information that «the role of the Soviet Union is negated in Albania», «the Soviet specialists are not well treated», and that «offensive things are being said about the Soviet leadership», he committed a series of slanders against the Party of Labour of Albania and its leadership and tried to exert pressure on it. After our comrades, had heard the representative of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union patiently and with composure, the floor was taken by

COMRADE ENVER HOXHA: We listened with much attention to your words, comrade Pospelov. In regard to the love and loyalty of our Party and people towards the Soviet Union and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, we have shown this in life with deeds. We desire close friendship with the Soviet Union and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union on the Marxist-Leninist road. Do not think that we believe that this close friendship will be strengthened through the «holy spirit». We know that this friendship can be realised by implementing the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism correctly and consistently. We have never wished, and do not wish, ill to the Soviet Union. On the contrary, we have loved the Soviet Union and still do. Let him who wants to disbelieve these ardent feelings of our people and Party, we march on the road which Marxism-Leninism and our Party teach us.

There are people in the world who speak words of love for the Soviet Union and the Soviet people. But a wise saying of our people goes: «When the basket is full of figs, everybody becomes a friend», whereas we Albanians, love our friends both in good times and in difficult times. If anything bad were to happen to the Soviet Union, if a difficult situation is created for it, we shall be among the first to spring to its defence and not the Gomulka²⁾ and company. Nikita Khrushchev has told me that «Gomulka acts like a fascist», while on the other hand Mikoyan³⁾ has told me that «comrade Gomulka is an outstanding Marxist-Leninist!». Gomulka uttered all those vile slanders addressed to our Party, our delegation and myself personally who were representing our Party at the Moscow Meeting. He said that we must examine the question of Albania within the Warsaw Treaty. You yourself stated here that Gomulka and others like him say many things against the Party of Labour of Albania and its leadership. Information about what he is saying comes to us from many comrades of other parties, but he and everyone else should understand thoroughly that we do not live under the shadow of Gomulka. I say that the words which such people utter, making the accusation that our Party allegedly does not love the Soviet Union, have absolutely no foundation.

It is a fact that we have disagreements with the leadership of the Soviet Union at the present time. This is clear. When the occasion arose we told you our criticisms frankly, just as our Party teaches us, just as Lenin has taught us. However the thing is that these criticisms were seen in a distorted way from your side, you took them badly.

At no time has it ever crossed our mind that we are «interfering in the the internal affairs of the Soviet leadership as you said.» This is absolutely untrue. The Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union are masters in their own house, therefore we have not interfered and do not interfere in the internal affairs of your Party. But we, likewise, do not allow

the Soviet leadership to interfere in the internal affairs of our Party in any way. Every party is master in its own house.

But should these disagreements which exist between our parties be resolved? We think that they absolutely must be resolved, but only in a Marxist-Leninist way. For us there is no other way. This is in the interests of our Party and people, as well as in the interests of the Communist Party and the peoples of the Soviet Union and the whole international communist movement.

We have also held bilateral talks to resolve these disagreements. The last meeting is that held between the representatives of our two parties in Moscow⁴⁾. Mikoyan, Kozlov⁵⁾ and Andropov⁶⁾ were at this meeting from your side. The instructions which the Central Committee of our Party gave us are that we should march ahead, on the Marxist-Leninist road. For us there is no other road.

You may have your opinion, but we have our opinion too. Our opinion is that the disagreements which have arisen between our two parties cannot be resolved in one day. It would be deceiving ourselves to think that they can be settled within one day. Therefore we must put our common will to it and resolve the disagreements gradually, in the correct Marxist-Leninist way, in complete equality. This is the way in which they must be overcome.

However, Mikoyan and Kozlov received the comrades of the delegation of the PLA in an unfriendly manner, indeed they went as far as to say to our comrades, «You will see what difficulties will occur in your Party and among your people with this change you are making in your relations with the Soviet Union!». It seems to us that the attitude of the Soviet leaders towards our hand of friendship was wrong and judgement of the issues on their part was, likewise, very wrong. They should have known our Party and people, the line and the feelings of our people and Party, better. The relations between our two countries cannot be treated in the way they treated them.

Let us take the economic aid. In the opinion of Kozlov and Mikoyan the whole problem rested on this. This was apparent especially in the attitude maintained towards our economic delegation that went to the Soviet Union. This delegation was kept hanging about in Moscow for whole months. Our people go to Moscow, wander round and round and are unable to conclude anything with you because of the attitude you maintain towards them. Do you think we do not understand your contemptuous attitude? Comrade Mehmet was right when he said, a little while ago, that when Yugoslavs come, you conclude the talks within ten days! Likewise, the War Minister of Indonesia went to Moscow, and you immediately gave him large credits for armaments, while little Albania, which is looking down the wolf's throat, with which you have signed agreements, and which is led by a Marxist party, is neglected.

The Soviet government also puts in doubt the aid in credits the Soviet Union has granted us for the 3rd five-year plan, on which official acts have been signed. Things have reached such a point that the Soviet government, through an official note, has sought to compel our Party and Government to send a top level delegation to Moscow to «reconsider» these agreements. Naturally, to our Party and government, such an attitude on your part is unacceptable, unfriendly, and not right at all.

We have set out all the reasons why we refused to hold this meeting in a very comradely letter to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. But it must be pointed out that, immediately after the Bucharest Meeting, the letters which our Central Committee has sent to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union have all remained unanswered. This is neither fair, friendly, nor correct. You said that you have answered our letters, but we say to you: Have a look because perhaps they are tucked away in the drawers of your offices, for we have received no reply whatever. Even the simplest rules of relations between parties require that a letter must be answered by letter⁷) but, I repeat, we have received no reply from you.

No answer is being given from your side likewise to the letters of our Government about many other problems, particularly about problems of the army, which are linked with the defence of our country and the training of the army, based, of course on the agreements we have with the Soviet government. We think that on all these issues, the Central Committee of the Communist Party and the Soviet government should have replied, either positively or negatively, to our Central Committee and Government. We need one-another's assistance and this assistance must have a thoroughly internationalist content.

There are rumours that we Albanians are allegedly not satisfied with the aid the Soviet Union has given us! We have said and continue to say that the Soviet Union has given our people aid. We have never concealed and shall not conceal from our people the assistance the Soviet Union has given and continues to give us. I want to point out also that we consider as valuable and very necessary the aid the Soviet Union has granted us for the 3rd five-year plan for the further development of the economy of our country. We need help in the future too, but we do not beg this help. We seek help from anyone only on a Marxist course. I told Nikita Khrushchev to his face that we do not violate principles, that we are even prepared to tighten our belts, but we must live like Marxists. If the Soviet leadership does not want to give us aid, we cannot force it to do so.

The aid of the Soviet Union to our country is important not only from the economic aspect, but also from the political aspect. We want the Soviet leadership to avoid making such a mistake to the detriment of Albania, it should reconsider this matter. Therefore, we ask you once again to transmit our views to Nikita Khrushchev and other Soviet leaders. It is not right that you make it a condition that we must eliminate the political and ideological disagreements first and then you will give us the aid. We have jointly signed the agreement on credits, not just in principle, but we have even detailed it for all the objects. On this basis the Soviet specialist came here, the designs were drawn up, etc. While now you are asking us to go to the Soviet Union to reconsider the agreements once more! Why?

At the Moscow Meeting you used the tactic, in contacts, indeed even in the corridors, of convincing various delegations that, «the Albanian leaders do not want to talk with us». Now, too, you are continuing this tactic, but this does not hold water. There is no need to repeat ourselves, we have told you clearly why we do not come to you. Tell Nikita Khrushchev that our stand remains the same.

Tell Nikita Khrushchev, also, that we are not opposed to top level meetings on any question whatever, with the approval of both sides. But the Soviet government demands that a high level delegation of our Party and Government should go to Moscow to «reconsider» the question of credits. The question arises: for what credits? These credits have been given us under a protocol signed by both sides by top-level leaders. For this purpose our Central Committee and our Government sent comrade Mehmet and me to Moscow. Later the credits were detailed, it is stated there how they will be used, the times at which they will be given, as well as the projects to be built. This, for us, the problem of credits is considered as settled. We have a note of the Soviet government in writing and there can be no quibble here about what it says. Then why should we go to Moscow? Should we have gone to Moscow before the Party Congress just about the credit of 70 million rubles, of which you have notified us officially? This was not reasonable. We informed you officially about this, too. We had no agreement about this, therefore we appointed a deputy Prime Minister for talks, while from your side the Minister of Foreign Trade, Patolichev, was appointed. As you told us prior to the Moscow Meeting, he was to come to Albania for talks, but he did not come. Then we assigned a deputy Prime Minister to go to Moscow on these matters, but even today you have still not replied to us. We would like to know why have you not given us an answer?

You say many things against us because you base yourselves on the sayings of this one and the other. But if we, too, were to act in this way, then we could bring out whole books. But for the sake of the friendship between our peoples, the gossip to be heard high and low must be checked up carefully and in a friendly spirit, both by us as well as by your side. What have many Soviet people said about our leadership and about me? What have they not said! Many of these people have highly responsible positions in your country too. The criticism our Party makes of the Soviet leadership is thoroughly principled. Enver Hoxha, Mehmet Shehu, and other Albanian leaders never abuse the Soviet Union. Pointing out mistakes and faults of some Soviet leaders does not mean that we are speaking against the Soviet Union. I say this here, we have proved it in practice and we shall prove it whenever it may be necessary. We say without reservation that the Albanians are close and loyal friends of the Soviet Union and for the sake of this friendship we must settle everything in the Marxist-Leninist way, not in any other way. If there are comrades in the Soviet leadership who continue to speak ill of, to slander, our leadership or our Party, they are making a grave mistake.

You say that you have the course set for you by the Moscow Declaration and the XX Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. We, too, base ourselves on the Declaration of the Moscow Meeting of last year, indeed we implement it consistently; but as far as the XX Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union is concerned, we stated frankly at the Moscow Meeting with which matters we are not in agreement. But, instead of accepting the comradely criticisms we make of you, you make the accusation that we are ruining the friendship with the Soviet Union! It is unnecessary to say what a great and sincere friendship we have had with the Soviet people. It is Soviet cadres and leaders who have dynamited the

friendship that existed between us. We stated also at the Moscow Meeting that it was the former ambassador of the USSR to Albania, V. I. Ivanov, in the first place, who ruined the situation. It was he who upset things. Let this be known also to the newly appointed ambassador, Josif Shikin, who has the possibility to exert all his efforts so that together we can improve the abnormal situation that has arisen between our two countries. For our part we shall do everything possible in this direction. We want to believe that the comrade Ambassador, too, will act in this way, because for him, too, it is not only a duty, but also an urgent need, that our relations should constantly improve and the disagreements be gradually eliminated in a Marxist-Leninist way.

Now let us come to some other issues you raised. For our part we do not accept your accusations concerning the Soviet specialists in our country. You are «surprised» because we «checked up on the drawers of the geologists' desks». I shall explain to you how things stand in this matter which you have also made the subject of a government note. Our people, who exercised control over the preservation of secrecy, did not do this in a demonstrative way, nor with the purpose of humiliating the Soviet specialists. In our State there is a rule established by the Party, according to which controls must be carried out from time to time. You, too, certainly have such a rule, indeed we have taken this experience from you. The aim is that the state and party secrets must be protected. We carry out such checks two or three times a year over all the state and party apparatus. This was a normal control of this type. You know that our people are not angels, but yours are not angels either. However it has been observed that there are some among our people as well as among yours, who leave documents on desks, indeed there have been Soviet comrades who have even hung documents on walls. We are living in encirclement. We have sworn enemies all round us, the Yugoslav revisionists, the Greek monarcho-fascists, the Italian neo-fascists. We have information that the espionage agents of imperialist states have been activated in Albania. Therefore, our Party and State take the strictest care that secrets are protected. From this check up carried out in the oil enterprises, a report was sent to the Central Committee, by which it was informed that the comrade in charge of the Soviet oil specialists had been notified in advance about this check up, he had been told the purpose for which it was being carried out and had agreed. If you like, we can give you his name.

We have not made an issue of these things, but I can tell you something else which has a very much graver character. The Soviet personnel have a plan of work. However, one Soviet geologist, instead of working on the basis of the plan set by the government, was drawing maps of a scale other than those required of him, and when our comrades and his Soviet comrades asked him about this, he replied: «I am working on this map for a Soviet academician!» What are these things? Some specialists have complained to the comrade ambassador about the check up we carried out, but have they told him the fact one of the Soviet geologists has declared to our people, «you are trying in vain to keep these documents secret, for they have them both in Leningrad and in Belgrade!»? How does he know that these documents are also in Belgrade, and how have these secrets reached there? Therefore, we shall reply to your note on this question officially.

One day, a Soviet army officer, who is working in our base in Vlora, called together our officers and told them that «the statement which Enver Hoxha made about the plot against Albania is a bluff!»⁸⁾ We want to take opportunity to tell you that this plot is not a bluff, but an exceptionally dangerous thing. Albanian and world opinion will learn about the aims and dangers of this plot. The rulers of Greece and Yugoslavia, together with their agents in Albania, civilian and military, and in collaboration with the US 6th Fleet, organised this plot to attack Albania. But our organs uncovered it and all the plotters are in the hands of our organs of justice and will render account. Now the trial is coming to an end and when this affair is over, we shall, without fail, inform the Soviet ambassador, J. V. Shikin, about it in detail.

As to the question of the naval base in Vlora, I can tell you that for our part there is no problem whatever there now. Indeed even before there has not been any problem from our side. We wish that it will be like this from your side, too. We fully agree that our comrades of the Ministry of Defence and General Andreyev⁹⁾ should talk about this matter. You ask that these talks be held in my presence. I am willing to listen not only to a General like Andreyev, Hero of the USSR, but even to a rank and file Soviet sailor, for we consider the Soviet people as brothers, as friends, as comrades, but I think that my presence is not absolutely necessary. We want harmony with and love for the Soviet men to reign at the naval base, because this base is needed in the interests of our entire socialist camp, and not just for us. We told Nikita Khrushchev this, too.

But I must also say something about the question of the base. You are not in order there with the plan of construction work, armament, and the handing over of objects. All the plans and decisions, that have been taken for the construction work at the base and for the supply of materials, have been suspended by your side. It seems to us that such a question should be reconsidered as quickly as possible on the part of the Soviet government.

The issue raised here by comrade Pospelov that one of our people has allegedly spoken to the representatives of the Communist Party of Cuba and the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia against the Soviet leadership, is not true. However we shall inquire into it. How is such a thing possible when we have been and are in complete agreement with what Nikita Khrushchev said, that if Cuba is attacked, the Soviet Union will launch missiles against the aggressor to defend Cuba? Therefore we think that this is an invention. Why do I say this? I say this because Barak¹⁰⁾ has come to the IV Congress of the PLA with very bad aims and he behaves with contempt towards our Party and our people. Since he is our guest we treat him as a friend and respect him according to our traditions. You, comrade Andropov, may tell him these things, because we shall not tell them him here, but when some meeting of international communism is held, I shall not fail to tell him. Barak should understand clearly that we are not afraid of him.

We observe that Barak is treating the members of the Political Bureau of our Party with contempt. We had thought that, as the representative of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, he should greet our Congress after the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Communist Party of China. But, when a comrade of ours begged him to say when his speech

of greeting would be ready, not only did Barak not deign to tell him, but he asked him scornfully: «And who may you be?» Our comrade, towards whom Barak behaved in this way, displayed his modesty and said nothing for he was his guest but when Barak asked him «And who may you be?», although he knew who he was, he could have replied that «I have 15 decorations on my chest which I won in the war against fascism, and I have wounds on my body. But you, who are you?», our comrade could have asked him. However our comrade did not do this because he had him as a guest in his home and he respected the customs of our people.

Thus, towards these gestures of Barak, our comrades have maintained the greatest composure. Barak kissed the delegate of the Communist Party of Greece, when comrade Mehmet Shehu, following the decision adopted by the Political Bureau, rightfully described him as he was. Whom did the delegate of the Communist Party of Greece call a provocateur? Mehmet Shehu, the most glorious General of our army, to whom our Party gave the order to defend the southern borders of Albania against the Greek monarcho-fascists and Van Fleet, who had hurled themselves like wild beasts against the Greek partisans? And the representative of the Communist Party of Greece comes to the Congress of our Party not as a friend, but to say that he does not agree with Enver Hoxha concerning the question of Venizelos, this enemy of Albania, who has been and is for the partitioning of our homeland. It is not for nothing we say these things; we know only too well who are the Greek monarcho-fascists whom we have for neighbours. Therefore, Barak should not be hasty because we have known them for a long time and much better than he. The father of Sophocles Venizelos, Elefther Venizelos, put Southern Albania to the torch, while the representative of the Communist Party of Greece comes to our Congress and defends them. Then, what is this stand, is it not a provocation?

The Central Committee of our Party told your ambassador in Tirana, «If you are loyal to your homeland and your party, you must report to them correctly, even something unpleasant. You must hide nothing from the party and the government, otherwise you have followed a policy destructive to your party and homeland». We considered Ivanov as a close friend, but he did not deserve our trust.

I assure you, comrades, in the name of the Central Committee that as far as our side is concerned, we shall strive to strengthen the friendship and love for the peoples of the Soviet Union among our people and in our Party even further. We want the disagreements between our parties and countries to be resolved in time and in a Marxist-Leninist way. We shall struggle to the limit of our possibilities to strengthen our unity. We shall never give either occasion or cause for this unity to be damaged, but will work to make it stronger day by day. We shall defend our views on the basis of the Moscow Declaration, on the basis of Marxism-Leninism, regardless of whether others may think that we are allegedly ignorant of Marxism-Leninism. That is what the Italian comrades, for example, think. When Nikita Khrushchev was in Albania, he said, making allusions against Tito, that it is not true that the Albanian comrades do not know Marxism, indeed even children are Marxists in Albania. Whereas the Italians have told us: «Read Marx and Lenin!» We tell them that not only

do we read our glorious teachers, but we work and fight on the basis of their teachings.

But we are not making an issue of these things. We can play politics too, but we do not indulge in diplomacy with the Soviet comrades. Whatever we have to say we say it openly. Bear this in mind, comrade Ambassador, between us we shall not use diplomacy, but we shall speak frankly and in a comradely manner.

I shall tell you one thing. Owing to your stand we shall be compelled to reduce our food rations and the firing practice programmes in our army, but we do not surrender. You saw what the Congress was like and if we take this measure which is imposed on us by you, our soldiers and officers will ask, why has this measure been taken? Then, what must we do -- not speak? No, we shall not shut our mouths. We shall tell our men and women that the Soviet leading comrades want to force our Party and Government to their knees, that the Soviet leadership is breaching the signed agreements, acting in a unilateral manner, and refuses to help us, and we shall issue the call: tighten your belts, stand vigilant in defence of the homeland and the socialist camp, endure it. Our Party and people have a very high level of understanding of these things.

You are gravely mistaken when you say that we deny the role of the Soviet Union. We never have done and do not deny the role of the Soviet Union and the blood shed by the Soviet Army for the liberation of the countries occupied by the German nazis, including Albania, irrespective of the fact that the Red Army did not come to our country. Do you know who denies the role of the Soviet Union? We entirely disagree with Barak and his ilk who say that the state power in Czechoslovakia was seized without bloodshed, whereas in reality, the sons of the Soviet people shed rivers of blood for the liberation of Czechoslovakia. Hence we are in total disagreement with this view of Barak which was expressed in our Congress. If it were not for the Red Army, which was commanded by J. V. Stalin, Czechoslovakia today would not have Karlovy Vary where we have gone to spend our summer holidays.

Who armed the Czechoslovak workers who came out in boulevards in 1948 and took action against the coup d'état which was being prepared? It pains us deeply when the role of the Soviet Army as the saviour of the peoples is denied and we say this openly. We have said this directly to Nikita Khrushchev and Mikoyan.

There are political and ideological disagreements between us, but we do not interfere in your internal affairs and we likewise allow neither Khrushchev nor anybody else to interfere in our internal affairs. Do not try to split our leadership, as your former ambassador, the representative of the government and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in Albania, tried to do.

Y. ANDROPOV: At this meeting we are not on equal terms with you. Here you are the leaders of your Party, while we are only a party delegation, thus, people without authority. I say this because comrade Enver Hoxha spoke to us about a number of questions ranging wider than we had intended. However we shall report these matters to our leadership.

COMRADE MEHMET SHEHU: Do not forget to tell N. Khrushchev what your men have said about comrade Enver Hoxha. What friendship are you talking about, when

you subject the delegation of our Party, to espionage processing, when you have put all sorts of evesdropping apparatus in our embassy in Moscow? You should be the first to show us that you want to strengthen our friendship, but when you commit such unfriendly acts, when you reduce economic aid to our country, when you suspend supplies of armaments to our army, how can you expect an approach from our side?

COMRADE HYSNI KAPO: How do you consider these actions? Why is it that you have not sent many goods, items of machinery, armaments, etc., which should have arrived in Albania 6 months ago? In our economic or military agreements there are time schedules fixed for the deliveries. Then why have these agreements been violated by your side?

COMRADE ENVER HOXHA: If the Soviet leadership understands us correctly and nurtures for our people and our Party that great sincere love which the entire Soviet people and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union have, any disagreement between us will be put right. We made the other issues clear at the Moscow Meeting. There we stated things as they are. You say that we blackened Khrushchev at that meeting. I say that I criticised him over his mistakes and faults whereas you interpreted our criticism wrongly, as thought I was slinging mud at the Soviet Union. We say to you, read my Moscow speech once more with greater care.

I believe we have finished. Please transmit our greetings as well as our views, just as we stated them here, openly and sincerely, to all the comrades of your leadership.

1) After the IV Congress of the PLA, comrade Enver Hoxha received the delegation of the CPSU, with whom he had a conversation at the premises of the Central Committee of the Party.

2) W. Gomulka, former first secretary of the CC of the Polish United Workers Party. He was condemned by the Party in 1949 for anti-party activity. In October 1956 he was rehabilitated by the revisionists and placed at the head of the Party.

Time showed that he was a determined revisionist.

3) A. Mikoyan, a former member of the Presidium of the CC of the CPSU.

4) This refers to the joint talks which were held in Moscow in November 20, 1960, after comrade Enver Hoxha's speech at the meeting of the representatives of the 81 communist and workers' parties. These joint talks were held between the delegation of the PLA which was comprised of comrades Mehmet Shehu and Hysni Kapo, members of the Political Bureau of the CC of the PLA, and the delegation of the CPSU. The meeting was held at the request of the Soviet leadership.

5) F. Kozlov, a former member of the Presidium and secretary of the CC of the CPSU.

6) Y. Andropov, at that time director of the Foreign Department for the socialist countries under the CC of the CPSU, today a member of the Political Bureau of the CC of the CPSU.

7) The Soviet revisionist leadership avoided answering the CC of the PLA by letter because it did not want its official replies to remain in the archives of the PLA.

8) This refers to the counter-revolutionary plot which was being prepared by a secret anti-state organisation at the head of which were veteran agents of foreign intelligence services. Their counter-revolutionary plan was combined also with an armed intervention on the part of the Yugoslav revisionists, the Greek monarcho-fascists and the US 6th Fleet. As it was proved later, the Soviet revisionist leadership had knowledge of this plot, too, which had calculated to exploit it for its own purposes.

9) A. Andreyev, a former representative of the United Command of the Warsaw Treaty in Albania.

10) R. Barak, member of the Political Bureau of the CC of the CP of Czechoslovakia, first deputy to the chairman of the Council of Ministers and Minister of Internal Affairs of the SR of Czechoslovakia, head of the delegation of the CP of Czechoslovakia to the IV Congress of the PLA. Time confirmed that he was an agent of the imperialists and the Soviet revisionists. In February 1962, the CC of the CP of Czechoslovakia was obliged to relieve him of all his party and state functions, expel him from the party, and arrest him as a dangerous enemy and «an embezzler» of the country's foreign exchange».

RADIOGRAM TO THE ALBANIAN DELEGATION AT THE MEETING OF THE CONSULTATIVE POLITICAL COMMITTEE OF THE WARSAW TREATY

M o s c o w

March 28, 1961, 07:30 A. M.

Throw Grechko's¹⁾ letter into the wastepaper basket²⁾, reply only to those questions which he and the others put forward at the meeting. Therefore your speech must be reconsidered in this light. Don't be the first to speak.

The issue of the base. The Albanian government does not accept even the slightest change from the existing status quo defined by the official agreements between the two governments. Reject their slanders and excuses, mention and distribute

the memorandum of Mehmet and Andreyev concerning the events in the base. Argue the matter from the political-military aspect, show the exemplary training of our sailors. Link Khrushchev's previous threats and blackmail on this issue and say that the Albanian government does not accept Marshal Grechko's theses, for they are not in order. Point out that any decision they may take in the direction of dismantling the base and failure to supply it with armaments according to the

agreements and contracts, weakens the defence of the socialist camp and Albania and makes them completely responsible. As a conclusion, say on behalf of the Party and the Government, that we do not accept and shall vote against any decision that might be taken against the status quo in the base and the non-observance of the agreements between the SU and the PRA.

Keep us informed. Stand at the height of our Party.

ENVER HOXHA

THE SUBMARINES OF THE VLORA BASE ARE OURS, BUT WE SHALL FIGHT EVEN WITHOUT THEM

Contribution to the discussion at the meeting of the Political Bureau of the CC of the PLA¹⁾

April 1, 1961

I fully agree with the view of all the comrades of the Political Bureau on these very important questions. I also fully agree with the work done by our delegation which took part in the meeting of the Consultative Political Committee of the member countries of the Warsaw Treaty, which has loyally defended the line of the Party.

From now on we must resist our opponents even more strongly, be more wary in relations with them, and carefully preserve the principles of Marxism-Leninism. I say this, because, as we see more clearly day by day, we have to do with opportunist, revisionist leaderships, enemies of Marxism-Leninism, which are also at the heads of the member countries of the Warsaw Treaty. About this we have been and remain convinced, and there is not the slightest trace of doubt.

It must be understood that not only has the Soviet revisionist leadership set out on a hostile road, but this meeting of the Warsaw Treaty has been a concrete action of its betrayal over which it was exposed at the Moscow Meeting. The pressures exerted on us at the meeting of the Warsaw Treaty, are a response to our heroic and Marxist-Leninist stand in defence of Marxism-Leninism, and at the same time, a response to the IV Congress of our Party and its correct line. All the traitors, whom the IV Congress of our Party terrifies, maintain such attitudes.

Other meetings will be held in the future, too, but again we shall triumph. We know that the Soviet revisionists and their followers are fighting to discredit our Party, and making efforts to split its leadership; they will set to work in order to continue their plots with all their means, with a view to overthrowing the leadership of our Party, to liquidating the Party, and they even exert military pressures to occupy Albania. Thus, they are enemies, from the enemy, nothing good should be expected.

In this discussion comrade Enver Hoxha spoke also of some political and economic problems concerning the revisio-

1) A. Grechko, at that time commander-in-chief of the Warsaw Treaty armed forces.

2) This refers to a letter handed to our delegation one hour before the commencement of the meeting of representatives of the member countries of the Warsaw Treaty, which was held in Moscow on 28-29 March, 1961. In the letter it was demanded that the government of the PRA must give up the naval base at Vlora and all its territory must pass under the control of the Soviet government, that the armed forces of the Albanian navy must be withdrawn from this territory, while all the warships, auxiliary ships etc, must be handed over to Soviet crews.

nist blockade against our country. (Abridged by the editors of the review).

In this situation the Vlora base is a very serious menace to us, that is for the occupation of Albania, for the elimination of the independence of our country. All that the comrades said is true, for there is a great possibility that the Soviet leadership will dismantle the Vlora base and not hand the ships over to us, for such is Khrushchev's line. It brings grist to the mill of US imperialism. But by leaving the base, they will lose and we shall win.

Khrushchev also has other base plans against our country. Such people as Ulbricht²⁾ want to frighten us, when they say that «the military base of Vlora is of very great importance to Albania», but, in the present conditions, this base is of no importance to us. On the contrary, Nikita Khrushchev can use it like the «nail of Nasredin»³⁾ and throw in whole army divisions, creating great dangers for our country. Therefore, as all the comrades of the Political Bureau said, I too, agree that we should liquidate the base while demanding that we should keep all the warships. If the ships are left with us as we want, it will be good, if the opposite is the case the submarines are useless to us. We shall fight even without them. If we have the ships, too, in case of attack by the enemies, we shall wreak havoc. But the main war will not be waged on the sea. This is what I think about the issue of the base. But we should not forget that the Soviet revisionists may remain at the Vlora base, with a view to concocting some other provocative act and having their people there. Therefore we must manoeuvre. Whatever situation may arise, that is whether the Soviets stay or leave the base, we, for our part, absolutely must avoid the incidents and provocations which they may create.

I do not want to enter into details, but I want to stress that we must think seriously about our military preparation and armament. You, comrades of the army, prepare all the variants of defence in conditions of encirclement and with these arms which we have. Thus, we should proceed from the prin-

ciple that we shall no longer have arms, ammunition, or clothing for our army from the Soviet Union. Therefore, we should set to work right now and take measures so that we ensure some of these needs of our army ourselves, and seek some others from our friends.

These are some political, military and economic questions which we must bear in mind. We must be on our toes, maintain close contact with the people, sharpen our vigilance, foresee that, in one form or another, the plots will be repeated, the provocations against our country will increase, and the enemy pressures against us will be stepped up. But we shall cope with every situation, because the Central Committee, the Political Bureau and the whole Party are firmly united and, although we have many powerful enemies, we have also many friends, in the first place great China, the countries of people's democracy of Asia, as well as the peoples of all the socialist countries and the communists of the whole world.

It is true that our imperialist and revisionist enemies can do many things, but it is also true that they cannot act immediately. First they must prepare the ground against us in the political, ideological field, must slander and slander and then undertake actions. But we must see clearly how the situations are developing, for if we see them differently from what they are, then the measures for the defence of the homeland and the Party cannot be realised with that intensity and strength of organisation, and cannot be at that political level, which is required. Our Party and people have withstood great tests in which they have immeasurably tempered themselves and are in a position to understand these situations correctly, even with their minor nuances.

In conclusion, we must respond to the attitude of the Soviet leadership at the latest meeting of the Warsaw Treaty with a letter, then we should think about replying to the other parties which follow it, over everything that has been done against us, over hostile attitudes and tactics against the Party of Labour and our People's Republic. Naturally, in this direction we must be cautious, we must avoid putting weapons into the hands of our enemies to be used against us, but the weapons should be in our hands. See how these traitors to Marxism have been put in exceptionally difficult positions by a small Party like ours and are committing acts that logical people could not do; with these actions they are precipitating events.

But here it is not only the question of Albania, but the question of the whole of international communism. Although many communists in the world are not aware of or some have not yet understood these events, there are also many communists who have understood them. The group of Nikita Khrushchev and company know how rotten their situation is. They still blame Stalin for the difficulties they are meeting. But the Soviet people do not believe that these difficulties are a consequence of Stalin's «mistakes».

To the fight against this dangerous group of traitors to Marxism-Leninism we too, are making our contribution. We are on a correct course, therefore with each day that passes we are steadily winning, while things are going badly for the Khrushchev group and finally they will lose, but this still needs time.

We should insist on and continually stress the issue of unity in the Party and the people, for this is vital. We should

bear in mind that Khrushchev and his group will do every sort of dirty thing and will act even against the best people of our Party. Therefore, we should close our ranks because thus the revisionists will certainly break their heads. We should take measures and must not neglect any question whatever.

The heroism of our people is great, but we should always keep the situation in mind. This year we secured 70,000 tons of grain more than last year, but we must work on the supposition that we could experience another bad year. China will certainly help us, but the Soviet revisionists and their followers like the great plotters that they are, may act with cunning to hinder the way of the Chinese ships and to prevent wheat reaching us. Therefore we should make the people aware that if we come upon bad days, up to war, they must tighten their belts and eat rationed bread, must be determined to eat as much as there is and live on it. Such a preparation of the people is essential. Every one must be clear about the situation we are passing through. We have a difficult struggle ahead of us, therefore we must economise everywhere.

The Soviet revisionists, those enemies of Marxism-Leninism, will hinder the others from learning what is going on in Albania and how our people are fighting. They will strive to raise barriers to stop us reaching the opinion of the sister parties. Look, our ambassador in Moscow informed us yesterday that they had summoned him and told him that they had found out that comrade Enver Hoxha's report to the IV Congress of the Party was being distributed outside the regulations, by the men of the Albanian embassy in Moscow, to individual Soviet persons, while this could be done by «Mezhdunarodnaya Knjiga»⁴⁾. «I don't understand», replied Nesti Nase «such a practice has not been followed up till now either in regard to us or in regard to the other representations, therefore why should this differentiation be made over the documents of our Party?».

... Even if the political circumstances and our determined struggle compel them to lie low for a moment and give us, let us say, some tractors, we must not think that they have made the change, but at the same time we must be vigilant.

Do we, then, agree to do a letter?

All the comrades of the Political Bureau expressed themselves unanimously that this letter should be done.⁵⁾ Then it was decided to inform the members of the Central Committee of the PLA as well as the first secretaries of the regional party committees about this question.

1) This meeting discussed the report presented by the Party and Government delegation which took part in the meeting of the Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Treaty, which was held in Moscow on March 28-29, 1961.

2) W. Ulbricht, at that time first secretary of the CC of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany.

3) «The nail of Nastredin», a popular saying denoting such a situation when someone strives through trickery to ensure the right of ownership over something small on the territory of somebody else with a view to using it as a pretext to violate the legitimate rights of the person to whom the entire territory belongs.

4) From Russian: International Book.

5) This letter was sent to the government of the Warsaw Treaty member countries.

ON THE INTERNATIONAL SITUATION AND ON THE RELATIONS OF THE PLA WITH THE CPSU AND THE COMMUNIST AND WORKERS' PARTIES OF THE SOCIALIST COUNTRIES OF EUROPE

Information at the II Plenum of the CC of the PLA

July 1, 1961

Due to the anti-Marxist attitude of the Soviet leadership, and its followers towards our Party and our country, our relations with them and the countries of people's democracy of Europe have worsened. I am not going to go right back to the beginning on these issues for you already know about them. The Marxist-Leninist stand of our Party ruined the plans and tactics of Khrushchev and his followers.

After having pointed out the vicious backstages of Khrushchev and company at the Bucharest and Moscow meetings comrade Enver Hoxha continued:

The problem is that the revisionist activity of the Khrushchev group has brought great harm to international communism and the socialist camp because now neither ideological unity, nor political unity exists in our ranks. This is clear. It is known that a series of parties are now in open opposition to the revisionist line of the Khrushchev group and the leaders of the countries of people's democracy of Europe and of some communist parties of western countries. This lack of unity greatly interests imperialism, which has worked ceaselessly for this, to weaken the unity of the socialist camp and the international communist and workers' movement.

