

WORKERS OF ALL COUNTRIES, UNITE!

**Through the
Pages of
Volume 19 of
the Works of
Comrade
Enver Hoxha**

**First Secretary of the Central Committee
of the Party of Labour of Albania**

**Articles, Radiograms, Letters and Speeches
June — December 1960**

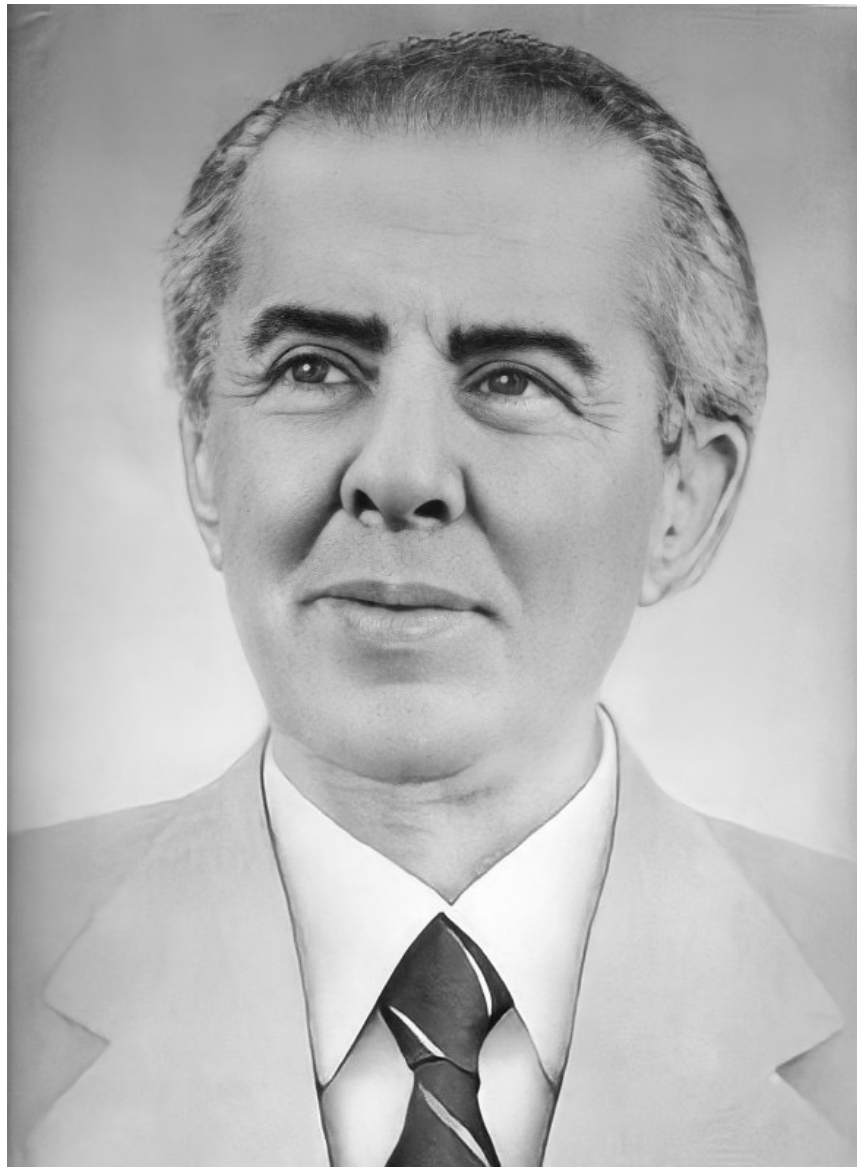
**Editorials and Commentaries from
PCDN and ATA**

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ENVER HOXHA

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PUBLISHER'S INTRODUCTION

Today, when our world situation is so radically different from the one Comrade Enver Hoxha faced throughout his life, when we have entered a new period of anti-social offensive against the people, some may think there is nothing to be learned from his life and work.

This is logical enough — socialist Albania no longer exists and has not for 30 years. And what of the forces which Albania and Comrade Enver Hoxha was facing internationally? The main danger from within the international communist movement, the Soviet Union and the Khrushchevite revisionists, has dissolved into air. That path which the revisionists set out on since the death of the great Stalin in 1953 led to its inevitable conclusion. Comrade Enver Hoxha foresaw this, proclaiming after the Hungarian and Polish counter-revolutions in 1956, and the attempts of Czechoslovakia and Poland to break from the USSR in the 60s and 70s, that it was the U.S. imperialists who were desiring to recover their lost territory by means of illusions to deceive the people in the revisionist countries into falling for the counter-counter-revolutions (as some might term them) and the western, specifically American, style of living. Thus, at the 8th Congress of the Party of Labour of Albania in 1981, Comrade Enver Hoxha declared that the main enemy of the peoples was and is U.S. imperialism. This was an incredible foresight, a product on his rigorous Marxist logic and utmost fidelity to seeing things dialectically, in their motion and interconnection. The Brezhnev doctrine of “limited sovereignty” was mere patchwork, a castle built out of sand, to use the phrase Comrade Enver Hoxha used so often in reference to the anarchy and crises which prevailed in the revisionist countries.

Similarly, his opponents in Yugoslavia, a country that, led by the treacherous Titoite clique, was bound hand and foot to the U.S. imperialists, crumbled under pressure of the IMF and the World Bank. Comrade Stalin and the Information Bureau of the Communist and Workers' Parties unanimously condemned the betrayal of the Titoites in their resolutions of 1948 and 1949 — in Albania, the traitor group of Koçi Xoxe, which aimed to turn Albania into the 7th republic of Yugoslavia, was put on trial and punished for preparing a putsch of the leadership of the Party and state, with Comrade Enver Hoxha at the head. Why is Yugoslavia important today? Well, in specific to the content of this book, it

proves that precisely at the same time as the Khrushchevite revisionists were departing from the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism, robbing it of its revolutionary essence and imposing a peaceful parliamentary road to power on the communist parties of the world, they were reconciling with the opportunists and revisionists of every hue. It was not a case of ignorance — the collusion and collaboration of the Khrushchevites with the Titoites was an intermediary move to deal behind the backs of the people with Tito's masters. One blatant example is the joint coordination of Khrushchev and Tito at Brioni over the Hungarian counter-revolution — while for image's sake, the Soviet army was forced to put down the fascists, the open propagation of everything reactionary, the pogroms unleashed on the streets by Imre Nagy and his Horthyite backers, behind closed doors the two revisionists conspired to place Janos Kadar at the head of the Hungarian Party. A compromise was reached between new Soviet social-imperialism and old U.S. imperialism over the correct counter-revolutionary figure to carry out the betrayal of reversing the socialist gains in Hungary made in the time of Comrade Rakosi. This was the first sign of betrayal.

And though socialist Albania no longer exists, though the wave of reactionary intrigue of 1989-91 swept that glorious country, which had remained the only socialist country in Europe for many decades, off the globe, this is no fault of Comrade Enver Hoxha's. On the contrary, while he was alive, no harm came to Albania. Victory after victory followed — in production, science, technology, culture, knowledge, politics, etc., always in unceasing class struggle, constantly revolutionizing the socialist relations. Albania, and Comrade Enver Hoxha personally, never lost heart no matter how many forces lined up against them. They kept moving forward, no matter how many difficulties they faced. The only thing Comrade Enver Hoxha did to hurt his beloved Albanian people was to pass away on April 11, 1985. Only thereafter did Albania lose the relentless revolutionary impetuses which it characterized so valiantly, in battle after battle after battle.

Through the pages of this book, Comrade Enver Hoxha teaches many lessons about how we should measure up to situations when it seems everything is against us. No matter how small we are, we must show steel-like fortitude and principle because only such is appropriate for a Marxist. Against pressure, we must tell the imperialists and their servitors: "Stop! We, the proletariat

and the peoples, do not allow you to pass with your schemes and trickery!” And this is Marxist, for we always see things from the perspective of what is coming into being — and we know the inevitability of socialism and communism. Time is working for communism, as Comrade Enver Hoxha said. And this is precisely what defined the outlook Comrade Enver Hoxha had in his historic speech at the 1960 Moscow Meeting.

One sees how clearly in the following book how all the forces of the revisionist world lined up against Comrade Enver Hoxha and the Party of Labour of Albania, against Marxism-Leninism and against the interests of the future of mankind. In the face of this danger, Comrade Enver Hoxha knew it was his sworn duty, as a loyal son of his people and the whole world proletariat, to speak up, to never be dismayed by this all-out offensive. It took a great deal of courage to go to Moscow and tell “Comrade” Khrushchev to his face that the road he was walking, and the road the leadership of the CPSU had been walking since the 20th Congress, was an out-and-out class collaborationist and imperialist collusionist road that would bring no benefits for Marxism-Leninism, for the peoples. And I do not mean courage lightly! Comrade Enver Hoxha tells in his book of memoirs *The Khrushchevites* that when, after the speech the delegation of the PLA had gone to reside in the embassy of the People’s Republic of Albania, a Soviet guard had told Comrade Hysni Kapo that it was good Comrade Enver Hoxha had left the dacha the Soviets had provided, as it was very dangerous for him to stay there. Perhaps they were preparing for him to mysteriously die of an unforeseen illness in the Soviet Union, as had comrades Zhdanov, Stalin, Dimitrov, Gottwald and Bierut.

The Albanian delegation, however, knew the risks associated with delivering that great and immortal speech, a speech which never expires or becomes anachronistic, for every word was spoken with the Marxist-Leninist will and determination. This struggle was a great feat in the defence of the purity of Marxism-Leninism, and opened the struggle for the wider conflict with modern revisionism in the international communist movement, culminating in the new international Marxist-Leninist communist movement. Comrade Hardial Bains, founder and leader of the Communist Party of Canada (Marxist-Leninist), has directly attributed the founding of the new Marxist-Leninist Communist Parties to the struggle opened up by this heroic speech, as have many devout

Marxist-Leninists who expressed fraternal solidarity and proletarian internationalism with the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, with the Party of Labour of Albania, with Comrade Enver Hoxha at the head.

It is with this fidelity to human relations and what they reveal, that core materialist proposition, that we defend the purity of Marxism-Leninism, a requirement for all communists. Today, when the imperialist bourgeoisie is on the offensive, this in no way means that we must lay down our principles in begging for a few scraps, obsequious as one can be, but it requires defending, above all, the necessity for revolution. Comrade Enver Hoxha has decisively proven that it is not a mere high ideal, but a problem taken up for solution — the only way out of the crisis that will resolve it in favour of the proletariat and oppressed peoples. In Moscow, he said: “The bourgeoisie may allow you to sing psalms, but then it deals you a fascist blow to the head and crushes you because you have not trained the necessary cadres to attack, nor done illegal work, you have not prepared a place where you can protect yourself and still work nor the means with which to fight. We should forestall this tragic eventuality.” Yes, Comrade Enver Hoxha, we must always carry out this behest! We must always oppose the emasculation of the revolutionary principles of Marxism-Leninism, just as you taught us.

Always with the revolution, always with the working class, always on the side of liberation — this is what Comrade Enver Hoxha teaches us through the words he expresses in the pages of volume 19 of his Works. This is what the introductions and editorials from People's Canada Daily News and the Albanian Telegraph Agency teach us and vow to carry out. This is how we must always work and live.

**Glory to the Works of Comrade Enver Hoxha!
Long live Marxism-Leninism!**

N. Ribar

3 April 2023

INTRODUCING VOLUME 19 OF THE WORKS OF COMRADE ENVER HOXHA

Volume 19 of the Works of Comrade Enver Hoxha was reproduced in serial form by People's Canada Daily News between January 27 and March 4, 1976. The following editorial was printed in PCDN Volume 6, Number 7, January 26, 1976 as an introduction to the series.

Beginning with the next issue of *PCDN*, we will serialize the entire Volume 19 of the Works of Comrade Enver Hoxha, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania. This Volume was released in Albania on November 8, 1975 on the 34th Anniversary of the founding of their Party. This entire Volume contains articles, radiograms and speeches by Comrade Enver Hoxha from June 1960 to the end of the same year. They are of immense value in the continuing struggle against modern revisionism. This material provides information about the valiant and courageous struggle which the Party of Labour of Albania waged against the brutal attack by Khrushchev on Marxism-Leninism and the parties which upheld Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

Khrushchevite revisionism is still the main danger to the international communist movement. Especially with the rise of Soviet social-imperialism, the struggle against modern revisionism has become all the more acute. We serialize Volume 19 of the Works of Comrade Enver Hoxha in order to provide political and ideological knowledge as to how modern revisionism operates and the necessity to vigorously oppose it. Comrade Enver Hoxha's Volume 19 shows in clear terms how Khrushchev betrayed Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, launched brutal attacks against the Marxist-Leninist parties, the Communist Party of China and the Party of Labour of Albania and how Khrushchev used the prestige of the great Party of Lenin and Stalin to coerce and intimidate the international communist movement in order to make it submit to his baton and become the tool of his capitalist restoration at home and social-imperialism abroad. The Party of Labour of Albania courageously stood against Khrushchev, upheld Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism and energetically defended the integrity and inviolability of the international communist movement.

Today, certain circles are actively promoting the line of attack-

ing Stalin and the Great October Revolution. In attacking Stalin and the achievement of socialism from 1917 to 1953 in the Soviet Union, these opportunists are attacking the revolutionary path opened up by the Great October Socialist Revolution, the international communist movement, Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. Volume 19 of Comrade Enver Hoxha is a timely weapon to educate our comrades as to the necessity of upholding Marxist-Leninist principles, never deviating from them and the necessity of opposing those who betray these principles. Struggle against modern revisionism decides whether revolution will take place or counter-revolution will hold sway. The examples of Indonesia and Chile where struggle against modern revisionism was not carried through to the end are tortuous lessons which the communist revolutionaries had to pay for with their blood, and now the people of these countries suffer fascism.

In the present situation when the Brezhnev-Kosygin clique is pushing its revisionist "detente" fraud and is contending with U.S. imperialism for world hegemony, it is extremely important that the valiant struggle which the Party of Labour of Albania heroically carried out against modern revisionism should be studied well. Communist revolutionaries in our country must learn valuable lessons from this struggle.

PCDN calls upon all our comrades and friends to study Volume 19 of Comrade Enver Hoxha's works seriously. In order to set an example for our comrades, *PCDN* editorial and technical staff has organized itself into four groups to study this important Volume. Reports from the study of the Volume will be printed in *PCDN* from time to time.