The Marxist-Leninist parties consider the question of unity as a matter of exceptional importance. But there are two diametrically opposed courses for the defence of unity: the first is to defend it in words and on the other hand sabotage it in deeds, whereas the other course is to defend unity with all one's strength on the Marxist-Leninist course and, despite the major political and ideological contradictions that exist among our parties, to avoid giving imperialism any weapon to fight us with and deepen this lack of unity, this split, even further. For the first course, for the destruction of unity the Khrushchev group are working with might and main, fully conscious of what they are about.

Let us take the issue of the PR of China, which is of exceptional importance to the camp of socialism. China has colossal military, political and ideological potential, but the Khrushchev group continue to ignore this colossal potential in the international field. Not only that, but every effort is being made, openly or secretly, to discredit and push China aside in the international arena. The Soviet leadership is carrying out an unprincipled struggle against our country and our Party. And this has its own reasons.

These reasons are based on the fact that the line of our Party, its correct tactics in the circumstances and conditions of our country (taking into consideration the hostile encirclement,

the continual plots against us, the defence potential of our country are exceptionally damaging to them. Therefore, the Nikita Khrushchev group and the leadership of the countries of people's democracy of Europe and of the Communist Parties of France and Italy that follow them, have organised a common tactic, and this is clear from the attitudes they maintain towards us. The aim is to cut off Albania and discredit the Albanian leadership. But the blockade against our country is not restricted just to the propaganda aspect, because in regard to this aspect to a large degree nobody believes them. Their slogans are already known: «The Albanian leadership is in an anti-Soviet, sectarian, dogmatic position», etc.

But it is not only this aspect. Seeing the danger which the correct policy of our Party and State constitutes for them, they have also imposed a military blockade on Albania. To legalise this, they convened the meeting of the Consultative Political Committee of the Warsaw Treaty, the results of which you know. The aim of this meeting, organised by the Khrushchev group, was to strike a blow at the Party of Labour of Albania and the Albanian people, to shake the broad masses of our Party and people with the threat of withdrawing the naval base at Vlora, and as a consequence, to cause alarm in the Party and the Albanian public that great danger from imperialism is being created for Albania and that the Albanian leadership are to blame for this.

To achieve this, they violated any norm, agreement and treaty. They strove to give this meeting the appearance of a normal meeting, because the agenda envisaged the re-examination of the military situation and the armaments of our armies. For this, the approaches had been made through the general staffs of the armies of the member countries, and naturally, of our staff too. Such negotiations are made by them intermittently; regular approaches as between allies which have common tasks on their shoulders against a common enemy, are not made, but they send 5 officers to give the impression of allegedly talking about armaments, and when meetings are held Khrushchev says we have all the missiles you want which we turn out like sausages.

The military potential of the Soviet Union is known, but we criticise their procedures and methods of work as members of the Warsaw Treaty. And in fact, nothing was said at the plenary meeting of the Treaty in March this year, about what has been and what will be done for the strengthening of our armies, as had been announced in advance, but the aim of the meeting

was to attack Albania, with the same procedures as were used in Bucharest against China.

Late one night, before the meeting was held, Marshal Grechko sent a letter to our delegation, in which he made those same threats and demands which were put forward later by Khrushchev and his friends at the meeting. Grechko deliberately handed over the letter very late, so that we would not have time to reply to it. But it did not work out as they intended. (*See the radiogram in this issue*).

If the meeting had developed as had been announced, all the participants would have acted as our delegation did, discussing those problems about which our countries had been informed, on the basis of the agenda, and which are so important and of such concern for the fate of the socialist countries and world peace. The delegations of the countries taking part in this meeting, beginning with Khrushchev and the others in turn, merely launched attacks against our leadership and our country, and you know about this.

This was a threat made to our Party and country and which was rejected, for it has no political, ideological, moral, juridical, military or other basis; the right is completely on our side. But they took absolutely no heed and here their savagery was displayed.

Naturally we defended our rights and we showed them their place, but the other aspect should not be forgotten – the great harm which the Khrushchev group and their friends did to the joint defence of the socialist camp. It is a fact that with the withdrawal of the Vlora base its defence power is weakened. Khrushchev demonstratively ordered the withdrawal of the submarines and auxiliary ships which were at the Vlora base. The whole world heard about this, London saw the Soviet warships returning from Vlora to the Baltic Sea on film and television.

Thus, fully aware of what they are doing, the Khrushchev group have weakened the defence of the socialist camp and of our country. You know what the reasons for this stand were. All the charges that the people of this group had trumped up against our country are vile slanders without foundation.

Comrade Mehmet summed up their pretended facts in a letter and then summoned the representative of the United Command of the Warsaw Treaty in our country, asked him what he had to say, and after he had spoken, comrade Mehmet gave him our reply in writing. This was followed by the visit comrade Mehmet made to the naval base of Vlora, in March 1961, where he addressed the forces there and made many problems clear.

The failure to send the armaments at the set time, as well as the failure to complete the base, warned us of the measures and attitudes which would be maintained against us by the Soviet leadership and which were crowned at the March meeting of the Warsaw Treaty.

At the March meeting they also raised the question of the plot which, to them, was allegedly a bluff, specially hatched up and prepared by us, therefore, in their opinion, a commission should have been created to examine the truth of the facts.

Why did they present such a view? There are two things here: either they are collaborators with this plot or they are defending imperialism, the Yugoslav revisionists, and the Greek monarcho-fascists. We have no doubt about this, for it is not the first time that these people have defended the enemies of our Party and our people. They have raised this to a

system; a thing which means to be very heavily compromised, and this plot is truly a great exposure of the policy of Khrushchev and his cronies. That is why they maintain such an attitude.

About the trial of the Albanian traitors and spies which took place in Tirana in the month of May, the Khrushchev group and their followers have maintained total silence. To maintain complete silence towards such hostile activity, which is neither the first nor the last to be hatched up by the imperialists, the Yugoslav revisionists and the Greek monarcho-fascists, against Albania and the cause of socialism, means to defend them, to take their side. They have been fearful about the holding of this trial.

But let us dwell on the issue of the withdrawal of the Vlora naval base. How correct our political, moral, military and juridical stand has been on this issue, and how base and hostile the attitude and tactics of the Soviet side.

They have adopted base revolting attitudes on so many occasions that they cannot be counted. But at these delicate moments, the group of our officers in the base, in a masterly and intelligent manner, have defended the Party against the plotters, provocateurs and chauvinists who degraded the feelings of the Soviet sailors to such an extent that, if you see a reel of film that has been taken there, you will note in what a grave situation the ships, means, etc., were left, and you will immediately ask the question: who has lived in that place, is it possible for Soviet men to have knocked holes in the reservoirs, to have smashed the beds, the windows of the buildings where they lived and worked, etc? They made efforts to take everything away, down to the last bolts, but they were unable to attain their aim. We took a hard stand, properly defended our rights, and responded to the attacks and provocations with aplomb, whereas they lost their heads. The ships stayed put. We gave them only the ships in which the Soviet personnel served, not that those they took are theirs. We allowed them those they took because we did not want to make the situation even more acute, since this was what they wanted.

Those who served at the base were inspired with enmity against our country, they were people politically and ideologically degenerate. We had never thought that the senior Soviet officer would sink so low as to put aside for himself the telephone, the motor of the automobile, to put the fan and other things in his personal suitcase, in order to take them to the Soviet Union!

The stand of our sailors and officers who were studying and continue to study in the Soviet Union presents quite the opposite picture. Together with our ambassador, they have maintained an heroic stand in defence of the line of the Party and its correctness. Like communists they have stood up to many anti-socialist actions carried out by the Soviet revisionists since the arrest of our naval students and officers right up to their expulsion from the Soviet Union.

The same stand is being maintained also towards our sailors in Sevastopol. Two destroyers have been sent there for repair, and they want to keep them from us. We shall not go to war over them, but it is a matter of their attitude. When the Soviet sailors were here, we permitted the representatives of the Soviet command, the Soviet ambassador and up to Novikov!), to go to the Vlora base where they organised plots and provocations behind our backs, whereas in the Soviet Union, they

do not allow the representative of our command, under the unified Command of the Warsaw Treaty, to go and withdraw our crews from the ships in an organised way.

But why do the Soviets maintain such a stand? It is obvious, because they are afraid of the truth. The Soviet leadership has done and is doing these things to discredit our Party and our leadership. But in fact the opposite has occurred.

Now we may say that order and calm have been established in the naval base of Vlora. Our naval means are now in full readiness. We shall also set up the naval school there with teachers who have graduated from the academies. Thus, we shall continue to strengthen our navy and coastal defence and we may say that even from the material aspect, we are more secure than previously.

The Khrushchevite revisionists have taken the issue of the naval base of Vlora as a pretext for further measures later, to get us out of the Warsaw Treaty. As a matter of fact, from Khrushchev to Zhivkov²⁾, they have launched the slogan that "you are putting yourselves outside the Warsaw Treaty", that "you are to blame for ruining the Vlora base because you did not implement the decision of the Consultative Political Committee of the Warsaw Treaty", etc. They did not think that there were other correct solutions for the maintenance of the base. Their action was a conspiracy, they were seeking to find people to fight the Albanian Party, Government and people.

The military aid to us from the Soviet Union has come to an end. It is known that the economic aid, as well as the military aid since the Bucharest Meeting, and indeed even earlier, has still not been given us. I shall not speak about the healthy political and ideological spirit, or about the exceptionally great enthusiasm existing in our army. You know this, but we can tell the Central Committee that even from the economic aspect, the aspect of armaments and military preparedness the situation in the army is better than at any other time, that all measures have been taken so that the military potential, armaments and other essential requirements of the army will be increased many-fold. Thus, in this direction too, the Soviet leadership and those following them have failed.

They failed in their evil aim of intimidating and shaking Albanian public opinion with the withdrawal of the submarines, they failed in their thought that our army would be left with its finger in its mouth, without supplies, that its armaments would become obsolete, the spare parts for its weapons would run out etc. This is how things stand on military questions.

In the economic field you know their aim, to cut off any aid to Albania. They cut off their credits to us, withdrew their specialists, and they are trying as hard as they can to narrow the sphere of their trade relations with us. And they have put this into practice in a cunning way. In all their letters, particularly in the letters of the CC of the CPSU, Czechoslovakia, Germany and Hungary, now it is finally said openly that they will build their relations with Albania only on reciprocal bases. They do not have the courage to say to us frankly that they have cut off the credits they granted us, which in fact they have cut off.

But their great economic pressures failed, too. The Central Committee of our Party has it clear that our five-year plan is financially secure and will be realised. Whoever wants to keep his word, let him give the aid he has promised Albania on the former conditions, on the basis of the agreements. But we think that such a thing will not be done, we must have no

illusion, because it is a fact that the leadership of the parties of the socialist countries of Europe have violated every norm and they will continue on this course. We have a basis on which we can rely for the realisation of our plans.

The question of the specialists has been even more scandalous. Having knowledge of their sly, humiliating and slanderous tactics, during all these actions towards our country, we have been growing more and more firmly convinced that we are faced with a group of Trotskyites among the worst history has known. On the one hand they told us that the oil specialists must be withdrawn from Albania, by order of the Soviet government and, on the other hand, they told the oil manager that the oil specialists were to leave Albania by order of our Minister of Industry. Such things are monstrous, but there are many others like this.

On questions of trade it must be said that contrary to all practice, they have refused to sign long-term trade agreements with us for the years 1961-1965, while they are implementing such agreements even with the capitalist countries. The Soviet side has cut off credits to us. This is how the trade relations stand with these countries.

Cultural relations, too, are not going smoothly due to their fault. In this field, too, we have changed nothing.

On political issues, likewise we maintain a correct stand, which enrages them. Our press and radio continue to write and speak about the economic, cultural and other development of the Soviet Union and the countries of people's democracy, while on their part all the agreements have been breached. In the Soviet Union they have banned the publication of the magazine "New Albania" in Russian and Arabic because it allegedly contains "dogmatic" materials and we are harming the Arabs with our "dogmatic" line!

The cultural agreements signed with us are being violated. This fact is enough to indicate the reality. They did not accept our folk song and dance ensemble who went to China, Vietnam and Korea where they were a great success. We had sought that our ensemble go to the Soviet Union too, on the basis of the agreement signed together, and the request was made at the beginning of the month of May. But now the Soviet side replies to us that it will not receive them, on the excuse that the request was late in reaching them. It is obvious where this attitude has its roots. The Soviet side is afraid that our ensemble will have success, that there will be applause from the audience for friendship and protests over the vile things which are said against Albania. Many Soviet people have read the report of the Central Committee delivered at the IV Congress of the Party and in it they have read that none of us has thrown mud at the Soviet Union.

Hence, the Soviet leaders are very much afraid of our correct cultural policy, too. The Bulgarian leadership, also, has ordered the removal of Albanian songs from the programmes of Radio Sofia. At the international festival of our countries which was held in Rumania, in the concert programme arranged, the Albanian song of the nightingale was to have been sung. This song tells of the course followed by our people under the leadership of the Party, etc. The jury and artists received this song with a great enthusiasm; however, when it came time for the concert, it was not presented and they justified this with the illness of the conductor. As we heard later, the concert was not put on because of the Albanian song which was

on the programme. This is what happens in the Soviet Union, Bulgaria, Rumania, etc., whereas in Mongolia there was allegedly no hotel to receive the members of our ensemble. These people are afraid to have relations with us, because they are not in order, and these things convince us still more of the correctness of the course of our Party.

Our students in the Soviet Union are waging an heroic fight to defend the line of the Party. At the University, in the institutes of Moscow, and in all parts of the Soviet Union where they are studying, they have made things clear in the minds of Soviet people, because the leadership there feeds people with lies, therefore only among our people can they find the truth and the right and thus they manage to draw some conclusions. Here it must be pointed out that our ambassador in the Soviet Union has known how to keep our students well informed. Our ambassadors in the countries of people's democracy have acted in this way, too. Almost all our ambassadors have shown themselves up to the mark of the important duties with which the Party has charged them, true communists, revolutionary diplomats.

The comrades who were studying at the Higher School of the CPSU, who were living, day and night, in struggle with the distortions of the Marxist-Leninist theory, with the efforts to introduce the revisionist and Trotskyite theories into that school, have done especially good work. From the comrades of the first course to those of the third course, they have resolutely waged an exceptionally great struggle in defence of our Party and Marxism-Leninism. This has been of very great importance because in the Party School there are cadres from all parts of the Soviet Union and the countries of people's democracy.

The situation there now is that many of those who have had discussions with our comrades are fully with us. Our comrades who are living in the Soviet Union, are seeing what situations the Khrushchev group have created for the Soviet communists. You are well acquainted with the measures that the Soviet leadership has taken to conceal the failures in agriculture. Here, too, Khrushchev's narodnik policy failed because of violations of the Leninist teachings on the problems of agriculture, violation of the principles of J. V. Stalin which not even a cannon can shift, and which are reflected also in his last work «Economic problems of socialism in the Soviet Union». Read this work once again, comrades, and you will see where Khrushchev's failing policy is leading.

This line has created great economic difficulties in the Soviet Union. For weeks and months on end meat, salami and other products are not easy to find. The black market is on the upsurge at a time when Khrushchev has launched the slogan of the construction of communist society. We regret the liberalism which is apparent in the Soviet Union, which leads to the breakdown of morality, to the creation of great confusion, to the corruption of the youth, the streets filled with such tourists who try to do espionage work, etc. All this is the result of the opportunist and revisionist policy of the Khrushchev clique. In the Soviet Union things are happening which are unbelievable, but facts are facts.

How are our relations with the other countries of people's democracy?

Up to date our relations with Poland have not undergone any change. Gomulka is a second Tito, he slanders us as much as you please. The Poles maintain only trade relations.

The Czechoslovak leadership is behaving in an exceptionally dirty manner. This revisionist leadership is equipped with a markedly petty-bourgeois commercial spirit which makes it still more dangerous. They are dealers, they fight to the limit for money. They display this spirit in politics, too. They direct abuse against the leadership of our Party and defend Khrushchev and reconcile themselves with him against our country.

Even towards Albanian's friends in Czechoslovakia the Czechoslovak leadership maintains a vicious attitude. You know that some time ago, the wife of a veteran Czechoslovak communist, a friend of Albania, a collaborator and close comrade of Klement Gottwald, one of the founders of the CP of Czechoslovakia, came to visit Albania. But this communist wife of the outstanding Czechoslovak patriot, after a few days of stay here, was reproached by the Czechoslovak embassy and pressure was exerted on her to leave Albania as soon as possible. When she returned to Czechoslovakia they raised the question of why she came to Albania in her party branch and now attacks against her have begun over her stand in favour of our country and our people. Both when she was summoned to the Czechoslovak embassy here, and before her party branch, in Czechoslovakia, they exerted great pressure on her, but she stood firm.

The German leadership, as you know, continues its course of provocations. Apart from the blatant provocation in connection with the publication of Walter Ulbricht's speech, to which we replied with a correct letter, they have given orders to their press not to say a single word about our country. If you read the letter of a certain Willi Stoph³⁾ you will understand immediately that he is truly a fascist. With that letter he shows that he is a collaborator in the plot of the US 6th Fleet, in collaboration with the Yugoslav revisionists and the Greek monarcho-fascists, when he accuses us, Albanians, of provoking Yugoslavia, Greece, and the United States of America. This is the sort of people they are.

Up till recently the Hungarian leadership maintained an attitude somewhat different from the others, which made one think that the Hungarian leadership had drawn profound lessons from the past. It also gave us 15 million rubles in aid. We sought permission from them to announce this act in the press and received an affirmative answer. However, about a week ago the Hungarian leadership sent us a letter signed by Janos Kadar⁴⁾, accusing us of being rabidly anti-Soviet. The letter stresses that we allegedly published the news about the granting of the aid by the Hungarian leadership in order to drive wedges between the Soviet Union and Hungary. Thus, they oblige us to deny their aid. We thank them, as is proper, for this aid, whereas they want us to keep quiet about it with the aim that later they can attack us as ungrateful.

Kadar has sent us this letter, without doubt, because the Soviet leadership has tweaked his ear for having granted us the aid, as it did with the Bulgarian leadership which was asked to explain why it had made a gift of the bust of George Dimitrov⁵⁾ to the Albanians. Kadar and the Central Committee of the Hungarian Workers' Party take the conspirators under their protection and affirm that they are their people. Fine, for us there is no better document to prove that Kadar is a collaborator of the plotters, agents of the imperialists. Even the Yugoslav revisionists, who have been direct collabo-

rators in this plot against the PRA, strive to deny such a thing, whereas Kadar describes the plotters who are our political opponents, as alleged Marxists and makes the accusation against us that their execution was unjust.

The Bulgarian leadership with Zhivkov at the head has adopted the same position as the others. They, too, have placed the blockade on our country. The editors of the newspaper «Trud», however, published the news about the Tirana trial, describing its decision as a just verdict against traitors to the Albanian people, agents of the Yugoslav revisionists. Tito made an immediate protest to the Bulgarian leadership and that same day Theodor Zhivkov called a meeting of the political bureau of the CC of the CP of Bulgaria, which decided to sack the president and the responsible secretaries of the Central Council of the Trade Unions of Bulgaria.

Thus, it is understood that all the leaderships of the socialist countries of Europe, with Khrushchev at the head, have taken a joint decision in favour of an anti-socialist and anti-Albanian stand towards our Party and our country.

What has been our stand in the face of these situations? We have tried to and have kept cool, we have defended our correct line, and have not wavered. However we do not accept what they say about us, but give them the reply they deserve. As they write to us, so we write to them, but while they resort to slander, we reason in the correct Marxist-Leninist way, and in this way we refute their calumnies.

This is the spirit and character of the letter we are going to send to the Central Committee of the CPSU in reply to Kosygin's letter about all the problems that have been raised there, about the political, ideological, economic and military behaviour and attitudes they have maintained and continue to maintain towards the Albanian Party and people. In this letter we also express our view as to how these matters should be corrected.

Likewise, the attitude of the embassies of the socialist countries of Europe in our country is also to be pointed out. The stand of the officials of these embassies reflects the stand of their leaders. These have been turned into embassies for observation, attack, and diversion against our Party and people. Therefore, our stand towards them must be very reserved. We are not in the least afraid of meetings with them, only the comrades must be vigilant, give them the reply they deserve in case they try provocation in these meetings, and expose the provocateurs and the provocations. When they came to us for meetings at the time of truly friendly relations, we talked with them as friends, as brothers, but now over their provocations they must be put in their place. Now we shall behave as they behave towards us.

We should be vigilant towards the movements and contacts of these people with the «brides» who are in our country. Some of our comrades have married, and we have nothing against those Soviet girls or girls of other countries who stay on a correct Marxist-Leninist road, whereas those who defend Khrushchev should be shown the road they came from. Therefore, it should be made clear to their Albanian husbands, party members or non-party, that the Party and the homeland come first and then the wife, that the most important thing is to defend the Party and the homeland, and that the family and the children of everyone, without exception, must defend them. This is clear. If the foreign wife of some comrade, party or

non-party, maintains a friendly attitude towards our people and Party, if she does not carry out propaganda for the Khrushchev line, if she makes no provocations, etc., let her march forward together with our people, but if she acts otherwise, if she conspires to the detriment of our Party and country and her husband shuts his eyes, then let him take the responsibility upon himself because the Party will take measures against her and against him who closes his eyes.

Our general line has been and is correct. Our consistent attitude is a great pain in the neck to Khrushchev and Co. But that doesn't worry us. In the future, too, we shall march resolutely on our Marxist-Leninist course. On the questions of international policy we shall proceed, as always, on the basis of Marxism-Leninism, on the basis of the correct line of our Party.

The situation requires that the editors of our newspapers should conduct a wideawake policy. In their work they must always proceed from the positions of our Party. The main thing is that the correct Marxist-Leninist views must be defended, but at the same time we must be severe on splitters and deviators. We should come down hard on those who attack us with the aim of weakening us and must be vigilant to defend our unity, the ranks of our Party and people.

To be vigilant does not mean to gather negative facts about people and finally number them off one by one. This is not vigilance. We must help people who during their life and activity make mistakes or display symptoms of lack of ideological or political understanding. We must make efforts so that they understand correctly where their mistakes are and mobilise themselves to implement the line and directives of the Party. Therefore we must think well about the treatment of people who are ours but who make mistakes; they must be given timely help so that they do not reach the point where they fall into grave errors and become incorrigible.

Thus, the Party should work with wisdom and vigilance and should not forget that apart from us, the enemy, too, is at work striving to drive wedges among people. In this sense we must be wideawake. However it is a fact that in general the treatment of people who make mistakes, on the part of the Party, the organs of Justice and State Security, has been on a Marxist-Leninist course. Maturity and great tenderness has been shown for our people, and a lofty revolutionary and stern class spirit towards incorrigible people, enemies of the Party and the State who have entered into secret or open collaboration with the imperialists, the revisionists, the Greek monarcho-fascists, or the Italian neo-fascists. Our Party, the organs of State Security, and the people have displayed this correct Marxist-Leninist stand. Therefore we should keep this spirit alive. We should strengthen the love and great confidence among the people for the men of the Party, the army, the security service. This great love and confidence has been created in our country for these people.

I receive many letters from the people and I read them each day, every morning, before I begin work. In recent days I have read the letter of a citizen who says frankly that he had been in political opposition with the Party, had no confidence in it, considering it as sold out to foreigners, a blind lackey of the Soviets. «But, when I heard all these things», he writes, «and saw the heroic Marxist-Leninist stand of the Party, how it resolutely defends the cause of justice, how it defends the homeland and the people, as well as the cause of socialism,

I pledged to be loyal to the Party to the end». See what a great transformation the work of the Party has made in the head of this man!

The recent trial in particular has made an exceptionally great impression on our people. It has aroused a deep-going hatred against the traitors and spies, against the imperialists and revisionists, and an unexampled enthusiasm and patriotism among our working masses. The danger of the uncovered conspiracy which failed, was very great. On this occasion we must also point out the skill, determination and watchfulness of our comrades of the Ministry of Internal Affairs who discovered the hostile activity of these bandits in time, seized very important facts and documents, acted with great caution, without being hasty, according to the instructions of the Political Bureau of the CC, but also without allowing the issue to be endangered. This work has meant that we have escaped the great danger and upset the plans of the imperialists and of US imperialism in particular.

Thus, the trial has been of great importance, and because it has been of such importance, because dark plans towards our Party and people have been discovered, Khrushchev and his lackeys are so enraged that they commit such absurdities as to go to the extent of defending the spies and traitors. But let them defend them, the facts are very obstinate. Let Gomulka say that these things have been fabricated, but he should take care that his name, too, does not come out some day in any trial.

We shall continue, and we are confident that we shall continue with this spirit, to the realisation of our plans. The revisionists can do nothing to us. We are strong and we are not alone. The Communist Party of China, which remains unwaveringly on the principles of Marxism-Leninism, supports our attitudes. Chou En-lai has given the Soviet Union a stern reply in connection with Kosygin's answer.

It should be known that there are socialist countries and other communist parties which appreciate our correct stand. After all, millions of genuine communists throughout the world are fighting on this course.

The Central Committee will be kept constantly informed of the further development of the situation. It is important that we inform the whole Party too. Now the Political Bureau has taken a decision to send a letter to all the branches of

the Party, in which the situation developed since the sending of the first letter will be explained. This measure has great importance, for our strength resides in the Party. The Party must be clear so that, when the occasion arises it will be able to explain the situation to the people. Naturally we are not going to hold meetings with the people, but these matters must be made known to them, we must explain our problems to them. The people should know the issues in the spirit of our Party. After all, these issues are known to London, why should our people not know them. All the materials of the Moscow Meeting have fallen into the hands of the British who may have got them in Bulgaria, Poland, Hungary or elsewhere. The speech we delivered in Moscow is being commented on bit by bit in newspapers there and the public is reading it.

After the text of the letter which the Political Bureau of the CC of the PLA had prepared for the CC of the CPSU, was read and approved, comrade Enver Hoxha concluded:

Since this matter for the second item on the agenda of this Plenum is done jointly with the Government, I propose that the letter, which was read and approved here, should be addressed not only to the CC of the CPSU, but also to the Soviet government and be sent for their information to the central committees of the parties and governments of all socialist countries⁶⁾.

1) *Novikov, Concillor at the Embassy of the USSR in the PR of Albania.*

2) *T. Zhivkov, first secretary of the CC of the CP Bulgaria, known as an obedient lackey of the Moscow revisionists.*

3) *W. Stoph, at that time vice Chairman of the Council of Ministers and Minister of People's Defence of the German DR.*

4) *J. Kadar, first secretary of the CC of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party. In 1951, he was imprisoned for grave mistakes and anti-party and anti-socialist activity. In July 1954 as a consequence of the campaign launched by N. Khrushchev against the so-called «cult of individual», he was rehabilitated. At the time of the October-November 1956 events in Hungary, the modern revisionists, mainly the Soviet ones, placed him at the head of the Hungarian government and later on also of the Hungarian Party.*

5) *The delegation on of the CP of Bulgaria gave the bust of George Dimitrov to the IV Congress of the PLA.*

6) *This proposal was unanimously approved. The letter has been published in the newspaper «Zëri i Popullit» and the «Principal documents of the PLA», Vol. IV, p. 25, Tirana, 1970.*

LETTER ADDRESSED TO THE CENTRAL COMMITTEES OF THE COMMUNIST AND WORKERS' PARTIES OF THE WARSAW TREATY MEMBER COUNTRIES¹⁾

September 6, 1961

The Plenum of the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania, meeting on September 5-6, 1961, after having carefully examined the letter which the first secretaries of the Central Committees of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, the Socialist

United Party of Germany, the United Workers Party of Poland, the Communist Party of Bulgaria, Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, the Workers' Party of Rumania, sent to the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albanian on August 3, 1961 from the meeting of the representatives

of the communist and workers' parties of the Warsaw Treaty member countries, through the secretariat of this meeting, sends you the following reply:

From the above mentioned letter, as well as from the delegation of the Party of Labour of Albania who went to Moscow to take part in this meeting, we learned with indignation about the impermissible, profoundly unfriendly attitude, without precedent in the history of the international communist movement, which was maintained there by the authors of the said letter towards the Party of Labour of Albania. In recent times, beginning with the Bucharest Meeting of June 1960, the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, N. S. Khrushchev, and the first secretaries of some communist and workers' parties of socialist countries participants in the Warsaw Treaty, have made a custom of the anti-Marxist practice of placing the Party of Labour of Albania in positions of inequality, discredit and discrimination. This dangerous practice reached its culmination at the meeting of August 3, 1961, where, under the pretext that the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania, comrade Enver Hoxha, was not taking part in the meeting personally, even the most elementary norms of relations between the communist and workers' parties were brutally violated, and the delegation of the Party of Labour of Albania was ousted from the meeting by means of an arbitrary decision. The Plenum of the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania considers this act, unheard of in relations among Marxist-Leninist sister parties, as brutal interference in the internal affairs of our Party, as a blatant violation of the principles of consultation, equality, and independence of the communist and workers' parties, which have been clearly defined in the Moscow Declaration of the 81 communist and workers' parties. The undertaking of such an action towards a sister party, such as the Party of Labour of Albania, clearly demonstrates that its authors are deliberately going further and further down the road of exacerbation of relations with the Party of Labour of Albania and the Government of the People's Republic of Albania, that they have entered a road from which there is no return, which heavily damages the supreme interests of the unity of the socialist camp and the international communist movement, the interests of the Warsaw Treaty, a course which can bring joy only to our common enemies.

In its letter of July 22, 1961, addressed to W. Ulbricht, the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania had explained that it was not possible for the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania, comrade Enver Hoxha, to take part personally in the meeting of August 3, 1961. The pretext contained in the letter of August 3, addressed to the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania, alleging that the delegation appointed by the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania for that meeting, which was headed by a member of the Political Bureau and secretary of the Central Committee, with that composition was not «competent» to take part in the discussion of the problems concerning the preparations for the conclusion of the peace treaty with Germany, is entirely without foundation and in contravention of the Leninist organisational rules.

In the communist and workers' parties the Leninist principle of collective leadership exists. And our Party of Labour

rigorously respects this principle. Consequently, if it is impossible to send its First Secretary, the Central Committee of any communist and workers' party, hence also the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania, has the full right on any occasion and for any meeting, to appoint another fully empowered representative, who will be authorised to present the view of his Party and assume full obligations and responsibilities on its behalf for the decisions taken collectively as a result of equal, comradely consultations. For the same reason it must be pointed out that neither N. S. Khrushchev nor W. Ulbricht nor any one else is in a position, and neither is up to them, to determine whether the delegation appointed by the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania to represent our Party at the August 3 meeting was or was not «competent». This is an internal question of our Party and, in conformity with the well known principles of the independence of every communist and workers' party, only the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania, as the supreme collective leading organ of the Party, has the right to decide which delegation or leader of the Party will represent it at this or that meeting of sister parties.

In its letter of July 22, 1961 the Central Committee of our Party declared with the greatest clarity that its delegation, headed by comrade Ramiz Alia, had full power and authority from the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania to represent the Party of Labour of Albania with the most complete competence at the meeting of August 3, 1961 in connection with the German problem which was on the agenda. Therefore we consider the decision of the first secretaries of the central committees of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, the Socialist United Party of Germany, the United Workers Party of Poland, the Communist Party of Bulgaria, Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, and the Workers' Party of Rumania, not to allow the delegation of the Party of Labour of Albania to take part in the said meeting, as unlawful, as unprecedented interference in the internal affairs of the Party of Labour of Albania. Likewise, the accusations made against the Party of Labour of Albania with regard to comrade Enver Hoxha's non-participation in the meeting of the Consultative Political Committee of the Warsaw Treaty in March this year, are also interference in our internal affairs.

We also reject the baseless accusation made in the August 3 letter, addressed to the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania, which alleges that the leadership of the Party of Labour of Albania ignores the collective opinion of the sister communist and workers' parties and that allegedly for this reason, in November 1960, the comrades Enver Hoxha and Mehmet Shehu «walked out of» the Meeting of the representatives of the 81 communist and workers' parties «in a demonstrative fashion». It is well known that the Party of Labour of Albania, just as all the other sister parties participating in the Meeting of November 1960, signed the joint Declaration which was adopted there. The Party of Labour of Albania has consistently implemented and continues to implement the Declaration of the 81 communist and workers' parties of the year 1960, just as it has implemented and continues to implement the 1957 Declaration of the Moscow Meeting. Then where is this «ignoring of the collective opinion of the sister parties»? Those who have been and are brutally violating the

principles of the Declaration concerning the relations among the communist and workers' parties and among the socialist countries ignore the collective opinion of the sister parties; the first secretaries of the central committees of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, the Socialist United Party of Germany, the United Workers' Party of Poland, the Communist Party of Bulgaria, the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, and the Workers' Party of Rumania, who maintain arrogant and unfriendly attitudes towards the Party of Labour of Albania and the People's Republic of Albania, as is proved by the stand they maintained towards the delegation of the Party of Labour of Albania at the meeting of August 3, 1961, ignore it. As to the departure of the comrades Enver Hoxha and Mehmet Shehu from the final sessions of the November 1960 Meeting, it is well known that this was done because they had to be present in their homeland for the national day celebrations of November 28 and 29. Moreover they left when the general discussion at the Moscow Meeting had come to an end, when the only business still going on was with the commission for the preparation of the text of the Declaration, on which the overwhelming majority of the participating parties, including the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, the Socialist United Party of Germany, the United Workers' Party of Poland, etc., were not represented by the heads of their delegations. Besides this, many sister parties at the November 1960 Meeting were not represented by their principal leaders, while some days before the departure of the comrades Enver Hoxha and Mehmet Shehu, comrade A. Novotny left this meeting, but despite this nobody has even thought of making accusations against these parties, and particularly comrade Novotny, over this thing, and this is right. Why then, is a different attitude maintained in the case of the Party of Labour of Albania? Is this not a gross violation of the principle of equality, a blatantly discriminatory attitude towards the Party of Labour of Albania?

From this it is clear that all those things contained in the letter addressed to the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania, and which were said at the meeting of August 3, 1961 against the Party of Labour of Albania and its leadership, are nothing but pretexts invented to justify the impermissible discriminatory attitudes towards the Party of Labour of Albania, to deny it the right to take part in the meeting and to present its correct viewpoint there concerning the German issue. By their unjust decision the first secretaries of the central committees of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, the Socialist United Party of Germany, the United Workers' Party of Poland, the Communist Party of Bulgaria, the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party and the Workers' Party of Rumania, committed an unprecedented crime: they denied to the Party of Labour of Albania which has always loyally defended and continues to defend the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, and to the allied and fraternal Albanian people, a member of the Warsaw Treaty, their lawful right to have their say with regard to the just solution of the German problem; they trampled under foot every Leninist law and principle governing the relations among sister parties and socialist countries.