PCDN firmly believes that Marxist-Leninists in Canada must pay the greatest attention to study and investigate our own concrete conditions and set correct policies and plans for the revolutionary movement by using Marxism-Leninism as a guide to action. But at the same time, we must also learn from the revolutionary experience of other countries, especially on questions relating to ideology and political line. Revisionism and all opportunism is an international bourgeois ideological trend. It is not confined to any one specific country. Marxism-Leninism is an international proletarian ideological trend. It also is not confined to any one country. When Khrushchevite revisionism rose to ascendancy in the Soviet Union, it did not confine itself there. It used all sorts of foul methods to infiltrate and seize control of other countries. It

used its embassies in foreign countries to cultivate agents, encourage splitters and bad elements, and seize control of many communist and workers' parties. Khrushchev attempted to seize control of the Party of Labour of Albania as well. Volume 19 of Comrade Enver Hoxha's Works provides clear proof as to how the Khrushchevite revisionists used their embassy in Albania in order to seize control of the Party and make Albania a colony of Soviet social-imperialism. Prior to that the revisionist Tito also tried to seize control of the Party of Labour of Albania through diplomatic and other channels. Thus, the revolutionary experience of the Party of Labour of Albania against modern revisionism belongs not only to the Albanian proletariat but also to the international proletariat. The Albanian proletariat has every reason to be proud for giving birth to such a glorious Party which fights for its interests under all conditions. But the international proletariat is also proud of this glorious Party because its heroic battles are not only on behalf of the Albanian proletariat and people but also on behalf of the international proletariat and people of the world. It is because of the glorious work of the parties of Albania and China that today Marxist-Leninist parties are getting organized all over the globe. Without the parties of Albania and China countries staunchly upholding Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, there, indeed, would have been a dark future for mankind.

Our Party is a fighter against imperialism and social-imperialism and all reaction on the same front as the Party of Labour of Albania. We are very proud that such a heroic and revolutionary Marxist-Leninist party exists in this world. Not to learn from the revolutionary experience of the Party of Labour of Albania is to sink into the mire of opportunism and betray the revolution. We remain loyal to Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism and, as a duty to the Canadian and world revolution, we learn from the revolutionary experience of other countries which have waged a sustained and militant struggle against imperialism, social-imperialism and all reaction.

PCDN considers itself duty bound to present Volume 19 of the Works of Comrade Enver Hoxha to the Canadian proletariat and considers this Volume a great contribution to the worldwide struggle against modern revisionism.

THE ROAD OF STRUGGLE AND VICTORY OVER KHRUSHCHEVITE REVISIONISM

by Ramiz Alia

Member of the Political Bureau and
Secretary of the CC of the PLA

Comrade Enver Hoxha's historic speech at the Moscow Meeting, as well as all the documents of Volume 19 of his Works, arouse in the Albanian communists and all the working masses a legitimate pride towards their heroic Party, towards its revolutionary line, its unwavering loyalty to Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

Fifteen years have gone by since Comrade Enver Hoxha delivered his historical speech at the Meeting of 81 communist and workers' parties in Moscow. Upholding communist principle with revolutionary determination. Comrade Enver Hoxha demolished the anti-Marxist theses of Nikita Khrushchev and his followers, exposed the political platform of the Soviet leadership, brought out into the light of day its murky, behind-the-scenes manoeuvres, its intrigues and plots against the Communist Party of China and the Party of Labour of Albania, against the revolution and socialism.

The materials of Volume 19 of the Works of Comrade Enver Hoxha, which was put into circulation recently, include the speeches, reports, letters and radiograms he wrote during the period June to December, 1960. They throw a powerful light on that resolute struggle which our Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha waged against Khrushchevite revisionism and are a great assistance to gaining thorough and all-round understanding of the historical world importance of this struggle, to seeing in all its clarity the correctness of the line of the Party of Labour of Albania.

Comrade Enver Hoxha's writings in this volume reflect the direct confrontation of our Party with the Khrushchev group and the beginning of the open struggle on a broad front against Soviet revisionism. This volume contains mainly writings and materials unpublished until now, which show at length and in detail the stand and struggle of the Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha in the complicated situations in which the Bucharest Meeting, the preparations for, and the meeting of, the 81 parties took place. They reflect the determined, sharp, and stern struggle the Party has waged against the pressure, interference and sabotage of the Soviet leaders against our country after Bucharest. The historic speech Com-

rade Enver Hoxha delivered at the Moscow Meeting, his reports and contributions to the discussions in the Central Committee and the Political Bureau which deal with questions in connection with the struggle and stand of our Party against Khrushchevite revisionism, the correspondence with our delegation in Bucharest, at the Preparatory Commission for the Moscow Meeting, at the UNO, etc., are published in this volume.

Nineteen sixty was a time when, as a consequence of the betrayal by the Soviet leading group headed by Khrushchev, a regressive revisionist trend was spreading rapidly. The international communist and workers' movement was faced with a fierce counter-revolutionary attack. Against the strategy and tactics of the movement, against the theory and practice of the revolution, all reaction, together with the Khrushchevites, had drawn the sword.

The communists and revolutionaries found themselves facing a great test and responsibility. The problem was acute. What side would they take at this moment so critical for the international communist movement and socialism? With Marxism-Leninism and the revolution, or with revisionism and counter-revolution, with the Soviet leadership which was betraying socialism, or against it?

Today, when the Soviet Union has been turned into an imperialist superpower, when the revisionist parties have degenerated into a counter-revolutionary force, this choice may seem simple. But at that time it was not so. The Soviet Union was still considered by the majority of the communists and broad sections of the international working class and public opinion, who knew nothing about the facts, as the centre of the world revolution. There were many people who identified the Soviet leadership with the heroic past of the Soviet Union of the time of Lenin and Stalin. On the other hand, the problems were not as clear as they are today. Because of the revisionist propaganda, which made great play with the names of Marx and Lenin, many phenomena were presented in a distorted way, while the development of many others was in the embryonic stage, ideological deviations, in many cases were confounded with errors of a practical character, and so on.

Thus, to come out openly and publicly denounce the ideological platform and political line of the Khrushchevites required, first and foremost, sound Marxist-Leninist convictions, profound knowledge of the situation, great ideological abilities to analyse the events and phenomena of the time in a scientific way and

to see the perspective clearly. On the other hand, great political and ideological courage and determination were needed, because to come out against the Khrushchevites meant to swim against the tide, to rise against the “authorities” and the “law-makers” of Marxism, to accept a battle with very great dangers. It was not just the “anathemas” of the revisionists that would descend upon us, but the consequences of the Khrushchevite vengeance, the blockades and sabotage, perhaps even military aggression.

The writings of Volume 19 explain and make it possible to understand precisely why the Party of Labour of Albania, a party of a small country and relatively new, rose against the revisionist line of the Khrushchevite leadership, why it was able to maintain such a principled and revolutionary stand and take such a great responsibility before its own people and international communism.

The Party of Labour of Albania was born in the fury of the National Liberation War and grew up in the revolution for the liberation of the country, in the struggle for the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the construction of socialism. It had learned Marxism not from books and conferences, but in the heat of a stern class struggle, in battles and clashes with enemies of all kinds and descriptions. The Albanian communists had waged a protracted, consistent and principled struggle against Yugoslav revisionism, against its anti-Marxist theories and practices.

The steel-like unity of the Party around its leadership with Comrade Enver Hoxha at the head, as well as the unbreakable unity of the people around the Party, had been tempered in war and revolution. It was a Marxist-Leninist unity, based on a correct line tested in daily revolutionary practice.

In the principled and unyielding Marxist-Leninist stand adopted by our Party against revisionism, a special merit belongs to its founder and leader, Comrade Enver Hoxha. It is he who hammered out the correct line of the Party at all stages of the development of the revolution, who forged the steel-like Marxist-Leninist unity of its ranks, the unity of thought and action, the revolutionary courage and determination of the Albanian communists.

The writings of Volume 19 are a brilliant example of the unwavering loyalty to, and defence of, Marxism-Leninism and the principles of proletarian internationalism. They testify to the wise, principled and resolute stand which Comrade Enver Hoxha maintains at the most complicated and delicate moments, to the astute

and skilful tactics he adopts to cope with the revisionist attacks, the correct road he chooses to fight the enemies and carry the Party to victory.

The documents of Volume 19 reflect the special care which Comrade Enver Hoxha always takes to consult the comrades of the Political Bureau and the Central Committee on all problems, the great strength he finds in the opinion and stands of the Party. They reflect his faith in his comrades and fellow fighters, the great courage with which he arms them. Addressing the comrades at the 17th Plenum of the CC in July 1960, Comrade Enver Hoxha said: "You cannot imagine what great strength we have gained here, from this Plenum of the Central Committee, what great lessons we have learned from you about the courage we must display in the future... The way the CC has armed us, if we have not wavered in ten encounters, now we shall not waver in a thousand encounters."¹

At the most critical moment for the cause of communism, the Party of Labour of Albania chose the only correct road, that of direct, open struggle with Khrushchevite revisionism. This choice expressed the opinion, will and desire of all the communists and all the Albanian people. The CC of the Party did a colossal amount of intensive work to cope with the situations created, to work out its attitudes and prepare the Party for the new battle against Soviet revisionism. Five Plenums of the Central Committee were held from July to December 1960.

The exposure by the Party of Labour of Albania and the Communist Party of China of the Soviet leadership at the Moscow Meeting marks a decisive turning point in the struggle between Marxism-Leninism and revisionism. At the Moscow Meeting a clear-cut demarcation line was drawn between Marxism-Leninism and Khrushchevite pseudo-Marxism. There the way of the fighters for socialism parted from that of the lackeys of the bourgeoisie, the way of the Marxist-Leninists from that of the revisionists.

The Moscow Meeting was turned into an arena of fierce ideological struggle between the revolutionary proletarian line, represented by the CP of China and the PLA, and the opportunist line, represented by the Soviet leadership that had abandoned the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism and

¹ "At Moscow We Will Speak as Marxism-Leninism Teaches Us; For Us There Is No Other Language," pp. 103-104.

had taken the road of open betrayal.

The Soviet leadership aimed to impose the course of the 20th Congress on the whole communist movement. This course disguised with demagogic slogans of 'creative Marxism', was an expression of the wide-ranging plot of the Khrushchevites to liquidate the dictatorship of the proletariat in the Soviet Union, to sidetrack the communist parties from Marxism-Leninism, to replace class struggle with class conciliation and the revolution with bourgeois reforms, to subject all the parties to the dictate of Moscow.

In order to achieve these aims, the Soviet revisionist leaders clamorously trumpeted Khrushchevite peaceful coexistence, a world without arms and without wars, the peaceful parliamentary road, and preached that imperialism and its chieftains had become reasonable and had changed their aggressive nature, and so on. They attacked Stalin, his work and his teachings, linked up with Yugoslav revisionism and intensified their sabotage and attacks against the revolutionary forces that defended Marxism-Leninism.

The Party of Labour of Albania and Comrade Enver Hoxha rose resolutely and opened fire against this line of betrayal and very dangerous plan of the Khrushchevite revisionists.

Our Party had never been reconciled to the essence of the theses of the 20th Congress or the actions of N. Khrushchev. Through party channels, our Party had told the Soviet leaders of these objections. Nevertheless, while upholding its own views, which were not in accord with the Khrushchevite theses, in its propaganda and concrete activity, for tactical reasons as well as because of the fact that the Soviet leaders themselves, especially Khrushchev, were saying one thing today and something different tomorrow, until 1960 our Party had not come out in open public polemics.

But then came Bucharest. Khrushchev launched an open attack against the Communist Party of China and all those who were defending Marxism-Leninism and hindering the realization of the diabolical plans of the revisionists. Our Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha judged that now the cup was full. A clear-cut and resolute stand had to be adopted against Khrushchev and his followers. Khrushchev's arrogance and brutality, his behaviour as an overlord and a boss had to be attacked. The opportunism of the Soviet leaders had to be unmasked.

At Bucharest, our Party, in a lofty internationalist spirit, came

out in defence of the CP of China. Regardless of the consequences, it resolutely opposed the Khrushchevite plot. In Volume 19, especially in the radiograms sent to Comrade Hysni Kapo in Bucharest, there are very interesting materials which speak of the great importance the Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha attached to the exposure of the anti-Chinese campaign of the Khrushchevites and the defence of the CP of China with Mao Zedong at the head, as well as the skilful tactics and clear stand which our Party adopted.

Bucharest represents the first open clash with Khrushchevite revisionism, but our Party decided to wage the decisive battle in Moscow, before the broad forum of 81 parties. Its aim was to expose Khrushchevite revisionism ideologically and politically, to appeal for unity of the revolutionary forces, to raise high the banner of Leninism which the revisionists had trampled in the mud.

Comrade Enver Hoxha stressed that we were not suffering from any lack of declarations, that “our task is not just to add to the collection of declarations,” that the Moscow Meeting must not be a conciliatory, pacifist meeting to gloss over the grave mistakes. “We cannot allow the Moscow Meeting to be a meeting of revisionists and Right pacifists,” he stressed. “We shall struggle to make it a militant, constructive, Marxist meeting. There is no other way.”¹

Comrade Enver Hoxha’s speech at the Meeting of 81 parties, which will always retain great contemporary value, reflects the line of the struggle of our Party against Khrushchevite revisionism. A devastating criticism is made in it of the opportunist views of the Soviet leaders in all their essential manifestations and the attitude of the Party of Labour of Albania is presented on the most important problems of world development, strategy and tactics and relations among the communist parties and socialist countries.

In Moscow, Comrade Enver Hoxha hit right on the mark. He showed that the origin of the evil which had appeared in the communist movement should be sought in the 20th Congress and its decisions. That was the source of the counter-revolution in Hungary and the events in Poland, of the great upheavals in a number of parties, and the upsurge of anti-communist hysteria. With incontestable arguments, Comrade Enver Hoxha refuted the revi-

¹ “Radiogram to Mehmet Shehu in New York,” October 1, 1960, p. 204.

sionist theses and anti-Marxist acts of the Soviet leaders one by one and revealed their reactionary aims.

He dwelt at length on the analysis of imperialism and the problems of war and peace, and in opposition to the Khrushchevite view, emphasized the opinion of our Party that, "imperialism, and in the first place U.S. imperialism, has changed neither its hide, its hair, nor its nature"; that "imperialism is aggressive and will remain aggressive as long as it has a single tooth left in its mouth."

Comrade Enver Hoxha exposed and dealt a telling blow to Khrushchev's so-called peaceful coexistence. Khrushchev's coexistence reflected the strategic plan of the Soviet leadership to achieve a rapprochement and close collaboration with imperialism, with the aim that these two together would liquidate the revolution, stamp out the liberation wars, and preserve and extend their spheres of influence. This was a major diversion to disarm the masses ideologically and politically, to leave them defenceless in the face of the coming attacks of imperialism and social-imperialism.

Life has fully confirmed the correctness of the views of the Party of Labour of Albania. Even today, 15 years later, U.S. imperialism, along with the new Soviet imperialism, constitute the greatest danger to the peoples, to their freedom and to the revolution. The historic experience, the protracted and all-round struggle of the revolutionary forces in defence of the anti-imperialist line and the mobilization of the masses around this line, have taught peoples not to harbour any illusion whatsoever about imperialism, old or new, and not to permit any underestimation of them.

In his speech at the Moscow Meeting, Comrade Enver Hoxha made a powerful exposure of the opportunist thesis of the peaceful road as a revision of the fundamental question of Marxism, as an effort to persuade the workers to give up the revolutionary class struggle. He emphasized that "no people, no proletariat, no communist or workers' party, has taken power without bloodshed and violence." Again time has fully confirmed the views of our Party. The revisionists' peaceful road to socialism brought about the tragedies in Indonesia and Chile.