Apparently, in order to hide this crime from the world, to conceal the injustice done to the Party of Labour of Albania, at the end of the proceedings of the meeting of August 3, 1961 an announcement was given to the press, in which the reality is falsified, by implying that the delegation of the Party of Labour of Albania also, took part in this meeting. But however these actions may be justified and concealed, it remains a bitter and undeniable fact that they are seriously harming the unity of the socialist camp and the international communist movement, and their authors are thus taking upon themselves a grave responsibility before the peoples and history.

And that is not all. In continuation of their condemnable actions towards the Party of Labour of Albania, they unscrupulously violated every Leninist norm of relations among sister communist and workers' parties: they did not even inform the Central Committee of our Party about the development of the proceedings of the meeting of August 3-5, 1961 and the measures adopted there. Up to date neither the decisions taken at this meeting nor its minutes have been sent to the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania. Such an action towards a sister party cannot be described otherwise than as a dishonest and entirely unjustifiable effort to exclude the Party of Labour of Albania in fact from effective participation in the discussion and solution of the major problems which are concerning the international communist and workers' movement, the socialist camp and the Warsaw Treaty, today, such for example as the German problem.

But they went even further. As it emerges from the decision of the Council of Ministers of the German Democratic Republic of August 12, 1961, concerning the measures for the strengthening of the control on the border with West Berlin, apart from the August 3, 1961, meeting of the representatives of the communist and workers' parties of the Warsaw Treaty member countries, at which the Party of Labour of Albania was unlawfully prohibited from participation, a meeting of the Consultative Political Committee of the Warsaw Treaty has been held, too. Not only were the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania and the Government of the People's Republic of Albania not invited to take part in this meeting, but they were not even informed of the holding of such a meeting. The Central Committee of our Party considers this a blatant violation of the legal rights of the People's Republic of Albania, which is a worthy and equal member of the Warsaw Treaty. The organisers of this unprecedented act, which has the aim of putting the People's Republic of Albania effectively outside the Warsaw Treaty, took upon themselves a heavy responsibility as underminers of the unity of the Warsaw Treaty and the socialist camp. With profound regret we are obliged to observe that this is not the first time that some leaders of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, with N. S. Khrushchev at the head, and some leaders of the communist and workers' parties of the socialist countries of Europe, in the relations with the Party of Labour of Albania and the People's Republic of Albania have violated the agreements existing between our parties and countries in a flagrant manner. The Plenum of the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania most resolutely protests for these unlawful and profoundly anti-Marxist actions, which bring great harm to our common cause.

The letter, which the first secretaries of the central committees of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, the Socialist United Party of Germany, the United Workers' Party of Poland, the Communist Party of Bulgaria, the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party and the Workers' Party of Rumania addressed to the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania, contains a series of attacks, false arguments, and the basest inventions against the Party of Labour of Albania and its leaders, that cannot be left without the reply they deserve from the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania.

The leaders of the Party of Labour of Albania are accused of allegedly being afraid to take upon themselves the responsibility for the settlement of so complicated a question as the German question. The Party of Labour of Albania and the Albanian government, the Albanian leaders have never been and are not afraid of their responsibility as allies and members of the Warsaw Treaty in any situation. Although a small country, encircled all round by savage enemies, without a common border with the other socialist countries, the People's Republic of Albania has stood like a granite rock on the Adriatic coast, has successfully coped with the countless plots, provocations, and blackmail of the imperialists and their tools, and has carried out its obligations as a socialist country and member of the Warsaw Treaty to the letter.

The stand of our Party and Government on the German question is known to the whole world. It is contained in many official documents that have been published in the press. The Party of Labour of Albania and the Government of the People's Republic of Albania have always resolutely supported the efforts of the Soviet Union and the German Democratic Republic for a peaceful solution of the German question. The view of our Party and Government has been and still is that the conclusion of a peace treaty with Germany and the settlement on this basis of the problem of West Berlin too, are indispensable measures, long overdue, and in the interests of the People's Republic of Albania, the German Democratic Republic, the other socialist countries, in the interests of peace and security in Europe. We have been and are for the earliest possible solution of these problems, because any dragging out of them is to the advantage only of our enemies. You all have the speech that the delegation of our Party was to have delivered at the August 3 meeting, which it sent on August 3 to the delegations of all the communist and workers' parties participating in this meeting. It shows that our delegation was authorised to declare, on behalf of the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania and the Government of the People's Republic of Albania, that "in any situation and at any moment of danger we shall fight to the end beside the Soviet Union and the other fraternal countries, regardless of any sacrifice, on any occasion and as always we shall be in solidarity to the end and shall do our duty honourably". This has been and is the view of the Party of Labour of Albania and the Government of the People's Republic of Albania, irrespective of the ideological disagreements which exist between our parties.

Who, in fact, is afraid of the responsibility for the solution of the German issue—we who have been and are for the earliest possible settlement of it, or those who have retreated on this issue and dragged it on until today? N. S. Khrushchev himself

publicly declared, in November 1958, that after six months the realisations of measures for the liquidation of the occupation regime in West Berlin and for its transformation into a free, demilitarized city would begin. But six months went by, another two years has gone by, and the situation in West Berlin is still what it was. There is another fact, too, which we cannot fail to mention here. Only a few months ago, at the March 1961, meeting of the Consultative Political Committee of the Warsaw Treaty, Nikita S. Khrushchev reproached the Party of Labour of Albania because it allegedly pursues an incautious and hard-line policy in connection with the German question, while four months later the Party of Labour of Albania is accused of being afraid, that it seeks to avoid the responsibilities stemming from the solution of the German question, etc., etc. Are these declarations not a little surprising? Is it not clear that some leaders of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and some leaders of the communist and workers' parties of the socialist countries of Europe who support them in their efforts to smear the Party of Labour of Albania, to distort its correct policy, resort to all sorts of arguments, be they invented or borrowed from the arsenal of the enemies of the People's Republic of Albania and the socialist camp, be they even contradictory to one another? But the sun cannot be hidden by a sieve. The stand of the Party of Labour and the Government of the People's Republic of Albania is clear to everybody. The various calumnies and accusations, wherever they may come from, cannot deceive anybody, apart from the naive and those who want to be deceived.

To us it is astonishing and monstrous, how such slanders can be emitted from the mouths of the leaders of some socialist countries and communist parties against another socialist country such as Albania and a Marxist-Leninist party such as the Party of Labour of Albania, that they are allegedly "striving to prepare the ground for rapprochement with those who oppose the peaceful settlement of the German problem". The Plenum of the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania firmly and indignantly rejects this base insinuation and considers it a grave insult to our Party and people, who have fought heroically against fascism and nazism, who have proved themselves many times over in the struggle against imperialism and its tools, who have unflinchingly resisted every threat and provocation by the enemies of socialism, who have mercilessly exposed all those who, deviating from class positions, have sunk into the slime of opportunism and preached conciliation with our enemies. It appears that since their false accusations of sectarianism and extremism against the Party of Labour of Albania did not work and could not deceive anyone, now they are trying to spread all sorts of inventions that the Party of Labour of Albania is seeking rapprochement with the enemies of peace and socialism. But, faced with the correct and consistent Marxist-Leninist stand of our Party, a stand which is so widely known that we do not take the pains to document it in this letter, these new accusations, too, will suffer the same fate as the previous ones—they will fail ignominiously. Those who accuse and slander the Party of Labour of Albania and its leadership are unable to bring forward even one fact that could prove what they say, whereas we are in a position to bring out many documented facts

which clearly show their vacillations from the positions of Marxism-Leninism and the struggle against imperialism. We have never had illusions about our enemies, we have not embraced and kissed them, we have never flattered them or patted them on the back, and neither have we ever kowtowed to them. Our Party and Government have always maintained a resolute and principled Marxist-Leninist stand towards the enemies of peace and socialism, have sternly and constantly unmasked imperialism and its policy of war and aggression. They have been irreconcilable towards the class enemies. The efforts to cast aspersions on the Party of Labour of Albania and the Government of the People's Republic of Albania, on the entire Albanian people, are disgraceful attempts which will never be successful. They are refuted both by the entire history of the Party of Labour of Albania, as well as by life and present-day reality itself.

The authors of the above mentioned letter of August 3, 1961 are trying their utmost in every way to find any sort of pretext for further anti-Marxist and not in the least friendly actions against the Albanian people, their Party and Government. The accusations made against us that allegedly the People's Republic of Albania does not carry out its commitments as a member of the Warsaw Treaty, that it does not inform the Unified Command about the state of the Albanian Army, that it pursues a line which is in opposition to the interests of the other Warsaw Treaty member countries and to the principles of proletarian internationalism, are inventions from start to finish. In fact we have carried out all the existing agreements, all the duties with which we have been charged by the Unified Command of the Warsaw Treaty Armed Forces to the letter. We have carried out all its orders and instructions about military training and all the measures envisaged in the joint plans of the Warsaw Treaty armies. Regularly every year and every six months, at the times set and with all the details we have notified the Unified Command of the Warsaw Treaty about the moral-political and material-technical situation, the combat and technical-operational readiness of our army. Such, for example, are the latest reports given verbally and in writing to the commander-in-chief of the United forces of the Warsaw Treaty, Marshal A. A. Grechko, in October 1960 and on March 27, 1961. It is not we, but precisely the Unified Command and the Soviet government that have not carried out their obligations towards the army of a Warsaw Treaty member country, such as the People's Republic of Albania. Immediately after the Bucharest Meeting, the Soviet government cut off all the military supplies in food and clothing, technical equipment, armaments and other means for the Albanian Army, thus, unilaterally and without any warning violating all the previously signed agreements, such as, for instance, the agreement concluded between the Government of the Soviet Union and the Government of the People's Republic of Albania on September 28, 1949, the protocol of February 26, 1959, the protocol of February 3, 1960, etc., including also the flagrant violations by the Soviet side of the agreements of the years 1957 and 1959 regarding the naval base of Vlora. Completely contrary to the common interests of the defence of the socialist camp, the Soviet leaders and all those leaders of the communist and workers' parties of the socialist countries of Europe who approved their proposal, liquidated the naval base of Vlora, thus taking, upon

themselves a grave historical responsibility, not only before the Albanian people, but also before all the other peoples of the socialist camp. The plan of principal measures of the Unified Command of the Warsaw Treaty, about the operational and combat training of the Albanian Army for the 1961 educational year, has not been carried out. It has been violated without any reason or warning. The Unified Command has categorically cut off the dispatch of military literature to Albania and does not give the Command of the Albanian Army any information whatever about what is going on in the armies of other Warsaw Treaty member countries. Despite the repeated requests of the Albanian authorities, made in the report sent to Marshal Grechko on March 27, 1961, at the meeting of the Consultative Political Committee of the Warsaw Treaty in March this year, and on other occasions, that the Command of the Albanian Army should know what are its duties and the armies with which our army would act together in case of war, at least in the initial stage after it begins, up till now no answer has been given and no measure has been taken, so that the Albanian Army still does not know its duties in the context of the joint strategic and operational plan of the Warsaw Treaty armies. The request of the Albanian side, presented in the above mentioned report of March 27, 1961, that, in the context of the reciprocal exchange of experience, the Albanian Army too, should take part in joint exercises to the extent and with the composition that are judged reasonable, has likewise remained without an answer.

From what has been said above, it clearly emerges that the Party of Labour of Albania and the People's Republic of Albania have always fulfilled their obligations in a correct manner, both towards the other Warsaw Treaty member countries, and towards the Unified Command. Whereas, on the contrary, the leaders of the other Warsaw Treaty member countries and the Unified Command have not fulfilled their duties towards the People's Republic of Albania and the Albanian Army, towards a socialist country, and member of the Warsaw Treaty.

The same thing can be said, also, with regard to the political activity of the Government of the People's Republic of Albania. In its entire practice, the Government of the People's Republic of Albania has regularly informed the other Warsaw Treaty countries about all the important issues of foreign policy, through their diplomatic representatives in Tirana, for whom it has provided all facilities for the exercise of their activity. The accusations made against the leadership of our Party and Government in this direction, too, are sheer inventions which are made with the purpose of making our relations even worse.

But all these unjust actions, baseless accusations and slanders against the Party of Labour of Albania and the People's Republic of Albania, will never attain their aim, they will never be able to turn the People's Republic of Albania from the rigorous and consistent carrying out of its internationalist duties as a socialist state and worthy member of the Warsaw Treaty. The Plenum of the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania once again declares that, despite the obstacles and difficulties being created for us every day, with our means and possibilities, we shall keep our Armed Forces in full readiness in order to perform honourably and with precision our duty as an ally for the defence of the interests of the socialist camp in this region, and as far as we are con-

cerned, we shall keep the Unified Command of the Warsaw Treaty and all the socialist countries informed. At the same time, we demand and shall demand that the Unified Command and the governments of the socialist countries, members of the Warsaw Treaty, too, fulfil to the letter their obligations towards the People's Republic of Albania and its army, as an equal member of the Warsaw Treaty. The Party of Labour of Albania thinks that the reciprocal obligations of all the Warsaw Treaty members must be carried out to the letter and by everybody, without any discrimination.

In the August 3 letter, addressed to the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania, it is stated that the Party of Labour of Albania «considers the carrying out of its obligations which stem from the Warsaw Treaty as a heavy burden», etc. The ridiculous position in which the authors of these declarations have placed themselves is really deplorable. How could a small country like Albania, which is building socialism in the conditions of the capitalist geographic encirclement, under the continuous pressure of the conspiracies, provocations, and threats of the imperialists, the Greek monarcho-fascists, and the Yugoslav revisionists, find it a burden to be in the Warsaw Treaty? Who could be more interested in the Warsaw Treaty than the small Albanian people, who are living and working right in the wolf's mouth? Therefore, the Plenum of the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania indignantly rejects both the conclusion contained in the August 3 letter, according to which the Albanian leaders allegedly «consider the carrying out of the obligations stemming from the Warsaw Treaty a heavy burden», as well as the formula repeated in many documents aimed at the Central Committee of the PLA that, allegedly, «the Party of Labour of Albania and the Albanian government have placed themselves outside the Warsaw Treaty». The objective at which the authors of such calumnies aim is more than clear, but, irrespective of this, the Plenum of the Central Committee of the PLA declares that the People's Republic of Albania has been and is a worthy member of the Warsaw Treaty, which has honourably upheld and upholds all the responsibilities stemming from this membership.

The accusations that allegedly the Party of Labour of Albania and its leaders are disrupting the unity of the Warsaw Treaty countries and the socialist camp, by their actions are lies and are made with dark purposes, as a cover for the unfriendly activity which has been carried on against our Party and people by the leaders of some communist and workers' parties of the socialist countries of Europe for some time. It is precisely this activity, and not the attitudes of the Party of Labour of Albania, which is undermining the unity and solidarity of the countries of the Warsaw Treaty and the socialist camp. Despite the injustices done to them, despite all the slanders and many kinds of pressures and difficulties which are being created for them, at no time have the Party of Labour of Albania and its leaders given any cause for our unity to be weakened. On the contrary they have fought and are fighting to strengthen it, — they have not provided and do not provide the enemies with any weapon whatever with which to attack our unity. It is precisely certain leaders of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, with N. S. Khrushchev at the head, and of the other communist and workers' parties of the socialist countries of Europe, headed by A. Novotny,

W. Ulbricht, W. Gomulka, T. Zhivkov, J. Kadar and G. Gheorghiu — Dej, who, by their actions against the Party of Labour of Albania and the Albanian people, actions which are becoming more publicly known day by day, are providing our common enemies with weapons to attack both our unity in general, and the People's Republic of Albania. It is they who deliberately carried over the ideological disagreements between our parties to the field of relations between our socialist states, by imposing the economic, political and military blockade on the People's Republic of Albania. It is they who from the discussion of these problems through party channels, launched into public discussion of them as W. Ulbricht did in his notorious statement after the Moscow Meeting of the 81 communist and workers' parties, or as the leadership of the Communist Party of Bulgaria has done in its own party. It is they, who, instead of working, as the Moscow Declaration says, to gradually eliminate the disagreements that existed and the negative phenomena that had been observed in the relations between our parties, preferred another course: the course of the further exacerbation, the course of pressures, the one greater than the other, the course of unprincipled attacks and countless provocations against the Party of Labour of Albania and the People's Republic of Albania. It is precisely they who are weakening and undermining the unity and solidarity of the socialist camp and the Warsaw Treaty, with the unprecedented decision they took at the August 3 meeting to deprive the plenipotentiary delegation of the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania of the legal right to take part in the meeting and express the view of our Party about so important a problem as the German problem, and precisely at a very delicate moment of the international situation, when it is more necessary than ever that we are united to a man facing the US and other imperialists who are threatening us with war. Hence, it is not the Party of Labour of Albania, but certain Soviet leaders, with N. S. Khrushchev at the head, and leaders of other socialist countries of Europe who, with their anti-Marxist and by no means friendly actions, are weakening and undermining the unity of the socialist camp, the international communist movement, and the Warsaw Treaty countries, thus pleasing only the enemies of peace and socialism...

Why then is the leadership of our Party being slandered so zealously? What purposes do the authors of the monstrous charges and attacks against it aim to achieve? Their purpose is poorly disguised, because everything is more than clear: they do not like the present leadership of the Party of Labour of Albania and they are striving in every way to bring it down. But let them be sure that they will be quite unable to achieve this aim, just as neither the imperialists, nor the Yugoslav revisionists have achieved it and never will.

The Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania has declared more than once, and we repeat in this letter too, that the fact that the Soviet leaders and those of the other socialist countries of Europe are pursuing a completely erroneous political course in their relations with the Party of Labour of Albania and the People's Republic of Albania, a course which brings harm, not only to the Albanian people and the construction of socialism in Albania, but also to the interests of the socialist camp itself and the Warsaw Treaty, to our unity, which is more than essential, particularly at present, worries and saddens us greatly. They have taken the dangerous course of de-

liberately exacerbating and complicating our disagreements and they are going further and further down this road. Our Party of Labour has said and we repeat that if there are some who think that in this way, through pressures and unjust actions, through blockades and economic, political or military restrictions our Party can be conquered, that views with which it does not agree can be imposed on it, they are gravely mistaken. Therefore the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania repeats once again the call made in its letter of July 6, 1961, addressed to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, to give up unfriendly actions towards and pressures on the Party of Labour of Albania and the People's Republic of Albania, the conscious exacerbation of our relations, anything that only creates artificial obstacles to the strengthening of our unity and friendship. This and this alone, is the way to the resolution of disagreements and strengthening of our unity.

But we observe with profound regret that their hot-headedness and arrogant attitude towards the Party of Labour of Albania, which by no means conform to the principles of proletarian internationalism, hinder N. S. Khrushchev and the leaders of other socialist countries of Europe from carefully weighing up our proposals in our letter of July 6, which indicate the only correct way to resolve our disagreements. Instead of correcting their wrong attitudes towards the Party of Labour of Albania and undertaking real steps to improve our relations and strengthen our unity, they make a show of strength against a small fraternal people, such as the Albanian people, by means of blockades, blackmail and economic, political, and military pressures. But it is known that the argument of strength

is a sign of weakness, it cannot change lies into truth nor replace principles. We remain unshaken, because we have an invincible strength, the strength of the truth, the strength of principle, the strength of Marxism-Leninism. Proceeding from their distorted positions, the Soviet leaders and those of other socialist countries of Europe who support them in their unprincipled fight against the Party of Labour of Albania and the Albanian people, may take any decision against the Party of Labour of Albania and the People's Republic of Albania, against the Albanian people, but any such decision will be wrong and will not achieve its aim.

In the future, too, the Party of Labour of Albania and the Government of the People's Republic of Albania will honourably carry out their duties as a Marxist-Leninist Party and a socialist country just as they have done up to now. This has been our line. This will be our line in the future, too.

For the Central Committee
of the Party of Labour of Albania
First Secretary
ENVER HOXHA

1) This letter has been addressed to the central committees of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, the Socialist United Party of Germany, the United Workers' Party of Poland, the Communist Party of Bulgaria, the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, the Workers' Party of Rumania and for information to the central committees of the Communist Party of China, the Party of Labour of Korea and the Party of the Working People of Vietnam.

WE MUST GIVE THE OPEN ATTACKS OF THE SOVIET REVISIONISTS THE REPLY THEY DESERVE

Contribution to the discussion at the meeting of the Political Bureau of the CC of the PLA¹⁾

October 20, 1961

As you know comrades, the Soviet revisionists have attacked us openly. They have continued their attacks against us.

Up till now we have maintained a correct, Marxist-Leninist attitude towards the Soviet leadership, not bringing out the differences we have with it before world public opinion. But, Khrushchev has publicly attacked us and denounced us over these differences, thus violating the Leninist norms of relations among the parties, as well as the decisions of the 1960 Moscow Meeting. Now we find ourselves faced with open attacks of conspirators, about which the entire world public has heard. It is our right to reply to these revisionist attacks. For our Party, the stage of holding back, the stage in which we had made proposals for the resolution of the problems, is over. Therefore we must give their attacks the reply they deserve. If the comrades agree, I propose that we should make a statement in the name of the Central Committee of the Party,

and publish it in the press²⁾ in which we point out our attitude to this situation.

It is known that the conspiracy was concocted by N. Khrushchev in Bucharest. This conspiracy, carried out by him and his henchmen against the interests of the world communist and workers' movement, is still going on: now the Soviet revisionists are attacking us within and outside their own country. In such conditions the Party of Labour of Albania must be defended, therefore whichever of the other parties wants to defend our Party let it do so, for in this way it defends Marxism-Leninism.

After the draft-statement is read out, and is discussed with the comrades of the Political Bureau expressing their unanimous support, comrade Enver Hoxha continues:

Khrushchev is trying to mobilise all international communism against our Party, but we, too, have the right to act

similarly to expose Khrushchev and Soviet revisionism. Khrushchev knows to make his calculations, but we know that we can count on our Party and people, and that the Soviet peoples themselves, the revolutionary Soviet communists, the Chinese people and communists, the peoples and genuine communists in the whole world are with us.

The fact is that to come out alone against Khrushchev and his followers is not easy, but we shall do this because the truth must be defended, the Party must be defended, Marxism-Leninism must be defended. We know that all sorts of slanders will be spread against us, but we shall stick courageously to our correct Marxist-Leninist course. With the revolutionary stand we maintain, we defend our Party, the freedom and independence of our homeland, the Albanian people and their victories. But the Party of Labour of Albania deems it its internationalist duty to fight in defence of Marxism-Leninism and the international communist movement. We must tell the Party and the people that this struggle will be protracted and difficult but we have not flinched from struggles and difficulties and never shall and the victory will be ours, the victory of Marxism-Leninism.

There are two courses of action in the struggle against the Soviet revisionists: the one is to write articles and the other is to publish the documents of our Party. We shall write articles too, however it seems to me that the publication of the documents is the better variant, but this must be done from the beginning, from the first documents, so that every one will have a complete idea of how the events have developed. Therefore, we must begin the publication of our documents and, if not today, tomorrow, publish them all in the press. . .³⁾

1) *At this meeting the Political Bureau discussed the future attitude towards the Soviet revisionist leadership which publicly attacked the PLA and its leadership from the tribune of the XXII Congress of the CPSU on October 17, 1961.*

2) *This statement of the CC of the PLA, which was published in the newspaper "Zëri i Popullit" on the 21st of October 1961, is being published also on the pages of this review.*

3) *At the beginning some of these documents were published in the pamphlet "The truth about the Albanian-Soviet relations" which has been translated also in a number of foreign languages.*

TWENTY YEARS OF REVOLUTIONARY LIFE AND STRUGGLE

From the speech delivered at the festive meeting commemorating the 20th anniversary of the founding of the PLA

November 7, 1961

Comrades,

The founding of the Party of Labour of Albania took place at one of the most critical moments in the history of the small, long-suffering, but heroic, Albanian people. Black clouds were hovering over our homeland, Albania, at that time. After the dark period of Zog's feudo-bourgeois regime, still more savage and more dangerous enemies — the fascist invaders, rushed against our oppressed and exploited, hungry, massacred and betrayed people, but unbent like our high mountains. Fascist slavery endangered the very existence of our nation. A danger of death was menacing at that time all the freedom-loving peoples of the world: Hitlerite Germany, encouraged and incited by the capitulating policy of the great imperialist powers, after having subjugated many countries of Europe through fire and sword, rushed like a wild beast against the homeland of socialism — the Soviet Union.

In those difficult days for our long-suffering people and homeland, in the profound darkness covering the country, a glowing spark arose, which kindled the unquenched fire of the liberation struggle, that wiped away invaders and traitors like a storm, our Party was born.

The Communist Party of Albania was created by the Albanian communists, it was born as a result and as a crowning of the up to that time struggle of the working class of our country, of the liberation movement and efforts of the Alba-

nian people. Precisely the workers' and communist movement, existing in our country since prior to the fascist occupation, although not much developed and formed, is the basis on which our Party was founded.

The thoroughly anti-popular and capitulating policy of the satrap regime of Zog, which had immeasurably increased the poverty and sufferings of the people, which barbarously suppressed everything progressive and which had sold out the country to foreigners, the fascist occupation later, which robbed us of our freedom, independence and sovereignty endangering the very existence of our people as a nation, all these things had increased the dissatisfaction of the broad people's masses to the maximum and had created a thoroughly revolutionary situation in our country. The people wanted bread, wanted land, they wanted to enjoy the elementary rights of man, they wanted freedom for their homeland. But the people lacked leadership. In these conditions, the sound communists, who belonged to the communist groups of that time, left aside the quarrels and narrow interests of the groups and began an active and determined activity for the creation of the Communist Party of Albania.

The entry of the Soviet Union in the armed struggle against fascism was another powerful impulse which speeded up the creation of our Party. The perfidious attack of the Hitlerite

hordes against the Soviet Union, the homeland of socialism, the friend and supporter of all the oppressed and exploited and of all the peoples, was a dagger in the heart for every communist, for the international working class, for the entire progressive mankind. But, at the same time, the entry of the powerful Soviet Union in the war opened to our people, as well as to all the people enslaved by fascism, the reliable perspective of liberation from fascist slavery.

Our Party was born as a Marxist-Leninist party and was set up according to the Leninist principles of building the party. From the beginning it made Marxism-Leninism, the triumphant ideas of the great October Socialist Revolution as its banner, it was guided by them and defended them always with loyalty, never making concessions in principles. The cadres of our Party had not graduated from higher schools and universities, nor were they office philosophers, but in fight with the merciless tides of life, in hardships and struggle with the enemies of the Party and people, for the liberation of the homeland and the construction of socialism, they were convinced of the correctness and life-giving strength of the teachings of Marxism-Leninism, they mastered these teachings, were moulded with them and became capable of implementing them in the concrete historical conditions of our homeland, and of working out a correct political line at any moment and under any circumstance.

Our Party was born as a party of the struggle for the vital interests of the working class and all the working people, for the national interests of our people. It emerged from the ranks of the working people, it grew and tempered itself with the people, it shared sufferings and joys with them, it threw itself into fire and flames with the people and for the people, being always in the front ranks of the struggle, it found strength and support with the people at the most difficult moments. It inherited and developed further the best traditions of our heroic people: valiance, courage and undaunted persistence in the struggle to reach the objective and overcome the difficulties, hatred for the enemies, firm loyalty towards, and respect for, the true friends, honesty and love for the right. From their very experience, from life itself and facts, our people were convinced that they have in the Party of Labour their leader loyal to the end, capable of successfully leading them from victory to victory towards the bright future, the undaunted defender of their interests. Therefore, they are united with the Party as one, and there is no force and intrigue on earth that can break this steel-like unity. Because it has always had inscribed on its banner the vital interests of the people, our Party has been able to maintain always a correct general line even in the most complicated circumstances, because it has always been linked with the masses like flesh to bone, it has been able to cope with the most rabid storms and attacks of the enemies.

Our Party was born as a fighting detachment of the international communist movement. It has always marched parallel with the world communist movement and the socialist camp, as their worthy member, in the common struggle against fascism and for the construction of socialism and communism, for peace and the peoples' freedom, carrying out its internationalist duties honourably at any time and in any situation.

Founded on these sound bases, our Party outlined from the beginning a clear program which, like a beacon-light, opened the perspective and became a banner of struggle for our people:

uninterrupted and uncompromising struggle against the fascist invaders and local traitors, the gathering and organization of the people in a general armed uprising, with a view to achieving the complete liberation of the country and barring the way to any imperialist domination in Albania; the destruction to its foundations of the old anti-popular state power of the fascist invader and the exploiting classes, the setting up of the national liberation councils as the embryo of the people's state power and the establishment of the regime of people's democracy in our homeland; the carrying out after the liberation of the country of the great social and economic transformations in the interest of the people and the holding of general elections to the Constituent Assembly, which would decide on the form of the regime. Such was the immediate program of our Party, the program of the anti-imperialist, anti-feudal and democratic revolution, which was based on the teachings of Marxism-Leninism, at the same time taking into account the concrete historical conditions and features of our country.

As a Marxist-Leninist party, as a revolutionary party of the working class, our Party had in its ultimate program the embarkment of Albania on the road of socialism, the building of the socialist and communist society in our homeland.

But it was clear to our Party that there did not exist any unsurmountable gap between these two programs, that they were not divided by some wall, that they constituted two links of a single chain, which complemented one another. Enlightened by the Leninist teachings on the transformation of the democratic revolution into socialist revolution, our Party had always a clear perspective, it did not forget for a single moment that the decisive victory of our people, with the working class and its communist Party at the head in the National Liberation War, was the indispensable condition for the further achievements of our people, for their embarkment upon the road of socialism.

With such a correct Marxist-Leninist line, the Party guided reliably and led the National Liberation War of our people to victory, resolutely and unwaveringly manoeuvring from correct positions in any circumstance, however complicated it may have been.

The call of the Party for armed and uncompromising struggle against the occupiers and traitors was met with a great patriotic and revolutionary drive by the entire Albanian people: the heroic working class of our country, which although small in number became the worthy leader of the people's revolution; the labouring peasantry, thirsty of land and freedom, the faithful and powerful ally of the working class; the patriotic and progressive intelligentsia, which fought for our freedom and national culture; our glorious youth with their fiery hearts, who, not sparing even their lives, dedicated all their youthful passion and energies to the sacred cause of the liberation and the realization of the centuries-old dream of our long-suffering people for a happy life; the valiant women of Albania, who took off the yashmak resolutely and threw off fanaticism and took up arms to fight arm-in-arm with the men for the freedom of their homeland and for their own rights; all the honest people, patriots and anti-fascists, who placed the lofty interests of the homeland above their individual interests. All these great people's forces, under the leadership of the Party, united in the National Liberation Anti-fascist Front. This front did not constitute a union of the gentry of the coun-

try nor a coalition of various political parties, but a direct organization of the broad labouring and patriotic masses themselves under the leadership of a single party, the Communist Party of Albania, which expressed the vital interests of the labouring people. At the foundation of this broad people's front was the alliance of the working class with the peasantry under the leadership of the working class, an alliance which constituted the social basis of the political army of the people's revolution in our country.

Under the leadership of the Party, the liberation struggle in our country broke out with an uncontrollable drive and turned into an armed general uprising of the entire people. Just like a small snowball which, rolling downhill, grows little by little and turns into a powerful avalanche, which wipes away furiously everything it runs against, and shakes mountains and plains like an earthquake, so from the first partisan guerrillas and units, which at the beginning were small in number, but being increased day by day with the best sons and daughters of the people, the powerful partisan National Liberation Army was created, which in 1944 counted over 70,000 fighters organized into brigades, divisions and army corps. It was a truly people's army, which was born from the fold of the people and fought for the people. The people brought it up with new blood, they fed and clothed it, maintained and supported it unreservedly in the difficult struggle against the Italian and German fascist invaders and local traitors. With the militant slogans of the Party «Freedom is not donated, but won with struggle and blood» and «Death to fascism - Freedom to the people!», our partisan army fought with an unmatched heroism, it inscribed with its blood new glorious pages in the history of our warrior and freedom-loving people. On the 29th of November 1944, our valiant partisans liberated completely our homeland from the invaders and traitors. Tens of thousands of martyrs, communists and non-party patriots, laid down their lives in this sacred and glorious war, with their pure blood they paved the way for our people to march ahead towards the happy life, socialism and communism. Let us honour, comrades, their memory which will live in centuries shining with glory!

The Communist Party of Albania stood always unshakable on the front ranks of the National Liberation War of our people, never allowing compromises in principles and vacillations in the face of the enemy. The communists were always in the most dangerous place, inspiring by their example all the fighters for freedom. Many of the leaders and best sons of the Party heroically fell while on duty.

Along with the undaunted struggle against the Italian and German fascist invaders, the Party carried out a major work to expose before the entire people the betrayal of the exploiting classes, the feudals and big bourgeoisie and their organizations «Balli Kombëtar» and «Legaliteti» which had placed themselves at the service of the invaders, as well as the efforts of the Anglo-American imperialists to disrupt and hinder the National Liberation War of our people. Remaining loyal to its clear Marxist-Leninist program, the Party never allowed that the traitorous organizations, which had not fired a single shot against fascism» deceive the people (occupy different positions in the state power after the liberation of the country).

Thanks to the correct class stand of our Party, to its determined tactics, with the liberation of the country the whole state power passed over completely, from the beginning, into the

hands of the working class in alliance with all the labouring and patriotic masses of the country, into the hands of a single party, the Communist Party of Albania. This was the fundamental condition which allowed our country to embark without delay upon the course of the socialist development.

The liberation of the country and the establishment of the people's power laid down other great and difficult tasks before our Party and people, to carry the people's revolution through to the end, to reconstruct the war-ravaged country and carry it forward on the road of the socialist construction.

Within a very short historical period of about 17 years, our country, under the wise leadership of the Party, liquidated the profound backwardness it had inherited from the past and was transformed from an entirely backward agrarian country, almost without industry and with a primitive agriculture, into an agrarian-industrial country. Whole branches of industry were created, such as the textile, timber-processing, food and mechanical engineering industries; the oil and useful minerals extracting and processing industries assumed a broad development, etc.

During the 1st five-year plan (1951-1955) about 150 important industrial and social-cultural objects were set up, over 250 more were set up during the 2nd five-year plan (1956-1960). Before our eyes, where there used to be plains, denuded hills or swamps, tens upon tens of wonderful projects were erected which our people is proud of today.

The Albanian people, formerly oppressed and ignorant, who always looked at other countries with envy, who expected everything from Europe, from the water glass and up to the petroleum, at present, with their own people's state power and under the leadership of the Party, are creating a new life with their own hands. The total industrial production in our country has increased 25 times in comparison with the pre-war period. That which was produced by the existing industry of the country during the entire year 1938, is now produced by our new socialist industry only in 15 days. In the Fier district alone, which is mainly an agricultural district, industrial production is today about 1.6 times larger than the total industrial production of the whole of Albania in 1938.

Our Party has been guided in the socialist industrialization by the Marxist-Leninist principle of the development of the means of production at more rapid rates, therefore importance has been attached to the development, in the first place, of heavy industry, particularly mining industry, the development of the power base of the country, etc. But taking into account the features of our small country, with limited possibilities of manpower and material and financial means, which made impossible the setting up of all the branches of heavy industry, as well as the urgent needs of our people for consumer goods, various branches of food and light industry have also been developed along with heavy industry.

The great successes achieved in the industrialization of the country, constitute a big historic step in the construction of socialism and a sound basis for the further and more rapid development of our homeland on the road of the complete construction of the socialist society.

The socialist transformation of our countryside, too, ended with success in general lines. On such important and delicate question of socialist construction, our Party has been con-

sistently guided by the teachings of Lenin. It pursued with determination the course of voluntary uniting of the individual peasant economies into agricultural cooperatives, as well as of the organization of the big agricultural enterprises.

When conditions were ripe, the Party gave the guide-line at the Plenum of the Central Committee in December 1955 and, later on, at the 3rd Congress in May 1956, to speed up the rates of the collectivization of agriculture. As the 4th Congress of the Party ascertained, the decision of the 3rd Congress was carried out ahead of schedule. At the beginning of 1961 our country counted about 1,500 agricultural cooperatives which, together with the agricultural enterprises, occupied over 86 per cent of the Republic's sown areas. The collectivization of agriculture in our country had its own distinctive features: It took place in the conditions of the existence of private property over land, but which the peasant owner could not sell, purchase, or pawn it; it was carried out almost without intermediate forms of cooperation, passing over directly from the small private economy to the agricultural artel of the socialist type; it was carried out by creating, along with the process of cooperation, the material-technical base of the big collective production.

Parallel with the collectivization of agriculture, our Party and the people's state power, with the active participation of the labouring peasantry of our country, have carried out a colossal work for the development of the productive forces in the countryside. Whole regions of our homeland, where formerly mosquitoes and malaria had established their poisonous reign, have become today fertile and healthy areas.

The Party has shown particular concern to the mechanization of agriculture. In the areas which can be cultivated by tractors about 85 per cent of ploughing, 49 per cent of sowing, 36 per cent of harvesting, 64 per cent of threshing and other work are carried out with mechanized means. Our state has powerfully assisted the labouring peasantry to develop the productive forces and set up the economy. During the 2nd five-year plan alone, it has given them an agrarian credit of over 4 billion leks.

Thanks to the collectivization of agriculture, the important measures of the Party and the people's state power for the development of the productive forces in the countryside, as well as thanks to the selfless work of the labouring peasantry of the country, good successes have been achieved in the increase of agricultural and livestock products. With the 3rd five-year plan the agriculture of our country enters the stage of development at still more rapid rates, through the rapid increase of the yields of agricultural crops, of the transition from extensive agriculture to intensive agriculture.

On the basis of the continual increase of industrial and agricultural production, of the increase of the economic potential of the country, the living standard of our people has kept rising unceasingly, a thing which constitutes the aim of socialist construction and the supreme law of the entire activity of our Party of Labour. Unemployment, deep-going poverty and misery, the menace of hunger, the heavy work of a slave for the daily bread, the badly dressed and barefooted children, the ruined huts, the chronic diseases and other horrors, which characterized our country in a not distant past and which accompanied the working man step by step throughout his life, from his cradle to his grave, have now remained as a bitter past in the memory of our people. Now unemployment

has been eliminated for ever, our working people enjoy the right to work, to a paid annual leave, disability and seniority at work pensions, free of charge medical service and education. Cast a glance around our cities and villages and you will see that they have been transformed into construction sites, where tens upon tens of new dwelling houses are being erected every day for the people. During 1960 alone our State has spent in the city of Tirana for the construction of blocks of flats about two times more means than there were spent in 1938 throughout Albania for all kinds of construction work. Electric light is being introduced in our countryside smoked by the pine-wood and oil lamp. In the 1951-1960 decade the peasants have built up with their own means about 47,000 new houses, without calculating here the construction work carried out in the countryside by the state and the agricultural cooperatives. The price reductions are also a vivid testimony to the increase of the wellbeing of the working people. From 1950 to 1960, 9 price reductions have been effected one after another in our country, from which the population has an annual profit of over 7 billion and 900 million leks.

A deep-going socialist revolution is being carried out in our country. Albania, which not long ago was considered as the most backward country in Europe, where over 80 per cent of the population was illiterate, has radically changed. Knowledge took the place of ignorance, light of darkness. One out of five persons attends school. Art and culture are becoming the property of the people with every passing day. The opera, cinematography, a wide network of hearths of culture, reading homes, have been created. The State University of Tirana and other institutes of higher learning, being attended by more than 9,000 students, have been set up for the first time. A wide stratum of the people's intelligentsia, loyal to the great cause of socialism and communism, has been created and is growing day by day.

As you know, the historic 4th Congress of our Party, which held its proceedings in February this year, arrived at the conclusion that the construction of the economic base of socialism has been successfully accomplished in our country. As a result, the exploiting classes have been liquidated as a class, and the exploitation of man by man has been wiped out. Today there exist in our country only two friendly classes — the working class and the cooperativist peasantry, as well as the stratum of the people's intelligentsia, which, under the leadership of the working class and its Party of Labour have the state power in their hands and carry the socialist construction of the country forward. Now our country is embarking on a new stage of the socialist construction — the stage of the complete construction of the socialist society. The main link for the complete construction of socialism in our country is the complete construction of the material-technical base of socialism. The first steps towards its creation have been taken during the two previous five-year plans, while the 3rd five-year plan will be an important step forward on the road of the complete construction of the material-technical base of socialism. During this five-year period over 400 big industrial and social-cultural objects will be set up and put into operation completely or partially.

The 3rd five-year plan opens great prospects also in the field of agriculture, the raising of the material well-being of the people, the further development of the cultural revolution,

as well as in all fields of the social life of the country, to fulfil and overfulfil the targets of the State plan for 1961, which is the first year of the 3rd five-year plan.

The satisfactory results achieved by our working people, mobilized to carry out in practice the historic decisions of the 4th Congress of the Party and in honour of the 20th anniversary of the founding of the Party, are a sound guarantee for the fulfilment of the 1961 plan ahead of schedule. They are a clear indication of our people's determination to march forward unwaveringly on the road indicated to them by the Party, making light of difficulties and obstacles which the imperialists and various revisionists are trying to raise on their way. Glory to our heroic people!

Bearing in mind that our country is under the conditions of the capitalist and revisionist encirclement, the Party has taught our heroic people to keep their vigilance always sharp, build socialism holding the pick in one hand and the rifle in the other and not dropping the latter from their hand as long as imperialism and its tools will exist in the world. Our Party has continually borne in mind the question of the defense of the freedom and independence of our country. It has always devoted a special concern to the constant strengthening of the defensive might of the country, the continual raising of the fighting capacity and preparedness of our People's Army, of the State Security and Border forces. We can joyfully inform our people that our glorious armed forces are in a position and full fighting preparedness to defend the People's Republic of Albania successfully and give the rebuff to any enemy who would dare touch the sacred borders of our beloved socialist homeland.

Dear comrades,

Such is in general lines the course our glorious Party has traversed during the 20 years of its existence, such are the historic victories our people have achieved under the wise leadership of the Party.

We owe these victories above all to the heroic struggle and efforts of our people, their ardent patriotism, their unshakable determination, their creative abilities and talent. This has been and remains the decisive factor of the liberation of our country and the construction of the socialist and communist society in our country.

We owe these victories to the leadership of the Party of Labour of Albania, which, at all stages and moments, has had a correct general line. Life itself, practice, show that this is a Marxist-Leninist line, fully responding to the vital interests of the Albanian people, as well as to the common interests of the international communist movement, of our great cause of the revolution and socialism, of the freedom of the peoples and peace.

Our Party has always preserved its Marxist-Leninist line crystal-pure, it has defended it in fierce struggle with various enemies and deviationists, from Anastas Lula and Sadik Premte, Ymer Dishnica and Sejfulla Malëshova down to Koçi Xoxe, Tuk Jakova and Bedri Spahiu, Liri Gega and Liri Belishova, etc., who have sought to divert the Party from its correct course. But our Party remained always unshakable like a granite-rock. In this struggle it preserved and strengthened further day by day the ideological and organizational unity of its ranks, on the basis of Marxism-Leninism, as one of the most important factors of our victories, of the strength and

invincibility of our Party in the face of any enemy. We shall preserve this unity like the apple of the eye and shall strengthen it ever more.

Convinced by their very experience of the correctness of the line of our Party, our people have backed up and supported the Party unreservedly, at all moments and in all circumstances, they have united around it in an unbreakable monolithic unity. In this unity resides the unshakable strength of our Party and people, the sound guarantee of all the past, present and future victories of the people. This unity is the heaviest blow against all the enemies of our Party and people, the imperialists and revisionists of all hues. We, Party and people, will preserve this unity like the apple of the eye and will strengthen it unceasingly day by day.

The great historic victories our people have achieved in the struggle for the liberation of the country and for the construction of socialism in a free, independent and sovereign Albania, are due also to the internationalist aid and support which the Soviet Union, the People's Republic of China and the other socialist countries have given and still give to our country. The Party and the Albanian people will be grateful to them for ever for this generous aid. This aid is a wonderful expression of the friendship binding our people with the glorious peoples of the Soviet Union, with the great Chinese people and with all the peoples of the other socialist countries.

Dear comrades,

We are celebrating the 20th glorious anniversary of our Party in new international conditions very favourable to the forces of peace, democracy and socialism. Twenty years ago, when the Albanian Communist Party was founded, the world was ruled by the capitalist system — a system of oppression and savage exploitation of peoples. The Soviet Union, the first country of victorious socialism, was at that time encircled on all sides by capitalist countries. Whole continents were suffering under the colonial yoke of imperialism. The most reactionary forces of bourgeoisie, the fascist and militarist states, incited by the most aggressive circles of international imperialism, had unleashed the Second World War, they had put under their yoke whole nations and, like wild beasts, they were rushing against the off spring of the great October Socialist Revolution — the Soviet Union.

Today, after 20 years, great radical changes have taken place in the world. Owing to the great Patriotic War of the Soviet peoples, in the first place, there was achieved the historic victory over fascism. New states broke away from the capitalist system and embarked on the road of socialism. The People's Revolution triumphed in China; this is the greatest historic event after the October Socialist Revolution.

The irresistible development of socialism and the upsurge of the national-liberation struggle of the peoples inevitably led to the collapse of the colonial slavery system of imperialism. Forty-two new states, with a total population of more than 1 billion and 200 million, have won freedom and national independence. While after the First World War the countries enslaved and controlled by imperialism made up more than 77 per cent of the territory of the world and accounted for about 70 per cent of the world population, now such countries occupy only over 10 per cent of the area and account for about 3 per cent of the world population. The dissolution of

the colonial system of imperialism is another event of great international importance.

As a result of these changes, the sphere of domination of imperialism has been greatly narrowed, its general crisis has further deepened, all its internal and external class and national contradictions have sharpened. Today imperialism is no more the only and all-powerful ruler in the world. It can no more lord over it. Its laws do not operate everywhere in the world.

Such is the reality of our days and this reality convincingly shows that the balance of forces in the world today has changed to the advantage of socialism and to the detriment of imperialism. The forces of socialism, the forces of national liberation, peace and democracy are superior to the forces of imperialism, colonialism, war and reaction. All these things have created in the world a new situation, very favourable conditions to carry out even more successfully the struggle against imperialism, for peace and for the accomplishment of the socialist, national liberation, democratic and people's revolutions.

The Party of Labour of Albania recognizes and understands the deep changes that have taken place in the world, the new conditions and phenomena that have arisen. But we reject all and every attempt being made by the present-day revisionists who, under the slogans of the «creative interpretation of Marxism in the new conditions», are spreading their false and opportunistic viewpoints; they are seeking to sell them as a «further development of Marxism», and they hasten to stigmatize as dogmatist, sectarian and adventurer anyone who goes on record against such viewpoints. This is a known tactics. There is nothing new, nothing original in this. All the revisionists and opportunists beginning with Bernstein and ending with Tito, under the guise of the «changes in the situation» and of the «new phenomena», have denied the basic principles of Marxism. As V. I. Lenin used to say, by always masking themselves under the slogan of the fight against dogmatism, using the catch-word: «dogmatist», they have risen against Marxism.

From the changes that have occurred in the world, there must be drawn correct, revolutionary, Marxist-Leninist conclusions, there must be drawn such conclusions as not to create reformist and pacifist illusions and weaken the struggle against imperialism, but to strengthen ever more this just struggle; there must be drawn such conclusions as not to alienate the peoples from the cause of revolution, but bring them ever closer to it, not divert them from the struggle for their national liberation, but raise this struggle to an ever higher level.

Let us take the problem of war and peace. Does it mean that the change in the balance of forces to the advantage of socialism has brought about also a change in the nature of imperialism, that imperialism has been tied up hands and feet, that it is unable to do anything, to unleash wars and undertake various aggressive actions? Such a conclusion is not only erroneous, but also very harmful. The underestimation of the forces of the enemy and the overestimation of our own forces weakens our vigilance and pushes us into dangerous adventures, just as the underestimation of our own forces and the overestimation of the forces of the enemy leads to unprincipled concessions, to mistakes and opportunist attitudes. Proceeding from the real balance of forces in the world today,

our Party has pointed out and continues to point out that in the question of war and peace both eventualities must be considered and we must be prepared for both, for war being prevented, as well as for it being unleashed on the part of the imperialists. Our deep conviction that at the present time a world war and other aggressive wars which imperialism unleashes can be prevented is by no means based on the «good intentions» of the chieftains of imperialism, but on the economic, political and military power of the socialist countries, on the unity and struggle of the international working class, on the resolute efforts of the peoples of the whole world against the imperialist war-mongers, on the unity and compactness of all the peace-loving forces.

During all the years of the existence of the people's power, the Government of the People's Republic of Albania has resolutely and consistently pursued a foreign policy which has fully met the interests of our people and homeland, the interests of the defence of freedom and national independence, as well as the interests of the whole camp of socialism and of the cause of peace and progress of human society. The foundation of the foreign policy of the Party of Labour of Albania has always been and remains to be: constant strengthening of the relations of friendship, fraternal cooperation and mutual support and assistance with the countries of the socialist camp; support for the national liberation, anti-imperialist and anti-colonial struggle of the oppressed peoples and nations, as well as for the revolutionary struggle of the working people in the capitalist countries; efforts to secure relations of peaceful coexistence of the People's Republic of Albania with the capitalist countries, especially with the neighbouring countries; efforts for the preservation and strengthening of peace in the world, especially in the Balkan and Adriatic area; exposure of the policy of war and aggression pursued by the imperialist powers headed by the United States of America and their partners and tools round our country, such as the Italian imperialists, the Greek monarcho-fascists and the Yugoslav revisionists.

In the foreign policy our Party and Government have always marched arm-in-arm with the other socialist countries in their efforts for the preservation and strengthening of the world peace. They have always approved and energetically supported the general line of the foreign policy of the Soviet Union and all the other socialist countries for the settlement of the most important international problems. And this foreign policy of the People's Republic of Albania has always met the full approval of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, which have always considered it as a correct policy, to the advantage of our common cause.

But of late, N. Khrushchev and company turned their coat and are accusing us at times of being «adventurists and war-mongers» and at times of a «rapprochement» with imperialism. Those who are accusing us, besides slanders and inventions, have no argument, not a single fact to prove that the foreign policy of the People's Republic of Albania has changed. Nothing has changed in our foreign policy. Our attitude also has not changed either as regards the questions of war and peace, or as regards the struggle against imperialism, or with the neighbouring states.

Twenty years of revolutionary life and struggle of the Party of Labour of Albania reject all these base slanders and

inventions which have caused a profound indignation to, and have irritated, our people who have heroically fought and continue to fight against imperialism and its henchmen. Those who accuse and slander the Party of Labour of Albania and its leadership are unable to adduce even a single fact that could prove their allegations, while we are in a position to present many documented facts clearly showing their estrangement from the positions of Marxism-Leninism and of the struggle against imperialism. We have never cherished illusions about our enemies, we have not embraced and kissed them, we have not flattered them and we have not caressed them, we have never bowed to them. Our Party and state have always maintained a firm, principled, Marxist-Leninist stand towards the enemies of peace and socialism; they have sharply and constantly exposed the imperialists, whether US or British, French or Italian, and their policy of war and aggression; they have been irreconcilable with the class enemies. Our Party and state have sympathized with and have energetically and unreservedly supported the just cause of the peoples who have risen in struggle against imperialism. They have rendered all their support to the fraternal Algerian, Cuban, Congolese, Laotian and other peoples in their heroic struggle against imperialism, resolutely condemning all the aggressive attempts of imperialism.

For all this «good» which our Party has done to imperialism during these 20 years, it has been rewarded by it and its tools with a fierce and relentless fight which they have carried out against the People's Republic of Albania through continuous plots and provocations, through diversion, blackmail and successive slanders.

They accuse us of being afraid of imperialism, of being afraid to assume responsibility for the settlement of important international questions.

The question arises: Who fears indeed, who is afraid of the responsibility for the settlement of the German issue, who is dragging it on? We that have stood and continue to stand for its earliest possible solution, or our accusers who have backed out on this question and have dragged it on from year to year?

Or let us take the disarmament problem. It is a matter of common knowledge that our Government has supported the proposal for disarmament, because as long as the arms exist and the armaments race is being conducted, as long as disarmament is not effected, there is no security for peace. But we are aware that disarmament is a difficult problem. To force its solution upon the imperialists, great efforts must be made as well as resolute struggle must be waged by the socialist countries and all the peace-loving forces. But, N. Khrushchev, instead of pursuing such a correct path, is seeking to disarm a socialist country such as the People's Republic of Albania, which is encircled on all parts by enemies. By weakening the defensive might of the People's Republic of Albania he damaged, not only the interests of our country, but also those of the entire camp of socialism. And all this is done at a time when the US 6th fleet is roaming about like a monster in the Mediterranean, when US rocket bases have been established in Greece and Italy, when the NATO forces are feverishly continuing their armaments race, when the imperialists and revenge-seekers of West Germany are sabrerattling and seriously endangering the world peace. N. Khrushchev should by

no means have gone to such lengths as to openly incite the imperialists and various reactionaries against a socialist country such as the People's Republic of Albania. However, the defense of the Albanian borders is fully ensured.

In conditions when there exist in the world states with different social systems, the only just principle to govern the relations between them is the principle of peaceful coexistence, a principle outlined by Lenin and implemented also by Stalin.

Our Party of Labour has always thought and thinks that the policy of peaceful coexistence meets the vital interests of all the peoples, both of the socialist and capitalist countries; it meets the aim of the further strengthening of the positions of socialism and world peace. Therefore, this principle underlies the relations of our socialist state with the other non-socialist states.

It is absurd to accuse our Party and socialist state of allegedly standing against peaceful coexistence. This slander is refuted by the entire practical activity of our state in the field of foreign policy. We are not opposed to the principle of peaceful coexistence, but we do not agree with some opportunist viewpoints of N. Khrushchev and his followers who consider the peaceful coexistence as the general line of foreign policy of the socialist countries, as the main road to the victory of socialism on a world scale, who for the sake of peaceful coexistence renounce the struggle for the exposure of imperialism, who extinguish almost completely the ideological and political struggle against the Yugoslav revisionism under the pretext that in some foreign policy issues Yugoslavia supports the Soviet proposals. Such an interpretation of peaceful coexistence is erroneous and anti-Marxist because it leads to the denial of the class struggle. The correct implementation of the policy of peaceful coexistence, implying also the exposure of imperialism and its policy of war and aggression, must promote the development of the struggle of the working class of the capitalist countries, as well as the national-liberation movement in the colonial and dependent countries. On their part, the successes of the revolutionary class and national liberation struggle, by narrowing and weakening the positions of imperialism, promote the cause of peace and peaceful coexistence. The communist parties in the capitalist countries, parallel with the struggle to force the policy of peaceful coexistence on the bourgeois governments of their countries, are waging at the same time the class struggle for the overthrow of the bourgeois power, for the transition to socialism according to the specific conditions of each country.

As regards the forms of transition to socialism, N. Khrushchev badly complicated this question, too, at the 20th Congress of the CP of the SU and later. He almost raised to absolute the peaceful way of the seizure of power by the working class, and thus the illusion was created that allegedly the working class and its communist party would be able to take power in their hands only by securing a parliamentary majority. Such theses were approved only by the revisionists and various opportunists who used them to justify their anti-Marxist viewpoints. We, the Albanian communists, have never been and are not a priori opposed to the peaceful way. But the teachings of Marxism-Leninism, the historical experience and the reality of the present days teach us that, to secure the victory of the cause of socialism, the working class and its

party must prepare themselves simultaneously for both eventualities — the peaceful way and the non-peaceful one. To take one's bearings only from the peaceful way to secure the victory of the cause of socialism it means to embark on a erroneous path. Only by getting well prepared for the non-peaceful way, the chances grow also for the peaceful way.

This is how we understand the peaceful coexistence and its connection with the class struggle. This is how we understand and implement the policy of peaceful coexistence with the other non-socialist states, and in the first place with our neighbours.

It is strange that Nikita Khrushchev and his followers demand from us that we should put into effect the peaceful coexistence with our Greek neighbours. They accuse us of not marching along the same road with them as regards the proposals for the disarmament of the Balkan countries, they accuse us of not making efforts «for a Balkan understanding»; they join the chorus of the Yugoslav revisionists and the Greek monarcho-fascists that we are allegedly the «war-mongers of the Balkans», at a time when Greece continues to consider itself in a «state of war» with Albania, when it advances territorial claims towards our country and is plotting to attack Albania. The charges of our critics are groundless, for no reasonable man can think that little Albania, does not stand for peace and disarmament.

How much monarcho-fascist Greece disarmed and to what extent the hopes of those believing in such a thing were realized, this is a matter of common knowledge, it is shown by life, but that we should avoid criticizing Nikita Khrushchev (and this criticism was made by us in a comradely way) when he gives hopes to Sophocles Venizelos for an «autonomy of South Albania», this would be a treason on our part. Nikita Khrushchev did not like our just criticism. This is the least evil. But he turned our criticism into a counter-charge, accusing us of allegedly slandering the Soviet Union, which has liberated us and is defending us. This, of course, is machiavellian. But later the devil showed again his horns. At the time when the Americans, Greeks and Turks were carrying out their large-scale military manoeuvres around the borders of Albania and Bulgaria, N. Khrushchev, in his statement to the «New York Times» reporter, Sultzberger, on September 10, 1961, textually said: «You (Americans) have established bases also in Greece and you are threatening from there our ally Bulgaria». Has not perhaps monarcho-fascist Greece installed rockets also against Albania? How long is it that Nikita Khrushchev has decided that Albania should be no more an ally of the Soviet Union? This is monstrous. Are these unimportant questions? Is it permissible to the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Prime Minister of the Soviet Union, even if he and socialist Albania were at daggers drawn, to openly tell the Greek reaction that socialist Albania is no more an ally of the Soviet Union and inform president Kennedy that the «relations between the Soviet Union and Albania have deteriorated»?

It is we, therefore, according to some, that view things as «sectarian nationalists», while others, who speculate on the interests of our people, are «Marxists». Tomorrow, these very same critics may hold us responsible also for the losses in election of the Greek progressive party — EDA. Do perhaps these

self-styled Marxists think that we should hand the keys of our country to the Greek monarcho-fascists so that their line of «peaceful coexistence» may win or the seizure of power in Greece «in a peaceful and parliamentary way» may be achieved? No, they should not expect this from us. These self-styled Marxists should not forget that the Party of Labour of Albania and the Albanian people have shown their great internationalism by saving tens of thousands of heroes of the Greek people and of the Greek Communist Party who, we are certain, do not spit the horse after having crossed the river.

Such is the foreign policy that has been pursued by our Party and our Government. Such are our viewpoints about the problems of the present-day world development. It is precisely for these attitudes and these viewpoints that we are criticized, it is for this that N. Khrushchev attacked us at the 22nd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. In this way, he first, unilaterally, made public our disputes, providing weapons to the enemy and assuming there a heavy historic responsibility as a splitter of the unity of the international communist movement and of the socialist camp. Our Party of Labour has never publicly expressed our differences; it has dwelt on them only at party meetings, but now that N. Khrushchev made them public, our Party, too, is obliged to state openly its viewpoints.

N. Khrushchev, accusing our Party in his speeches at the 22nd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, said that the Albanian-Soviet relations were spoiled for the fault of the Albanian leaders. It is well known that the 20 years of revolutionary activity of our Party are 20 years of a tremendous work for the promotion of friendship between the Albanian people and the Soviet peoples, for the establishment of closer fraternal ties between the People's Republic of Albania and the Soviet Union. Twenty years of the activity of our Party are 20 years of sincere faithfulness, of great fraternal love of our Party for Lenin's great Party which has always been for us a source of inspiration and experience, from which we have learned how to work and strive for the good of our people, for the cause of socialism and communism. Twenty years of the activity of our Party have been years of a fraternal internationalist aid to the Albanian people, which our Party and Government have rightly utilized for the economic development of our country, for the upbuilding of socialism in Albania, for the improvement of the living standards of the Albanian people.

In such conditions it is absurd and incredible to everyone to allege that it is the Albanian leaders who «without any reason» and «with an amazing quickness» have changed their attitude towards the Soviet Union, towards the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Incredible is also the monstrous slander that the Albanian leaders have allegedly linked themselves to imperialism and have allegedly sold themselves to it «for 30 pieces of silver». Such «discoveries» may be believed by those who are fond of tales and detective novels, but by no serious man, for every honest person who knows somewhat the twenty-years old history of our Party, cannot fail to see that such a slander is not justified by any stand of our Party, by any action of its leaders. The Party of Labour of Albania, during its entire revolutionary path, has always fought and continues to fight with determination against imperialism and its agents; never in the past, at present and in

the future has it stretched, is stretching or will stretch its hand to anybody for pittance, and less so to imperialism and its allies. It has received and receives from its friends and brothers of the countries of the socialist camp not alms, but only internationalist aids in credit and it will continue to receive in the future, too, only from those socialist countries which will desire to offer to it such an aid. We ask for alms from nobody. If N. Khrushchev and his followers, for one reason or another, do not like to help us, they are expecting us in vain to address ourselves to the imperialists and their allies for «alms». Our people have friends and comrades in the socialist countries who have not abandoned and will not abandon them. But, regardless of this, we tell N. Khrushchev that the Albanian people and their Party of Labour will live even on grass, if need be, but they will never sell themselves «for 30 pieces of silver», for they prefer to die standing and with honour rather than live with shame and knelt down.

Why then did the Soviet-Albanian relations deteriorate? This is clear and well-known to N. Khrushchev himself and to the international communist movement. Khrushchev knows the cause, for he himself is the culprit. We shall say only this: that the June 1960 Bucharest meeting was the starting point.

Differences had existed between our Party of Labour and the Soviet leadership even prior to June 1960 on some question of ideological and political nature; however they have not exerted any negative influence on the relations between our two socialist states, between our two Marxist-Leninist parties.

The Party of Labour of Albania has always declared, and declares now, too, that the experience of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union has been a great help on our road for the upbuilding of the socialist society. However, for example as regards some special theses of principle of the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, our Party has not been and is not of the same opinion with the Soviet leadership, just as it is not also at present as regards many theses of the 22nd Congress or of the new program of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union approved by the 22nd Congress. Is not our Party entitled to this? Is this not consistent with the teachings of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism? Can this be considered as an anti-Soviet attitude, as they are trying to accuse us?

The Soviet leaders consider as «anti-Marxist», «dogmatist», «sectarian», and «opposed to proletarian internationalism», etc., any party that is not of the same opinion with them as regards those theses of principle which were raised at the 20th Congress. Moreover, the former member of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, E. Furtseva, went to such lengths as to declare from the rostrum of the 22nd Congress that «how can call themselves communists those persons who do not accept the decisions of the 20th Congress of our Party?» That is, according to some Soviet leaders, the criterion of loyalty towards Marxism-Leninism, towards communism and proletarian internationalism, is allegedly the attitude towards the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Can such a logic be Marxist? If all the communist and workers' parties in the world would adopt the new criteria invented by Furtseva, then only the disagreement, let us say, with many revisionist theses of the 8th Congress of the Italian Communist Party would throw

into misfortune millions of communists in the world and difficulties would be created for them, for they would not know to what address they should hand their party cards.

According to the Leninist principles governing the relations between Marxist parties, however important the congress of a party may be, however great and authoritative the party of a country may be, the decisions of its congress are binding only for its members. In the international communist movement all the parties — the Moscow Declaration points out — are equal and independent, they work out their policies proceeding from the specific conditions of their countries and guiding themselves by the principles of Marxism-Leninism. The attempt to make the decisions of the congress of a party as international norms binding for all the parties is a crude violation of the principles of equality and independence of the Marxist-Leninist parties; it is in open contrast with proletarian internationalism. Therefore, it is not our Party, but the Soviet leadership, headed by N. Khrushchev, that has deviated from the positions of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, seeking to force its course upon the other parties, demanding from them to renounce their own viewpoints and obey and submit to them.

Whether our Party stands or not on the positions of Marxism-Leninism, this is by no means determined by its critical attitude towards some theses expressed by the leaders of some fraternal parties, nor by the subjective evaluation that may be made of its line and activity by N. Khrushchev and his followers. The criterion of truth is life, practice; therefore the individuals and the various parties should be judged by the facts, by their practical activity. The path traversed by the Party of Labour of Albania, the line it has pursued right from its founding, its 20-year old revolutionary activity, are the most convincing facts attesting to its firm loyalty towards Marxism-Leninism, towards the vital interests of the Albanian people, towards the great cause of socialism and communism as well as towards the cause of world peace.

Our Party of Labour has made its special remarks about many theses of principle of the 20th Congress and about some stands of the Soviet leaders, with which it has not agreed, through normal party channels, observing thereby all the jointly established principles governing the relations between the fraternal parties. As regards our remarks relating to the foreign policy and the problems of the present-day world development, we mentioned them above. Let us now see another important problem about which we have held and continue to hold opinions different from those of the Soviet leaders. The question is about the attitude towards J. V. Stalin and his work.

According to the views of our Party, N. Khrushchev had to uncrown first J. V. Stalin and his work in order to forward his opportunist theses to the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and spread them later. He did this by his special report delivered at the 20th Congress «On the cult of the individual and its consequences». Our Party has not agreed and does not agree with the criticism against Stalin, as it was effected at the 20th Congress and later.

N. Khrushchev, slandering our Party at the 22nd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, and crudely interfering with our domestic affairs, said that the «Albanian leaders are against the criticism of Stalin's cult of the individual»,

because the methods of the cult of the individual are allegedly thriving in our Party, that terror and injustice are allegedly reigning in Albania. We shall not stop here to reject these slanders, but the fact that their author has fallen so low as to mobilize the public opinion against our Party using such «arguments» borrowed from the most rabid enemies of socialism and communism, shows his dark aims. It is evident that by linking at the 22nd Congress his unsubstantiated attacks on the Party of Labour of Albania with his «fight against Stalin's cult and the anti-party group», N. Khrushchev aimed at showing the «analogy» between the alleged «Albanian Stalinism» and the «epoch of the Stalinist crimes» in the Soviet Union, in order to create in this way the «atmosphere» he needed at the Congress and in the world public opinion to make his slanders more credible.

The Party of Labour of Albania has always taken and continues to take account of the teachings of Marxism-Leninism concerning the role of the masses, classes, party and leaders. It has always considered and continues to consider the manifestation of the cult of the individual as a phenomenon alien to Marxism-Leninism, harmful to a communist and workers' party. Our Party has not hesitated, when the case has been, to criticize while still in embryo the various manifestations of this kind among its ranks, as it did at its 3rd Congress. Likewise, our Party, when the case has been, has boldly fought and has nipped in the bud any violation of the revolutionary legality, any abuse of the state power by anybody, as it did at its 1st Congress. Everybody knows what was the fate of the enemy of the Party and people Koçi Xoxe and company, who, before the year 1948, incited by the Yugoslav revisionists and abusing the trust given to them by the people and Party, violated the state laws in order to dig the grave to many party and state cadres.

There does not exist in our Party either the sickness of the cult of the individual or the violation of the socialist legality. But at the same time, while guarding itself against the manifestations of the cult of the individual, our Party, in a correct Marxist-Leninist way, nourishes love and respect for its leaders, strictly observing the socialist legality, our Party and our people's power are severe towards the enemies of our People's Republic, towards all those who seek to bury the historic victories of our people.

The Party of Labour of Albania, therefore, has been and is opposed to the criticism done to J. V. Stalin at the 20th Congress and which was repeated also at the 22nd Congress for some other reasons of principle.

According to the viewpoint of our Party, J. V. Stalin, in his entire theoretical and practical activity, has been and remains one of the most distinguished leaders and personalities not only of the Soviet Union and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, but also of the international communist and workers' movement, one of the most ardent defenders and greatest theoreticians of Marxism-Leninism. His great historic merit lies in the fact that for many years in succession he had been a loyal disciple and determined comrade-in-arms of V. I. Lenin in the struggle for the overthrow of tsarism and the triumph of the great October Socialist Revolution; while following Lenin's death, heading the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, he faithfully defended Leninism against the rabid attacks by the Trotskyites, Bukharinites, Zinovievites and other

enemies and routed them ideologically and politically. J. V. Stalin, as the main leader of the Party, made a great contribution to the successful direction of the construction of socialism in the Soviet Union and the great Patriotic War of the Soviet Union against fascism; he further developed Marxism-Leninism in a series of important questions of the Soviet socialist society and the construction of socialism and communism; he made a valuable contribution to the consolidation of the socialist camp and the international communist movement, as well as to the exposure of modern revisionism in the person of Tito and his revisionist traitorous group. By thus appraising J. V. Stalin's activity, there is no doubt that some errors he may have committed during the last years of his life were partial and they cannot serve as a criterion to make a general evaluation of J. V. Stalin's person and his activity. In the general evaluation of J. V. Stalin's activity, in the foreground stand his great merits: his fight for the defense of Leninism, his struggle for the construction of socialism in the Soviet Union, his struggle for the creation and consolidation of the socialist camp, for the strengthening of the unity of the international communist and workers' movement, his consistent fight against imperialism, his policy for the defence of peace and the peaceful coexistence. They constitute his main characteristic features as a leader and as a communist. Such has been and remains the firm position of the Party of Labour of Albania relating to the evaluation of J. V. Stalin's work.