In his speech to the representatives of the 81 parties, Comrade Enver Hoxha revealed the hostile aims of the revisionist campaign against Stalin and strongly defended Stalin's name and work. The Khrushchevites slandered and attacked Stalin because, without

the elimination of Stalin, they could not have opened the gates to revisionism and the bourgeois ideology, to the counter-revolutionary transformations in the Soviet Union, they could not have negated the historic experience of the dictatorship of the proletariat and 'dethroned' Leninism. They invented the so-called struggle against the "cult of the individual" and against "Stalinism" in order to interfere brutally in the internal affairs of other parties, to change their leaderships and bring to power opportunist and revisionist elements wherever they could.

In defending Stalin, our Party defended Leninism, defended the socialist victories the Soviet Union had achieved, defended the revolutionary line of the communist movement, in which the historic role and great contribution of Stalin remain immortal. "The Party of Labour of Albania," declared Comrade Enver Hoxha, "thinks that it is not right, normal or Marxist for the great name and work of Stalin to be erased from this whole epoch as is being done. All of us should defend the splendid and immortal work of Stalin. He who does not defend it is an opportunist and a coward."¹

Concerning Yugoslav revisionism, in sternly condemning the stand of the Soviet leadership towards it, Comrade Enver Hoxha made a profound analysis and criticism of the opportunist ideological content and the hostile activity of Yugoslav revisionism. He emphasized that the struggle against modern revisionism had not ended, as the Soviet leadership claimed, that modern revisionism always remained the main danger for the international communist movement. Revisionism must be combatted wherever it is practised, in all the forms and aspects in which it manifests itself. If revisionism is conceived and treated as a passing phenomenon, as something localized, then, in practice, it will not be fought, the roads through which it spreads will not be closed.

The stand of the Party of Labour of Albania in Bucharest and Moscow derived from its profound concern for the fate of the revolution and socialism, for the Marxist-Leninist unity of the international communist movement.

With the aim of establishing their hegemony and rule, in the relations with the communist parties and socialist countries, the Soviet revisionist leaders brutally trampled underfoot all norms

¹ "Speech Delivered at the Meeting of 81 Communist and Workers' Parties in Moscow," p. 295.

and principles. Against these anti-Marxist methods and actions, behind which stood great state chauvinism, our Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha rose in powerful struggle. By courageously criticizing the Khrushchevite plot against the CP of China in Bucharest, as well as Khrushchev's attempt to subjugate all the communist parties and direct them according to his desire, Comrade Enver Hoxha defended the Leninist principles of independence and equality that should exist in the relations between the communist parties and socialist states.

At the Moscow Meeting, Comrade Enver Hoxha, expressing the will of the Party of Labour and the whole Albanian people, denounced the chauvinist line and actions of the Khrushchevites towards the People's Republic of Albania, particularly their hostile actions following the Bucharest Meeting, rejected the revisionist accusations and slanders and resolutely defended the Party of Labour and the Peoples' Republic of Albania.

Fifteen years have gone by since the Moscow Meeting. At that time, while denouncing the revisionist course of the Soviet leadership, our Party, worried about the future of the Soviet Union, called on the Communist Party of the Soviet Union to change its course before it was too late, to return to the Leninist road. However, the Khrushchevite leadership stood on its anti-Marxist positions and went rapidly down the road of betrayal. Today everybody can see the consequences of this catastrophic course.

The Khrushchevite betrayal liquidated the dictatorship of the proletariat that had emerged from the October Revolution. Its place has been taken by the dictatorship of the revisionist bourgeoisie, represented by the strata of the bureaucrats, the technocrats, the top-ranking militarymen and the intelligentsia.

The new economic reforms destroyed the entire socialist structure. The ideology, culture, morality, way of life, have assumed bourgeois content and forms and have led to the degeneration of spiritual life. The Soviet Union has been transformed into the extinguisher of the revolution and a social-imperialist superpower.

Embracing revisionism has brought painful consequences in the former socialist countries that followed the Khrushchevite road. They are now under a double oppression — under the oppression of the local revisionist cliques and the yoke of Soviet social-imperialism. The political, economic and military integration of these countries into the central Soviet state system is gradually eliminating even that formal independence they once had. As

Comrade Enver Hoxha warned in Moscow, the Warsaw Treaty, COMECON and the other joint organizations have been transformed into instruments of Soviet domination.

The communist parties which followed the Soviet leadership have degenerated completely. Now there is nothing Leninist about them. They have erased any class boundary with the bourgeoisie. Their latest orientation for the achievement of an alliance and close collaboration with the big bourgeois parties, as the Togliatti revisionists are doing, also marks the public capitulation of the revisionist parties to the bourgeoisie.

The entire revisionist camp is characterized by contradictions, disintegration and fragmentation into different trends and groupings. The Soviet revisionist leaders are failing to organize a new meeting of the revisionists that has long been planned. They are failing to keep control of the different detachments of modern revisionism, which are less and less obeying Moscow's desires.

By contrast, an excellent situation characterizes socialist Albania. When we contemplate this situation, we can understand more clearly just how life-saving and opportune was that principled and resolute stand of our Party, just how correct and revolutionary was the line of its irreconcilable and uncompromising struggle against Khrushchevite revisionism.

When our Party began the open struggle against the Soviet revisionists, when it exposed their anti-Marxist activity, the Khrushchevites were infuriated and did everything they could against socialist Albania. But the Party did not waver, nor was it intimidated. It had long since taken its decision. "Even if we Albanians have to go without bread," declared Comrade Enver Hoxha at the meeting of the Political Bureau on the eve of the Moscow Meeting "we will not violate our principles; we will not betray Marxism Leninism. Let all our friends and enemies be clear on this."¹

The enemies expected Albania to capitulate. But they made a bad mistake. Albania did not capitulate, it was not deceived and it was not subjugated, neither by the blockade, nor by the savage pressure of the revisionists. Socialist Albania always stands loyal to Marxism-Leninism and is advancing triumphantly on the road of socialist construction. The depressions, disorders and crises which prevail today in the revisionist countries and in the entire

¹ "Even if We Have to Go Without Bread, We Albanians Do Not Violate Principles, We Do Not Betray Marxism-Leninism," p. 224.

capitalist world are unknown in Albania.

Socialist Albania is linked in a sincere and fraternal friendship with the great China of Mao Zedong. This friendship and this fraternal cooperation is founded on loyalty to the principles, correct and consistent implementation of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, determination to defend and serve the cause of the revolution and the liberation of the peoples to the end. The struggle of the Communist Party of China, with Mao Zedong at the head, against Khrushchevite revisionism, its contribution to the defence of Marxism-Leninism, its support for the revolutionary and liberation forces, will always be valued and respected as an outstanding example of revolutionary determination and devotion to the cause of communism.

A great success of Marxism-Leninism over revisionism is the creation of new Marxist-Leninist organizations and parties. Today, these parties are correctly solving a series of important ideological, political and organizational problems which crop up in life and in the revolutionary struggle and more and more consolidating their Marxist-Leninist unity, extending their links with the masses and taking an active part in the big class battles against capitalism and imperialism.

The open struggle and polemics which the Party of Labour of Albania, the Communist Party of China and the other Marxist-Leninist forces began in 1960 against Khrushchevite revisionism have not finished. They must continue and be intensified uninterruptedly. This is vital, because the present-day Soviet leadership, headed by Brezhnev, who is the direct heir and successor of Khrushchev, has deepened the counter-revolutionary anti-Marxist line of revisionism even further, he has come out openly with the banner of hegemonism and imperialist expansionism. The other revisionist parties in different countries are carrying on poisonous and disorientating activity among the working class and the working masses, and together with the social democrats and the bourgeoisie, are fighting against the sound revolutionary forces and sabotaging the revolution and the liberation struggles of the peoples.

* * *

While waging a fierce struggle in all fields against Khrushchevite revisionism, the Party of Labour of Albania has known how it should profit from this struggle and draw useful lessons

from the negative experience of the revisionist degeneration in the Soviet Union and other countries.

The Party of Labour of Albania, in the historic struggle against Khrushchevite revisionism, while relentlessly exposing the revisionist line and program of bourgeois degeneration and the re-establishment of capitalism, has simultaneously worked out a revolutionary Marxist-Leninist line and program on how to carry forward the revolution and the construction of socialism uninterruptedly, how to block the road to the danger of revisionism and turning back to capitalism. This program, which constitutes a new contribution to the theory and practice of scientific socialism, has found and is finding its implementation in Albania, day by day. It is confirmed that the spread of revisionism in the socialist countries is not inevitable, as the bourgeois ideologists claim, because the advance of socialism is unceasing when a revolutionary Marxist-Leninist line is consistently implemented.

Our Party has waged the class struggle in a correct way, it has ceaselessly strengthened and perfected the leading role of the Party in every field, has continuously strengthened the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat by deepening the struggle against bureaucracy and liberalism, has implemented the line of the masses and the direct control of the working class and the Marxist-Leninist principle of self-reliance in the construction of socialism. Our Party and people's state power have strengthened the defence of the country through arming the whole people and giving them military training, they have resolutely combatted the foreign ideological aggression and have successfully stood up to the imperialist-revisionist blockades and encirclement. Experience has taught our Party and people to be always vigilant against the external and internal enemies. It has shown them that, in the protracted process of socialist construction, particularly at the moments when the class struggle assumes an even greater fierceness, or when the pressure of the imperialist-revisionist encirclement increases, the hidden enemies raise their heads and, in collaboration with international revisionism and reaction, try to undermine the dictatorship of the proletariat, to create premises and situations for the overthrow of socialism and the restoration of capitalism. The new materials which are published in Volume 19 in regard to the enemies of the Party Koço Tashko, Liri Belishova and others as well as all the past and present experience of the struggle of the Party and the masses against hostile and traitor elements

show that there is a direct link between the foreign and internal enemies, and especially with the revisionists, a coordination of action to attack the Party, the people's state power, the unity and security of our Homeland.

Degenerate people such as these, at the service of the enemies, will never find a crack in the ranks of our Party or in the party-people unity. They will never find fertile ground for their diabolical undermining work. "The class struggle," says Comrade Enver Hoxha, "which our Party and people are carrying out with so much success, determination and vigilance, exposes and mercilessly crushes these corrupted elements of our society."

Comrade Enver Hoxha's historic speech at the Moscow Meeting, as well as all the documents of Volume 19 of his Works, arouse in the Albanian communists and in all the working masses a legitimate pride towards their heroic Party, towards its revolutionary line, its unwavering loyalty to Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. They are enthused by its unyielding struggle, are filled with new courage and strength to stand unflinching and emerge victorious in the battles in which the Party leads us. From the materials of Volume 19 of Comrade Enver Hoxha's Works, the communists understand even better that the only correct policy is the principled policy, and that the basis, the foundation of all our victories is the correct line of the Party.

It is the duty of the communists and our entire people to engage even more persistently in the study of Marxism-Leninism, the documents of our Party and the Works of Comrade Enver Hoxha. Particular care should be devoted to the assimilation of all the materials contained in Volume 19. They give us an important theoretical basis and rich experience to fight and win in the struggle against modern revisionism and all the enemies of socialism, to understand the various situations which are created in the world, to courageously defend the correct line of our Party always and in all circumstances, to defend the teachings of Marxism-Leninism. These materials educate and inspire us to carry forward the cause of the Party and socialism.

The heroic struggle of our Party fills us with that great and unwavering faith and conviction that there is no force in the world which can conquer a genuine communist Party and a revolutionary patriotic people such as the Party of Labour and the Albanian people. There is no force which can conquer Marxism-Leninism. On our road and in our struggle, we are not alone. Hundreds of

millions of people on all continents are fighting and thinking, just as we Albanians fight and think. The revolution is advancing everywhere. The future belongs to Marxism-Leninism, socialism and the freedom and independence of the peoples.

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OUR EPOCH IS THE EPOCH OF THE TRIUMPH OF MARXISM-LENINISM

In an article devoted to Volume 19 of the Works of Comrade Enver Hoxha entitled "Our Epoch is the Epoch of the Triumph of Marxism-Leninism," *Zëri i Popullit* writes that the writings included in Volume 19 of the Works of Comrade Enver Hoxha devote a special attention also to the problem of the character, content and particularities of our epoch. "This question," Comrade Enver Hoxha said at the 21st Plenum of the CC of the PLA held in December 1960, "is not simply of a theoretical importance, but it is of great practical importance, because from the correct assessment of the character of the epoch depends the defining of the strategy and tactics of the international communist movement, of every particular party." The problem of the character of our epoch had become acute particularly due to the changes which had taken place in the world since the time of the October Revolution, from the Second World War and till the time when the Meeting of the communist and workers' parties (in 1960) was held in Moscow. The problem of defending the character of our epoch assumed an even greater importance as the modern revisionists, in order to justify their treachery to Marxism-Leninism, had undertaken a broad propaganda campaign to distort the character of the epoch, arousing great confusion in the international communist movement. Under these circumstances there were crystallized two assessments of our epoch expressing two diametrically opposite class stands: the revolutionary one, defended by the Party of Labour of Albania and the Communist Party of China, and the opportunist one, defended by the Khrushchevite revisionists.

Beginning with the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the Khrushchevite revisionists began the fuss about the change of the character of our epoch, trumpeting it as the epoch of harmony, reconciliation and collaboration of opposite classes and social systems, as the epoch of disarmament and peace. Comrade Enver Hoxha has substantiated through the materials of Volume 19 that the revisionist assessment of our epoch was thoroughly permeated by subjectivistic and metaphysic concepts. The picture of the changes and of the ratio of forces facing one another in the world, presented from the positions of the Khrushchevite revisionists, did not fit the objective reality; it was invented through voluntaristic imagination and their opportunist

eyeglasses. From this is derived the very adventuristic and opportunist policy pursued by the Khrushchevite revisionists who strove to spread sham imaginations on the ratio of forces on the international arena, frequently underestimating the forces of the enemy and overestimating the forces of the revolution. Through a subjective interpretation of the changes to the detriment of capitalism and in favour of socialism, the Khrushchevite revisionists presented the affairs as if the capitalist system was obliged to reconcile itself with its final defeat and introduce itself on the road of its “self-transformation.”

Through the materials of Volume 19, Comrade Enver Hoxha showed that at that time changes had really taken place in the world testifying to the further weakness of the capitalist system, of imperialism. But quite in opposition to the Khrushchevite revisionists our Party considered that process not as a consequence of the “improvement” of the capitalist system, but, on the one hand, as a result of the further aggravation of the general crisis of this system, of the aggravation of all the economic, political and social-class contradictions of imperialism and, on the other hand, of the development of the liberation movement of the peoples, of the intensification of the class struggle, of the vigour of the proletarian revolution. “Imperialism,” Comrade Enver Hoxha said at the Moscow Meeting, “is no longer in its ‘golden age’, when it made the law as and when it wanted. The initiative has slipped from its hands and this is not on account of its own desire. The initiative was not wrested from it by mere words and discourses but after a long process of bloody battles and revolutions which capitalism itself has forced upon the proletariat and by the strength of people who were rising to smash the world of hunger and misery, the world of slavery.”¹

In the conditions when many communist and workers’ parties had been intoxicated from the opium of the Khrushchevite voluntaristic pseudo-optimism, Comrade Enver Hoxha, through a dialectical scientific analysis of the ratio of forces, warned the communist movement of the dangers threatening the cause of socialism from the aims and preparations of imperialism for revenge and from modern revisionism, which had risen its head.