N. Khrushchev's wrong position in his criticism against J. V. Stalin lies in the fact that,

a) he unilaterally and tendentiously exaggerated beyond measure J. V. Stalin's mistakes, going even to such lengths as to make base slanders against him. Stalin was presented by him almost as an «enemy» of the Soviet Union and communism; he was characterized as «brutal», «capricious», as a «despot», «murderer», «blood-thirsty» and «criminal» towards the party cadres and the loyal and tested revolutionaries, and as a «dupe» of the imperialists and fascists, as a man who committed great «follies», both in practice and theoretical questions, who did not «understand» of what was being done in the Soviet Union, who manifested a «lack of respect towards Lenin's memory», and many other charges of this kind. The detached statements made at the 20th Congress and after it, to the effect that Stalin remains a distinguished Marxist-Leninist, etc., are entirely formal and were made to mitigate the bad impression and the lawful anger aroused in the communists of the whole world by these accusations against Stalin. In fact, neither at the 20th Congress nor up today has the leadership of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and its propaganda made any positive appraisal of J. V. Stalin's theoretical legacy to show his positive sides and his contribution to the defense and further development of Marxism-Leninism. This inhumane attitude reached its climax at the 22nd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, where not only were repeated the accusations of the 20th Congress, this time publicly, but there was adopted also a special decision to remove J. V. Stalin's embalmed body from the mausoleum. Unable to reject Stalin by arguments of principle in the field of theoretical activity and creativeness Khrushchev, in order to fight Stalin, introduces the question into the police and espionage field, and he took measures also for the liquidation of Stalin's corpse. How much hypocritically sound, following all these actions,

N. Khrushchev's words pronounced in January 1957 to the effect that «when it was the question of the revolution, of the defense of the interests of the class of the proletariat, in the revolutionary struggle against our class enemies, Stalin defended bravely and irreconcilably the cause of Marxism-Leninism», that «in the main and fundamental thing — and the main and fundamental thing for the Marxist-Leninists is the defense of working class interests, of the cause of socialism, the fight against the enemies of Marxism-Leninism — in this main and fundamental thing, as it is said, pray god every communist be able to fight as Stalin fought»!

b) N. Khrushchev, at the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, and the Soviet propaganda following that congress, unilaterally treated the question of the fight against the cult of the individual throwing into oblivion the Leninist doctrine about the relations among the masses, classes, parties and leaders. The great Lenin, especially in his book of genius «Leftism — infantile sickness in communism», forcefully pointed out the indispensability of the creation, in every Marxist party, of a group of leaders, more or less permanent, composed of the most authoritative, most influential and most experienced persons. Without such a stable leadership the struggle of the working class and its communist party cannot be crowned with success. In contrast with these clear teachings of Lenin, at the 20th Congress, under the pretext of the fight against the cult of the individual, the alleged «mass democracy» was counterpoised to the role of the revolutionary leaders.

N. Khrushchev and his group used for their own anti-Marxist aims — and this is becoming ever more clear — the alleged «principled criticism» against Stalin's cult of the individual. How he used it and for what purposes he is acting in the internal plan (in the Soviet Union and in the Communist Party of the Soviet Union) this is not our business, this may be judged only by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Despite this, we can but note that in fact N. Khrushchev, dealing with the «crimes» that have been committed in Stalin's epoch, with the «murders of the innocent people», with the «elimination of thousands of cadres» through «false» court trials, with the regime of «terror» which is described with an unbridled enthusiasm, in the darkest colours, making all these things known to the international public opinion, is rendering a very bad service to the Soviet Union, pleasing only the imperialists and all the enemies of communism.

N. Khrushchev has accused the leadership of our Party of the just criticism and at party meetings, towards some unlawful actions with regard to our country, alleging that the Albanian leaders «throw mud at the Soviet Union». But how should we call this same unbridled zeal of his to darken a whole glorious epoch, the epoch of the construction of socialism in the Soviet Union, to discredit before the eyes of the whole world the glory of the Soviet Union, presenting it as the country where terror and murders have allegedly reigned, just as the whole reactionary bourgeois press has propagandized and is propagandizing? Is it not he himself that, by his actions, is discrediting the Soviet Union? Is he not gravely offending the heroism of the Soviet peoples who, in struggle with internal and external enemies, in struggle with countless difficulties and obstacles, under the leadership of their Communist Party which was led by Stalin, laid the foundations of the socialist

and communist society in the Soviet Union, when he proposes that there should be erected in Moscow a memorial to the «victims» of the cult of the individual? Someone calls such actions a «bold self-criticism». Let them think more deeply about how much good and how many evils has this kind of «bold self-criticism» brought to the Soviet Union and the communist movement!

N. Khrushchev, speaking of the «iniquities» and «victims of the period of the cult of the individual», declaring the various court trials as framed-up, regardless of the fact that in all that struggle there might have been made also some mistakes, appears to be consistent with his anti-Marxist concepts about imperialism and its servitors. Indeed, he rendered a service to imperialism, for he presents it as not dangerous to the countries which are building up socialism; he is weakening the vigilance of the peoples in their struggle against the espionage network of imperialism which has acted and is fiercely acting against the socialist camp. N. Khrushchev adopted his tactics of silence also towards the plot organized by the Yugoslav revisionists, the Greek monarcho-fascists and the United States' 6th fleet, a plot which was exposed in our country a few months ago. Moreover, after having recommended this tactics also to some other fraternal parties, he spread the slogan that the plot was an invention, that the participants in this plot were «patriots and honest fighters», whom, later, at the 22nd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, in his concluding speech, he openly took them under his protection. While not long ago N. Khrushchev, formally, accused the Albanian leaders of being connected with the imperialist espionage. Therefore, according to his logic, it follows that he who fights against imperialism, he who fights against its agents, he who fights for the defence of the freedom and independence of the socialist homeland, is an «agent of imperialism». And conversely, he who rises against the people's power and the Party, he who places himself at the service of the enemies of socialism, is a «martyr», a «good patriot», he is taken under protection by the leader of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, to such persons there will be erected memorials also.

The question of the fight against Stalin's cult has been used by N. Khrushchev to uncrown Leninism, to prepare the ground to revise Marxism-Leninism and spread his opportunist views in the most important questions of the present-day world development and the international communist movement. This action and the tactics of his are neither new nor original. In fact, in his fight against Leninism Trotsky, too, used the same tactics.

«... Trotsky in his writing — J. V. Stalin says — makes one more (one more!) attempt to prepare the conditions for the substitution of Trotskyism for Leninism. Trotsky has to discredit, «at all costs», the Party, its cadres that carried out the uprising with a view to passing from the discredit of the Party to the discredit of Leninism. While he needs the discredit of Leninism to smuggle in Trotskyism as the «only» «proletarian» ideology (don't take it for a joke!). All this is certainly (yes, certainly!), done under the banner of Leninism, so that the procedure of this smuggling should be carried out «without any damage at all.»¹

N. Khrushchev used Stalin's question to strike on the healthy Marxist-Leninist elements in the leaderships of the communist and workers' parties of the different countries, to scare, and in case of resistance, also to liquidate any one who would dare to object, to reduce to silence the other parties and various leaders who would not support the revisionist views, his course. The question of the cult of the individual, in short, was used as a bugbear to exercise pressure on the other parties and to liquidate the leaders who were not to the liking of N. Khrushchev. These aims which, but recently, were concealed by him, covering them with a «principled» and «Marxist» phraseology, were openly stated at the 22nd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

If we take account of the fact that at the same time Khrushchev, as we mentioned above takes under protection and considers as «patriots» anti-party elements and agents of imperialism, participants in the plot organized by the imperialists against the People's Republic of Albania, then clearly follows N. Khrushchev's «principled» fight against the cult of the individual in Albania, his great concern! He is seeking to liquidate the present-day leaders of our Party and place in their stead anti-party elements and plotters, agents of imperialism.

That N. Khrushchev, under the pretext of the fight against the cult of the individual, is seeking to uncrown Leninism in order to pave the way to revisionism, is known also by the fact that he is by no means concerned with the just and principled Marxist-Leninist fight against the cult of the individual. For, if such were the case, irrespective of his demagogical words, he could not have helped noticing that at present in the Soviet Union manifestations of the cult of the individual are appearing with every passing day, and even in more open and exalting forms for his own person. Thus, one can hardly find an issue of the Soviet illustrated reviews in which one will not find pictures of N. Khrushchev; the pages of the Soviet press are full of quotations from his speeches, he is the only one to speak in all parts and about all questions; a whole film is devoted to his life, and other films to his visits to various countries of the world; numerous praises are made to him in various speeches and writings attributing to him personally the greatest successes of the Soviet people in the field of the development of industry, science and technology. Great, feverish efforts are being exerted to present Khrushchev not only as a «great military strategist», but also almost as an «architect» of the victory over fascism in the Second World War.

Where does then lie N. Khrushchev's respect for principles in the fight against the manifestations of the cult of the individual which he so noisily advertizes in his unprincipled fight against the other fraternal parties and their leaders?

This is why, comrades, our Party has not agreed and does not agree with the Soviet leadership in the question of their criticism towards Stalin.

Our Party of Labour has not agreed and does not agree with the Soviet leadership also as regards the questions of the attitude towards the present-day revisionism, and especially towards the traitorous clique of the Yugoslav revisionists. N. Khrushchev and his group used Stalin's issue and the issue of the cult of the individual also to prepare the ground for the complete rehabilitation of the Tito's revisionist and traitorous clique, to present it as a «victim» of Stalin's errors,

encouraging there by the revisionist renegades, wherever they are, to begin their activity against Marxism-Leninism under the demagogical slogans of «anti-Stalinism», etc.

It is known that the Yugoslav revisionist clique was publicly condemned both by the known letters of the Central Committee of the Communist Party (Bolshevik) of the Soviet Union, signed by J. V. Stalin and V. M. Molotov, and by the June 1948 resolution of the Information Bureau of some communist and workers' parties «Concerning the situation in the Communist Party of Yugoslavia», which was later supported by all the communist and workers' parties of the world. Later on, in November 1949, a second resolution of the Information Bureau was issued stating that the Tito clique had finally degenerated into an espionage centre of imperialism, that it had liquidated the gains of the revolution in Yugoslavia, that it had diverted Yugoslavia from the road to socialism and the socialist camp and placed it on the economic and political dependence of imperialism, that the Tito clique waged a broad-scale activity of espionage and plots against the various socialist countries, that it supported in different forms the imperialist policy of war and aggression, etc.

The viewpoint of the Party of Labour of Albania has been and remains that the conclusions of Stalin and the Information Bureau in connection with the Yugoslav renegade revisionist clique, have been and remain correct. These conclusions have been borne out and are being borne out both by the Yugoslav reality at that time and the later and present-day events. The Yugoslav revisionists became the centre of diversion and plots in the service of imperialism against the countries of the socialist camp. Under their direction was working in Albania Koçi Xoxe's gang, which aimed at destroying the Party of Labour and at liquidating the people's power. From Yugoslavia were illegally smuggled in the socialist countries hundreds of agents and provocateurs, spies and diversionists, whose duty was terror, sabotage, hatching up of plots against socialism in these countries. Tito's revisionist clique has more and more openly since 1948 and on, placed itself at the service of the US imperialism, with which it is linked with the millions and billions of dollars in the form of US economic and military credits to Yugoslavia, with which it is linked by the participation in the «Balkan Pact», which is nothing else but an appendage to the Atlantic Pact, with which it is linked by the policy of diversion and plots against the socialist countries and the national liberation movement of the newly liberated peoples or of those still suffering under the clutches of colonialism.

Until 1955, all the communist and workers' parties were unanimous in condemning the Yugoslav revisionist leadership and were waging a firm and principled ideological-political struggle against it. However, precisely at that time N. Khrushchev announced that towards Yugoslavia and its leaders had allegedly been done a great injustice, that «under the influence of the agent Beria» groundless charges had been levelled against them, that in the Yugoslav issue, too, J. V. Stalin had allegedly made a serious mistake. And immediately he took the initiative, went to Belgrade, where he called Tito «dear comrade», threw to the waste basket one-sidedly the resolutions of the Information Bureau and loudly announced that «Yugoslavia is a socialist country» and that the «Yugoslav leaders, although they have some waverings, are in general Marxist-Leninists».

What does the experience, what does the life show? The experience and the political life both before and after the year 1955 show that in the assessment of the Yugoslav questions, Stalin and the Information Bureau were right, because their assessment rested on objective facts, on the teachings of Marxism-Leninism. The experience and the practical life, on the other hand, show that in their stand towards the Yugoslav revisionist clique N. Khrushchev and those who follow him are not right, because their actions are based on subjective viewpoints and are contrary to the teachings of Marxism-Leninism, contrary to the objective reality.

Let us refer to facts. What have been the results of the efforts to rehabilitate the Tito clique? The Yugoslav revisionist leaders have given up neither their anti-Marxist viewpoints nor their hostile activity against the socialist camp and the fraternal communist and workers' parties. The most obvious result brought about by N. Khrushchev's efforts was the fact that after 1955, possibilities were created for the Yugoslav revisionists to act more freely against the world communist movement and the countries of the socialist camp under the guise of the «persecuted comrade», exploiting in this direction even the patronage of the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. The rehabilitation of the Yugoslav revisionists brought with it also the rehabilitation of all their agents and companions in some fraternal parties where, under the mask of «correcting the mistakes», a true campaign started against the sound cadres of the Party and an activation of all the anti-party elements. This happened in some communist and workers' parties of the socialist countries in Europe, as well as in some parties of the capitalist countries. The most typical in this direction are the events of Hungary, where the activation of the revisionist elements, headed by Imre Nagy, who had the active support and instigation of the Yugoslav revisionists, led up to the outbreak of the counter-revolution, which put in danger the very existence of Hungary as a state of people's democracy.

In spite of this, N. Khrushchev continuously, with great confidence in Tito and his companions, pursued insistently the policy of rapprochement, flatteries and caresses with the Yugoslav revisionists. The events of Hungary show still more clearly this stand. When the counter-revolution started in Hungary, it was clear to everybody that in these events a base role was being played also by the Yugoslav revisionists. This was seen in their influence in the counter-revolutionary discussions of the «Petofi» club, this was seen during the counter-revolutionary uprising and the enthusiasm expressed by the Yugoslav revisionists at that time, but it was still more clearly seen also in the fact that the traitor Imre Nagy, after the smashing of the counter-revolution, found asylum at the Yugoslav embassy in Budapest. Instead of mercilessly unmasking the Belgrade renegades as direct inspirers of the counter-revolutionary coup in Hungary, N. Khrushchev tried in every way to mitigate their responsibility, to minimize it and, finally, to eliminate it entirely. The former ambassador of the Soviet Union at that time in Albania, L. I. Krylov communicated to the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania the letter that N. Khrushchev had sent on November 9, 1956 to J. B. Tito. In this letter, among other things, Khrushchev wrote to Tito the following:

«The Central Committee of the Communist Party of the

Soviet Union has examined your last letter. We consider it possible to agree with your viewpoints that no special importance should be given now to the question whether the Yugoslav embassy in Budapest has acted correctly or not by giving asylum to Imre Nagy and his companions. We are noting with satisfaction that since the Brion talks you have been in full agreement with our stand towards comrade Janos Kadar, as a distinguished personality and with revolutionary authority in Hungary, capable in these difficult moments and conditions to head the new revolutionary government. . . You were fully satisfied with the fact that the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, since the summer of this year, in connection with the departure of Rakosi, was trying that comrade Kadar should become first secretary of the Central Committee of the Hungarian Workers' Party».

Any comment in connection with this letter is superfluous. This letter shows very clearly that the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, trampling underfoot any regulation determining the relations between the fraternal parties, has gone so far as to interfere even in an issue of so importance and of a markedly internal party character, as is the appointment in the place of the first secretary of a fraternal party of this or that person. It shows also very clearly that N. Khrushchev has been long since in full agreement with J. B. Tito, that he has deemed it reasonable that for everything, even for the «appointment» of the first secretary of another party, to consult J. B. Tito, the very inspirer and organizer of the counter-revolution in Hungary.

From this it is clearly understood and is entirely logical why N. Khrushchev tried to see the question of the Yugoslav intervention in the Hungarian events closed: because two things cannot be done simultaneously, both to consult Tito and to expose Tito.

After Tito's notorious speech in Pula in November 1956, the struggle of the communist and workers' parties against the Yugoslav revisionism was enlivened and the Yugoslav leaders were criticized for their stand. But the traitorous Tito group not only did not make any self-criticism or any positive step towards the communist movement, but in 1958 it considered it convenient to formulate and sum up its revisionist ideas in the Program of the Yugoslav Communist League, which was published as a counterweight to the Moscow Declaration of the communist and workers' parties of November 1957. It seemed already as if there was no more room even for the least illusion, because Tito and his group had openly written in their program what they were hiding for years under demagogical pseudo-Marxist and pseudo-socialist slogans. But what did happen? At the beginning, N. Khrushchev, who felt himself embarrassed before the public opinion and the international communist movement, although half-heartedly, took a stand towards the Yugoslav revisionists. But this did not last long. With a wonderful nimbleness and contrary to the most elementary logic he, at the 5th Congress of the Socialist United Party of Germany in July 1958, gave the orientation not to speak of the Yugoslav revisionists, by saying: «In our struggle for the common questions we should not devote to the Yugoslav revisionists more attention than they deserve. They want that their value should be raised, that people should think that they are the centre of the

world... We will not help in fanning the passions, in aggravating the relations. Even, in the situation created in our relations with the Yugoslav Communist League, it will be useful to retain a spark of hope, to seek acceptable forms for some questions».

He stressed this also during his visit in Albania in May 1959. At the same time, again started to circulate more and more often the word on «comrade Tito», propaganda started again that «Yugoslavia is a socialist state», that between the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia «there exists mutual understanding on many problems of the foreign policy».

It is appropriate to recall that V. I. Lenin in his time has waged an irreconcilable fight not only against opportunism, but also against those who preached the «unity» with the opportunists.

The revisionists group of the Yugoslav leaders, being left unmolested in their treacherous, anti-socialist and plotting work, continued with a greater intensity their activity, both to split the communist movement and to undermine the national liberation and anti-imperialist movement of the peoples fighting for freedom, or that have just won their national freedom. With every passing day the Yugoslav revisionists show themselves enemies of communism and of the peoples' freedom. Precisely because the revisionist clique of Belgrade is such, the representatives of 81 fraternal communist and workers' parties resolutely condemned in the 1960 Moscow Declaration the Yugoslav revisionist leaders. As it is known the Declaration stresses that the Yugoslav leaders, having betrayed Marxism-Leninism, detached their country from the socialist camp, put it under the dependence of the so-called «aid» of the US and other imperialists and in this way created the danger of losing the revolutionary gains reached with the heroic struggle of the Yugoslav people; that the Yugoslav revisionists are carrying out an undermining activity against the socialist camp and the international communist movement, that under the pretext of the policy of non-alignment they conduct an activity which brings harm to the question of the unity of all the peace-loving forces and states. Finally, the Declaration stresses the need for a continuous struggle to expose fully the group of the Yugoslav leaders.

However, after November 1960, in the majority of occasions, these correct theses of the Declaration were thrown into oblivion by the Soviet leadership. More than that, as if to encourage Tito's revisionist clique, to «appease» its resentment, Soviet leaders saw it reasonable to make warm official statements to the address of the Yugoslav «comrades». Thus, only a few days after the issuing of the Declaration of the 81 fraternal parties, the member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party and Foreign Minister of the Soviet Union A. Gromyko, at the Supreme Soviet of the Soviet Union, on December 23rd, 1960, stated that in some fundamental things the foreign policy of the Soviet Union is fully compatible with the foreign policy of Yugoslavia. While N. Khrushchev himself, in an interview to the observer of the «New York Times», Sultzberger, published by «Pravda» on September 10, 1961, stated: «Of course, we consider Yugoslavia a socialist country». Is such a statement not contrary to the Declaration of the 81 fraternal communist and workers' parties of the world? Should it not be thought that the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union

with this statement was aiming at «appeasing» the resentment of the Yugoslav revisionist leaders and at making to them publicly known that what is written in the Moscow Declaration, or also in some other document of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, is formal, while his viewpoints are other?

Why is such a thing happening? Why is with such a persistence being held such a benevolent stand towards a gang of renegades of Marxism-Leninism, submerged head and feet in the scum of revisionism and of treachery and, at the same time, are being rabidly attacked the communist and workers' parties which have always stood loyal to the revolutionary doctrine of Marxism-Leninism and the cause of socialism?

The Party of Labour of Albania could not and cannot agree with such an opportunistic stand towards a clique of renegades. In the struggle against the present-day revisionism, especially against the revisionist clique of Belgrade, the Party of Labour of Albania has taken and always takes into consideration the valuable teachings of great Lenin, who stressed powerfully that opportunism constitutes a serious danger for the very existence of the socialist order.

These important teachings of Lenin were all the more understandable for our Party, because it had proved on its back what does Yugoslav revisionism mean, not only in theory but also in practice. Because, in fact, the clique of Belgrade has never renounced, either before 1948 or after 1955, the plots and diversion against the People's Republic of Albania and the Party of Labour of Albania, but, on the contrary, has increased them. Therefore, the struggle of the Party of Labour of Albania against the Yugoslav revisionism was an important internationalist task of our Party, as a Marxist-Leninist party, and at the same time its sacred duty to defend our socialist homeland against the aims and the plots of the Yugoslav revisionists. Some of the Soviet leaders did not like this stand of the Party of Labour of Albania, because it was contrary to and constituted a hindrance for their schemes of rapprochement and embrace with the Titoite clique. The slogans started circulating that the «Albanians are hot-blooded», «they view things narrowly and conduct the struggle against the Yugoslav leaders from the positions of nationalism», that the «Albanians want to capture the banner of anti-revisionism» and that «they are increasing the value of Tito's clique», etc. etc. But our Party did not waver from its principled positions and continued consistently and uncompromisingly the struggle against the Yugoslav revisionists. This stand of our Party has never been to the liking of N. Khrushchev and is one of the reasons explaining his so fierce a stand against the Party of Labour of Albania and its leadership.

The stand of N. Khrushchev's group towards the Yugoslav revisionism, in fact, is not a stand different only from that of the Party of Labour of Albania, but from that of the international communist and workers' movement, expressed in the Moscow Declarations of 1957 and 1960, where revisionism is described as the main danger in the international communist and workers' movement, and the Yugoslav revisionism as underminer of the socialist camp and the forces of peace. Thus, it is obvious that the Soviet leadership is trying to mitigate the struggle against opportunism and revisionism in the communist movement. Here lies also the source of all the attempts to distort, by all sorts of manipulations, the clear thesis of the two Moscow Declarations on revisionism as the

main danger in the communist and workers' movement and to bring to the foreground the struggle against dogmatism. For our Party it has become clearer with every passing day that by accepting by words the need of fighting against revisionism and not doing it in fact, N. Khrushchev and those who follow him, under the pretext of the struggle against dogmatism, are fighting against Marxism-Leninism, are making efforts to reject the fundamental theses of the revolutionary doctrine of the proletariat precisely as Tito tried to do earlier and as have tried to do in the past the opportunists and revisionists of various brands.

What were the consequences of the spreading of the various opportunistic viewpoints, of the unprincipled struggle against J. V. Stalin and the policy of reconciliation with the Titoite treacherous revisionist clique, persistently pursued by N. Khrushchev and his group? Although they raise to the skies, with a great noise, the «wonderful consequences» allegedly brought about by the «criticism of the cult of the individual of J. V. Stalin» and the «normalization of relations with Yugoslavia», although they present the question as if with the 20th Congress a new era started in the development and further strengthening of the world communist movement, the facts speak entirely to the contrary. These distorted viewpoints and actions became a banner in the hands of the opportunist and revisionist elements in many countries to launch their revisionist attacks against the Marxist-Leninist parties. This happened in the Communist Parties of the United States of America, of Denmark, of the Netherlands, of Italy, of France, of Great Britain, etc. Under the influence of the opportunist viewpoints presented by N. Khrushchev to the 20th Congress, revisionism was revived and assumed a large dissemination in many communist and workers' parties, becoming an extremely serious danger for the entire international communist movement. Precisely under the slogans of the struggle against the «Stalinist despotism», borrowed from the «secret» report «On the cult of the individual and its consequences», which, «strange enough», fell into the hands of the reactionary circles of the West and was reproduced by them in tons, the imperialist reaction and the modern revisionists, especially the Belgrade revisionist renegades, enemies of socialism, organized the counter-revolutionary actions against the socialist order in Poland and the counter-revolutionary coup in Hungary. Precisely under the protection of these opportunist theses, of the attacks against Stalins and the appeasing attitudes of N. Khrushchev with the Yugoslav revisionists, Tito's renegade gang was enlivened still more, it was given free hand to develop broadly its undermining activity against the socialist camp and the international communist movement.

For us it is very clear that such a conclusion is not acceptable either to N. Khrushchev, or to his followers. But it is logical to raise the questions: Why precisely after the 20th Congress were immediately enlivened the renegades and the revisionists in the ranks of the communist and workers' parties of the different countries, the Yugoslav revisionist clique raised again its head and all of them together launched a frontal attack against Marxism-Leninism? Why, let us say, the theses of the 19th or the 18th Congresses of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union did not become their banner? There is only one explanation here: because many theses which were set at the 20th Congress were of an opportunistic nature,

therefore they constituted the ideological food for the renegades and the revisionists in their struggle against Marxism-Leninism; because the stands towards Stalin were anti-Marxist, therefore they were utilized so successfully by the enemies of Marxism and socialism for their aims.

These bitter consequences were felt in Albania, too. In our country, the opportunist elements of the Tuk Jakova and Bedri Spahiu type, as well as many other elements expelled from the Party for anti-party activity were activated and with the direct instigation of the Yugoslav revisionists, organized the plot at the Party Conference for the city of Tirana in April 1956. It is known that a major role in this plot was played by the traitor Panajot Plaku, an old agent of the Yugoslav espionage, to whom, after he fled from Albania to Yugoslavia, N. Khrushchev proposed ever since 1957 to be given political asylum to him in the Soviet Union. The slogans of these traitors were the demagogical slogans of «liberalization and democratization of the proletarian dictatorship», «of normalization of relations with Yugoslavia», «of rehabilitation of Koçi Xoxe and other anti-party elements condemned earlier», etc. It is significant the fact that precisely at that time, in April-May 1956, the Soviet leadership, through M. Suslov and P. Pospelyov tried to persuade our Party to rehabilitate the traitor Koçi Xoxe, an enemy of the Party and the Albanian people, an agent of the revisionist clique of Belgrade, shot for his hostile activity which was aimed at liquidating the Party and the people's power and at turning Albania into the seventh republic of Titoite Yugoslavia.

N. Khrushchev's anti-Marxist stand on the above-mentioned questions caused thus a great damage to our common cause, of socialism and communism. However, the international communist and workers' movement managed to cope successfully with the onslaught of the revisionist renegades. Marxism-Leninism is the banner of victory, therefore its enemies, the revisionists and the opportunists, have failed and will always fail shamefully.

From the above said it follows clearly that the nature of our disagreements has been entirely ideological and political, that our Party has not agreed with the opportunist viewpoints and actions of N. Khrushchev as concerns some vital questions of the present-day world development and the international communist and workers' movement, viewpoints which are contrary to the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism and constitute a serious violation of the 1957 and 1960 Declarations of the communist and workers' parties. But the existence of these wrong viewpoints among the Soviet leaders is only half of the evil. The greatest evil is that they try to impose at any condition their opportunistic concepts to all the communist and workers' parties, not stopping for this purpose even before the pressure, blackmail and the most brutal attacks against those parties and their leaders that do not agree with the revisionist theses of N. Khrushchev, that oppose them and resolutely defend Marxism-Leninism. Here lies the greatest evil, here lies also the cause that relations between our country and the Soviet leadership have become tense. Seeing that his multifarious attempts to kneel down the Party of Labour of Albania and to impose on it his anti-Marxist viewpoints have failed in face of the firm Marxist-Leninist stand of our Party and wanting to justify before his party and before the international communist movement his impermissible,

hostile activity against the Party of Labour of Albania and the People's Republic of Albania, N. Khrushchev has gone over to wild and public slanders like those he and other Soviet leaders made at the 22nd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

The fact that he chose the rostrum of the 22nd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union to carry out the "trial" against our Party, the fact that he deceived the representatives of some communist parties to express themselves uncomradely against our Party in their greetings to the Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, throws light on his putschist methods, on his tactics of surprise, on the one sided imposing of his desire upon the international communist and workers' movement, on the non-observance of the fundamental principles governing the relations between the communist and workers' parties of the world, which have been established jointly and have been outlined in the Moscow Declarations.

To examine the activity of a communist and workers' party, to express the viewpoint whether it stands on correct positions or not, can judge only an international forum, an international meeting of the communist and workers' parties, after hearing in detail the arguments of that party. But N. Khrushchev feared to ask the convocation of such a meeting, because he was convinced that he would not succeed in condemning our Party of Labour. For this reason he did not invite to the 22nd Congress our Party also, because its word would bring to the fore once more the truth on the Albanian-Soviet relations, would expose again his anti-Marxist viewpoints and activity, would reject all his entirely unfounded slanders and charges.

The methods used by the First Secretary of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union to attack onesidedly our Party is known in the international communist and workers' movement. He applied this tactics at Bucharest, too, where with false and onesided charges he tried to kneel down Marxist-Leninist parties and to compromise by means of a quick, unpondered and hasty pronouncement their representatives, but despite his efforts, he did not succeed. On the contrary, N. Khrushchev was forced to agree to the holding of the Moscow meeting in November 1960, where correct debates were conducted, where it was clearly seen that his viewpoints did not meet with the enthusiastic support of the participants, and this is expressed also in the very documents approved by the representatives of 81 parties and which N. Khrushchev is brutally violating in all his activity. Therefore, he, in order to attack our Party, resorted to his putschist methods, utilizing for this purpose the 22nd Congress.

In this way, N. Khrushchev has effectively sabotaged any future international meeting also, because by attacking onesidedly and publicly our Party, he has put the Party of Labour of Albania on conditions of inequality.

At the 22nd Congress, N. Khrushchev, and his followers charged our Party that it allegedly, with its actions, is "disrupting the unity, is splitting the socialist camp and the international communist movement". One must have lost any feeling of responsibility of seriousness to say such a thing. Who is in reality undermining our unity, the Party of Labour of Albania or the leadership of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union headed by N. Khrushchev? Our Party, which

has always abided by the principles that our disagreements should be solved through the party way, or the Soviet leadership, which has trampled underfoot these principles and has embarked upon the anti-Marxist path of pressure, blackmail and is openly calling for counter-revolution in socialist Albania? The Party of Labour of Albania has never spoken publicly about our differences, it has only through the party way and at party meetings, openly and courageously criticized the wrong viewpoints and actions of the Soviet leaders, while N. Khrushchev was the first to speak publicly from the rostrum of the 22nd Congress not only about the existence of our differences but also to vomit gall, to slander at full daylight against our Party and people's power, presenting it as a "regime of terror, where right and left there are prisons and firing squads", using the language of Rankovich, who has said that "in Albania there reign the barbed wire and the frontier guard boot". Our Party stands for the unity, for its further strengthening, but for a sound, steel-like unity, not for an anaemic and sick unity. Precisely because it stands for the steel-like unity of the international communist and workers' movement and the socialist camp, it has courageously and through the party way criticized N. Khrushchev's anti-Marxist manifestations and actions, which weaken this unity.

We greatly regret the fact that some leaders of the communist parties joined with N. Khrushchev's wrong viewpoints. We don't want to seek the causes which forced them to take this stand (we understand very well the difficult position in which they have found themselves), but can their onesided position be called correct, a priori, when the majority of the representatives of these parties have no knowledge of the development of relations between our Party and the Soviet leadership? It is correct to take this or that stand, when one hears only the arguments of one side, while the other side has been deprived of the right to state its own viewpoint? Or in the communist movement should be established new principles, according to which the big one must be heard, the little one not, the big is right, while the little is always wrong? According to our opinion, such a reasoning is not at all correct and is not compatible with the Leninist norms of relations between the parties. Such a stand does not help the strengthening of the unity of the international communist and workers' movement, the strengthening of the socialist camp, but weakens it and will later create great troubles.

In spite of this at the 22nd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, N. Khrushchev was not supported by all the representatives of the communist and workers' parties. Out of the 80 foreign delegations which attended the proceedings of the Congress and spoke or sent by writing their greetings, 34 representatives of the fraternal parties did not joint the N. Khrushchev's slanders and charges against our Party, they did not speak about the disagreements existing between the Party of Labour of Albania and the Soviet leadership. Surely, many of them may have their remarks as concerns the work of the Party of Labour of Albania, but at the 22nd Congress, which was the congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, of a definite party, they did not consider it appropriate to speak about a question which concerns the entire international communist movement, taking thus a correct Marxist-Leninist stand. We must say also that even the mass of the home delegates to the 22nd Congress

did not express themselves about the Soviet-Albanian disagreements, they did not speak against our Party, they did not support N. Khrushchev in his attacks and slanders against the Party of Labour of Albania. Out of 88 delegates who took part in discussions in the congress, only 14 spoke against our Party. They all were members of the Soviet leadership.

Our Party of Labour thanks for their principled and correct stand both the representatives of the communist and workers' parties who did not support N. Khrushchev in his one-sided attacks against our Party and the delegates of the glorious Communist Party of Lenin, who, preserving the bolshevik traditions and the Leninist principles of objective judgements of any question, did not support N. Khrushchev in this anti-Marxist act.

From the rostrum of the 22nd Congress, among the numerous slandering charges, the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union spoke also of the allegedly lack of democracy in our Party, of the allegedly violations of the Leninist norms in its inner life. This, of course is an open interference in the internal affairs of our Party, but despite this we can say to these «defenders» of democracy: Look better your business, for not in the Party of Labour of Albania, but in your parties there are many scandalous examples of the violation of the most elementary rules of democracy. Dmitri Polyansky, on attacking the «anti-party» group, surely refrained himself from telling in detail all the backstage he and his companions had organized at the time of the plenary session of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in summer 1957. Polyansky has hidden this from the congress, but he has told this a «friend» of theirs, who then reported it to our Party in detail.

Let us take another example. When the Tirana tribunal gave the deserved verdict against the agents of US imperialism, of Yugoslavia and Greece, Teme Sejko and company, out of the whole press of the European countries of people's democracy, only the newspaper «Trud», the organ of the Bulgarian working class, reported correctly this trial. But immediately, within the day, by the most «democratic» methods, it was announced that the president and the secretaries in charge of the Central Council of the Bulgarian Trade Unions had been dismissed from their posts. And this was because the Yugoslav government, on the same day, lodged a serious protest with the Bulgarian Government in connection with the report given on the Tirana trial by this newspaper.

Finally, those who speak of internal democracy and of the observance of the party norms, we are referring here especially to Palmiro Togliatti, does he consider regular, democratic his action at the 22nd Congress when he spoke and condemned our Party? He did not know before what has happened and how the relations between our Party and the Soviet leadership have been developed. At least our Party has not given the Italian Communist Party any material. Its Central Committee had not adopted before any decision by which to denounce our Party and thus to authorize its representatives to condemn it. At least we do not know of any such fact. Then of what democracy are speaking these leaders who scandalize themselves without cause for the fate of a person and who, when it is the question of the fate of a party, of 50,000 communists and an entire people, make offending statements without any responsibility and in fla-

grant contradiction with the elementary rules not only of the party democracy, but also of the simple logic and human conscience? Palmiro Togliatti threw at us the Roman «anathema», by charging us that we are splitting the unity of the international communist movement. On what did Togliatti rely when he a few years ago attacked publicly the Soviet socialist system and preached polycentrism and the zones of influence in the international communist movement? He has not and will not have any fact against us, but with his own anti-Marxist theses he has greatly served the Yugoslav revisionists. Nevertheless, strangely enough, nobody rose against Togliatti's revisionist viewpoints.

N. Khrushchev, who speaks so much of democratic methods, patience and internationalism, has resorted against our Party to the most anti-Marxist methods, methods which are entirely alien to the relations between the socialist countries. In order to subdue the Party of Labour of Albania, to prevent it from having its own viewpoint, to impose on it his anti-Marxist viewpoints, he and his followers have not stopped before any measure, not only as concerns the relations between our parties, but also as concerns the relations between our socialist states. Today we do not want to enter into detail and to dwell long on these questions, because there are many facts and countless documents, which illustrate objectively these, but will mention that as a result of the adoption of anti-Marxist methods by the Soviet leadership for the settlement of existing disagreements, as a result of the consecutive pressure both in the economic and the political and military fields, the relations between our country and the Soviet Union have been greatly aggravated. This process has started since the second half of the last year, that is after the Bucharest meeting. Since then, N. Khrushchev, instead of agreeing to settle patiently the ideological and political disagreements existing between our Party and the Soviet leadership, made them public and extended them to the state relations also.

In his anti-Marxist and hostile actions towards the Albanian people, N. Khrushchev has been followed also by some leaders of the socialist countries of Europe. They are all together doing their utmost to isolate Albania economically, politically and militarily, by creating around it a «sanitary cordon». N. Khrushchev forgets that in the century of the triumph of Leninism there can be no «cordon» to isolate a people and a party which are firmly fighting for the triumph of socialism and of communism, there can be no «cordon», regardless of how organized and strong it may be, to resist to the Marxist-Leninist truth. Any «cordon» will be smashed and its organizers will shamefully fail.

The First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party and Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Soviet Union did not confine himself to this. Seeing that all his pressure, blockades and blackmail did not bring the result he desired, could not kneel down our Party and people, from the rostrum of the 22nd Congress he made an open call for the overthrowing by means of a counter-revolutionary coup the leadership of the Party of Labour of Albania, for the liquidation of our Party, something which he reserves himself to do even when it is the question of the governments of the capitalist countries, because he considers it an interference in their internal affairs. He said: «To put an end to the cult of the individual means for Shehu, Hoxha and others to give up

in essence the commanding posts in the party and the state. But they do not want to do this. We are convinced that the time will come when the Albanian communists, when the Albanian people, will have their say and then the Albanian leaders will have to give account for the damage they have caused to their country, to their people, to the cause of building of socialism in Albania». The Albanian people and the Albanian communists gave the reply to N. Khrushchev by means of hundreds and thousands of telegrams and letters, a part of which has been published by our press.

Our Party and people have heard continuously for 17 years in succession calls for the overthrow of our people's power, for the liquidation of our Party and its leadership. They have heard and are hearing them every year from the USA State Department, from the US, British and other imperialists, from Franco's «Nationalist Spain» radio, from the revisionist traitors of Belgrade, from the Greek monarcho-fascists, etc. These have even hatched up plots to achieve their aims. We have heard now such calls also from Nikita Khrushchev, who in fact is joining them in the hostile activity against the Albanian people and its Party of Labour. On what have the imperialists and their tools relied in their activity against the people's power and the Party in our country? Their forces have been the scum of our society, the degenerate and anti-party elements, the people sold out to the foreign imperialist intelligence services, whom our people recalls only with a feeling of deep hatred, contempt and scorn. These will be also the reserves of Nikita Khrushchev. And it can not be otherwise. The whole our people, old and young, all the honest and patriotic people of our homeland, party and non-party people, have rallied today more than ever around our glorious Party and its correct Marxist-Leninist line, which expresses the vital interests of our people and meets the common interests of our great cause, socialism and communism. In the face of the steel-like unity of our Party and people, in the face of this invincible force, will shamefully fail the hostile actions and the brutal interferences of Nikita Khrushchev, as have failed earlier and will always fail the entire hostile activity and all the plots of the imperialists, the Yugoslav revisionists, the Greek monarcho-fascists and other enemies of the Albanian people, its Party of Labour and the People's Republic of Albania.

At the 22nd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, N. Khrushchev accused our Party and its leadership of anti-sovietism, considering any remark and criticism towards his anti-Marxist viewpoints and actions, made in party meetings and according to Leninist rules, an attack against the Soviet Union and the Soviet peoples. This is a monstrous slander and distortion.

Who does indeed defend the Soviet Union and its prestige: Nikita Khrushchev, who with his unprincipled attacks and slanders against J. V. Stalin has discredited the glorious Soviet Union, presenting it like a country where the fiercest terror has reigned, the same as in the Hitlerite Germany, or the Party of Labour of Albania that has defended and is defending the Soviet Union from the fierce attacks of the imperialist and revisionist propaganda, which Nikita Khrushchev has provided with weapons? Who does defend the Soviet Union and its prestige: Nikita Khrushchev who with his anti-Marxist actions, attacks, pressure and blockades against the People's Republic of Albania is providing with weapons the imperialists to stain before

the world public opinion the Soviet Union and its Communist Party, or the Party of Labour of Albania, which has shown and is showing that his anti-Marxist actions have nothing in common with the principles and the internationalist traditions of the Soviet Union and the great Party of Lenin?

Our Party heard with patience what was said at the 22nd Congress in its address. We, too, are saying our own viewpoint concerning these questions. The Party of Labour of Albania, with calm and pure conscience, appeals to the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, appeals to the new Central Committee elected by the 22nd Congress to judge with Leninist equity, with objectivity and calmness not onesidedly, on the situation created in the relations between our two parties and our two countries. Our Party has always been ready, for the sake of the unity of the communist movement and the socialist camp, of the interests of our countries, to settle the existing disagreements. But it has always been and is of the opinion that these questions should be solved correctly and only in a Marxist-Leninist way, in the conditions of equality and not of pressure and dictate.

Our Party and people, regardless of the attacks, slanders and the hostile actions directed against them, will guard untouchable in their hearts the pure feelings of friendship with the fraternal peoples of the Soviet Union. Our Party has taught us to love the Soviet Union, the great homeland of Lenin and Stalin, both in good and bad times.

Comrades,

The entire 20-year old life and activity of our Party, as well as the facts of the present-day reality show clearly that our Party has always had a correct general line, that in connection with the present-day important questions preoccupying the international communist movement, particularly in connection with the question of the Albanian-Soviet relations, it stands on correct Marxist-Leninist and internationalist positions.

Deeply convinced that they stand for the truth, our people and Party, united like a single body, with a calm and pure conscience and a firm determination, will in the future too, follow unswervingly their correct path. And in this path they will win.

With this confidence we are celebrating the 44th anniversary of the great October Socialist Revolution and the great holiday of the 20th anniversary of the founding of our glorious Party. With this confidence, with the revolutionary banner of the victorious Leninism, with the unfurled banner of our heroic Party, we, the Albanian communists, together with our entire patriotic and fighting people, shall march forward with sure steps towards new victories, for the glory of Marxism-Leninism, for the glory of communism, for the glory of our socialist homeland!

Glory to the victorious Marxism-Leninism, the banner of the victories of our Party and people!

Long live the 44th anniversary of the great October Socialist Revolution!

Long live the 20th anniversary of the Party of Labour of Albania!

Long live our heroic and indomitable people!

Glory to the Party of Labour of Albania!

1) J. V. Stalin, Works, vol. 6, p. 361, (Alb. ed.)

THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT IN ALBANIA IS ALIVE, VIGILANT AND ACTIVE

Form the speech to the cadres of the district of Gjirokastra

November 15, 1961

As you know, there are difficulties concerning the course of international events, particularly in regard to political and ideological relations among the communist and workers' parties, which influence the general international situation and that of the socialist camp. The disagreements that have arisen and are developing in the ranks of the communist and workers' movement, are a result of the hostile revisionist activity of N. Khrushchev and his group that have emerged at the head of the CPSU. This group is bringing very great harm to the cause of the revolution and socialism, not only in the Soviet Union, but in the whole world. Therefore, every effort must be made to cure and eradicate this dangerous disease in the healthy body of the communist and workers' movement.

From the time it came to power the Khrushchev group, gave signs that it was attacking Marxism-Leninism. These signs were not so obvious at first. Khrushchev and his cronies had known how to disguise themselves well as long as Stalin was alive. But after his death and up to the XX Congress of the CPSU these signs began to become more obvious. It must be said that after the death of J. V. Stalin, from the information we had and from what we could see, the Soviet leadership was making grave mistakes in line, and was flagrantly violating the principles of Marxism-Leninism. Such a situation was created that the opportunist and revisionist elements, through intrigues, were able to seize the key positions in the leadership of the Soviet party and state. The group around N. Khrushchev knew how to manoeuvre and seize the leadership of the party and the Soviet state. We do not know concretely how the events developed, but the conclusion can be quite easily reached that Khrushchev exploited the situation created, setting the leaders against one another in order to weaken their unity, in the first place in the presidium of the CC of the CPSU. It is a fact which we know, too, that after J. V. Stalin's death, when we went to the Soviet Union, we heard from the mouth of Khrushchev himself talking to us before the other comrades of the presidium, that «there are differences between us, there are even disagreements on various problems, but that is all right, because such a situation is bound to arise». When he was speaking in this way the others nodded their heads. This shows that there were frictions in the Soviet leadership before the XX Congress, but behind them were hidden the intrigues of Khrushchev who managed, in allegedly democratic ways, to liquidate his opponents and to carry on with the realisation of his own anti-Marxist aims.

N. Khrushchev came to power, not only by violating every Leninist organisational norm, but by acting in a brutal way just as at the time of czarist putsches. Once, Polyanski said that «at a regular meeting of the presidium of the Central Committee, the majority defeated the views and stand of N.

Khrushchev who did not know what to say before the comrades who asked him to render account. Faced with their facts and arguments he became demoralised and surrendered. The presidium took the decision that N. Khrushchev should be relieved of the functions of first secretary of the CC of the CP and head of the Soviet government and become Minister of Agriculture, because that was what he was fitted for, a «specialist in maize growing». But we were informed from inside of what was happening to Khrushchev in the presidium, therefore I and some other comrades, who were in Moscow, surrounded the Kremlin with tanks and soldiers and gave the order that not even a fly should move from the Kremlin. On the other hand we sent aeroplanes to all parts to gather up the members of the plenum of the CC of the CPSU. Then we went into the Kremlin and demanded admission to the meeting. Voroshilov came out and asked us what we wanted. When we told him that we wanted to get into the meeting, he flatly refused. When we showed him our strength he asked: «What are these things that are being done?» But we warned him: «Watch your words, otherwise we shall arrest you. Thus we got into the meeting and changed the situation». The words of this putschist are sufficient to show how the plot of the usurpation of the party leadership by N. Khrushchev was organised. N. Khrushchev can say what he likes about his «respect» for Leninist norms he has violated them himself, not only when he came to power, but continually.

The XX Congress marked the beginning of blantly hostile work in the CPSU and the international communist movement. Khrushchev had to conceal his activity with Marxist phrases, as is the custom of the revisionists. Under this guise he undertook the fight against Leninism. Weeds cannot thrive in clean soil for which continuous care is shown, First Khrushchev had to dethrone Leninism and the work of J. V. Stalin.

At the XX Congress of the CPSU N. Khrushchev presented a series of «new» theses which were allegedly a «creative development of the Marxist-Leninist theory.» Although they were dressed up in the cloak of Marxism-Leninism, even at that time to our Party these theses smelled of revisionism. With a view to having these theses adopted, not only by the CPSU, but by the entire international communist movement, Khrushchev also delivered a «secret» report «On the cult of the individual and its consequences», which was directed against Stalin and his work. Towards the end of the proceedings of the congress, copies of this report were given to the first secretaries of the parties who had gone to Moscow to greet the XX Congress and it was recommended that it should be read quickly with the assistance of their interpreters. But the fact is that this «secret» report also fell into the hands of the secret agencies of imperialism, was printed in large num-

bers and distributed throughout the entire world. Such a thing was to the benefit of N. Khrushchev and his cronies. Thus, the question of the «cult of the individual of Stalin» became an international question.

Our Party did not and does not agree with the way Stalin and his work were dealt with at this congress. Neither did we agree with a number of Khrushchev's performances and attitudes in international policy. At that time we still did not examine many of these performances and attitudes as thoroughly as we do today, but since the XX Congress we saw a rather marked tendency in Khrushchev for conciliation with opportunist elements.

N. Khrushchev began to take some arbitrary measures such as the reconsideration of the decision of the Comintern about the Polish and Hungarian Communist Parties, about the rehabilitation of Bela Kum, etc., which he dished up to us. Thus, on the one hand he came out with a report against Stalin, on the other hand he also came out against the Comintern. All these actions of his were carried out hastily, within a few days, holding one meeting here, another meeting there, to condemn the Greek CP, to rehabilitate the Polish CP, etc.

The «secret» report against Stalin not only disturbed our Party, but it began to make us suspicious about all the issues Khrushchev was raising, which he needed in order to blacken the entire revolutionary activity of Stalin. But the facts show that Stalin himself was against the cult of the individual and had often criticised it, while correctly assessing the role of the masses in history and of the Party of the proletariat.

In raising the question of the cult of Stalin Khrushchev had internal and external aims, but their objective was the same; to blacken every thing that the CPSU with Stalin at the head, had created, consolidated, and defended, that is the construction of socialism. By raising the question of the cult of the individual, N. Khrushchev tried, on the one hand to cast a black veil over the Soviet Union and obscure the period of the construction of socialism there, on the other hand, under the pretext of the «cult of the individual», to liquidate the sound leaders of other communist and workers' parties. Thus, after the XX Congress of the CPSU, with the exception of the communist and workers parties of Asia and our Party, in all the other parties, particularly in those of the countries of people's democracy of Europe, all the previous leaderships were liquidated and people allegedly not infected with the diseases of the cult of the individual were placed at their head. Of the former leaders some died, some were eliminated. Many leaders of the international communist movement, such as Gottwald, Bieruth, Kolarov, Zapotocki died. In Poland people who had been imprisoned but had allegedly been guiltless, were placed in the leadership. In Czechoslovakia people from the base who allegedly were not infected by the cult of the individual, were placed at the head, while those who were in the leadership are being demoted further and further. In Hungary, after all these disturbances people who had allegedly been unjustly imprisoned were placed in the leadership, whereas in Bulgaria the old leadership was eliminated and replaced by new elements who «guaranteed the implementation of the new Marxist-Leninist course» and were «free of any hangover of dogmatism», etc. The course which N. Khrushchev began to pursue had great repercussions for all the parties, many of which suffered severe upheavals. Only in Albania Khrushchev

did not succeed, therefore he decided to bide his time with Albania, and prepare the mines little by little to blow up its leadership.

Our Party understands how harmful the cult of the individual is, therefore it has not allowed manifestations of it. But our Party and people also know how to respect their loyal leaders. But this is just what Khrushchev and Tito do not like. They want to present the respect of our Party for its leaders as the «cult of the individual» so that people suitable to their hostile, anti-Marxist and anti-Albanian work will come to the leadership. At these moments, when our Party is fighting with determination against revisionism, to defend Marxism-Leninism, the manifestations of the people are an expression of their ardent love for our glorious Party, which we are defending with might and main from the danger which is threatening not only it, but the entire international communist movement.

The revisionist line of N. Khrushchev about the question of Stalin had no success. Although not all the parties understood his aims, they did not accept the anti-Marxist attack against Stalin disguised as an attack on the cult of the individual. But there were also parties which were shocked by this attack. Thus, for instance, the French CP did not accept Khrushchev's theses about «the cult of Stalin.» Indeed at that time Maurice Thorez sent a party delegation to Moscow and declared to Khrushchev that «the French CP does not agree with the treatment of Stalin». Even last year when he came to our country Thorez maintained the same attitude, that Stalin is one of the greatest Marxists, whereas now Maurice Thorez has turned his coat, and taken the revisionist course.

One of the main acts of N. Khrushchev, as soon as he came to power, was to exonerate the Yugoslav revisionists. According to him J. V. Stalin, as in all the other affairs, had allegedly committed another grave mistake in that he had allegedly unjustly persecuted and condemned the Yugoslav leaders. This step which N. Khrushchev took gave political strength to the doubts and conviction of our Party that his group is heading for the abyss, that it is an opportunist revisionist group. Therefore, we realised it was our duty to be vigilant, and we were not mistaken. To achieve his anti-Marxist aims, N. Khrushchev used a number of forms, one of which was the so-called consultation with others. He pretended to ask, but this was only as a matter of form. Thus, before he went to Yugoslavia in 1955, he asked us what we thought about the steps that should be taken to approach «comrade» Tito. We replied that we did not agree with his going to Tito. There was a resolution of the Information Bureau of the communist and workers' parties on this issue, there were Stalin's well known letters which condemned the revisionist Tito group. Therefore, in order to say whether or not Stalin was right on the Yugoslav issue, the Information Bureau should be called together to examine the issue and unilateral action should not be taken. However, at the time when Khrushchev was to go to Yugoslavia the Information Bureau had been dissolved. Therefore in these conditions a meeting should have been called of those parties which had been its members to which a delegation of our Party should have been invited, and then it could be decided what should be done with the Yugoslav leadership. But N. Khrushchev did not take any notice of the view of our Party. He went to Belgrade and you all know what was done

there. Tito and his cronies emerged innocent and allegedly they had been persecuted unjustly. Thus, they began their activity legally. This was another blow that Khrushchev and company struck at Marxism-Leninism.

Apparently, the Yugoslav issue was of great importance to N. Khrushchev. Khrushchev has declared that «Beria tried to come to terms with Rankovich». We know nothing about this, because this is their internal affair, but one thing we do know, that Khrushchev himself has met Tito and Rankovich and they must be in agreement also with regard to the issues which were raised at the XX Congress of the CPSU. We know what Khrushchev and Tito are, and we are also well aware what Rankovich is, a man of conspiracies, intrigues. Khrushchev's aim is that the Tito clique must not be presented as traitors to socialism. On the contrary, he wants Tito and company to be called Marxist-Leninists, irrespective of the fact that he seriously criticised Bulganin when he was Prime Minister, because he declared at a dinner party that, «Tito is a great Leninist». And Bulganin did this because he had heard many good words about Tito from Khrushchev's own mouth. However, in order to disguise himself, Khrushchev told us that Bulganin had made a great mistake in applying the term «Leninist» to Tito and, for appearance's sake, he condemned Bulganin, who was obliged to make a self-criticism.

Hence, according to N. Khrushchev, Tito, this disrupter of socialist countries and communist and workers' parties, who, since 1948 has lived on American dollars, had to be rehabilitated. Khrushchev's efforts to rehabilitate Tito, his kind words addressed to the Belgrade revisionists encourage them to strut like fighting cocks and carry out actions so blatantly anti-Marxist that even Khrushchev and his followers have frequently been placed in difficult positions, particularly with the organisation of the counterrevolution in Hungary, and with Tito's declarations that they should advance on his road in order to establish a new course in the countries of people's democracy. However, the counterrevolution in Hungary exposed the Yugoslav revisionist clique. Tito and N. Khrushchev likewise, because he had made an agreement with the Titoites about changing the situation and the previous leadership in Hungary. And if N. Khrushchev gave the order that the Soviet army, which left thousands of dead in Budapest, should assist the Hungarian people, he was compelled to do this by the circumstances that had arisen. N. Khrushchev would have left the counterrevolution in Hungary under the auspices of the Yugoslav revisionists, and Imre Nagy and other Yugoslav agents would have remained in power there, but the situation got out of hand.

After the Party Conference of Tirana and on the eve of the Hungarian counterrevolution, a delegation of our Party which was to go to the VIII Congress of the CP of China, passed through Budapest and Moscow. I, too, was included in this delegation. The comrades of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Hungarian Workers' Party, invited us to a dinner and on this occasion a conversation took place between us. They told us about the disturbances which were taking place in the «Petoefi» club. When we asked «why don't you take measures against elements who make trouble», they answered that «these are forms which democracy allows» and asked: «What would you do if such things happened in Albania?» Then we told them how we acted with the anti-Party

and traitor elements at the Tirana Conference and we suggested to them that «if you want to save the situation, we think that you, too, must act in the same way». «But we are unable to act in this way», they said, «because here there are even members of the CC who have gone to dinner with Imre Nagy, to congratulate him on his birthday». We expressed our opposition to such an attitude and on this occasion we gave them some comradely advice: «Call a meeting of the plenum and take party measures. In this way you will strengthen the situation. This is how we acted against enemies and this is what revolutionary Marxism teaches us. You may do whatever you see fit in your own home, we told them, but since you asked us, we expressed our view».

In the middle of all this talk a member of the Political Bureau as if to divert the conversation, asked us whether we would like to go to the stadium the next day to see a football match; but we replied that «our delegation will leave for Moscow. «Finally they told us that in recent times Hungary had been visited by about 20.000 tourists, even with their own cars. We told them: «Be careful, because there are spies among them». «But we earn great amounts of foreign exchange from them», they said. And as it came out, under the cloak of «tourists» cars, the imperialists were sending in rifles and machine-guns for the counterrevolution through Austria and the Hungarian leaders were not awake to it.

The whole course of events confirms that Khrushchev had come to terms with the Tito clique, because when we went to Moscow we told Suslov about what was happening in Hungary, that the situation there was not good, that Imre Nagy was moving, etc. «You are mistaken», Suslov replied, «Nagy is not a bad man». We objected there and then, and told Suslov that «we do not agree with the assessment you are making of Nagy». And we added that when Nagy was Prime Minister, he was in favour of the integration of the kulaks in agricultural cooperatives. «You are wrong, you are wrong», Suslov repeated, and took from his drawer Nagy's «fresh self-criticism». Despite this we told Suslov, «Imre Nagy is a traitor». Time showed that we were right. Later it came out what Nagy really was.

The counterrevolution in Hungary was mainly the work of the Yugoslav revisionists, whose aim was that Hungary should break away from the socialist camp. We mentioned our arguments at the Moscow Meeting, but Khrushchev went red with anger and held his head in his hands. Likewise, we mentioned documents in the speech delivered on the occasion of the 20th anniversary of the PLA. Sometimes the situation compelled Khrushchev to say something against Tito, to avoid exposing himself. When the «fight» against Tito was eased up by Khrushchev, then he advised us too, to be conciliatory with Tito. Khrushchev's followers did whatever he told them and did not dare speak up. On these occasions Tito attacked again, and Khrushchev was again compelled to take a stand, as he did at the VII Congress of the CP of Bulgaria, where he described Tito as a «Trojan Horse». At the break, after the speech delivered by Khrushchev, he told the comrades: «There, despite all I said against the Yugoslavs comrade Enver is still not satisfied». Naturally, we were surprised when Khrushchev spoke in this way, but we did not trust him and he was well aware of this.

Once when I met Vyshinsky and we were talking about the Yugoslav issue, he told me: «You, comrade Enver are still

young, but it is important to expose the bad egg patiently, at the proper time, so he will be stripped absolutely bare. This is the heaviest punishment he can be given. If the people understand what a bad egg he is you may shoot him or leave him as you wish, he is already shot dead».

As is known, at the VII Congress of the Yugoslav Communist League the Titoites announced their revisionist program. As a result of the indignation caused in the entire international communist movement, Khrushchev and company were compelled to take a stand. However, shortly after the announcement of the program, Khrushchev began to tell us that we should shut up, be quiet about them, because allegedly there was still a spark of hope about correcting the Yugoslav «comrades», «brothers», etc., etc. From our side the fight against revisionism was being waged more and more sternly. This fight against Yugoslav revisionism was becoming a great danger to Khrushchev because he had no success at all in setting us on the road of conciliation with it. The question of Titoite revisionism was becoming a very acute problem also for the entire world communist movement. There were communist and workers' parties which wavered to the right and to the left. The French CP stopped the fight against the Belgrade clique to the extent that it was discredited before the French working people. At one time it was doing well. When the program of the Yugoslav Communist League was proclaimed, the French CP again intensified the fight against the Tito clique, whereas now it is keeping silent it listened to Khrushchev and ceased its fight against the Belgrade revisionists. We told Khrushchev that on this issue we must go straight ahead, without hesitation, on a Marxist-Leninist course, but he continued his work. He is incorrigible.

N. Khrushchev's policy is hostile not only because he aims to change the course of the CPSU, but because he has a great international plan. He launched the slogans of the «defence of peace» and «total and general disarmament», the slogan of «peaceful coexistence among states with different social systems, as a general line of the foreign policy of the socialist states», the slogan that the USSR will go to communism at the same time as and together with all the other countries of the socialist camp. By hiding behind these high-sounding slogans, Khrushchev has tried to conceal his activity which is disastrous to the Soviet Union, the socialist camp and the world communist movement.

During the working out of these issues in practice and in life, the objections of our Party, of the CP of China, etc., to Khrushchev's opportunist and revisionist line cropped up continually. These objections steadily increased. Under the disguise of allegedly Marxist slogans Khrushchev was working in favour of imperialism. The imperialists have taken full advantage of the weak points of the revisionist policy of Khrushchev and have continued to arm themselves. This does not mean that we should stop their arming by means of war, as Khrushchev says about us. That is a slander. Neither our Party nor that of China have ever had such views, but we say that the efforts of imperialism to arm itself and launch war, will be prevented by arousing the peoples, for the cause of peace is preserved and strengthened if the peoples take it in their own hands and carry it through to the end.

After the XX Congress of the CPSU many communist and workers' parties of the world, deceived by Khrushchev's oppor-

tunist revisionist line, relaxed and fell asleep. The widespread view was that «since we are strong, there is nothing the imperialists can do to us», hence it was propagated far and wide that «there will be no more war». Thus the strength of imperialism was under-rated. With his well-disguised formulas and for effect among the masses of the people Khrushchev said that «now we can hold imperialism in check», that «its nature has changed, today», that «it is not so aggressive, not because it does not want to be, but because we are so strong, that it is quite unable to do anything to us, and will do what we tell it», and other such nonsense.

In his clowning, Khrushchev even went so far as to say such things as «I don't know wine like Stalin, but I have politics at my fingertips». Remember what a powerful world movement was there in Stalin's time, such as the movement of the peace partisans, the great movement of the international working class, what heroism the people displayed in the capitalist countries, when they lay down on the tracks before the trains filled with armaments which were being sent by the imperialists to oppress the colonial peoples in Vietnam and elsewhere, a thing which weakened the war of the colonialists. Remember the mass actions of parties and peoples against capital, the big strikes, the powerful demonstrations, etc., for the exposure of the imperialists, the prohibition of nuclear weapons, etc. All these actions which were carried out in Stalin's time, have now died away because the «politician» Khrushchev brought to the fore «the settlement of problems through talks». Therefore Khrushchev goes rushing around like a tourist to spread his ideas allegedly for peace, but which in fact are poison for the peoples.

Khrushchev began to speak about «the peaceful road of transition to socialism», about the seizure of state power by the working class, «in the parliamentary way». According to him, the proletariat, in this or that country, by means of general elections, will secure a stable majority in parliament, through which it will realise radical social reforms and allegedly embark on the road of socialism. These views of the modern revisionists are a continuation of the preachings of their predecessors Bernstein, Kautsky, etc., who likewise, negating violent revolution, expressed themselves for «peaceful transition» by means of reforms, by means of the bourgeois parliament. Lenin came out strongly against these revisionist views saying:

«Only the scoundrels or fools could think that the proletariat must first win the majority in the voting carried out under the oppression of the bourgeoisie, under the oppression of the wage slavery and only then seize state power. This is the acme of small-mindedness or hypocrisy, this is a substitution of elections under the old regime, under the old state power for the class struggle and revolution». (V. I. Lenin, Works, Vol. 30, p. 48, Alb. ed.)

Khrushchev's theses in regard to the roads of transition to socialism had to do with whether or not the proletariat in capitalist countries and in colonial and dependent countries, should seize state power, whether or not it would rise in revolution to take power, whether or not the peoples would rise to stop the imperialists launching a new war. To follow Khrush-

chev's course would mean to give up the course of the October Revolution, which he described as "correct only for those historical conditions"! Therefore, all the opportunist and revisionist elements among the ranks of the communist and workers' parties supported Khrushchev's thesis, which he developed at the 20th Congress of the CPSU, on the peaceful road of transition to socialism. As a consequence, a period of tranquillity was created in the capitalist countries, the revolutionary drive of the communists fell away. The revolutionary road, the road, of seizing state power through violence, was rejected. This then, is the great harm Khrushchev's revisionist thesis on the seizure of state power in a peaceful way did: it disarmed the communist and workers' parties and the workers' revolutionary movement in the capitalist countries. In short, Khrushchev strove to impose the view that the struggle for the seizure of state power must be rejected, by preaching the parliamentary road, for the purpose of extinguishing the strike movement and the revolutionary drive of the communist parties in the capitalist countries.

Our Party has a correct concept and attitude concerning the roads of transition to socialism. We conceive this question in a Marxist way. The principal thesis which our Party upholds is that violent revolution constitutes a general law of the proletarian revolution. Lenin defines the duty of the revolutionaries in this direction, when he says:

"The need to educate the masses systematically with this idea and precisely with this idea of the violent revolution, is the basis of the whole doctrine of Marx and Engels.. (V. I. Lenin, Works, vol. 25, p. 473, Alb. ed.)."

While emphasizing the road of violent revolution, we do not negate the road of peaceful transition to socialism, but we conceive this in the way the classical teachers of Marxism-Leninism have treated it, as a very limited possibility, which is met *extremely rarely*, in quite special historical conditions and circumstances. The fact that so far, history knows no case in which any country has passed over to socialism in a peaceful way testified to this. The bourgeoisie does not voluntarily surrender its state power to the proletariat. The proletariat would agree to take power in a peaceful way, but this does not mean that it should await this day unarmed facing the bourgeoisie armed to the teeth. On the contrary, the proletariat must be armed, prepared for the violent revolution even if, in the specific historical conditions of some country, it can take power in a peaceful way. The peaceful way itself cannot be conceived otherwise. In the present conditions, when imperialism has increased its efforts to keep the peoples under oppression, when it is committing more acts of aggression, carrying on the armaments race, as never before, maintaining a huge military and police apparatus, increasing its military budget, moving towards reaction in all fields of life, etc., to advertise the peaceful road means to give up the revolution, to betray it.

Khrushchev's other thesis about "total general disarmament" also serves to turn the people away from revolution. This thesis brings grist to the mill of imperialism, for it disarms the peoples in the face of armed imperialism.

It is clear to us that imperialism is the source of war, that as long as imperialism exists the danger of war exists,

too. But what do the revisionists say? The revisionists say that weapons, the armaments race, are the source of war. Therefore, according to them, so that there will be no war, arms must be eliminated! Proceeding from this erroneous view, they come out with the slogan of "total general disarmament". However, in the conditions of imperialism, the slogan of "total general disarmament", so zealously advocated by Khrushchev, is a major deception for the peoples. On this question, we must be guided by Lenin's teaching, according to which:

"As long as there are oppressed and exploited people in the world, we must demand no disarmament, but the general arming of the people. Only that will fully ensure freedom. Only that will fully conquer reaction. Only if this transformation is carried out, will millions of working people, and not just a handful of exploiters, really enjoy freedom." (V. I. Lenin, Works, Vol. 10, p. 48, Alb. ed.)

We are for disarmament, but we do not do this without imperialism being disarmed. Imperialism, however, does not lay down its arms. If imperialism were to disarm itself, it would no longer be imperialism. We are armed and imperialism undertakes acts of aggression and organises conspiracies, but if we disarm ourselves, imagine what it will do. Therefore, in these circumstances, how can we disarm ourselves? In no way!

Since we uphold this correct view, the revisionists accuse us of being warmongers! Why? Which country have we threatened? On the contrary, others have threatened us and have tried to invade us. We have always fought and fight to defend our homeland. And for this we need arms, that is why we have armed not only our army, but our entire people, and we keep our powder dry, our eyes and ears open. Our slogan is to build socialism, holding the pick in one hand and the rifle in the other. . .

At the Meeting of the 81 parties in Moscow Khrushchev tried to have the question of peaceful coexistence between countries with different social systems put forward in his revisionist platform. He tried to avoid any word about the struggle of the oppressed and colonial peoples, or about the struggle of the proletariat against the capitalists, and especially against the new colonialists, the US imperialists. Indeed for some time, the Soviet press did not mention US imperialism, but German imperialism. This was his principal aim. Khrushchev also, needed this kind of coexistence to quell the national liberation struggle of colonial and dependent countries. Hence, these slogans were launched by Khrushchev in a planned way and with a purpose, therefore, in exposing their reactionary essence, our Party has demonstrated its revolutionary position by proceeding from the teachings of Marxism-Leninism on these issues.

As to the foreign policy of N. Khrushchev, all his efforts, trips and speeches yielded no result whatever. None of the proposals of the Soviet Union hindered US imperialism, or its satellites, indeed even Bonn's Germany, from arming themselves to the teeth. Not one of the most urgent international problems is being solved. The question arises: Why is this the case when the leadership of the Soviet Union is allegedly

pursuing a correct line? According to the theses of the XX Congress of the CPSU, which are allegedly Marxist-Leninist, we should have had results in foreign policy, we should have imposed our views on imperialism. The truth is that the theses of the XX Congress are neither Marxist-Leninist nor mobilising; on the contrary, they are demobilising. In every case our Party has indicated to Khrushchev the weaknesses and the negative content of his theses, but he took no heed at all of our remarks. He thought «I shall settle things with the Albanians my way». But he was gravely mistaken. His misfortunes came from an unexpected direction.

In his internal policy, particularly in matters of agriculture, the negative consequences of N. Khrushchev's revisionist work are becoming obvious. The fact is that in the USSR there are shortages of foodstuffs like butter, sugar, sausage, eggs, etc. This situation in the field of agriculture is a result of the anti-Marxist- economic policy of Khrushchev, who, formerly called himself a «specialist in agriculture», while now he poses as a «specialist in everything», even as the «father» of missiles. Khrushchev combatted the cult of Stalin in order to set up the cult of himself.

The main cause that the results in agriculture in the USSR are not good lies in Khrushchev's anti-Marxist line. We need only mention the measures for the «reorganisation of agriculture» which went so far as to transfer the MTS from state property to the group property of the collective farm, which is a lower form of property than the socialist property of the entire people. This has brought great harm to Soviet agriculture. This means turning back the clock in the development of agriculture. On the question of the MTS, Khrushchev did the opposite of what Stalin writes in his work «Economic problems of socialism in the USSR». This book deals with important questions of the building of socialism. It also speaks of problems of the development of agriculture, about the MTS, which must always be in the hands of the state, etc., theses which are completely correct, but which Khrushchev blackened and violated, and built up another political, economic line which is thoroughly anti-Marxist.