The subjectivistic, metaphysical stand of the Khrushchevite

¹ “Speech Delivered at the Meeting of 81 Communist and Workers’ Parties in Moscow,” p. 248.

revisionists towards the character of the epoch was expressed also in the cases when they overestimated the forces of imperialism and underestimated the forces of revolution.

The Khrushchevite revisionists' concessions to and compromises with imperialism, though they are hidden behind the phrases of "flexibility" in politics and "cunning tactics," in fact were a subjugation to the pressure of counter-revolution. This was seen in their appeals to give up the just struggles and the revolution under the threat of an atomic war. The attitudes of the Khrushchevite revisionists playing the tune of atomic blackmail, expressed not only the spirit of defeatism and fear characterizing each and every opportunist, but also their line to approach U.S. imperialism and to create counter-revolutionary alliances with it, the line of transforming the Soviet Union into a social-imperialist superpower. Therefore, the communist movement could elaborate a revolutionary program, strategy and tactics only by rejecting the subjectivistic and opportunist stands in the assessment of the ratio of forces in the international arena. "He who denies, who has no faith in our great economic, political, military and moral strength," Comrade Enver Hoxha said at the Moscow Meeting, "is a defeatist and does not deserve to be called a communist. On the other hand, he who, intoxicated by our potential, disregards the strength of the opponents, thinking that the enemy has lost all hope, has become harmless and is entirely at our mercy, he is not a realist. He bluffs, lulls mankind to sleep before all these complicated and very dangerous situations which demand very great vigilance from us all, which demand the heightening of the revolutionary drive of the masses, not its slackening, its disintegration, decomposition and relaxation. 'Waters sleep but not the enemy' is a wise saying of our long-suffering people."¹ Time proved that resting on the Marxist-Leninist assessment Comrade Enver Hoxha made of our epoch and on the objective scientific calculation of the ratio of forces in the international arena, our Party followed a realistic policy, it coped with all the pressures and plots of imperialism and revisionism and guaranteed the nonstop march of the country on the road of socialism.

Comrade Enver Hoxha revealed behind all the theorizations of the Khrushchevite revisionists on the character and particular-

¹ "Speech Delivered at the Meeting of 81 Communist and Workers' Parties in Moscow," p. 249.

ities of our epoch their fundamental aim to discredit Marxism-Leninism presenting it as an “outdated” doctrine, which was not in compliance with the new conditions of social development and the changes which had taken place in the world. For this purpose, the Khrushchevite revisionists attacked the Marxist-Leninist course pursued by the international communist movement to which they wanted to impose the course formulated at the 20th Congress of the CPSU and which was advertised by them as a “creative,” “original” platform. The defence of the vitality of Marxism-Leninism and the exposure of the platform of the 20th Congress of the CPSU were, under these circumstances, an historic duty of international importance.

Comrade Enver Hoxha shows through the writings of Volume 19 of his Works that the revolutionary theory of the working class is a vivid doctrine, with an unbent vitality, because it is permeated by the creative spirit, because it is developed and enriched along with the change of the living conditions. This development and this creative enrichment are expressed in the change of some special conclusions of this doctrine on the basis of the new experience, generalized by the fundamental principles of this theory which remain unshaken under whatever circumstance of historic development of social life. But, as Comrade Enver Hoxha substantiated in his writings of Volume 19, the platform of the 20th Congress of the CPSU not only did not contain anything original and creative, but was a complete departure from the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism.

This platform was directed first and foremost against the Leninist theory on imperialism. With their fuss about the “change of nature” of imperialism, the Khrushchevite revisionists sought to revise the teachings of Lenin that imperialism is a permanent source of wars and armed conflicts. The speech delivered by Comrade Enver Hoxha at the Moscow Meeting shows that the viewpoints of the Khrushchevite revisionists on the “peaceful” character of contemporary imperialism distorted reality, hid the uninterrupted plotting, aggressive activity of U.S. imperialism particularly, cherished pacifist illusions. “Even now, when it sees its approaching doom, when it has strong and determined opponents, U.S.-led world imperialism is mustering, organizing and arming its assault forces,” Comrade Enver Hoxha said at the Moscow Meeting. “It is preparing for war. He who fails to see this is blind. He who sees it but covers it up is a traitor in the service of impe-

rialism.”¹ The servants of the imperialist bourgeoisie alone could go so far as to call imperialism “peaceful,” just as the Khrushchevite revisionists did.

Secondly, the platform of the 20th Congress of the CPSU was directed against the Leninist theory on crisis and class struggle. The technical and scientific progress, particularly after World War Two, was proclaimed by the Khrushchevite revisionists as a new phenomenon which allegedly brought the overcoming of the social-class conflicts, the avoidance of crises and unemployment. In reality, the technical-scientific progress in the conditions of imperialism inevitably brings the aggravation of all the contradictions and social wounds of capitalism. The present-day facts prove that the Marxist-Leninist theory on crises not only had not gone outdated and been denied, as the Khrushchevite revisionists claimed, but it has been confirmed again. The overproduction crisis interlaced with the financial and monetary crisis, with energy and raw material crisis, accomplished by colossal proportions of inflation and unemployment, has gripped all the system of world capitalist economy. It has brought about the aggravation of social-class conflicts and is completely destroying all the reformist illusions on the “renovation” and “vitality” of contemporary capitalism.

Thirdly, behind the noise of the Khrushchevite revisionists on the change of the character of our epoch are hidden their efforts to advertise the ideas of the 20th Congress of the CPSU on “the peaceful parliamentary road” of transition from capitalism to socialism as a compliance of Marxism-Leninism with the new historic conditions. Comrade Enver Hoxha through the materials of Volume 19 of his Works showed that these ideas were not at all original, because they repeated the old opportunist theories of “peaceful integration of capitalism into socialism” and represented an open revision of Marxist-Leninist theory, of the proletarian revolution and of the dictatorship of the proletariat. The Khrushchevite theory on the “peaceful parliamentary road” was in contrast to all the experience of the development of capitalism of the 20th century. “This question,” Comrade Enver Hoxha said at the Moscow Meeting, “has been clear and it was not necessary for Khrushchev to confuse it in the 20th Congress, and do so in such a way as to please the opportunists. Why was it necessary to

¹ “Speech Delivered at the Meeting of 81 Communist and Workers’ Parties in Moscow,” p. 248.

resort to so many parodies of Lenin's clear theses and the October Socialist Revolution? The Party of Labour of Albania is quite clear about and does not shift from Lenin's teachings on this matter. So far, no people, no proletariat and no communist and workers' party has assumed power without bloodshed and without violence."¹ The experience of social development in these last 15 years, the events in Indonesia, Chile and other countries convincingly proved the savageness used by the bourgeois state apparatus against every liberation movement of the working people to suppress them by blood, they showed the tragic consequences coming to the workers' movement from the reformist illusions of "peaceful roads."

Exposing the revisionist essence of the course of the 20th Congress of the CPSU, Comrade Enver Hoxha pointed out at the Moscow Meeting the main source of the evil threatening the communist movement and showed that the only way out from the marsh the Khrushchevite revisionists were plunging into was to abandon this course before it was too late and return to the revolutionary positions of Marxism-Leninism. "The authority of Leninism," Comrade Enver Hoxha said, "has been and is decisive. It should be established in such a way as to purge erroneous views everywhere and in a radical way. There is no other way for us communists."²

The refusal by our Party of the course of the 20th Congress of the CPSU and its firm loyalty to Marxism-Leninism have been the decisive condition that our country did not change its colour, that the dictatorship of the proletariat with us keeps strengthening and becoming impregnable. All those communist and workers' parties which subdued themselves to the baton and which accepted the platform of the 20th Congress of the CPSU degenerated into parties of counter-revolution. This was a regressive process, in great proportions and heavy consequences for social progress on a worldwide scale. Nevertheless, this regressive process, too, will not be able to save the world of capitalist exploitation from its inevitable doom. The regressive processes which are linked with the capitalist degeneration in the revisionist countries, with the bourgeois degeneration of the revisionist parties, cannot change the fundamental features of our epoch as the epoch of the destruc-

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 252.

² *Ibid.*, p. 297.

tion of capitalism and the transition to socialism and communism through the proletarian revolution and of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the newspaper *Zëri i Popullit* writes in conclusion.

EXPECTATIONS OF THE PLA ON THE DEGENERATION OF THE KHRUSHCHEVITE REVISIONISTS FULLY CONFIRMED BY TIME

The newspaper *Zëri i Popullit* published an article on Volume 19 of the Works of Enver Hoxha entitled “Expectations of the Party of Labour of Albania on the Degeneration of the Khrushchevite Revisionists Fully Confirmed by Time.” The newspaper writes that Volume 19 “helps us see still more clearly the starting point of the anti-Marxist concepts of the Soviet revisionist leadership, to understand its counter-revolutionary evolution and especially the present situation in the Soviet Union, its chauvinistic and expansionist policy.”

The newspaper writes that at the 20th Congress and after it, Khrushchev created a real ideological confusion in the ranks of the communist parties and of the anti-imperialist forces, on the most important questions of their strategy, the historic experience of the October Revolution and socialist construction in the Soviet Union, on the Leninist principles of the organization and of the life of the Communist Party.

The Khrushchevite revisionists had waged an all-round struggle against the communist and liberation movement for the disintegration of their ideological and political positions and the adoption of an opportunist line that would ease its subjection to the counter-revolutionary plans of the Soviet leaders. The new Khrushchevite strategy on the so-called peaceful road of transition to socialism, the struggle for peace, the stand towards imperialism and social democracy, etc., presented in the plans of the Soviet leaders the main arsenal to stamp out the struggle of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie and peoples against imperialism.

In order to apply their revisionist policy, the Soviet leaders fought to compel the socialist countries to give up their opposition against imperialism and the denunciation of its aggressive policy, to give up the struggle against the bourgeois and revisionist ideology and the class struggle in general.

Khrushchev aimed at submitting the socialist countries and communist parties to this line so that they become obedient tools and completely hitched to the Soviet bandwagon, so that his dictate and arbitrariness could be turned into an obligatory norm.

This strategy was forcefully exposed and attacked by the Party of Labour of Albania and the Communist Party of China.

Exposing the treacherous line and acts of Khrushchev and his allies, the PLA and Comrade Enver Hoxha openly and clearly warned of the catastrophic consequences lying in store for those who would march on the Khrushchevite road. They rightfully thought that the Soviet Union and its Communist Party were helped not by adopting an opportunist stand towards them, not by concealing the Khrushchevite treachery, not by making unprincipled concessions and compromises, but by openly denouncing and struggling against this treachery, criticizing and abolishing the revisionist theses and concepts. A genuine friend and sincere well-wisher of the Soviet communists and of the Soviet peoples was not the one who did not speak when their treacherous leadership led them to the abyss, but the one who called on them to stop while it was not too late.

Comrade Enver Hoxha has said: “No, we shall not allow ourselves to be impressed by those who say: ‘How can one attack the glorious Soviet Union or the great Communist Party of Lenin for the faults of a ‘few rascals?’ We say: precisely to defend the Soviet Union and the Party of Lenin, these ‘rascals’ must be exposed and there must be no toning down of criticism and covering up of the deviators.”¹

The time that has elapsed since 1960 to now is short, but the balance of the elevation and victories of Marxism-Leninism are very great, as the decline and failures of Khrushchevite revisionism are very grave. History has already fully and incontestably confirmed the correctness of the line of our Party, its wisdom and farsightedness. It proved the warnings of our Party that the deviation from Marxism-Leninism and the pursuance of the revisionist course would lead the Soviet Union, as it led it, to the bourgeois degeneration of the socialist order. “The state of the Soviet leadership, Comrade Enver Hoxha stressed on the eve of the Moscow Conference, will aggravate, it will precipitate. The mistakes in its home and foreign policies which it will try to cover up will deepen.” The Khrushchevite course led to the restoration of capitalism, restoration of the bourgeoisie of the Soviet society, and the transformation of the Soviet Union into an imperialist and aggressive, neo-colonialist and warmongering superpower.

¹ “Letter to Comrade Hysni Kapo,” October 13, 1960, p. 221.

The restoration of capitalism, the change of the nature of the Soviet society, the imbuing of masses with the bourgeois-revisionist ideology led to the old hegemonistic and expansionist policy of Russian Tsarism. No imperialism has lived and can live without aggression, without oppressing and exploiting other countries, without demanding always new areas to introduce its claws. The occupation of Czechoslovakia was not an accidental episode, as the ill-famed theory of "limited sovereignty" was not done fortuitously. They are the most eloquent expressions of the old empire policy that the revisionist Soviet Union implements in what is called its sphere of influence; it is an expression of the imperialist oppression and aggression.

Now the Soviet revisionists have come out with claims to dominate the world. Their foreign policy is a typical colonialist and neocolonialist policy, based on the force of capital and aims.

The struggle the Soviet Union is waging today to occupy the Middle East strategic positions, bringing the naval forces in the Mediterranean, in the Atlantic and Indian Oceans, the introduction of its claws in Africa and Latin-America, the pressure on Europe and interference in the home affairs of Asia, all this bears the seal of this policy. The U.S. imperialists and Soviet revisionists alike are fighting everywhere to stamp out the flames of revolution and the movement for the liberation of peoples.

But the more they vie with U.S. imperialism for world domination, the more they join the counter-revolutionary plots against the peoples, the more they stir up the conflicts and splits among the nations, the more they are exposed, the more the people hate and fight against them. Today it is a fact that broad international public opinion considers the new Soviet imperialism as aggressive, as dangerous and barbarous as U.S. imperialism. The Soviet revisionists have been affirmed as traitors to Marxism-Leninism, as enemies of the peoples and socialism.

The Khrushchevite treachery liquidated the dictatorship of the proletariat that had emerged from the October Revolution and that was built with so much toil and sacrifices through titanic struggle against the Whiteguardists, Trotskyites and Bukharinists, that had defeated Hitler and had withstood all the united international reaction. It was replaced by the bourgeois revisionist dictatorship represented by the section of the bureaucrats, technocrats and the new revisionist bourgeoisie.

The new economic reforms completely abolished all the so-

cialist structures. Profit became the aim of production and the exploitation of the working class its basis. The Soviet economy integrated in the economic system of world capitalism. While U.S. capital and that of the other countries began to penetrate in the Soviet economy, Soviet capital was exported to other countries. The Soviet Union struggles and vies with the imperialist states for markets, for spheres of investments, for the plundering of the raw materials, for the defence of neo-colonialist laws in world trade.

The degeneration of the spiritual life is already a completed process. Ideology, culture, morals, the way of living have taken complete bourgeois content and form.

The Great Russian chauvinism raised to ruling ideology, smashed to the foundations the historic deed of Lenin and Stalin for the national cause. The Soviet Union was turned into a prison of peoples.