Khrushchev raised a great clamour about the question of opening up new land. This land, however, has not given the profitability that Khrushchev boasted about. In the Soviet Union, there are areas which give high yields of grain, cotton, etc., because they are irrigated with up-to-date technique, while this is not the case in the new lands. Khrushchev's words about abundance from these lands are just so much noise on his part, empty boasts and promises. Khrushchev declared that the Soviet Union had built up reserves in wheat, but when we asked him to assist us, because we were without bread, he did not do so. On the contrary, he said «we are in difficulty ourselves». True, there is difficulty over bread in the present-day Soviet Union, but they had enough grain to supply us; nevertheless, they did not give it to us, because they wanted to bring us to our knees. We see clearly that we must struggle with all our might to ensure the production of grain ourselves at home, and the day will come when we shall realise this.

Khrushchev thought that everybody ought to follow his course. The communists, however, are among the people with the highest political understanding, the most energetic, who judge the problems correctly, in the light of the teachings of Marxism-Leninism. Through their work, the communists in-

fluence the policy of the country, not only where their parties are in power, but also in other countries. Therefore, they followed Khrushchev's actions and the situation he created in the Soviet Union and in the international communist movement. This situation was becoming more difficult for Khrushchev every day. The more time passed after the XX Congress, the greater the obstacles that arose on his revisionist course, so much that he was becoming more and more exposed, not only through some just and cautious criticism, but also through stronger and harsher criticism. This showed that Khrushchev's opponents were increasing.

So the Bucharest putsch was prepared.

After having spoken about the development of the Bucharest Meeting and about the Marxist-Leninist stand of the PLA there, comrade Enver Hoxha continued:

The Moscow Meeting has its own history. Before this meeting took place, for 10 to 20 days on end the Chinese comrades, our comrades, and the comrades of other six parties worked 10-12 hours a day to combat the Soviet draft-declaration, which was a revisionist document from start to finish. Finally, this document, which Khrushchev aimed to make into a platform, on the basis of which the whole international communist movement should proceed, was rejected. Since his plan had not succeeded at Bucharest, Khrushchev intended, with the draft-declaration prepared for the Moscow Meeting, to tie the international communist movement hand and foot and to accuse those who would not accept this as splitters of the socialist camp. But our Party was prepared to fight this plan. The comrades we sent to the drafting commission before the Moscow Meeting had everything clear.

A fierce struggle was waged in this commission. No paragraph was allowed to pass without being discussed and without comment. And our struggle was crowned with success. The Soviet delegates were often obliged to accept our proposals in the commission. But the next day, apparently, after receiving a dressing down from Khrushchev they would demand that amendments be made in what the commission had approved.

Although our opponents constituted the majority and we were the minority, they were obliged to accept many theses in the way we and the Chinese comrades proposed them. The only fundamental issue with which we did not agree, but on which we were obliged to make a concession for the sake of unity, is the mention of the XX Congress in the Declaration. But our Party made its assessment of the XX Congress in the speech delivered at the Moscow Meeting.

Mehmet and I left Moscow early because they had placed us under general surveillance. Secret microphones had been placed in the house where they received us, but we had an apparatus which detected where their apparatuses were placed. Having been put under surveillance, we left the house which they put at our disposal and went to stay in our embassy. At the time we were leaving, a young man of the Soviet security organs told our comrades that «comrades Enver Hoxha and Mehmet Shehu did very well to leave, because our crowd have some dirty work afoot». But when we went to the embassy we discovered that it had been «bugged» too. At the meeting we had with Khrushchev we slapped it right in his face about the means and methods they had used against us. We pointed

out the depths to which they had sunk in putting the pressure on us. When we said that the «Vlora base is ours and will remain ours», and that «we respect you and you must respect us», Khrushchev replied «This is how McMillan wanted to speak to me». Immediately we got up and went away.

Before our speech was delivered at the Moscow Meeting, they put many other forms of pressure on us. Khrushchev had told the Chinese delegates that «we shall treat the Albanians as we do the Yugoslavs» whereas the truth is that he is on the best of terms with the Yugoslavs. Then he added «It is true we lost Albania, but what you've won is nothing much». At the Moscow Meeting we denounced this view and told Khrushchev that Albania is not a commodity to be traded. These were some of the efforts of Khrushchev and his followers who had the idea that there was nothing for it but to bring Albania to its knees or to weaken it, and, if it did not surrender, then to take the final decision.

After the Moscow Meeting, Khrushchev intensified his hostile activity towards our country. Thus, he began to take measures for the liquidation of the naval base of Vlora, created to ensure the defence of Albania and the socialist camp. We had signed an agreement, according to which all the ships to be stationed there would in the course of time, be handed over to us, and from the time of their coming into our waters they would be the property of the Albanian state. However, during the proceedings of the Moscow Meeting, Khrushchev said that «the submarines are ours, therefore we shall withdraw them». We replied «You have no right to take any ship at all, because on the basis of the agreement they are the property of the Albanian people». We told him also that they had no right whatever to dismantle the base in a unilateral way, because the ships are the property of the Albanian state and Albania and the Socialist camp are defended with them. He thought that by exerting pressure on us through the liquidation of the base, we would raise our hands, but he does not know the Albanians well!

He found his «major reason» for the liquidation of the base: allegedly the Albanians were ill-treating the Soviet sailors, making life impossible for them, because, while checking a bus on the road to Pashaliman, a policeman had asked to see the identity cards of three Soviet women who were on board and this was allegedly a great insult. And he had this «other reason», too, the children of Dukati had quarreled with some Soviet children, and this was allegedly another «incident». The Soviet leaders have used these things in their documents as «arguments» to prove that life had been made impossible for Soviet personnel in Albania. For these reasons, according to them, «the Vlora base should be handed over to the Soviets and the command should be Soviet». This means that we Albanians would accept restrictions on our own land and when we wanted to go to Vlora we would have to seek permission from the command of the Soviet navy. In a word, a Soviet garrison would be in command in Vlora. But how could such a thing be permitted? This could not even be thought of, let alone permitted!

Khrushchev had in mind to repeat the manoeuvre of the Yugoslav revisionists who sought to introduce their army divisions into Albania, allegedly to defend us from any attack by the Greek monarchofascists. Our Party rejected such anti-Marxist demands. It told Khrushchev that such demands are

by no means proper, and retorted that our men are quite capable of handling the warships and defending the Adriatic shores, the interests of the homeland and the socialist camp. Vlora and the region around it is Albanian, and will remain Albanian as long as it exists. Your charges about life being made intolerable for the Soviet sailors in Vlora are absolutely without foundation and we reject them with contempt.

Our Party and Government had long been expecting that Khrushchev and company would arrive at such a point. As to the naval means in the hands of our crews, they remained and did not move from their berths, and to avoid opening up any conflict we allowed those ships which were handled by Soviet crews, to leave, although legally they were ours, and we were prepared to take them over and have them in full readiness, and not as Khrushchev's emissaries had left them. On account of this correct stand they called us pirates, because we kept the ships which were in the hands of our sailors.

Over economic problems Khrushchev thought that we would not know where to turn to and would submit to him. «Come to Moscow», he said, «so that we can reconsider what we have decided». But why should we go to Moscow, since the agreements had been concluded and signed by both sides? In fact, Khrushchev wanted comrade Mehmet and me to go to Moscow to agree to whatever he told us and then issue some communique to suit his taste. To defend the honour and line of our Party, we replied to Khrushchev that we had no reason to go to Moscow over problems on which agreements have been signed, therefore all those things you are doing are pressures to humiliate the Albanian people and their Party of Labour. But it is not the habit of Marxist-Leninist parties to submit. Since we refused to go to Moscow, they suspended the credits, being aware that in this way they were sabotaging our economy. However, our plans were not hindered, they were realised, indeed they are being overfulfilled. The People's Republic of China has provided us with sufficient credits.

When he saw that even with the suspension of credits and supplies he did not succeed in making us submit, Khrushchev then ordered the withdrawal of the Soviet specialists from Albania. How shameless the Soviet revisionists have shown themselves! We wanted the Soviet specialists to stay on, and on this we have the letters we sent to the Soviet leadership, but they took no heed of our request and spread the slander that it was we who expelled them. The time will come when our letters will be published and those who trust N. Khrushchev will be convinced what a dirty revisionist he is. He and his henchmen are the sort, who «murder you at night and weep over you in daylight», as our people say.

N. Khrushchev also cut off the bursaries of our students who were studying in Soviet higher schools. He has established a complete blockade of Albania. Not a word about Albania is written in the Soviet press, nor in the press of the countries of people's democracy of Europe. Whereas our newspapers write about the Soviet Union or the other socialist countries. We are carrying out a correct policy. Naturally, we also write about problems which are hurting the Soviet Union and the international communist movement, i.e. we expose the actions of the revisionist Khrushchevite group. This attitude infuriates the revisionists.

Khrushchev and company probably think that through the measures they have taken they will oblige us to pursue ano-

ther line, to fall on our knees, and to hitch ourselves to their revisionist chariot. This is how they think themselves, because they are revisionists. We speak of our love for the Soviet people and Soviet communists, but at the same time we cannot sit back and not expose Khrushchev and his cronies. This we do on the basis of the Marxist-Leninist principles and with documents, whereas Khrushchev and his crowd can only slander us.

Because they were convinced that our Party not only was not yielding, but on the contrary was sticking to its Marxist-Leninist course, that the Albanian people did not remain without bread, but are successfully fulfilling and overfulfilling this year's plan, Khrushchev and company decided to attack us openly at the XXII Congress of the CPSU. They were aware of the discredit they would suffer in the eyes of the Soviet people and the international communist movement with this action, but they could not do otherwise, because from day to day the situation was becoming more serious for N. Khrushchev with his revisionist theories being continually exposed.

The main item on the agenda for the XXII Congress of the CPSU was the discussion and approval of the program for the construction of communism in the Soviet Union. But under the disguise of this program, Khrushchev advanced many of his revisionist theses, putting them forward there to be approved by the congress.

Khrushchev's plan envisaged that the XXII Congress should once again discuss the question of the cult of the individual. With this question Khrushchev linked the Party of Labour of Albania, which has allegedly not grasped the importance of the consequences of the cult of the individual. He had to hit his opponent hard in order to intimidate the other parties, to avoid their deviation from the Khrushchev course. Thus Khrushchev intended to kill two birds with one stone: To condemn Albania and to intimidate the others by saying: Do you see what I did to Albania? I shall do the same thing to you; hence, either come with us or you will suffer for it like the PLA. Likewise Khrushchev threatened the communist and workers' parties which have begun to wake up to where the truth stands and to resist him. Thus, instead of becoming a tribune for the problems of the construction of communism, the XXII Congress was turned into a tribune against the cult of the individual and «the anti-party group», from which the hatred of the revisionists for the PLA erupted. These three issues were made the objective of the fight of Khrushchev and his followers. It became so scandalous that the newspapers «Pravda», «Humanite» and «Unita» began to point out to the bourgeois press that it was forgetting to speak of the program of building communism, and was dealing only with the issues of the «cult of the individual», the «anti-party group» and Albania. Thus, the N. Khrushchev group themselves saw that they had deviated greatly but the international bourgeoisie, for its own interests seized on it and exploited it properly, poured petrol on the flames and was overjoyed that it had brought Khrushchev on to its own course.

This was the plan N. Khrushchev had at the XXII Congress. He knew that with the raising of these three issues there would be some reaction. He did not invite a delegation from our Party to this Congress, because he was going to make accusations against us there and he could envisage two possibilities: either our delegation would walk out of the congress in protest, or it would be patient and then demand

to express its own view. Both these possibilities were dangerous for Khrushchev, therefore he did not invite us. What he had to do, he did at the congress of his own party and he was afraid to propose a new meeting of the parties, for he saw what he suffered in Moscow last year. His aim was to mobilise all the communist and workers' parties against us, and indirectly also against the CP of China, and ensure as many followers as possible, to sing the «praises» of the theses of the XXII Congress and the draft-program of the CPSU, hence to achieve what he was unable to achieve at the Bucharest Meeting and later at the Moscow Meeting. But this did not work for him either.

At the XXII Congress the representative of the CP of China rose and described Khrushchev's attacks on our Party as anti-Marxist. This was a very heavy blow for Khrushchev and his followers. With his speech, the representative of the CP of China gave Khrushchev to understand that his actions were anti-Marxist and served only the enemies of socialism. The statement of the CC of the PLA and the articles of «Zëri i Popullit» about the attacks of the Soviet revisionists at their XXII Congress, have been published in the Chinese press, indeed on the front page. Since the beginning of the XXII Congress of the CPSU, up to two pages of the newspaper «Zhenminzhibao» have been full of materials about Albania and her successes. When the 20th anniversary of our Party was celebrated, the Chinese press announced that «comrade Enver Hoxha has delivered a very important speech», and a few days later, they published it in their own language. Apart from this, they sent us a message of congratulations on the 20th anniversary of the founding of our Party, with full appreciations of the correct course of our Party. In this way, the CP of China told Khrushchev that it does not agree at all with the stand he maintains towards the PLA.

Our Party is young, but tempered in struggles. It did not make the disagreements public as Khrushchev and his followers did. Thus, very shortly after the Moscow Meeting, Walter Ulbricht publicly accused our Party of being «sectarian» and «dogmatic» with the aim of goading us into making an international issue of this so that the ground would be prepared for what he wanted. But we said nothing, we only sent a letter to the CC of the SUP of Germany, in which we refuted Ulbricht's dirty attacks. Later Togliatti attacked us, but we did not even write a letter to him. We add that there are views in the leadership of the Italian CP that not only the CPSU, but every other party has the right to denounce the policy of another party. There are many communists in this party who are with «Stalin's line», as they say. There is opposition in the ranks of the CC, but the speeches published in the newspaper «Unita» are arranged to show the alleged unity of the Party, which in reality does not exist. And there can be no unity, for these are very great issues. Khrushchev has opened up a great gulf into which he will fall himself. Every day that passes what he has done is being exposed. The correct stand of our Party, the CP of China and the other Marxist-Leninist parties will expose it. Therefore, his revisionist activity will become more and more pronounced and the communists and peoples of the world will see more clearly what this group is, where it is leading the communist movement, and whom its policy serves.

With its correct stand, our Party, however small it may be, has more and more won the support and respect of the revo-

lutionary communists in the world, who, wherever they are, are reflecting because they see that what the PLA says is coming true both in foreign policy and in internal policy. Whereas Khrushchev is failing, irrespective of his revisionist defence counsels.

Tito delivered a speech in Shkup recently. He spoke about the XXII Congress of the CPSU and Albania. «We have carefully followed the proceedings of the XXII Congress», he said, «and have read the things that involve us; we saw that we were attacked, but we took this calmly». Tito speaks like this because the criticism towards him was gentle. Khrushchev himself has said that he has warned Tito against getting angry when he is obliged to criticise him somewhat. Therefore Tito could not fail to take these «attacks», «calmly». He said: «We do not know when these attacks will cease. Nevertheless, Tito added, we have also seen in the work of the XXII Congress a positive course, which has begun to be effectively reflected in the further development, not only of the USSR, but also of the other socialist countries. Therefore, the XXII Congress of the CPSU is of major importance to the further advance towards a truly democratic progressive development, not only in the USSR, but also in other countries of the world. I cannot speak of the further prospects of the development of communism, this is a matter for study, but I can say only that we welcome a course such as that which started at the XXII Congress».

After the XXII Congress Theodor Zhivkov appeared on Moscow television and brazenly declared that all the communist and workers' parties, being unanimously with the CPSU, fiercely attacked the Party of Labour of Albania, and its deviations. Whereas Tito, in his Shkup speech, said: «I do not want to go into the matter of whether or not disagreements have existed or exist between the USSR and the PR of China, but it is clear that nobody will be reconciled to the opinion that China's attitude is positive and that we should return to the course they want. This would greatly harm not only the USSR, but also all the other socialist countries and indeed the whole rapid development of socialism in the world». With this Tito means that he agrees with Khrushchev.

«The PLA», said Tito in Shkup, «represents the views of the CP of China in this part of Europe and does not tell the truth about us. The speech delivered by Enver Hoxha on the occasion of the 20th anniversary of the founding of the Party is full of slanders against Yugoslavia and the tales about the danger threatening from us are inventions. In a word, it has a content such as to make one think about it and ask: Does it constitute some provocation against our country, for we know that a similar thing was done in Stalin's time when provocations were prepared against us. Therefore we think that the Albanian leaders constitute a great danger to peace in this area of the world, because through Enver Hoxha and Mehmet Shehu a new hotbed of the danger of war is created. We think, he continued, that some of the attacks of the Albanian leaders are aimed at the comrades in Moscow, Khrushchev and others, and some refer to us. But we shall be vigilant and shall not allow any country, even Albania, to take matters so far that peace in the Balkans would be endangered. We wish the Albanian people well, we have nothing against them, we have wanted neither to enslave nor to unite Albania by force. We want the shedding of the blood of innocent people in Albania to cease. We shall never extend our hand to such leaders as

Enver Hoxha and Mehmet Shehu, and shall never reconcile ourselves with those, whose hands are stained with the blood of the finest sons of the Albanian people, such as Koçi Xoxe and others who have assisted them to create the Albanian CP»!

Apparently, Tito and Khrushchev, as the cronies they are, think that the time has come to lay their cards on the table. What Khrushchev says, like these things that Tito said in Shkup, show that both of them pursue the same course.

But naturally, comrades, this struggle which we are waging against the revisionists, is neither easy nor short. We must not have illusions that Khrushchevism has been destroyed with what we have done. The struggle will be a protracted one, but it will develop constantly in our favour, in favour of socialism.

Our Party is armed to bring this struggle to a victorious conclusion and it is convinced that it is in the right. After all we are not alone; those who are with us make up the overwhelming majority of the communists. Nevertheless, we must always be vigilant, preserve the unity of the Party like the apple of our eye, for the arrows have been aimed against our Party. It is a great honour for our Party which is defending not only the freedom and independence of our homeland, but also the great cause of Marxism-Leninism, gloriously and with self sacrifice.

However our Party does not become conceited. Our Party is young, but it has waged an uninterrupted Marxist-Leninist struggle over 20 years, which has tempered it and made it invincible. Our Party has created a real and steel-like unity, which is apparent at any time in all parts of the homeland. What enthusiasm, what strong unity there is in our entire Party from the base to the top! What steel-like unity there is between the communists and the people! The more difficult the moments the stronger the people-party unity becomes. This shows the people's approval of the correct line of our Party, this shows how correctly the Party has worked, for the education of the masses, who have tested in practice the correctness of its line in every sector, therefore they give their Party their unreserved support.

Khrushchev knows this, that is why he tried to split the unity of our Party through Liri Belishova and Koço Tashko, but couldn't. However, we should not think that he will lay down his arms. Khrushchev will try by every means to attack the unity of our Party, but he will suffer defeat as always. Our enemies, all of them but especially these we have round about us, will carry on their provocations as always. Therefore, with patience and heroism we must guard our unity and the purity of Marxism-Leninism with the greatest care, by making this clear to people. But when there are people who do not want to correct themselves, we must put them in their place. The dictatorship of the proletariat is alive, vigilant, and active. What Khrushchev says about there being «no dictatorship in the USSR, that in our country it is not necessary to condemn people and throw them into jail», is nonsense. Then why did he raise the question of Stalin once again, after his death? He did this because nobody forgets Stalin, he led the Soviet Union for 30 years after Lenin's death.

An Albanian was travelling by train in Azerbaidjan. An old man asked him and when he learned that he was Albanian, he told him: «We love you very much, and you are doing very well that you are with Stalin. He was a great man.» Another Soviet

citizen nearby chipped and said: «Yes, that's so, but Stalin also made mistakes». «But I am an old Bolshevik», the old man went on, «and I know Stalin better than you». The conversation became heated and the old man said: «Listen you Albanian, the machinegun opened up in the streets of Baku when they wanted to remove the monument to Stalin, because the people came out and demonstrated in opposition, thus Khrushchev's men cleared off with their tails between their legs».

The question of Stalin and his work is not a minor matter. It attracts many people, who become opponents of Khrushchev, and he attacks them when he discovers them, therefore let him say as much as he likes about there being no dictatorship and no political prisoners in the USSR. To us it is clear: true, there is no dictatorship of the proletariat in the Soviet Union, but there is a fascist dictatorship which jails the bolsheviks and honest people and releases the counterrevolutionaries.

The situation dictates that in our country the dictatorship of the proletariat must be strengthened further. It must act against those who try to rise against the unity of the Party with the people and against the interests of our homeland and socialism. Therefore vigilance must remain a first-rate duty for

us. The Party must always be ready and place itself at the head of the people in carrying out the political, ideological and economic tasks, for the defence of the homeland and the purity of Marxism-Leninism. We should more and more strengthen the confidence of the people in the Party, in the just cause the Party defends. We are not alone. Together with our Party, the CP of China and other parties are marching with determination on this course. People's China plays a major role in the international communist movement. The CP of China takes a sound Marxist-Leninist stand. It is a great party and with long experience, which terrifies Khrushchev.

In conclusion, I like to express the opinion of the Central Committee that the Party organisation of your district is one of the best organisations, with valiant and one hundred percent resolute communists, undaunted fighters, and I have the conviction that at the head of the working people it will successfully realise the economic tasks as well as any task concerning the defence of the Party and the people, the defence of the borders and freedom of the homeland.

I wish you, comrades, success in your work wherever you are.

AN ACT OF UNPRECEDENTED HOSTILITY AGAINST THE PRA AND THE ALBANIAN PEOPLE¹⁾

December 10, 1961

On the urge of N. Khrushchev the Soviet government decided to withdraw the entire personnel of the Soviet embassy from Tirana and demanded the departure of the entire personnel of the Albanian embassy from Moscow. This act of unprecedented hostility against socialist Albania and the Albanian people is an action unheard-of in the history of the relations among socialist countries, a heavy blow against the unity of the socialist camp and the international communist and workers movement. Such an act is an insult to the feelings of the profound fraternal friendship which the Soviet communists and the Soviet peoples nurture for our Party and people, and rightly revolts every Albanian and every honest person in the world. By taking this action, N. Khrushchev gladdens only the enemies and gives them weapons to discredit the Communist Party, the Soviet state and their traditional policy of friendship among the peoples. This shows the level of enmity which N. Khrushchev has reached in his hostile feelings towards the PLA, the PRA and the Albanian people, who have been and are loyal friends of the Soviet Union.

The twenty years of the activity of the PLA and the 17 years of the existence of the PRA are the clearest evidence of feelings of friendship and boundless love for the CPSU and the peoples of the Soviet Union. The friendship of our people for the Soviet Union has been forged by the PLA in the flames of the war for freedom, national independence, the building of socialism. It has been consecrated with the blood of the valiant

sons of the Soviet peoples and the Albanian partisans fallen in the common struggle against the common enemies. The PLA has educated its members and all the working people of the country in the spirit of boundless love and unshakable loyalty towards the Communist Party of Lenin and Stalin and the Soviet peoples. The PLA and the Albanian people have considered and continue to consider the friendship with the Soviet Union, its internationalist support and aid, as the important external factor for the liberation of the country, the construction of socialism and the defence of freedom and national independence, and for this they have been and are grateful. The relations of the PRA with the Soviet Union have always been more than exemplary, and there have never been black clouds between our two countries. In the interests of our common course the Government of the PRA has supported and backed up the foreign policy of the Soviet Union, its proposals and steps for the solution of the important international questions in the interest of peace and the security of the peoples, with all its strength. The Albanian-Soviet friendship is not a result of some diplomatic combination, but a profound people's friendship, which has its source in our common course of socialism and communism, in our common interests and aims, in the struggle against imperialism, in the ideology of Marxism-Leninism and the lofty principles of proletarian internationalism.

It is astounding and inconceivable to any honest person how N. Khrushchev could go so far as to sever even state

diplomatic relations with a small friendly and brother country, with a socialist country, which is fighting undauntedly, in the conditions of the capitalist and revisionist encirclement, which is holding aloft the banner of socialism on the shores of the Adriatic, which at every moment and in all circumstances has demonstrated its boundless loyalty towards the great homeland of Lenin with deeds. This attitude towards socialist Albania cannot fail to cause astonishment, at a time when N. Khrushchev, is so loudly advocating the policy of rapprochement and collaboration with all states, even with the most reactionary ones, which are carrying on a consistently hostile policy against the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, at a time when N. Khrushchev is extending his hand and striving to create close ties even with the most reactionary multi-millionaires, with various princes and kings, not to mention the rapprochement and embracing with the Yugoslav revisionists and the cordial greetings and congratulations he sends to the Pope of Rome. From these facts not only every communist, but every honest person in the world, will be convinced of the degree of hostility of N. Khrushchev's act against the PRA, and they will see whom this act serves in reality.

As a pretext for the withdrawal of the entire personnel of the Soviet embassy from Tirana, N. Khrushchev found that allegedly the Albanian government is carrying out a hostile campaign against the Soviet Union and exacerbating the relations between the two countries, hindering the normal activity of the Soviet ambassador in Tirana, and creating an intolerable situation for the Soviet diplomats etc. All these «serious» causes which drove N. Khrushchev to such an action are without foundation from start to finish, they are slanders and inventions which are refuted by the real state of affairs. Anyone who has the slightest acquaintance with the press and the reality in our country sees that in it there is no word, no expression, not even the slightest trace of hostility towards the Soviet Union. On the contrary, it is N. Khrushchev and his followers who invent slanders and tales in order to sow enmity and hatred against our people. Proceeding on this course, a few days ago, it was alleged in an article of the newspaper «Pravda» dated December 2, 1961, written by J. Andropov, that an editorial of the newspaper «Zëri i Popullit» published on the eve of the XXII Congress of the CPSU, wrote that the Albanian leaders «would not develop their relations with the Soviet Union from now on except on the basis of the principles of peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems». This is a falsification and distortion of the truth. Such a thing has never been said, in any issue, article or editorial of «Zëri i Popullit» or any other Albanian newspaper. These are the fabrications on which N. Khrushchev bases his «arguments». What hypocrisy! He hurls at us the false accusation that we are allegedly for relations of peaceful coexistence with the Soviet Union and he is very angry about this, where as he himself in fact goes very much further even than his own fabrications to the point of closing the Soviet embassy in Tirana and ousting the personnel of the Albanian embassy from Moscow, an action which has nothing in common with the internationalist principles of relations among fraternal socialist countries, nor even with the principles of peaceful coexistence, about which he makes so great a fuss.

As to the pretext that allegedly an intolerable situation has been created in Albania for the Soviet diplomats and the normal activity of the ambassador, such a slander is not even

worthy of rejection. N. Khrushchev and his group, like the Soviet diplomats themselves, know very well that, in reality the conditions created for them to carry out their activity in Albania surpass the usually accepted norms, that the Soviet ambassador, for whose work great obstacles have allegedly been created, particularly in recent times, has been in Moscow, and not in Albania, since August 19, 1961. It is truly astonishing that ambassador Shikin has noted, from Moscow, the obstacles created for him in Albania recently!

N. Khrushchev's pretext that allegedly the Government of the PRA has violated the norms of international law by requiring the reduction of the personnel of the Soviet embassy in Tirana cannot stand either. Why did the Government of the PRA demand that the personnel of the two embassies should be placed on a basis of reciprocity? It is known that since the Bucharest meeting of June 1960, N. Khrushchev has systematically and deliberately pursued the policy of pressures and blackmail, with a view to bringing the PLA and the Albanian people to their knees and subjugating them. Violating the previously signed agreements, he suspended all the credits that the Soviet Union had accorded our country, withdrew all the Soviet specialists from Albania, almost completely suspended our trade relations on a clearing basis, cut off the bursaries of all the Albanian civilian and military students who were studying in the Soviet Union, cancelled all the plans of cultural and technico-scientific collaboration between the two countries, established the strict blockade of silence and political isolation towards the PRA and the Albanian people, violated the agreements in the field of military relations, in a word, established the «cordon sanitaire» around the People's Republic of Albania. And after all this, is the demand of the Government of the PRA that the personnel of the two embassies should be put on a basis of reciprocity from the numerical viewpoint not completely justifiable and fair? In these conditions what would about 80 people of the Soviet embassy in Tirana do, when the sphere of their activity has been reduced to the limit, taking into account the unilateral restrictive economic, cultural, and political measures adopted by N. Khrushchev towards the PRA?

The real cause, which drove N. Khrushchev to this extreme act is not the trumped up accusations he takes as a pretext. The real cause must be sought in the revisionist views of N. Khrushchev and in his anti-Marxist efforts to impose them on the other parties by any means. Beginning from the Bucharest meeting, and particularly after the Moscow meeting of the 81 communist and workers' parties, at which the PLA openly expressed its opinion and courageously criticised the opportunist views and the anti-Marxist actions of N. Khrushchev in a principled way, in retaliation for this and with a view to silencing our Party, to subjugating it and giving a lesson to anyone that would dare to oppose him, N. Khrushchev extended the ideological disagreements to the field of state relations and began to behave with the PRA as towards an enemy country. After having systematically carried out, one after another, the economic blockade, the blockade of silence and political isolation, etc., in order to force our Party to its knees, at the XXII Congress he went so far as to publicly level the basest slanders and accusations at the Party of Labour of Albania and its leaders and make a blatantly counterrevolutionary call for the overthrow of the leadership of the Albanian Party and state, thus brutally interfering in the internal affairs of a so-

vereign, socialist country which is a friend and ally. And after having failed in all these attempts and being unable to attain his aim, he committed this further hostile act against the PR of Albania. The closing down of the Soviet embassy in Tirana and the demand for the withdrawal of the entire personnel of the Albanian embassy from Moscow is a logical conclusion to the anti-Marxist and anti-Albanian course which N. Khrushchev has been following for some time now towards the PLA, the PRA and the Albanian people. But, by this unprecedented act of hostility N. Khrushchev further exposes himself, not only before the Albanian people and the Soviet people, but also before the entire international communist and workers' movement, before world public opinion.

This act, unprecedented in the relations among socialist countries, sheds light on the anti-Marxist concepts of N. Khrushchev about the equality and independence of communist parties and socialist states, be they small or big, about their indisputable right to have their own viewpoint and express it freely. On the lips of N. Khrushchev the Leninist principles of equality, independence and noninterference in the internal affairs of one another are nothing but deception, for in fact the PLA needed only express its viewpoint on a number of questions of the present day developments in the world and the international communist movement, in opposition to N. Khrushchev's revisionist concepts, and all the stones were rained upon it and all methods used, up to those which the imperialists and the other most reactionary forces have used and continue to use.

What does N. Khrushchev reckon to achieve with this new hostile act against the PRA? Pursuing the same course and the same aims as before, with this act, too, he aims to intimidate and subjugate the PLA, to shift it from its revolutionary Marxist-Leninist positions, to shake the confidence of our people in the PLA and its leadership, to upset the feelings of friendship of the Albanian people towards the Soviet Union, to undermine the friendship and love of the Soviet people for the PLA, the PRA and the Albanian people, to create new difficulties on the road to the building of socialism in Albania. Undoubtedly, N. Khrushchev goes even further in his reckoning. On the international plane he aims to threaten and warn any other party and country that would dare to oppose his views and actions, which are doing great harm to the cause of Marxism-Leninism and socialism.

But Khrushchev is trying in vain. He will never attain these aims. The Albanian people are linked with their Party like flesh to bone, because, from the experience of life itself they have become convinced of the wise leadership of the PLA, its correct line, its boundless loyalty to the cause of the people and socialism, its policy of sincere friendship with the Soviet Union. Under the leadership of the PLA the Albanian people have reaped historic victories in the course of these twenty years: they liberated the country from the fascist invaders and established the people's state power, reconstructed the war-ravaged country, liquidated the centuries old backwardness and achieved great successes in the construction of the socialist society, defeated every provocation and conspiracy of the imperialists and other enemies of our people, and defended the freedom and independence of our homeland. Today the unity of our people and Party, tempered in struggle and work, is stronger than ever. There is no intrigue and pressure, conspiracy and blackmail that can damage this steel like unity. In the face of it all the

efforts of the imperialist enemies and modern revisionists will fail ignominiously as they have done so far.

The attacks, slanders and hostile actions of N. Khrushchev, including his latest act, will not affect the pure feelings of friendship our people nurture for the fraternal Soviet peoples, for the genuine Soviet communists...

The Albanian people and the PLA will march resolutely on their right road of the construction of socialism and the defence of the homeland. The temporary difficulties will not stop us. We are sure of our future. The targets of the third five-year plan will be fulfilled and overfulfilled, irrespective of the obstacles which N. Khrushchev and his followers are trying to put in our way. Socialist Albania will live unbowed and will prosper with every passing day. A reliable guarantee for this is the patriotism and the revolutionary spirit of our people, the correct leadership of the PLA and the great internationalist aid of our friends, the international solidarity of the working people.

The Albanian people and the PLA know no fear. They are not afraid of the pressures and blackmail of N. Khrushchev and his cronies. Just as it has done heretofore, the People's Republic of Albania, as a socialist country, will have at the foundation of its foreign policy its efforts for the strengthening of the friendship and fraternal collaboration with the socialist countries, on the basis of the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. In the future, too, our Party and Government will unwaveringly continue their determined, principled struggle to expose the warmongering and aggressive plans and actions of US-led imperialism, will fight modern revisionism, and will always keep their revolutionary vigilance at a high level. Our Party and Government will consistently pursue their policy of peaceful coexistence among countries with different political and social systems, will fight for the relaxation of tension in the relations among states, and will make their contribution to the peaceful solution of the problems which exercise the minds of the peace-loving peoples. As before, our Party and people will unreservedly support the sacred struggle of the peoples for their national and social liberation.

Utterly disgusted, the Albanian Party and people protest with deep indignation against the new act of unprecedented hostility by N. Khrushchev against the People's Republic of Albania. They are deeply convinced that they are on a correct course, and that the Soviet peoples and communists are with them against this act, which will prove fatal, not to us but to the Khrushchev group itself.

Our Party is fighting for a great cause, for the truth of Marxism-Leninism, to preserve and strengthen the sound unity of the socialist camp and the international communist movement against modern revisionism, against the opportunist, revisionist distortions and disruptive actions of N. Khrushchev, for the triumph of our common cause of socialism, peace, and the freedom of the peoples. On this course, marching shoulder to shoulder with the sister Marxist-Leninist parties and the fraternal peoples of the socialist countries, as well as with all the revolutionary forces of the world, our Party and people will score complete victory over the imperialist and revisionist enemies. Marxism-Leninism cannot be vanquished. Socialism and communism will triumph.

1) This material has been published in the form of an editorial in the newspaper "Zëri i Popullit" under the title: "An unprecedented act in the relations among socialist countries".

DECLARATION OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE PARTY OF LABOUR OF ALBANIA AGAINST THE ATTACK AND SLANDERS OF N. KHRUSHCHEV AT THE XXII CONGRESS OF THE CPSU

October 20, 1961

At the XXII Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union N. Khrushchev publicly attacked the Party of Labour of Albania. The slanders and anti-Marxist attacks of N. Khrushchev serve only the enemies of communism and of the People's Republic of Albania, the various imperialists and the Yugoslav revisionists. By making public before the enemies the disagreements which had existed for a long time between the leadership of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Party of Labour of Albania, N. Khrushchev brutally violated the 1960 Moscow Declaration which points out that the disagreements which arise between sister parties must be resolved with patience, in the spirit of proletarian internationalism and on the basis of the principles of equality and consultations. By attacking publicly the Party of Labour of Albania, N. Khrushchev effectively launched the open attack against the unity of the international communist and workers movement, against the unity of the socialist camp. For this anti-Marxist act, for all the consequences arising from it, N. Khrushchev bears full responsibility.

The Party of Labour of Albania, led by the interests of the unity of the world communist movement and the socialist camp, with a great patience, since our disagreements with the Soviet leadership arose, has striven to resolve them on the correct Marxist-Leninist course, on the course defined by the Moscow Declaration. N. Khrushchev chose the anti-Marxist course of their acerbation, the course of attacks and slanders, pressures and threats, the course of public denunciation of our disagreements.

The Party of Labour of Albania welcomed with sympathy the declaration of the head of the delegation of the Communist Party of China at the XXII Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, comrade Chou En-lai, which points out that the unilateral criticisms and making public, before the enemy, of the disagreements between sister parties cannot be considered as a serious and Marxist-Leninist attitude. However, from the tribune of the XXII Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, even after this principled warning of the representative of the Communist Party of China, the most savage attacks and slanders continue against the Party of Labour of Albania and the People's Republic of Albania, by some members of the Soviet leadership as well as by some leaders of the communist and workers' parties of other countries, thus assuming, they, too, a heavy historical responsibility, as disrupters of the unity of the international communist and workers' movement.

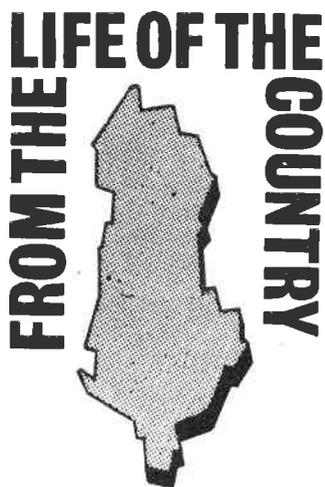
In these conditions, in the face of the organised anti-Marxist

attack of N. Khrushchev and those who follow him, in the face of slanders and inventions, which aim at discrediting our Party, in the face of the serious danger to the further fate of the unity of the international communist and workers' movement and the socialist camp, the Party of Labour of Albania cannot keep silent. With facts and documents, it will make known to the entire communist and workers' movement, as well as to the entire international public opinion, how the truth stands about the relations between the Party of Labour of Albania and the leadership of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, on which side is the right, and will expose the anti-Marxist and anti-Albanian actions of N. Khrushchev and his group.

The unity of the socialist camp and the international communist and workers' movement is being seriously endangered by the anti-Marxist actions of N. Khrushchev and his followers. In this situation, to defend the supreme interests of the people and the homeland, their socialist victories, to defend the purity of Marxism-Leninism and the unity of the ranks of the communist movement and the socialist camp, the Party of Labour of Albania, with a pure conscience, has assumed and will assume the responsibility for every action of its own, as well before the international communist and workers' movement, as also before the Albanian people.

The struggle which is being imposed on our Party and people will be a protracted and difficult one. But difficulties have never frightened our Party and people. Our Party and people have been tempered in struggle against the many and continual slanders, attacks and conspiracies of various imperialists and the Yugoslav revisionists. They will not bend and will not fall to their knees either before the slanderous attacks, blackmails and pressures of N. Khrushchev or of those who follow him. Party and people, in steel unity, as always, will blaze ahead determined and will win on their correct course, on the course of the triumph of Marxism-Leninism and the cause of socialism and communism. We shall win because we are not alone. With us, with the great cause of Marxism-Leninism, are the communists and the peoples of the Soviet Union, with whom we are bound with an unbreakable love and friendship which we shall preserve intact in our hearts as always, in every storm and stress; with us are the communists and peoples of China, all the communists and peoples of other socialist countries. The victorious banner of the Party, the unconquerable banner of Marxism-Leninism, will flutter always proudly in new socialist Albania.

The Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania



COMMUNIQUE ON THE MEETING OF THE 9th PLENUM OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE PLA

The 9th Plenum of the Central Committee of the PLA convened on July 19-20, 1976 under the chairmanship of the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the PLA, comrade Enver Hoxha. It examined the report of the Political Bureau on the draft-directives of the 7th Congress of the PLA for the sixth five-year plan of the development of the economy and culture of the RPA for the years 1976-1980 and, after having broadly discussed this issue, took the decisions concerned.

The Plenum of the Central Committee of the Party decided likewise to summon the 7th regular Congress of the Party of Labour of Albania on the 1st of November 1976.

At the conclusion of the proceedings of the Plenum, the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the PLA, comrade Enver Hoxha, delivered an important speech.

THE 9th PLENUM OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE PLA

Tirana, July 20, 1976.

DECISION ON SUMMONING THE 7th REGULAR CONGRESS OF THE PARTY OF LABOUR OF ALBANIA

The 9th Plenum of the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania, gathered on the 19th and 20th of July 1976,

DECIDED :

I. - To summon the 7th regular Congress of the Party of Labour of Albania on the 1st of November 1976, with the following agenda:

1. Report on the activity of the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania.

The First Secretary of the Central Committee of the PLA, comrade Enver Hoxha, reports.

2. Report of the Central Control and Auditing Commission.

The Chairman of the Central Control and Auditing Commission, comrade Ibrahim Sina, reports.

3. Report on the directives of the 7th Congress of the Party of Labour of Albania for the sixth five-year plan of the development of the economy and culture of the People's Republic of Albania for the years 1976-1980.

The member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the PLA and Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the PRA, comrade Mehmet Shehu, reports.

4. Elections to the central organs of the Party.

II. - The norm of representation in the Congress will be: for every 120 party members - one delegate with deliberative vote and for every 120 candidates for party members - one delegate with consultative vote.

III. - The district Party conferences for rendering accounts and the election of the leading organs and delegates to the 7th Congress of the PLA will take place from the 1st to the 30th of September 1976.

The Party organisations of the People's Army will elect the delegates to the 7th Congress of the PLA together with the organisations of the terrain at the district Party conferences where they are.

THE 9th PLENUM
OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE PLA

Tirana, July 20, 1976.

**DECISION ON THE APPROVAL
OF THE DRAFT-DIRECTIVES
OF THE 7th CONGRESS OF THE PLA
FOR THE SIXTH FIVE-YEAR PLAN
FOR THE YEARS 1976-1980**

The 9th Plenum of the Central Committee of the PLA, at its meeting of July 19-20, 1976, after having taken under examination and broadly discussed the report of the Political Bureau of the CC «On the draft-directives of the 7th Congress of the PLA for the sixth five-year plan of the development of the economy and culture of the PRA for the years 1976-1980»,

DECIDED :

1. To fully approve the draft-directives of the 7th Congress of the PLA for the sixth five-year plan of the development of the economy and culture of the PRA for the years 1976-1980.

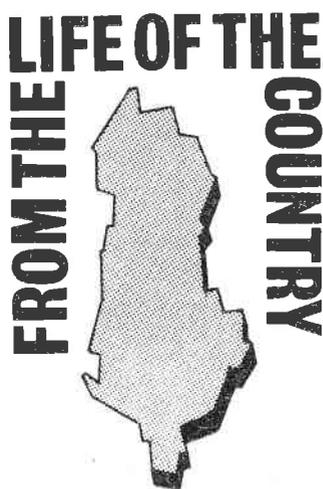
2. The draft-directives of the 7th Congress of the PLA for the sixth five-year plan of the development of the economy and culture of the PRA for the years 1976-1980 be published in the press in the month of July 1976, and a broad discussion be held on them in the Party organisations and the working masses of the town and countryside.

THE 9th PLENUM
OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE PLA

Tirana, July 20, 1976.



The 55th anniversary of the founding of the Communist Party of China in Albania



The Albanian communists and the whole Albanian people joyfully celebrated the 55th anniversary of the Communist Party of China. Since several days before, broad meetings dedicated to this important event were organised in the main districts of the country and in large work and production centres, agricultural co-operatives and cultural institutions. The principal cadres of the Party and State, representatives of mass organisations and distinguished working people took part in these meetings. Representatives of the Embassy of the PR of China to the PR of Albania, the members of the Chinese workers' delegation who were in Albania for a friendly visit, as well as Chinese specialists assisting in the realisation of important projects which are being built in Albania with the aid of the PR of China were also present at some of these meetings. Messages of greetings were sent to the Embassy of the PR of China to the PR of Albania.

The message of greetings sent by comrade Enver Hoxha, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania, to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China and comrade Mao Tse-tung on behalf of the Central Committee of the PLA, the Albanian communists and people, was published in the Albanian press on July 1, 1976. The message reads:

«Dear Comrades,

On the occasion of the notable event for the Chinese Communists and people, as well as for the entire world communist and revolutionary movement, the 55th anniversary of the founding of the glorious Communist Party of China, it is a special joy for me, on behalf of the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania, the Albanian communists and people, to send to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, the Chinese communists and the whole fraternal Chinese people, and to you perso-

nally, comrade Mao Tse-tung, ardent revolutionary greetings.

The founding of the Communist Party of China marked the great turning point in the history of the great Chinese people who, under the leadership of the Party and Comrade Mao Tse-tung, carried out the armed revolution, overturned the old order of exploitation and oppression, and set up a new and powerful socialist state - the People's Republic of China.

In the conditions of the dictatorship of the proletariat and under the leadership of the glorious Communist Party of China, the heroic Chinese people have scored brilliant victories on all fronts for the successful construction of socialism, for the prosperity and allround strengthening of their homeland. Today People's China has become an advanced socialist country, with modern industry, agriculture, science and technology and with an impregnable defence. It is a powerful socialist fortress and a reliable support for the revolution and the liberation struggle of the peoples, therefore it enjoys the love and respect of all the peoples and revolutionaries of the world.

The fifty-five years of the Communist Party of China are years of a fierce and uninterrupted struggle for the defence and creative implementation of Marxism-Leninism against various deviationist and opportunist trends in China, as well as in the international arena, against modern revisionism, headed by Soviet revisionism.

The successful crowning of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, initiated and led directly by comrade Mao Tse-tung, as well as the defeat, in the process of a fierce class struggle, of the rightist revisionist line of the traitor Liu Shao Chi, of the anti-party clique of the conspirator Lin Biao and of the counterrevolutionary course of the capitulationist Teng Hsiao Ping, are outstanding historic victories of the Chinese Party and people and the Marxist-Leninist line of Chairman Mao Tse-tung, in the struggle for the

preservation and consolidation of the victories of socialism and the dictatorship of the proletariat, to bar the way to the revisionist peaceful counterrevolution and the restoration of capitalism. In these struggles the Albanian people and communists have always been in solidarity with the Chinese people and communists and have given them their revolutionary support.

Dear comrades,

A great militant friendship, based on Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, formed in the struggle for the common cause of the revolution and socialism and tempered in the common battles against imperialism and international reaction, particularly against the two greatest and most dangerous enemies of the peoples of the whole world in our epoch, US imperialism and Soviet social imperialism, as well as against modern revisionism, binds our two parties, our two peoples and our two socialist countries. This friendship has withstood all tests and has been steeled with every passing day.

The Party of Labour of Albania, the Albanian communists and the entire Albanian people have guarded and will guard this revolutionary friendship as the most sacred thing. In the future, too, they will do their utmost to see that this exemplary friendship, which has the everlasting principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism inscribed on its banner, becomes ever firmer and stronger, for the benefit of our two peoples and our two countries, for the cause of the revolution and socialism, the freedom and independence of the peoples.

Long live the 55th anniversary of the glorious Communist Party of China!

Long live Chairman Mao Tse-tung, the great and beloved leader of the Chinese people, the most beloved friend of the Albanian people!

Long live the great revolutionary friendship and the militant unity between our peoples and our sister parties!

The organ of the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania, the news-

paper «Zëri i Popullit», published a long article dedicated to this event, which reads in part:

The history of the Chinese people during these 55 years is filled with ceaseless struggle and efforts. The heroic Chinese people, under the leadership of the Communist Party and enlightened by the Marxist-Leninist teachings of Chairman Mao Tse-tung, fought, arms in hand, with determination and heroism for more than 25 years until they defeated the hated feudo-bourgeois regime and the foreign imperialists on the battle-field, established the new state power, and founded the People's Republic of China on October 1, 1949. The successful crowning of the great Chinese people's revolution and the creation of the PR of China are an historic deed of the Communist Party of China which faithfully and in a creative way implemented the teachings of Marxism-Leninism and the ideas of Chairman Mao Tse-tung on the revolution and the armed uprising in the concrete conditions of the country. These triumphs constitute very valuable experience for all the Marxist-Leninists, the genuine revolutionaries, and the progressive forces of all countries, a great example of inspiration and encouragement for all the oppressed peoples, showing them that true freedom and independence, the triumph of the revolution and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat, can be achieved only through the people's armed struggle under the leadership of the Marxist-Leninist party, by carrying it through to the end, to the final victory over imperialism and reaction, the capitulationists and opportunists of every hue, over the traitorous revisionists who advocate class conciliation and do their utmost to sabotage and strangle the revolution.

After October 1, 1949 the Chinese people and their tested and reliable leader, the Communist Party of China, had to set out on a difficult course, that of profound revolutionary transformations, to carry out socialist construction and the socialist revolution, overcoming countless obstacles, at the same time, to defend the victories of the revolution from the internal and external enemies. But just as in the armed revolution, in these battles too, the loyalty to the teachings of Marxism-Leninism, the ability and farsightedness

of the Party and Chairman Mao Tse-tung to carry out the new tasks of the time successfully in the concrete conditions of China were outstanding. And within a short time, indeed very short in the life of a great people, the Communist Party of China achieved majestic victories which have transformed China into a developed and powerful socialist country, with modern industry and advanced agriculture, with science and technology, of the highest world levels, with a defence potential capable of annihilating any aggressor or coalition of aggressors who might dare undertake any adventure against it.

The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, initiated and led directly by comrade Mao Tse-tung, which gave a new powerful impulse to the cause of the construction and defence of socialism in the PR of China constitutes a brilliant chapter in the history of the CP of China. The triumph of this revolution defeated the bourgeois-revisionist line of the traitorous Liu Chao Chi band and foiled the counter-revolutionary plot of the traitor and agent of the Soviet revisionists, Lin Piao, defended and further strengthened the dictatorship of the proletariat, barring the way to the revisionist peaceful counterrevolution, and destroyed the hopes and efforts of the imperialists and the social imperialists of Moscow to wipe out the socialist victories of the Chinese people, to restore capitalism in China as in the Soviet Union and other countries where the revisionist traitor cliques are ruling. Now a determined class struggle is being waged in China against the revisionist, counter-revolutionary, capitulationist line of Teng Hsiao Ping, who was demanding the reconsideration of the correct conclusions of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and aimed at overturning the revolutionary line of Chairman Mao. But the great Chinese people burned his cards, they stood up and resolutely defended the revolutionary line of Chairman Mao Tse-tung showing once again that faced with the revolutionary strength of Marxism-Leninism the enemies of the Party and the people are doomed to inevitable defeat.

The Party of Labour of Albania, with comrade Enver Hoxha at the head, has linked the Albanian communists, our entire people, in a great revolutionary

FROM THE LIFE OF THE COUNTRY



friendship with such a glorious party as the CP of China and with the fraternal Chinese people. This friendship, forged by our two Marxist-Leninist parties and by our two beloved leaders, comrade Enver Hoxha and comrade Mao Tse-tung, has at its foundations the immortal principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, the common struggle for the triumph of the cause of the revolution and socialism, against the aggressive plans, perfidious conspiracies and intrigues of US imperialism and Soviet social imperialism, the two greatest and most dangerous enemies of the peoples, against modern revisionism and international reaction. Precisely because our friendship

is such, precisely because the Albanian Chinese relations are sincere and internationalist, our imperialist and revisionist enemies concoct the most vicious slanders and are trying in every way to damage our great friendship, but they will never be able to harm it. At a meeting on April 29, this year, with a group of Albanian and Chinese workers and specialists of the Elbasan metallurgical complex comrade Enver Hoxha said: «Our Marxist-Leninist parties have always fought and worked and will always work and fight for the further strengthening and steeling of our unbreakable friendship, which is based on Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism».

A marked event in the scientific life of the PR of Albania

From June 28th to the 30th the National Conference of Ethnographic Studies, organised by the Academy of Sciences of the PR of Albania, held its proceedings in Tirana. This was an important event for Albanian ethnographic science and the scientific life of the country in general.

Cadres of people's culture from all over the country, activists and scientific workers, teachers, professional and amateur authors, etc., took part in the conference. Representatives of the scientific institutions of the Academy of Sciences of China as well as scientists, ethnographers and publicists from other countries participated, too.

The proceedings of the Conference were followed by Party and State leaders, including the members of the Political Bureau and secretaries of the Central Committee of the Party comrade Hysni Kapo and Ramiz Alia, the member of the Political Bureau of the CC and first secretary of the Tirana Committee of the PLA comrade Manush Myftiu and others.

The Conference was presided over by the Minister of Education and Culture Tefta Cami.

«In our new Albania», she said among other things, «as in every field, in the field

of ethnography too, there has been a turning point in many directions. Albanian ethnographic science began its existence guided and inspired by the Party, based on a correct scientific methodology with a lofty purpose, to serve the present, social development, bring to the fore the historical, cultural creativity of the Albanian people as an ethnical unit and, on the other hand, to follow the present-day cultural phenomena of the socialist life of development, maintaining a critical stand towards the heritage of the past. Thus our ethnography helps to accelerate the process of the birth and development of the progressive new in the life of the people, making their best values a property of all the working people, and also accelerates the overthrow of the conservative old, backward customs, religious beliefs and others tains of the past which are a hindrance to the progress of our socialist society.

Our ethnography, she continued, is entirely different from the ethnographic sciences in the bourgeois-revisionist countries and is opposed to all theorisations which aim at liquidating the culture of other peoples.»

Tefta Cami also pointed out that the great care displayed by the Party and the people's power for the development of

scientific thought has meant that Albania itself has become the centre of Albanian ethnographic studies, as well as of other albanological sciences and that the Albanian specialists themselves have the final and most important say on the Albanian problems.

The Conference heard 4 reports, 50 papers and 10 discussions. The report «Albanian ethnography and some of its problems» was delivered by the president of the Academy of Sciences professor Aleks Buda; the director of the Institute of History professor Stefanaq Pollo delivered the report «People's culture as an expression of the ethnical features and formation of the Albanian nation», whereas the dean of the faculty of political-juridical sciences professor Zija Xholi delivered the report «Socialist cultural revolution and the national people's culture». The paper «The place of people's art in socialist artistic cul-

ture» was presented by professor Alfred Uçi.

Both the reports, papers and discussions provided a clear picture of the rich results achieved by the Albanian scientific institutions and workers of people's culture in the field of ethnography. Based on a large number of facts and sound theoretical arguments, making a principled polemic with a series of distortions in the bourgeois scientific literature, the conference helped to unravel the very complicated processes of the historical formation and development of the Albanian people's culture as an expression of ethnical features and as a factor of the formation of the national socialist culture.

Declaring the Conference closed, the president of the Academy of Sciences professor Aleks Buda said: «Our conference will give a new powerful impulse to our studies to raise them to a higher level, to

link them more and more closely with the great tasks of our socialist culture, to turn our research and museum institutions into active organising nuclei of scientific work with as greater a mass character as possible.

On the eve of the opening of the Conference the ethnographic exhibition «Albanian people's culture» was opened in one of the biggest exhibition halls of the Capital which through its three main pavilions, «The village», «The town» and «People's Art», reflects the way of living and the artistic creativity of the Albanian people over the centuries. This exhibition is a living testimony to the great work which is being done in Albania, under the leadership of the Party, for the collection and preservation of the treasures of the people's culture, to utilise the rich cultural heritage and the best traditions of the people to develop socialist culture better.

The 33rd anniversary of the creation of the albanian people's army

On July 10, 1943, in the flames of the war against the foreign invaders and traitors to the country, on the initiative of the Communist Party of Albania, the General Anti-fascist National Liberation Council created the General Staff of the National Liberation Army. This event went down in history as the day of the creation of the Albanian People's Army.

The Albanian people celebrate July 10 joyfully every year; but this year the celebrations for this remarkable event assumed a special character as they were held on the eve of the 35th anniversary of the founding of the Party of Labour of Albania, which is the organiser, leader, inspirer of the Albanian People's Army.

Since several days ago, various activities were organised throughout the country: in military units, schools, work and production centres, institutions, etc. In meetings and talks with young people, veterans of the National Liberation War spoke of the glorious road of the army and

its role as a weapon of the dictatorship of the proletariat in defence of the freedom, independence of the homeland and the victories achieved in the socialist construction of the country.

On July 9 the General Council of the Democratic Front of Albania, the Ministry of People's Defence and the Tirana district Party Committee arranged a solemn evening dedicated to the 33rd anniversary of the creation of the People's Army. Working people of work and production centres, servicemen, veterans of the Anti-fascist National Liberation War, workers of Government departments and central institutions of the capital city, mothers of the martyrs and relatives of their families and others participated in the evening. Present were likewise the member of the Political Bureau and secretary of the Central Committee of the Party Ramiz Alia, the alternate member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the PLA and deputy Chairman of the Council of

Ministers Khafer Spahiu and other leading personalities.

Those present were addressed by the deputy Minister of People's Defence Maliq Sadushi. At the end, an artistic program was given in which the idea of the victories achieved under the leadership of the PLA in the construction and defence of the socialist homeland stood out.

Solemn meetings devoted to this event were organised also in the country's main districts.

On July 10 a meeting was organised in Labinot of Elbasan (Central Albania), where the General Staff of the National Liberation Army was created 33 years ago. Many veterans of the National Liberation War and working people from the city of Elbasan and the nearby villages took part in this meeting. The local authorities as well as the former commander of the General Staff of the National Liberation Army, now member of the Presidium of the People's Assembly, Spiro Moisiu, were also present.

After the main address various cultural-artistic activities dedicated to July 10 were carried out.

The numerous activities dedicated to July 10 include also the national games of the People's Army, which mobilised thousands of members of the People's Army.

A MEETING THAT SEALED REVISIONIST BETRAYAL

«ZËRI I POPULLIT»

In the history of the betrayal of Marxism-Leninism by modern revisionism, the Berlin meeting will go down as an infamous gathering at which proletarian internationalism was officially abandoned, with some calling it «voluntary social solidarity» and others presenting it as «mutual solidarity» etc.

THE MEETING OF THE REVISIONIST PARTIES OF EUROPE, SO ZEALOUSLY ADVERTISED AND SO LONG DRAGGED OUT, WAS HELD IN THE LAST DAYS OF JUNE IN BERLIN. NOW ALL THE REVISIONIST CHIEFTAINS, BOTH OF THE EAST AND WEST, TALK AND TRUMPET ABOUT THE QUARRELS AND MISUNDERSTANDINGS AMONG THEM BEING CLEARED UP IN THE CAPITAL OF THE GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC AND ABOUT THE BASES OF A «NEW AND GENUINE SOLIDARITY» BEING LAID.

BUT HOWEVER CRAFTY IN THE ART OF DEMAGOGY AND HYPOCRISY, THE REVISIONISTS CANNOT SELL THEIR BERLIN COMEDY AS A PARADE OF ACHIEVEMENTS. THE «COMMUNIQUE» ISSUED AT THE END OF THE MEETING, WHICH THE SPECIALISTS OF COMPROMISES AND BALANCED FORMULATIONS WORKED OUT AFTER TWO YEARS OF TOILSOME EFFORT, IS A DOCUMENT DEMONSTRATING IN THE CLEAREST MANNER THE IRRECONCILIABLE POSITIONS OF ITS SIGNERS, THE SPLITS AND QUARRELS CHARACTERIZING MODERN REVISIONISM.

The Berlin meeting was a Soviet initiative. Ever since the autumn of 1974 the Soviet revisionists organized a consultative meeting in Warsaw, which was followed two months later by another in Budapest. Later on, from the Hungarian capital they moved to East Berlin and created a «work group» for drafting a joint document. The Brezhnev clique did its utmost to organize the Berlin meeting immediately following the Helsinki Conference and before the 25th Congress of the Soviet revisionist party. But this meeting was held 12 months later than planned and only after six versions of the final document had been drafted.

Why was the Soviet revisionist leadership so insistent on organizing the European revisionist meeting by all means? The Soviet leaders were eager to secure the

unconditional support of the revisionist forces and get a public and formal approval of their entire internal and external social-imperialist line from them. In a period when a grave economic, financial and power crisis was rampant also in the revisionist world, when squabbling with US imperialism about zones of influence, markets and military bases was being sharpened, the Soviet revisionists were obliged to establish order and discipline in the other revisionist parties, strengthen their shaken hegemony and force them to recognize Moscow's leadership and toe its line.

On the other hand, the Soviet revisionist chieftains were in urgent need to present, to Soviet and international public opinion, their expansionist policy, which was coming up against the ever greater

sie in the international scene, their faithful supporters in the inter-imperialist rivalries and, in the first place, in the squabble with the Soviet imperialism. Because of the diplomatic tricks of the Kremlin chieftains, which were putting the revisionist parties of the West, that wanted to be independent of the Soviet policy, in an increasingly difficult position, the divergencies and contradictions with Moscow had sharpened.

On their part, the revisionist parties of the East, although very zealous in appearance, showed no particular enthusiasm for a Moscow sponsored meeting. At a time when they were trying to avail themselves of any opportunity to flirt with the West, a Soviet sponsored international «communist forum» would have meant to them a further tightening of screws, and would have given the Soviets another justification to make their clients more submissive and punish the breachers of discipline.

In these conditions the Berlin revisionist areopagus assembled. The original purpose of the Soviet leaders, who wanted to achieve their centralist aims and submit the European revisionist parties to them — all this backed up by a single political and ideological platform and vertical organizational forms leading to the Kremlin — was not realized. They went for wool but came back shorn. To avert a scandalous failure of their initiative, the Kremlin chieftains agreed to hold a formal propaganda meeting for saving at least the appearances of a unity that now exists neither in reality nor on paper.

The Berlin declaration is a document that proves an unbridgeable gap, a confirmation that in the future, too, each revisionist party is determined to follow in the wake of its particular bourgeoisie, and fight against communism. None committed to itself any common policy or joint action. Even when someone declared demagogically that he would uphold what was expressed in the «communiqué», everyone knew that nothing would be done in practice. It was not for nothing that Berlinguer, the representative of the Italian revisionist party, spoke about the futility of such international documents, and Marchais, the representative of the French revisionist party, added that there was no need of such international meetings either.

The joint communiqué signed in Berlin is indeed original in its kind. The viewpoints and lines of each participating party are listed and reflected there. Besides the social-imperialist line of the Soviet revisionists, and their demands for the other parties to obey Moscow and submit to it, the statements of the revisionists of the West who abandon the revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat and demand integration into and collaborating with the bourgeoisie, figure also there. All sorts of anti-Marxist programs of the so-called «national socialisms» are thrown together there. This document confirms and approves of the international policy carried out today by imperialism, social-imperialism and the world capitalism; it is an attempt at justifying the revisionist betrayal, the capitulating policy of the revisionist opportunists in the face of bourgeois reaction, and their anti-socialist and anti-proletarian activity.

At their so-called European meeting, the revisionist chieftains spoke much about European security, disarmament, democracy and fascism on our continent. But what decided the Berlin meeting on all these questions? Nothing. It had no word of blame for the US imperialism that is strangling the peoples of Western Europe, that is brutally intervening in their internal affairs and that, with the atomic umbrella, the NATO and the dollar, keeps them tied to the policy and interests of the transatlantic monopolies. In opposition to the interests of the European peoples, Berlinguer and company tried to justify the integration of their countries into the NATO and to convince the peoples that the aggressive North Atlantic bloc had almost been transformed into a «defender of communism».

On the other hand, even those posing as the champions of freedom from Moscow, did not fail to sing praise to the Soviet Helsinki policy as though it were not the same policy that is oppressing and exploiting the countries of Eastern Europe, threatening the Balkans, menacing the whole world, intervening in the Middle East and filling the Mediterranean with gun-boats.

At the Berlin meeting, the revisionist parties acted as their conscience of traitors prompted them, in opposition to the revolution and in conformity with the in-

and open opposition of the peoples and the struggle of the revolutionary forces, as a policy allegedly in the service of socialism and communism, as a line coordinated and backed up by all the «fraternal countries» and all the «sister parties». After the meeting on the so-called European security in Helsinki, a broad forum of international revisionism would have been a clamorous advertisement for the political career of the secretary general of the revisionist party of the Soviet Union. In short, from the European revisionist meeting, which the Kremlin tzars insisted so much on, they wanted to come out with a «certificate of praise» for the super-power policy followed by the Soviet Union. In the international field, they wanted to present the Soviet actions aimed at securing zones of influence and expanding towards new areas as «internationalist» and «peaceful».

But the intentions, wishes and hopes of the Soviet revisionists did not fit in with those of the other revisionists. The betrayal of Marxism-Leninism by the revisionist parties of the West had led them to close rapprochement to and collaboration with the national bourgeoisie in all fields. The so-called communist parties had become the most zealous defenders of the national interests of their bourgeois-

terests of the bourgeoisie, in opposition to the freedom and independence of the peoples and in the interest of the superpowers. They peddled counter-revolution for revolution, the expansion and hegemonism of the superpowers for security, their preparations for war as efforts to strengthen peace. With all their idle talk about security and peaceful co-existence, disarmament and collaboration, they intended to demobilize and disarm the masses, to divert them from their revolutionary struggle against the bourgeoisie and the superpowers.

At the Berlin meeting, the revisionists spoke also about the crisis. This is now a fashionable issue, and each of them sought to advertise his recipe for its «democratic» solution. But these «great defenders of the working people», as they pretend to be, considered the present crisis as a natural calamity only, and not as a social phenomenon caused by bourgeois exploitation, as an unavoidable offspring of the capitalist system. With the stand they took towards the crisis they once more revealed their counter-revolutionary aims. Their aims are to lull the working people to sleep, to prevent them from revolting against the capital, to keep them oppressed in capitalist slavery. At the Berlin meeting, the representatives of these countries kept silent about the crisis in the revisionist countries which is borne out by the recent events in Poland, the constantly rising prices in Yugoslavia and Hungary, the inflation in the Soviet Union as well as widespread unemployment everywhere. This is understandable, for otherwise they would have had to recognize the reality of their failure publicly.

But the present crisis is tearing the mask off the revisionists ever more with each passing day. The more it deepens and sharpens, the more evident becomes the fact that the modern revisionists work to salvage the new and old capitalism from all its upheavals, that they are the extinguishers of the revolution. Modern revisionism is ever more placing itself in the service of the big bourgeoisie, as the other bourgeois parties, whether socialist or social-democratic, have already done.

In the history of the betrayal of Marxism-Leninism by modern revisionism, the Berlin meeting will go down as an infamous gathering at which proletarian internationalism was officially abandoned, with some calling it «voluntary social solidarity» and others presenting it as «mutual solidarity» etc.

But everyone understands and interprets this «solidarity», which the revisionists trumpeted as the latest invention of «creative Marxism», as the sole, the purest and the highest form of ensuring «correct» relations among the various revisionist parties, according to his own interests. Brezhnev wants it to support his hegemonist policy, Berlinguer, Marchais, Carillo and others need it in order to be at one with the bourgeoisie and the bourgeois states the others seek to be in good terms with imperialism at the same time, but none of them bother about solidarity with the revolution and the people's liberation struggle.

But whatever these meanings and interpretations, they have nothing in common with proletarian internationalism, they are varieties of bourgeois nationalism. Genuine proletarian internationalism can reconcile itself neither to bourgeois nationalism nor social-chauvinism. It is an ideology of the proletariat only, and represents its international class unity in struggle for the overthrow of capitalism, the building of socialism, the independence and liberation of the peoples.

The issues raised and discussed at the Berlin meeting had nothing in common with Marxism-Leninism, the revolution. It was a meeting which sealed the revisionist betrayal officially. Now the revisionist renegades have only the name «communist» left, which they use demagogically to mask their anti-communist activity, to mislead the members of their parties and the masses of the working people. They are not Marxist-Leninists, but counter-revolutionaries, traitors to communism.

The Soviet revisionists went to this meeting to defend the positions of great-Russian chauvinism, Soviet imperialist hegemonism and expansionism. The revisionist parties of the West went there to show that they had broken away from the Soviet tutelage and to secure a free hand

in the bargainings with their bourgeoisie, so as not to lose their political capital as parties of compromise and class collaboration and win some seats in the bourgeois governments. But all of them without exception went there to undermine Marxism-Leninism and revolution, sabotage the people's liberation struggle and combat the genuine Marxist-Leninist parties, the defenders of the lofty revolutionary ideals of the proletariat and genuine socialism. In this field, as the proceedings of the Berlin meeting proved, they found also a common language.

The Party of Labour of Albania, exposing the counter-revolutionary aims of this meeting, had strongly condemned it, predicting that it would be another grave act of revisionist betrayal. «The parties which will attend this meeting», comrade Enver Hoxha declared as early as October 1974, «are bound to prove that they are on the road of betrayal, they will become accomplices of the criminal and counter-revolutionary activity of the Soviet revisionist leaders». But, he stressed, «on the other hand, such a plotters' meeting is a success, as the peoples and communists of the world will once more see the true countenance of these parties.»

Now the revisionists may receive the praise of the bourgeoisie and reaction, for at the Berlin meeting nobody spoke about proletarian revolution and communism, nobody mentioned the revolutionary mission of the working class for the overthrow of the bourgeoisie, nobody spent a word about Leninism. The revisionists will be praised for their readiness to sincerely collaborate with the bourgeoisie and reaction in safeguarding the bourgeois order. But at the same time the proletariat and the masses of the working people of the world are also provided with an opportunity to see and understand better that modern revisionism always represents the gravest danger to the cause of communism. This will also be an encouragement for all the revolutionaries, for all those who fight for socialism and the freedom of the peoples, to expose with still greater determination the ideology and plots of the Soviet-led revisionists, to work and fight tirelessly for their complete and final destruction.

«KEEP HIGH THE REVOLUTIONARY SPIRIT», sculptur by Mumtas Dhrami



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