Comrade Enver Hoxha has also clearly foreseen and has warned with the greatest seriousness the end of those countries and those parties that would follow the revisionist road of the Khrushchevite leadership. "It would have been disastrous," Comrade Enver Hoxha writes, "to take the revisionist road where the Soviet leaders want to lead us. This would have had grave consequences. What would have been some of the consequences? First of all, this would have meant silence towards revisionism. Politically, this would have been a grave crime to Marxism-Leninism... silence would have been the first phase. The next phase would have been the opening of the borders to revisionism, as for example the leadership of the Bulgarian Communist Party is systematically doing... We will not follow this road. If we were to follow such a road, this would be suicidal for our country... therefore silence means to land in the position Yugoslavia is in. If we were to permit such a thing, this would mean the loss of the independence of the homeland and the undermining of socialism."¹

Today, 15 years after, *Zëri i Popullit* continues, the situation in the former East European socialist countries that followed Khrushchev is really terrible. They no longer have either internal, nor external independent policies. Once it was said that they have a "limited sovereignty." But today this cannot be spoken of either. Today, one can speak only of a lost sovereignty, of a kicked-out freedom, of a foreign and grave domination.

¹ "On the Grave Political and Ideological Mistakes of Liri Belishova," p. 145.

The state and Party leaderships are removed and set to power according to Moscow's will. These countries lack an independent defence and army which is the most distinguishing feature of an independent state. What they call an army represents a force fully submitted to the Warsaw Treaty and Soviet staffs.

The economies of CMEA member-countries have been built up and operate as an integral part of the economy of the Soviet Union and in compliance with its needs. They are at the mercy of the Soviet Union for their main raw materials, which has under its control the means of supply.

The betrayal of the Khrushchevites, the imposition of the opportunist line of the 20th Congress, the obligation to pursue the diplomatic policy and manoeuvres of Soviet leadership were catastrophic for all the communist parties which followed Khrushchev. The departure of the present revisionist parties from Marxism-Leninism is an accomplished fact both in the political and ideological line and in the organizational one. All of them, without exception, have abandoned completely the theoretical principles, the Leninist norms on the Party. The revisionists, as it was foreseen by the genuine Marxist-Leninist parties were against the revolution. "Though for demagoguery the revisionists pose themselves as if they stand for revolution," Comrade Enver Hoxha has said, "with their viewpoints and actions they strive to nip in the bud or sabotage it when it bursts out." The abandoning of the class interests of the proletariat, the betrayal of the cause of national liberation of the peoples, led the revisionists to the complete negation of revolution. The whole theory and practice of revolution were reduced, according to them, to some reformist demands which can be applied in the framework of the existence of the capitalist order and without impairing its bases.

The revisionist parties have liquidated every class distinction with the bourgeoisie and now, as the Togliattists and some other revisionist parties of the West are doing, have come out with the demand for the attainment of an alliance and close collaboration with the big parties of the bourgeoisie. This new orientation which marks the basest abandonment of the interests of the working class, marks also the public capitulation of the revisionist parties before the bourgeoisie, their placing in its service.

The departure from Marxism-Leninism and the embracement of opportunism of a social democratic type transformed the various units of modern revisionism into rival hostile groups, where

each of them seeks to defend the narrow nationalist interests of the bourgeoisie and spare nothing in order to gain superiority and positions to the detriment of the other. A clear example of the lack of unity, splits and quarrels among the revisionist forces is also the long and painful dragging on of the meeting of the European parties, so much desired by the Kremlin chieftains.

On the national and international plane revisionism has suffered one defeat after another. The numerous Khrushchevite promises for the “golden spoon” remain as anecdotes. The peaceful road to socialism suffered fiasco and gave birth to the Indonesian and Chilean tragedies. The demagogy of the Khrushchevite group as a “natural friend” of the peoples was not able to cover the plots and perfidy towards their vital interests, as was proven in the Middle East particularly.

Despite this, the open struggle which began in 1960 against Khrushchevite revisionism has not ceased. Just as then, today too, as our Party teaches, the main danger to the world revolutionary movement and communism remains revisionism, which is not for revolution, but for class reconciliation and subjugation to the bourgeoisie. It is not for the liberation of the peoples, but for an agreement with imperialism and the acceptance of enslavement; it is not for socialism, but for its degeneration and the restoration of capitalism.

Zëri i Popullit writes in conclusion: “The writings, reports and speeches of Comrade Enver Hoxha of the year 1960, which are included in Volume 19 of his Works, have been and will always remain fiery and invincible weapons in the struggle against revisionism, imperialism and all the other enemies. They show us in the most convincing way what has been constantly stressed by the Party of Labour of Albania, that the struggle against revisionism is a protracted ideological and political, economic and cultural class struggle, a life and death struggle between socialism and capitalism. At the same time they are an unmistakable basis of orientation and reference to understand the new situations created in the world, to distinguish the diabolic manoeuvres, plots and intrigues of the imperialists and revisionists, to always keep the gunpowder dry, to always keep our socialist fortress strong and impregnable.”

J.V. STALIN — GREAT REVOLUTIONARY MARXIST-LENINIST AND OUTSTANDING INTERNATIONALIST

J.V. Stalin has been and remains a great revolutionary Marxist-Leninist and outstanding internationalist, a consistent and unbent fighter who devoted all his life to the cause of socialism and communism, the liberation of the peoples and to peace in the world, the newspaper *Zëri i Popullit* writes in another review on the very important documents included in Volume 19 of the Works of Comrade Enver Hoxha. As a loyal disciple, comrade-in-arms and worthy follower of the immortal work of the great Lenin, J.V. Stalin, through his valuable contribution to the safeguarding and creative development of Marxism-Leninism and his all-round revolutionary activity, through his open and resolute struggle against the enemies of the peoples and socialism, stands among the great classics of Marxism-Leninism. His life and work are incontestable. Stalin will remain for centuries a brilliant example of an outstanding leader and personality, of an ardent defender and great theoretician of Marxism-Leninism.

The material included in Volume 19 of the Works of Comrade Enver Hoxha, especially his historic speech at the Moscow Meeting, the newspaper stresses, reflect in all its depth and breadth the importance of the immortal work of J.V. Stalin, the high Marxist-Leninist spirit of principle and the revolutionary determination with which our Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha defended the person and work of J.V. Stalin against the attacks, charges and slanders of the Khrushchevite revisionists. The principled stand and the struggle of the PLA and of Comrade Enver Hoxha in 1960 concerning the question of J.V. Stalin vividly reflect the direct clash with the anti-Marxist viewpoints and theses, with the demagoguery and deceptive tactics of Nikita Khrushchev and his group, who have been indelibly besmirched by history as traitors to Marxism-Leninism, as enemies of the peoples and socialism. At those critical moments for the cause of communism, Comrade Enver Hoxha declared at the Moscow Meeting: “We should all defend the good and immortal work of Stalin. He who does not defend it is an opportunist and a coward.”

In unbridled zeal, under the fraudulent pretext of the struggle against the “cult of the individual of Stalin and its consequences,”

of the struggle against “Stalinist dogmatism,” they tendentiously fabricated the most monstrous slanders against J.V. Stalin. The Party of Labour of Albania, since the beginning, on this question, too, chose the sole correct road, that of the tit-for-tat struggle against Khrushchevite revisionists to defend J.V. Stalin and his work. Only one year after the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the PLA declared at the February 1957 Plenum: “We do not agree with those who liquidate all the revolutionary activity of Stalin...”¹ While at the Moscow Meeting, this great confrontation which established a deep demarcation line between the two opposite lines and strategies in the international communist and workers’ movement — between the revolutionary line and strategy, on the one hand, and the counter-revolutionary revisionist ones on the other hand — Comrade Enver Hoxha stressed: “The Party of Labour of Albania maintained a realistic stand on the question of Stalin. It was correct and grateful to this glorious Marxist against whom, while he was alive, there was no one among us ‘brave enough’ to come out and criticize, but when he was dead a great deal of mud was thrown... The Party of Labour of Albania solemnly declares that it is opposed to these acts and to these assessments of the work and person of J.V. Stalin.”²

Pointing out the great merits and the extraordinary contribution of J.V. Stalin to the creative development of Marxism-Leninism, Comrade Enver Hoxha declared at the Moscow Meeting: “All of Comrade Stalin’s theoretical works are a fiery testimony of his loyalty to his teacher of genius, to the great Lenin and Leninism. Stalin fought for the rights of the working class and the working people of the whole world. He fought to the end with great consistency for the freedom of the people...”³

The traitors to Marxism-Leninism, N.S. Khrushchev and Co., saw the work and person of J.V. Stalin as the main obstacle to realizing their counter-revolutionary and anti-socialist aims. The Khrushchevites used the denial of Stalin and his monumental work as a “weapon” to prepare the ground to replace Marxism-Leninism with revisionism, to spread their opportunist views on the most important questions of the development of world social-

¹ “On the International Situation and the Tasks of the Party,” in: *Selected Works*, vol. 2, Norman Bethune Institute, Toronto 1977, p. 579

² “Speech Delivered at the Meeting of 81 Communist and Workers’ Parties in Moscow,” pp. 295-296.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 295.

ism and the international communist movement. “The denial of J.V. Stalin,” Comrade Enver Hoxha stressed, “was the fundamental question for the revisionists, because in this way the road was opened to the denial of Leninism, to revising of Marxism, to treachery.”

The Khrushchevite revisionists used the questions of the struggle against the cult of Stalin intending to cross and throw mud on the historic period when J.V. Stalin was at the head of the Communist Party (Bolsheviks) and of the Soviet state. Their frenzied attacks against Stalin aimed not only at denying his leading role during this period, but also at discrediting the socialist system and the dictatorship of the proletariat, at making and justifying their counter-revolutionary course. “There was and is created an intolerable situation in which a whole glorious epoch of the Soviet Union,” Comrade Enver Hoxha stressed at the Moscow Meeting, “when the first socialist state in the world was set up, when the Soviet Union waxed strong, successfully defeated the imperialist plots, crushed the Trotskyites, Bukharinites and the kulaks as a class, when the construction of heavy industry and collectivization triumphed, in a word, when the Soviet Union became a colossal power succeeding in building socialism, when it fought the Second World War with legendary heroism and defeated fascism, when a powerful socialist camp was set up and so on and so forth — all this glorious epoch of the Soviet Union is left without a helmsman, without a leader.” He added further: “The Party of Labour of Albania thinks that it is not right, normal or Marxist to blot out Stalin’s name and great work from all this epoch...”¹

Likewise, the attack against J.V. Stalin was used by the Soviet revisionist leadership with N.S. Khrushchev at the head to attack the sound Marxist-Leninist elements in the leaderships of the communist and workers’ parties of various countries, to liquidate whoever dared oppose them. The history of these last 15 years is the best witness to the chauvinistic policy followed by the Khrushchev group and his followers, to their brutal interference in the home affairs of the other parties and states. They followed the same policy even towards our Party and country. “The question of the ‘cult of the individual’,” Comrade Enver Hoxha underlined, “in a word, was used to exert pressure on the other parties and to liquidate the leaders who were not to the liking of N. Khrush-

¹ *Ibid.*

chev.” Regarding this question, Comrade Enver Hoxha forcefully exposed at the Moscow Meeting the hypocritical methods of N. Khrushchev, who accused Stalin of completely invented things, but that were in fact implemented by himself. Thus he accused Stalin of interfering in other parties, of imposing the views of the Bolshevik Party upon others. But Comrade Enver Hoxha declared: “We can bear witness to the fact that at no time did Comrade Stalin do such a thing towards us, towards the Albanian people and the Party of Labour of Albania; he behaved as a great Marxist, as an outstanding internationalist, as a comrade, brother and sincere friend of the Albanian people.”¹ In 1945, when our people were threatened with starvation, Comrade Stalin redirected ships loaded with grain destined for the Soviet people and sent the grain at once to the Albanian people. Whereas N. Khrushchev, in order to impose his revisionist course on our Party, resorted to all means, down to the refusal to supply our country with grain, in order to force us to our knees through starvation. Speaking at the meeting of the Political Bureau of the CC of the PLA on August 30, 1960, Comrade Enver Hoxha stressed: “He has never spoken to us in a threatening manner, he never said to us ‘Do as I say, or else I will leave you without bread and will never speak to you again’ or ‘I can blow you up in five minutes’.”²

The question of the struggle against the “cult of the individual of Stalin” was used also by the Khrushchevite group for another purpose: to rehabilitate the Yugoslav revisionist clique calling it a “victim” of the “grave mistakes” of J.V. Stalin. In this way the Khrushchevite group turned down in a unilateral way the correct conclusions of the Information Bureau concerning the Yugoslav revisionists. This act was another stubborn fact showing how far this group had gone in the revisionist marsh and that no other stand could be adopted towards this group but that of the uninterrupted struggle till its complete destruction.

After N. Khrushchev’s shameful bankruptcy and his removal from the political scene, his followers even say time and again, whenever they are faced with difficulties, some good word about Stalin. But this demagogy can deceive only some naive people because Khrushchevism continued and continues without Khrushchev. The present Soviet leaders, Comrade Enver Hoxha has

¹ “Speech Delivered at the Meeting of 81 Communist and Workers’ Parties in Moscow,” p. 275.

² “On the Grave Political and Ideological Mistakes of Liri Belishova,” p. 143.

stressed, “are determined on their road of treachery. And this is logical. They cannot turn on a correct road without punishing themselves to death.”

The Khrushchevite revisionists, N. Khrushchev and his followers, the Brezhnev-Kosygin clique, with their ill-famed theories of the party of the entire people and of the state of the entire people, betrayed, trampled underfoot the valuable teachings of Lenin and Stalin on the party of the working class and the dictatorship of the proletariat. They transformed the Soviet Union from an important hearth of world revolution, into a centre of counter-revolution, into a social-imperialist and social-fascist state. The Soviet revisionist leaders have already returned to their old hegemonistic and expansionist policy of Russian Tsarism and they are always in search of areas to stretch their tentacles. They act as thieves, as plotters. As Comrade Enver Hoxha has stressed: “They kill you by night and mourn by day.” They operate as an “international mafia.” The perfidious attack and the occupation of Czechoslovakia are the most typical expressions of imperialist oppression and aggression. Likewise, due to the Great Russian chauvinism, raised to a ruling ideology, the Soviet Union, from a fraternal family of free people, has been transformed into a prison of the peoples.

The Party of Labour of Albania has always considered the stand towards J.V. Stalin as a great important question of principle. And this to the fact that J.V. Stalin was “a great Marxist-Leninist and outstanding revolutionary who belongs to all the communist world..., to all the working people of the world.” “As a person and as a leader of the Bolshevik Communist Party after Lenin’s death,” Comrade Enver Hoxha stressed at the Moscow Meeting, “Comrade Stalin was, at the same time, the most prominent leader of international communism, helping in a very positive way and with great authority in consolidating and promoting the victories of communism throughout the world.”¹

Our Party led by Comrade Enver Hoxha has always been convinced that by fighting to put in its rightful place of honour the name of J.V. Stalin, it accomplishes its duty before its own people and before international communism. It defends Marxism-Leninism, peace, the struggle for the construction of socialism and com-

¹ “Speech Delivered at the Meeting of 81 Communist and Workers’ Parties in Moscow,” p. 295.

munism, the struggle against imperialism and the forces of reaction, the line of the support and development of the revolution and of the liberation struggles, the Marxist-Leninist unity of the communist movement, etc., to which J.V. Stalin always stood loyal and consistently implemented as a revolutionary.

Fifteen years have elapsed since the Moscow Meeting of the 81 communist and workers' parties and the other events which are reflected in the material of Volume 19 of the Works of Comrade Enver Hoxha. This is a relatively short period of time, but which fully and incontestably proved the Marxist-Leninist correctness and farsightedness of the line and stand of the Party of Labour of Albania in the uncompromised struggle against modern revisionism, a struggle which is an historic necessity; therefore, as Comrade Enver Hoxha stressed at the 6th Congress of the Party "We must continue to strengthen it, we must carry it out through to the end."

Commemorating the 96th Anniversary of J.V. Stalin's birth, the Party of Labour of Albania, the Albanian communists, the entire Albanian people, all the revolutionaries and freedom-loving peoples of the world who have deeply, very deeply, implanted in their minds and hearts the name and the glorious and immortal work of J.V. Stalin, recall him with respect, gratitude and boundless love. Stalin's name and work will always serve as a great example of inspiration and a banner of struggle for all the peoples fighting for freedom and independence, for all the Marxist-Leninists of the world, for the Soviet people and the genuine Bolsheviks to rise in another revolution, to overthrow the revisionist clique which has usurped state power in the battlefield and turn the Soviet Union onto the road of socialism and communism.

THE PLA HAS ALWAYS WAGED AN INCESSANT PRINCIPLED STRUGGLE AGAINST REVISIONISM

The materials included in Volume 19 of the Works of Comrade Enver Hoxha reflect one of the most glorious stages of the historic struggle the PLA has constantly waged against the dangerous counter-revolutionary trend, modern revisionism. The stand and struggle of the PLA and of Comrade Enver Hoxha at the Bucharest and Moscow Meetings, *Zëri i Popullit* writes in its article, will go down in the history of the international communist movement as an example of the Marxist-Leninist spirit of principle, of revolutionary courage and proletarian internationalism.

The materials of Volume 19 of the Works of Comrade Enver Hoxha, the newspaper continues, treat problems of decisive importance to the destinies of the international revolutionary and communist movement, and of socialism.

The 20th Congress of the CPSU had adopted the ideological platform of Khrushchevite revisionism which ran counter to the fundamental teachings of Marxism-Leninism, to the revolutionary line and strategy of the communist movement on some questions of principle, applied until that time. The arbitrary condemnation of J.V. Stalin and the efforts for the rehabilitation of Yugoslav revisionism were two “weapons” by means of which the renegade group of N. Khrushchev began to attack Marxism-Leninism and international communism.

Under the deceitful pretext of the “struggle against Stalin’s personality cult and its consequences,” Lenin’s teachings on class struggle in socialism were proclaimed as “left behind,” mud was thrown on the historic experience of the dictatorship of the proletariat of the Soviet Union and the regressive process of capitalist restoration began to take root.

The Marxist-Leninist teachings on revolution and on the struggle against imperialism were proclaimed outdated and, in the wake of the ideas long preached by the Yugoslav revisionists, the Khrushchevite theses on “the peaceful, parliamentary road of transition to socialism,” on “peace at any cost,” on “peaceful co-existence and peaceful competition” with imperialism as “the general line of the foreign policy of the socialist countries” and as “the general road of the victory of socialism on the worldwide scale,”

on the “Camp David spirit,” etc., etc. were put up.

This anti-Marxist course, on the one hand, was hidden behind great clamour about the “creative development of Marxism,” on the other hand, it was accompanied by a number of chauvinistic pressures and interferences on the part of N. Khrushchev’s group to impose it on the entire world communist movement and, first of all, on the socialist countries. Thus, favourable conditions were created for the outburst of counter-revolutionary turmoils, such as those in Hungary and Poland in 1956.

Our Party, which has always followed a correct Marxist-Leninist line, clashed with the opportunist and chauvinistic course of N. Khrushchev and his group with regard to all these questions.

The Soviet leaders continued to go still farther on their road of treachery. The cup was filled to the brim with the organization by N. Khrushchev of the revisionist plot against the CP of China, the Party of Labour of Albania and the whole international communist movement at the ill-famed Bucharest Meeting. As Comrade Enver Hoxha points out, “a time came when we could wait no longer, we could go no further with these methods,” and “Halt” had to be said loudly to the renegade group of N. Khrushchev before the entire world communist movement. A new and still higher stage of the principled and resolute struggle of the Party of Labour of Albania against Khrushchevite revisionism began at the Bucharest Meeting.

First, the struggle of our Party during the period to which the materials included in Volume 19 of the Works of Comrade Enver Hoxha belong, particularly the historic speech of Comrade Enver Hoxha at the Meeting of the 81 communist and workers’ parties in Moscow, was a telling criticism to the whole ideo-political line of Khrushchevite revisionism on the fundamental questions of the world revolutionary and communist movement. The refuting of the opportunist and chauvinistic concepts and attitudes of Khrushchev and his group and the resolute substantiation and defence of the Marxist-Leninist viewpoints on the present-day epoch, on imperialism, particularly U.S. imperialism and the stand towards it, on peace and peaceful coexistence, on proletarian revolution, on the roads of transition to socialism, on the question of the stand towards Stalin, on revisionism and dogmatism, on the relations among the socialist countries and among the communist and workers’ parties, on the roads of achieving unity, on the stand towards the national liberation, anti-colonialist and

democratic movements, etc., marked a deep line of demarcation between the two opposite lines and strategies in the communist and workers' movement — between the revolutionary Marxist-Leninist line and strategy, on the one hand, and the counter-revolutionary revisionist one, on the other.

In his speech at the Moscow Meeting, Comrade Enver Hoxha substantiated that the ideas and preachings of N. Khrushchev and his group advertised with great zeal as the last word of creative Marxism have nothing in common with Marxist-Leninist theory and practice and that they are a pseudo-Marxist and anti-Marxist trend.

Second, our Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha, through a principled and unbent struggle, exposed and caused the failure of the plans and tactics of the renegade group of N. Khrushchev to attack the opponents of his anti-Marxist course and to subjugate the whole international communist movement.

It was this struggle and the courageous stand of the Party of Labour of Albania which toppled and defeated all the putschist backstage manoeuvres hatched up by Khrushchev and his supporters in Bucharest to take the CP of China by surprise and stab it in the back, to muffle every voice of protest and to transform the Khrushchevite revisionist course into a line of the whole world communist movement. The leadership of the Party of Labour of Albania with Comrade Enver Hoxha at the head exposing the counter-revolutionary acts of the Khrushchevites, stressed that the disagreements between the CPSU and the CP of China should be settled through comradely talks, and only in case the aim was not reached should the question be presented for discussion at a meeting of sister parties; that the Bucharest Meeting, the way Khrushchev led it, was unlawful, premature and contrary to the Leninist organization norm; that the Party of Labour of Albania had the right to have its say at the coming meeting of the communist and workers' parties, organized according to Marxist-Leninist norms.

Our Party exposed likewise the manoeuvres of the revisionist group of N. Khrushchev at the proceedings of the Commission of the 26 parties as well as at the November Meeting of the 81 communist and workers' parties in Moscow. Referring to the draft declaration put forward by the Soviet leadership at the Commission of the 26 parties, Comrade Enver Hoxha wrote: "The first impression of the material: a dirty manoeuvre by the revisionists,

not a polemical one, but some devious and base insinuations, a lot of big gaps, smoothing over some angles dangerous to them, some tactical retreats to throw dust in people's eyes, some approaches to our theses, to the effect: 'Look, we are making concessions to your stubbornness and we are facing a savage enemy, therefore take this declaration, be content with it, worship it if you like'... What is the manoeuvre of the revisionists? In my opinion, they want to draw a veil over all their mistakes, and the veil is this declaration. They think we are desperately concerned about declarations as if we did not have our ideology, Marxism-Leninism." Defining the principled stand of our Party against the Khrushchevite tactics, Comrade Enver Hoxha says further on: "We do not accept peace for peace's sake in the communist movement, we do not permit faults to be covered up. We cannot allow the Moscow Meeting to be a "meeting of revisionists" and of right-wing pacifists, we shall fight to make it a militant, constructive, Marxist meeting. There is no other way. In this manner any illusion of the Khrushchevites will vanish, all their manoeuvres will fail, and things will be carried through to the end."¹ He stressed that the meeting of the Commission of the 26 parties in Moscow "should begin to struggle against mistakes and should not confine itself to debate of the declaration. The declaration should be discussed through the exposure of the mistakes of the group of Khrushchev..."² At the Moscow Meeting, too, just as in that of Bucharest, the anti-Marxist viewpoints and actions of N. Khrushchev were forcefully exposed. With the same Marxist-Leninist consistency and wisdom the Party of Labour of Albania, with Comrade Enver Hoxha at the head, would expose in the coming years also the deceitful viewpoints and tricks of the renegade group of Khrushchev, and later on of Brezhnev on the "ceasing of polemics and unity against the common enemy," on the "correction of the mistakes of Khrushchev," on "anti-imperialism," on the "return of Stalin," on "the struggle against right-wing opportunism," etc. Refuting these demagogical manoeuvres, the Party of Labour of Albania stressed that it cannot be spoken of as having any kind of unity and collaboration with the revisionist renegades, that the uncompromising struggle for the complete destruction of Khrushchevite revisionism is an historic necessity and a supreme duty for all gen-

¹ "Radiogram to Mehmet Shehu in New York," October 1, 1960, p. 204.

² "Radiogram to Comrade Hysni Kapo in Moscow," October 1, 1960, p. 201.

uine revolutionaries.

Third, the materials of Volume 19 of the Works of Comrade Enver Hoxha testify to the fact that, waging from the positions of proletarian internationalism a principled and unflinching struggle against Khrushchevite revisionism in defence of Marxism-Leninism and the general interests of the international communist movement, of revolution and socialism in the world, our Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha simultaneously defended with revolutionary determination, courage and passion the national interests of our people, they defended the independence and dignity of our Party and our socialist homeland.

In this struggle in defence of Marxism-Leninism and, at the same time, of the national interests of Albania and the Albanian people, our Party had to cope with numerous hostile pressures, threats and interferences of the Khrushchevite revisionist clique, from the attempts to split the leadership of the Party through Liri Belishova and Koço Tashko, to raise the army against the leadership of the Party and state, to cause the discontent of our people through starvation down to open threats. All these hated chauvinistic acts to subjugate the Party of Labour of Albania suffered a shameful failure in front of the unflinching stand of our Party with Comrade Enver Hoxha at the head.

When Khrushchev threatened to “excommunicate” Albania from socialism, Comrade Enver Hoxha showed him the right place. “Tell Khrushchev,” Comrade Enver Hoxha stressed to Y. Andropov on November 8, 1960, “that whether Albania is a socialist country or not does not depend on Khrushchev, but has been decided by the Albanian people themselves, through the wars they have fought, the blood they have shed. This has been decided by the Party of Labour of Albania, which has marched and will always march on the Marxist-Leninist road.”¹ On the eve of the Moscow Meeting, Comrade Enver Hoxha once more expressed the unbent determination of the Party of Labour of Albania to march on the Marxist-Leninist road. “Even if we have to go without bread,” he said at the meeting of the Political Bureau of the CC of the Party on October 31, 1960, “we Albanians do not violate principles, we do not betray Marxism-Leninism. Let this

¹ “Whether Albania Is a Socialist Country or Not Does Not Depend on Khrushchev, but Has Been Decided by the Albanian People Through the Wars They Have Fought and the Blood They Have Shed,” p. 226.

be clear to all, friends and enemies.”¹

The newspaper *Zëri i Popullit* writes further on: the 15 years which have elapsed since the time of those historic events, which are reflected in the materials in Volume 19 of the Works of Comrade Enver Hoxha, prove the Marxist-Leninist justice and far-sightedness of the line and stand of the Party of Labour of Albania in the struggle against modern revisionism, a struggle which has been and is considered to be a vital indispensability and first-rate internationalist duty for every genuine Marxist-Leninist and revolutionary.

Despite the grave blows that have been and are being dealt to revisionism as a result of the struggle of the Marxist-Leninist parties and forces, this struggle will not end; on the contrary, it will go on for a long period of time. Revisionism, which turned some former socialist countries into capitalist ones, while in the other capitalist countries fights with all its forces for the preservation of the exploiting order, has the all-round support of the bourgeoisie, remains the main danger in the world revolutionary and workers' movement.

The historic experience of the post-World War II period showed that what international imperialism and the bourgeoisie did not achieve through violence, intervention and armed aggression against the socialist Soviet Union of Lenin and Stalin, they managed to achieve through the “fifth column” — the revisionist peaceful counter-revolution. This is an historic lesson that should never be forgotten. Therefore, as our Party has stressed and is constantly stressing, the struggle against any revisionist influences constitutes one of the most important directions of our class struggle, to constantly carry onward the socialist revolution and construction in our country, to bar the road to the danger of counter-revolution and peaceful degeneration of the dictatorship of the proletariat and setback to capitalism.

As far as the working class in the revisionist countries is concerned, Comrade Enver Hoxha has stressed that its historic duty “is to come down to the battlefield and re-establish the dictatorship of the proletariat.”

Our Party, especially in the present condition of the deep crisis of the world capitalist system, when the wave of discontent and

¹ “Even if We Have to Go Without Bread, We Albanians Do Not Violate Principles, We Do Not Betray Marxism-Leninism,” p. 224.

revolt of the working masses and of the oppressed peoples against bourgeois domination and imperialism is increasing more and more, the struggle for the liquidation of the trend of modern revisionism and for the liberation of the masses from the poisonous influence of the revisionist parties, that have been turned into firemen of the revolution and watchdogs of capitalism, is more than ever an imperative duty for all the Marxist-Leninists. Neither the revolution, nor the overthrow of imperialism, are possible without waging consistently this struggle and without causing the complete defeat of modern revisionism.

As Comrade Enver Hoxha stressed at the 6th Congress of the Party, “for the Marxist-Leninists, for the consistent revolutionaries, revisionism remains a great enemy, no less dangerous than the imperialist bourgeoisie. No illusion should be cherished concerning this question. The struggle against modern revisionism, with the Soviet leaders at the head, should be carried on and strengthened, it should be carried to the end. Nothing, but the revolution that will wipe them off the earth, can repair them.”

RESOLUTE FIGHTER IN DEFENCE OF THE PRINCIPLES AND NORMS REGULATING THE RELATIONS BETWEEN MARXIST-LENINIST PARTIES

Continuing its review of Volume 19 of the Works of Comrade Enver Hoxha, the newspaper Zëri i Popullit published an article on the resolute struggle of the Party of Labour of Albania in defence of the principles and norms regulating the relations between Marxist-Leninist parties. The following are excerpts.

At the meeting of the representatives of 81 communist and workers' parties in Moscow in November 1960, in the greatest confrontation that had taken place until that time between revolutionary Marxism-Leninism and modern revisionism, Comrade Enver Hoxha, through his speech delivered there and included in Volume 19 of his works, expressed with rare courage and a sound revolutionary logic the Marxist-Leninist thought and the profound conviction of the Party of Labour of Albania in the correctness and vitality of the principles and norms regulating the relations between Marxist-Leninist parties.

Comrade Enver Hoxha, defending the principles and norms regulating the relations between Marxist-Leninist parties, figured out the causes of the deviation of the Soviet revisionist party as well as of the other parties of this kind, from these principles and norms. In the foundations of the principles and norms regulating the relations between Marxist-Leninist parties lie their common ideology, their same interests and aims, the unity of interests and of the duties, of every party both on the national plane and international one. The deviation of the modern revisionists from Marxist-Leninist ideology, the elaboration by them of the strategy for the restoration of capitalism, where it has been overthrown, and of its preservation where it is in power, the elaboration by the Soviet revisionists of the strategy for establishing their world domination in partnership and rivalry with U.S. imperialism, are the outcome of the violation of the principles and norms regulating the relations between Marxist-Leninist parties, while this violation itself is at the same time a complete deviation of ideological character and a treachery. "The source of the mistaken acts of the Soviet leadership towards our Party," Comrade Enver Hoxha de-

clared at the 21st Plenum of the CC of the PLA in December 1960, “should be sought in its anti-Marxist viewpoints towards the fundamental questions and in the principled disagreements of our Party with the Soviet leaders on the principled questions of the international communist and workers’ movement.”¹

The violation by the Soviet revisionists and other revisionists of the norms regulating the relations between Marxist-Leninist parties is seen in the violation by them, from the beginning, of the principle of equality, which is one of the main features distinguishing these relations. Marxist-Leninist parties are equal in the relations among themselves. The strict observation of this principle is a condition to ensure their real and unbreakable Marxist-Leninist unity. Being aware of the content and importance of the principle of equality, the Party of Labour of Albania and Comrade Enver Hoxha, at the Moscow Meeting and on other occasions, exposed the view and stands of the Khrushchevite revisionists, who divided the parties into mother and daughter parties, into parties that have the baton and parties that obey blindly to their will, into big parties and small parties, into old parties that as such have privileges and into young parties, into parties that can submit to no principle and norm and into parties that should accept the arbitrariness and chauvinism of the big party, into parties that have the monopoly in the ideological interpretations and into parties that should accept and blindly apply these interpretations, even if they are anti-Marxist. The practice of the Khrushchevite revisionists in summoning and holding the Bucharest Meeting in the summer of 1960 was a reflection of the violation of the principles and norms regulating the relations between Marxist-Leninist parties. Another violation is on the principle of equality. In this case they shamelessly violated the principle of consultation about the organization of the meeting. Thus, they violated the principle of equality, trying to force the PLA and the Communist Party of China into pronouncing themselves, without having the necessary time for preparations, about their slandering anti-Chinese attacks. The Khrushchevite revisionists violated the principle of equality also through their one-sided attacks and slanders against the PLA, before and after the Moscow Meeting: their attempts to split the PLA, to create agencies in its ranks, to ignore the PLA and the People’s Re-

¹ “Report to the 21st Plenum of the CC of the PLA: ‘On the Meeting of the Representatives of the Communist and Workers’ Parties, Held in Moscow in November 1960,’” p. 309.

public of Albania as a socialist country, through political, military and economic pressure against our country. Thus they tried to split our Party from inside and undermine it by activating the anti-Party elements, such as Liri Belishova and Koço Tashko. Facts show that they have not given and do not give up their efforts of this kind. But they have always been mistaken in their calculations. At the same time their efforts to interfere at any cost in the home affairs of our Party and country show that we should always keep a high revolutionary vigilance and always be ready to liquidate all their anti-Marxist and anti-Albanian plans.

The attempt of the Khrushchevite revisionists, through the letter of August 1960, to compel the PLA by means of brutal threats to apply factionist activity, demanding from it a talk with them in order to define jointly their attitude towards the CP of China, behind the back of that Party, reflects their activity in opposition to the principle of equality.

The PLA has never considered equality as one sided, as a demand to be respected only by the others in the relations with it, but also as its duty towards the other parties. The Khrushchevite revisionists brutally violated the principle of equality, openly attacking the PLA and the People's Republic of Albania with slanders and inventions in the ill famed 22nd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. After the 22nd Congress, they resorted to frenzied attacks and the ugliest slanders against them. They intensified their pressure and set up all-round revisionist blockades against our country. Thus, they tried to "resolve" the contradictions with the PLA about ideological problems using the most brutal pressure of state against state, which is another manifestation in opposition to the principles and norms regulating the relations between the communist and workers' parties. At the same time, the Khrushchevite revisionists adopted such a stand towards the other Marxist-Leninist parties, too, first and foremost towards the Communist Party of China. The present Soviet revisionist party has been turned into a fascist-type party, into a counter-revolutionary, anti-Marxist party. Therefore, the PLA is in an irreconcilable struggle with the Soviet revisionist party and with the other revisionist parties. Meanwhile, the Khrushchevite revisionists, camouflaged with Marxist-Leninist phrases, are implementing a chauvinistic policy towards the other revisionist parties and countries themselves.

The Party of Labour of Albania and Comrade Enver Hoxha,

safeguarding the principles and norms regulating the relations among Marxist-Leninist parties, have exposed the modern revisionists, first and foremost the Khrushchevite revisionists who have always acted in opposition to the principle of the independence of parties. The principle of independence is another feature which distinguishes the relations among Marxist-Leninist parties. “All the parties,” Comrade Enver Hoxha has said, “are equal and independent.”

By the principle of independence the Party of Labour of Albania has never meant to ignore the experience of other Marxist-Leninist parties. “The experience of every party,” Comrade Enver Hoxha has said, “is a great treasure for all and it must be exploited by all.” To study the experience of other parties, to draw lessons and conclusions from it, does not mean to apply it mechanically, to copy it and change it blindly into a general line of a certain Party.

The newspaper stresses that the Soviet revisionists, behaving as bosses, try to impose their out and out revisionist line on others. Thus Khrushchev, attacking the Party of Labour of Albania and the People’s Republic of Albania at the 22nd Congress of his revisionist party, presented as one of the “crimes” of our Party the fact that it did not accept the line of the 20th Congress of the Soviet revisionist party. Comrade Enver Hoxha has refuted this viewpoint with a deep Marxist-Leninist substantiation. The attempts of the Khrushchevite revisionists to impose the revisionist line of the 20th Congress on the PLA, to change this line into a general line of the international communist movement as they have always tried to do, a brutal violation of the principle of the independence of the parties, a flagrant violation of the principles and norms regulating the relations among the Marxist-Leninist parties.

The Party of Labour of Albania and Comrade Enver Hoxha, in the process of defending the principles and norms regulating the relations among the Marxist-Leninist parties, have fought for the implementation on a Marxist-Leninist road of the principle of criticism in the relations among parties. The principle of criticism is one of the most important principles in the relations among these parties. “Criticism and self-criticism is a law of development not only for every particular party,” Comrade Enver Hoxha said in his report at the 21st Plenum of the CC of the PLA, which is included in Volume 19 of his Works, “but for the whole interna-

tional communist movement.”

The parties cannot adopt indifferent attitudes because they have a common ideology, whereas their cause is of an international character. An example of a principled stand on this question, along with numerous examples which find their reflection in Volume 19 of the Works of Comrade Enver Hoxha, is his historic speech at the Moscow Meeting where he made an open, frank, severe criticism to the Soviet leadership which had gone too far on the road of distortions of Marxism-Leninism. The Party of Labour of Albania has never seen the right to criticism as one-sided. “Recognizing these rights to our Party,” Comrade Enver Hoxha has stressed, “we simultaneously recognize this right to every sister party and every communist so that they, too, act in the same way towards us when they judge our Party is wrong.”

The Party of Labour of Albania, defending the idea of the development of criticism in the international communist movement, has fought so that this criticism be a true principled communist criticism developed in the proper forms, at the proper time and place, just as the respective rules are. With regard to this, it has carried out criticism in conformity with the known rules, in its correspondence with other parties, at the bilateral meetings of the representatives of the parties as well as at the meetings of international communism. Simultaneously the Party of Labour of Albania has exposed the attitudes of the Khrushchevite revisionists, who, brutally violating the principles and norms regulating the relations among the Marxist-Leninist parties, badly distorted the principles of criticism in the international communist movement. The replacement of comradely principled criticism with base slanders and inventions, alien to our ideology and morals, is a reflection of the distortions of the Khrushchevite revisionists in this direction.

In the process of the struggle against the efforts of the modern revisionists, first and foremost of the Khrushchevite revisionists, to bury the principles and norms regulating the relations among the Marxist-Leninist parties, the Party of Labour of Albania and Comrade Enver Hoxha have consistently defended the principle of resolute and principled polemics and struggle against the renegades to Marxism-Leninism. A clear example of such a polemic, in conformity with the respective principles and norms, is the very speech of Comrade Enver Hoxha at the meeting of the representatives of 81 parties, and other materials included in Volume 19 of

his works.

The Khrushchevite revisionists have adopted an out and out anti-Marxist stand on this question. They have treated the problem of polemics from entirely pragmatic positions. Thus they began the open polemic at a time when they believed such an action would be to their interest, and very soon when they saw that the open polemic brought about quite the opposite consequences from what they expected, they began to speak of ceasing the polemics, once more pointing out that this was a principled stand. Thus, they turn which ever way the wind blows.

The Party of Labour of Albania has always developed, and will develop in the future, too, its militant polemic from the positions of Marxism-Leninism, till the complete liquidation of modern revisionism, *Zëri i Popullit* writes in conclusion.

THE HEROIC STAND OF THE PARTY AND COMRADE ENVER HOXHA IN STRUGGLE AGAINST REVISIONISM IS A SOURCE OF INSPIRATION AND STRENGTH FOR THE YOUNGER GENERATION

Every young man and young woman reading the materials of Volume 19 and especially the historic speech of Comrade Enver Hoxha at the Meeting of 81 communist and workers' parties in Moscow, in November 1960, is inspired and learns from the principled stand and the high Marxist-Leninist spirit of principle of the Party; from the communist courage and bravery with which the Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha denounced the treachery of the Khrushchevite revisionists and revealed in front of the international communist and workers' movement their anti-Marxist, treacherous course towards the cause of socialism and the revolution; from the profound internationalist spirit and stand of the Party of Labour of Albania; from the Marxist-Leninist justice and farsightedness of the line of the Party, writes the newspaper *Zëri i Rinse*, organ of the CC of the Labour Youth Union of Albania, in an article devoted to *Volume 19 of the Works of Comrade Enver Hoxha*.

The younger generation, the newspaper continues, is proud of the heroic stand of the Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha — that not only did not kneel before Yugoslav revisionism, the pressures, blackmail, intrigues and plots of the Khrushchev revisionist clique and all revisionism — but fought and won against them. “We have fought with empty stomachs and barefooted, but have never kowtowed to anybody.” This was the reply that Comrade Enver Hoxha gave to Nikita Khrushchev and company, in the name of the Party and people, 15 years ago at the meeting with the Soviet leaders in Moscow.

The words of Comrade Enver Hoxha at the meeting of the Plenum of the CC of the Party on the eve of the Moscow Meeting that “we will fight through to the end consistently defending Marxism-Leninism, the homeland and socialism,”¹ sound as a solemn, ever powerful oath.

¹ “Even if We Have to Go Without Bread, We Albanians Do Not Violate Principles, We Do Not Betray Marxism-Leninism,” p. 223.

This stand has been and remains always a source of inspiration and force for the younger generation so that they march always forward determinedly and selflessly on the road indicated by the Party.

The 15 year-long period from the Bucharest and Moscow Meetings, the newspaper writes, has fully proven the Marxist-Leninist justice, farsightedness of the conclusions of the Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha. The dictatorship of the proletariat, the victories of socialism were nullified, liquidated and a privileged and bourgeois caste of bureaucrats and technocrats which established its bourgeois dictatorship came to power in the Soviet Union.

Following the treacherous course of the Khrushchevite revisionists, the same process of degeneration and restoration of capitalism also took place in the former socialist countries, which lost their freedom and independence and have been turned into provinces of the social-imperialist state.

Direct consequence of this treacherous revisionist course is the degeneration of the younger generation and the youth organizations in the Soviet Union and the former countries of people's democracy.

The strategic aim of the revisionists has been and remains to change the youth from a revolutionary force into a reserve of the counter-revolution, which will perpetuate revisionism.

In regard to this, the Khrushchevite revisionists incite and encourage political indifference in the younger generation.

Widely using the mass media, special institutions and the Komsomol organization, they implant in the youth and educate them with the petty-bourgeois and bourgeois psychology and mentality, craving after profit, the spirit of profit and business, the feeling of personal comfort, egoism and individualism.

The Soviet school has been transformed into a special institution to educate the youth with the revisionist ideology and morals, to educate them with the feelings of bourgeois intellectualism, servilism and careerism.

In the Soviet Union and the other revisionist countries, after the doors were thrown wide open to the bourgeois decadent arts, literature and culture, the bourgeois way of living and tastes, the corruption and moral degeneration, alcoholism, drugs, vagabondage and criminality have become the main features of the Soviet society and youth. The heroes of the Komsomol of Lenin and Sta-

lin, Pavel Korchagin, Oleg Koshevoy, Zoya Kosmodemyanskaya and Alexander Matrasov who educated the Soviet youth with high revolutionary ideals are considered out of date and primitive today. The preferred heroes of the Soviet youth to whom are devoted poems, novels and plays, songs, films and TV programs, are the people spiritually ill, with small interests and a poor spiritual world. The Khrushchevite revisionists have destroyed the spirit of proletarian internationalism which the Soviet youth were educated with by the Party of Lenin and Stalin. They incite and educate them with the spirit of the chauvinism of the big nation.

The newspaper continues: from the heights of the 15 years, we see today the grandeur of the deed of the Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha; how high they rose the authority of socialist Albania in the eyes of the peoples of the world; how high the name of the Party and of Comrade Enver Hoxha were raised in the international communist movement.

During this historic period when our Party was engaged in a tit-for-tat struggle against the Soviet revisionists, when the revisionist blockade was forcefully imposed on our country, the younger generation, with firm confidence in the correctness of the Marxist-Leninist line of the Party, further strengthened their ranks around the Party, the Central Committee and the beloved leader and teacher, Comrade Enver Hoxha. Thus, in steel-like unity around the Party the younger generation of our country has advanced and will always advance. The dreams of the Khrushchevite revisionists, the attempts of the enemies of our Party and people to divert the youth and its militant organization, the Labour Youth Union of Albania, from the Party, both then and later on have failed and will as always fail with shame.

Inspired and led by the Party, characterized by feelings of hatred towards the revisionist treachery, the younger generation and their militant organization of the Labour Youth Union of Albania have engaged themselves with a political strength and maturity in defence of Marxism-Leninism and of the cause of the revolution in the struggle against Khrushchevite revisionism, its opportunist, capitulating and liquidating line in the international youth and student movement. The Labour Youth Union of Albania forcefully condemned the revisionist course of the Komsomol for its treacherous line. It opposed and condemned the pressures and blackmail exerted by the Komsomol on the Labour Youth Union of Albania and on the progressive youth organizations defending

the interests and the revolutionary ideals of the younger generation in the world.

In the course of the stern struggle against Khrushchevite revisionism, our Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha summed up and elaborated a rich historic experience which served and serves the uninterrupted development of socialist revolution, barring the road to all the possibilities for the birth of revisionism and the restoration of capitalism in our country, and the education and tempering of a generation which will always hold aloft and will carry onward the torch of the revolution.

The great revolutionary slogan of the Party: *To think, work, fight and live like revolutionaries* became the fundamental content of the program of work and struggle for the communist education of youth during these past 15 years of clash with the Khrushchevite revisionists.

Youth came out in the van of the ideological movements which were initiated and led by the Party for the all-round revolutionization of our country's life. A deep and all-round revolutionizing process took place in our school under the leadership and according to the teachings of the Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha during this period of time.

The enthusiasm, vigour and mobilization of the youth to cope with the consequences of the savage blockade of the Khrushchevite revisionists powerfully burst out on all the fronts of socialist construction and of the defence of the homeland. The traditions of the actions burst out with a new force. Hundreds of thousands of young men and young women took and are taking part in national and local actions for the construction of railways, terraces and the planting of olive and citrus trees in the coastal hills. They climbed to the mountains to make them fertile like plains. They went to the big projects of the five-year plans.

The undertakings of the youth, inspired by the teachings and instructions of Comrade Enver Hoxha to go to the countryside, to work and live there forever or for 1 to 3 years, to work in the big projects of the five-year plans, are transformed into a powerful movement with great educational value for the younger generation themselves.

Thus, *Zëri i Rinise* writes in conclusion, with the book, with the pick and the finger on the trigger, the younger generation will always advance on the road illuminated by the Party and its beloved leader and teacher, Comrade Enver Hoxha, towards socialism and

communism.

(Reprinted from ATA, January 7, 1976)

FROM THE INTRODUCTION TO VOLUME 19 OF THE WORKS OF COMRADE ENVER HOXHA

The following are excerpts from the introduction to Volume 19 of the Works of Comrade Enver Hoxha.

In the series of Comrade Enver Hoxha's Works, the documents of this Volume occupy a special place. These documents, the majority of which are published for the first time, belong to the period from June to December 1960. This was an extremely complicated time, when profound ideological and political disagreements arose in the international communist movement and in relations between some parties. In this period, our Party was obliged to take decisions of a special responsibility and to come out openly before the entire international communist movement to defend Marxism-Leninism from the new and dangerous revisionist trend which was crystallizing in its folds, Khrushchevite revisionism.

The main place in this Volume is occupied by documents in which the strategic line and tactics of the Party of Labour of Albania against the spread of modern revisionism, and especially against the splitting anti-Marxist activity of the Soviet leadership headed by Khrushchev, are worked out. Until that time the Party of Labour of Albania had informed the Soviet leadership of its own opposition and reservations in regard to a series of its incorrect theses and actions. But the facts proved that the Khrushchev group continued to insistently advance on the distorted and extremely dangerous road for the international communist and workers' movement, something which became crystal clear at the backstage frame-up this group organized at the Bucharest Meeting. In these circumstances, it became vital that the anti-Marxist line and stand of the Soviet leadership come under the fire of an open and courageous criticism before all the communist and workers' parties.

This Volume presents a clear tableau of the consistent struggle the Party of Labour of Albania waged at the Bucharest Meeting and at the Moscow Meeting. In Bucharest, the Party of Labour of Albania did not accept that the so-called mistakes of the Communist Party of China should be judged, nor that it be condemned on the basis of the material full of slanderous accusations which the Soviet leadership had fabricated, without giving the Com-

munist Party of China the time or the opportunity to read this material and present its own views. At the Moscow Meeting, our Party, with revolutionary courage, had its say and, before international communism, openly criticized the distorted line of the Soviet leadership on a series of major questions of principle. The Party of Labour of Albania never made any concessions on principles and it did not agree to follow the revisionist course of the Khrushchev group. Actual proof of this is a series of documents which are published in this Volume, including reports, speeches, discussions and talks.

Also published are a series of radiograms and letters, sent from Tirana to Bucharest and Moscow, to Peking and New York, containing the directives of the Party of Labour of Albania, its revolutionary line. The signature, "Shpati,"¹ with which some of these radiograms are signed, recalls the stormy years of the National Liberation War.

The ideological struggle between the Party of Labour of Albania and the Soviet leadership became ever more abrasive following the Bucharest Meeting, when the Khrushchev group launched a fierce attack against the Party of Labour of Albania, to force it to its knees and make it follow the revisionist line. At the beginning, the Khrushchevite group used two main methods: threats and demagogy. However, not stopping at that, they also acted through the Soviet embassy in Tirana, which carried out hostile and diversionist activity against the Party of Labour of Albania and its leadership. The Soviet Khrushchevite leadership tried to take the fortress from within. For this aim it prepared and placed Liri Belishova² and Koço Tashko³ at its service. The views and stands of these two enemies were in open opposition to the correct line which our Party followed towards the Soviet leadership headed by Khrushchev. Therefore, their efforts to revise the line of our Party failed. The material in this Volume not only reveals the activity of the external enemies, but also that of the internal enemies and the class struggle which the Party of Labour of Alba-

¹ One of the pseudonyms Comrade Enver Hoxha used during the National Liberation War.

² Former member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania, agent of the Soviet revisionists, expelled from the Party.

³ Former Chairman of the Auditing Commission of the Party of Labour of Albania, agent of Soviet revisionism, expelled from the Party.

nia has waged against them to defend its steel-like unity, its crystal-clear line and the purity of Marxism-Leninism.

The works contained in this Volume reflect the struggle of the Party of Labour for its ideological tempering and organizational strengthening. This Volume contains reports, speeches and discussions by Comrade Enver Hoxha at the four Plenums of the Central Committee which were held during the second half of 1960, and also letters directed to the basic organizations of the Party. There are also a number of discussions in the Political Bureau and in the Secretariat of the Central Committee. In this material problems are treated dealing with the strengthening of the leading role of the Party, with the further strengthening of the unity of the people around the Party, with revolutionary education, political-ideological vigilance, combat readiness to defend the homeland, etc. Time demanded the further enlivenment of the work of the Party, its uninterrupted revolutionization.

In the writings of this Volume, the lofty spirit of patriotism of our people to successfully complete the second five-year plan, to resist the economic pressure of the Khrushchev group, which had begun to be manifested and which in the future was to become even greater, stands out clearly. Under the leadership of the Party, important successes were achieved in the economic, cultural and social sectors.

The lessons which emerge from the documents of this Volume are great. The works of Volume 19 constitute a rich wealth in revolutionary theory and practice of our Party, in the great treasury of Marxism-Leninism.

RADIOGRAM TO COMRADE HYSNI KAPO IN BUCHAREST¹

June 21, 1960

1960 was the year when, as a consequence of the betrayal by the leading Soviet revisionist group headed by Khrushchev, a regressive revisionist trend was rapidly spreading. The international communist and workers' movement was faced with a savage counter-revolutionary offensive.

In June 1960 at the Meeting of the communist and workers' parties convened in Bucharest, Khrushchev came out in an open attack against the Communist Party of China and all those who defended Marxism-Leninism and who hindered the realization of the diabolical plans of revisionism. Comrade Hysni Kapo, the leader of the delegation to the Bucharest Meeting, sent radiograms to the leadership of the Party of Labour of Albania signalled that the Khrushchev group was manoeuvring to condemn China immediately and by surprising the communist and workers' parties with dozens of pages of condemnation. In their invitations, the Soviets stated that the Bucharest Meeting was only to schedule the date and time of the later Moscow Meeting. The following is the radiogram Comrade Enver Hoxha sent to Comrade Hysni Kapo on June 21, 1960:

From your radiograms we see that things are taking a wrong course; therefore the situation is very delicate.

Be very careful. Let them know that you will take part only in

¹ On June 2, 1960, in a letter to the CC of the PLA, the CC of the CPSU proposed a meeting of representatives of the communist and workers' parties of the socialist camp to be held at the end of June for the purpose of "exchanging opinions on the problems of the present international situation and laying down our common line for the future." On June 7, in another letter, the CC of the CPSU proposed to the CC of the PLA that the meeting should be postponed and its date fixed at a preliminary meeting of representatives of the sister parties of the socialist camp to be held in Bucharest on the occasion of the 3rd Congress of the Romanian Workers' Party. Agreeing to this, the CC of the PLA authorized Comrade Hysni Kapo, Member of the Political Bureau and Secretary of the CC of the PLA, who would head the delegation of the PLA to the 3rd Congress of the Romanian Workers' Party, to exchange opinions and, together with the representatives of the other sister parties, fix the date of the meeting.

In fact, in Bucharest, the delegation of the PLA found itself faced with an international meeting organized by the Soviet leaders to attack the People's Republic of China.

the meeting we have decided jointly, in which only the parties of the socialist camp will be present, to decide the date and place of the coming broader Meeting of the communist and workers' parties. Keep us up to date. Inform us exactly when the meeting will be held.

Affectionately yours,
Enver

WE MUST, AS ALWAYS, FOLLOW A CORRECT LINE

(From the discussions of Comrade Enver Hoxha at the meeting of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania)

June 22, 1960

During the year 1960, at this critical time for the cause of communism, the Party of Labour of Albania chose the only correct road, that of frontal struggle with Khrushchevite revisionism. We present the discussion of Comrade Enver Hoxha at the meeting of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the PLA on June 22, 1960, entitled "We Must, as Always, Follow a Correct Line."

The problem we will discuss today has to do with the Bucharest Meeting. As we had already decided, we sent a Party delegation to Romania headed by Comrade Hysni Kapo¹ to attend the proceedings of the Third Congress of the Romanian Workers' Party as well as the meeting of the representatives of the communist and workers' parties of the socialist camp, to define, according to the agreement concluded, the place and the date for a meeting of all the parties, in which disagreements between the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Communist Party of China will be discussed, among other things.

No doubt these disagreements should be solved as soon as possible in a Marxist-Leninist way, first of all between the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Communist Party of China, and in case they cannot be solved between them, then the theses should be put forward for discussion by the parties, so that the representatives of the communist and workers' parties can have their say and the disagreements can be solved on a correct road. But the Soviet leaders in Bucharest are making efforts for these disagreements to be spoken about now. In the radiogram which Comrade Hysni sent us, it is said that the meeting of the representatives of the communist and workers' parties has been postponed. They propose that a meeting be held with representatives of all the parties there, in which the disagreements between

¹ Member of the Political Bureau and Secretary of the CC of the PLA.

the Soviet Union and China will be discussed, naturally, in the direction the Soviet Union wants. According to Khrushchev, decisions may be taken at this meeting and all the parties can express their views, solidarize with the Soviet Union and with the declaration of the Moscow Meeting of 1957,¹ which Khrushchev says “the Chinese comrades are not adhering to.” All this is being done by talking to and working on the delegations one by one with the aim of asking the delegation of the Communist Party of China later on whether it is going to remain in the socialist camp or not. They say that this meeting is not to isolate China, but is being held so that “we can become informed and maintain a common stand.”

I think the decision we have taken² is correct. We must not only listen to what the Soviets say, but what the Chinese say as well, then we will discuss the matter and have our say. Therefore, the question arises: what stand will our delegation maintain at this meeting cooked up by the Soviets headed by Khrushchev?

Many provocations are being made against us there, against which Hysni has stood firm, but he needs help and guidance because he is faced with a series of difficulties, pressure and provocations of the most varying kinds.

We as always must adhere to a correct line because we are charged with a great responsibility before our people. We are a Marxist-Leninist Party and it is our duty to maintain a Marxist-Leninist stand in every event. Life has shown that we have never once wavered, therefore now, too, there is no cannon which can shift us from the correct line which our Party pursues. Life has

¹ At this meeting of communist and workers' parties, held in 1957 in Moscow, the Khrushchev group tried to legalize the revisionist course of the 20th Congress of the CPSU as the general line of the international communist movement, but encountered the opposition of the delegations of the CP of China, the PLA (headed by Comrade Enver Hoxha) and others, who defended the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism and exposed the revisionist viewpoints of the Soviet leadership.

Confronted with the iron logic of scientific arguments, the revisionists were forced to retreat. In the declaration of the Conference, however, along with its generally revolutionary content, there remained the incorrect formulation about the 20th Congress of the CPSU as a congress that had allegedly opened a new stage in the international communist movement.

On other questions included in the declaration, too, the PLA had its reservations which were expressed in the press and through the propaganda of the Party.

² Concerning participation in the Meeting of the parties of the socialist camp in Bucharest to fix the place and date for a future broader meeting of the communist and workers' parties.

shown that we have never been mistaken in our opinions and stands towards the Yugoslav revisionists. They have always been correct. If Khrushchev and company have maintained another stand and have not fought against the Yugoslav revisionists, then that is their affair, this is the way they judge things, but we too have the right to tell them our opinion. We supported the declaration of the Moscow Meeting in 1957, not only on the Yugoslav question, but also on other questions, such as the unity of the socialist camp, peaceful coexistence, etc., but on the other hand, we have had our reservations on many other questions included in the declaration about which we have notified the Soviets, or have taken a stand in the press and propaganda of the Party. We are for peaceful coexistence, but the peaceful coexistence Lenin conceived, and not its extension over the ideological field, because that is extremely dangerous. As far as disarmament is concerned, life has proved that imperialism does not disarm itself, but on the contrary it arms itself more and more. Then how can we disarm ourselves? On the contrary, we must be vigilant. And we are vigilant, and we have done well to be so. On the basis of the line followed by our Party the people and all the communists are ready to rise up against every danger of aggression. We can tell the Soviets that there are some things which are not in order, for instance we can say that we do not agree that you do not expose the Yugoslav revisionists thoroughly. Also, if we have anything for the others, too, we will say so openly and in a comradely spirit, on a Marxist road. Therefore, we must prepare ourselves for these things and go to the meeting of the representatives of the communist and workers' parties to have our say. In regard to those things, a clear unwavering Marxist-Leninist stand must be maintained by all and nobody can be allowed to make provocations.

As soon as Comrade Gogo Nushi¹ arrived in Moscow, he was summoned by Brezhnev.² After he asked him how he was and how he was getting on, Brezhnev informed him of their theses for the Chinese. The same happened when Mehmet Shehu³ went to Mos-

¹ At that time Member of the Political Bureau of the CC of the PLA and President of the Trade Unions of Albania. He stopped at Moscow on his way home from Peking, where he had gone to participate in the meeting of the Council of the World Federation of Trade Unions.

² At that time a member of the Presidium of the CC of the CPSU and President of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR.

³ At that time Member of the Political Bureau of the CC of the PLA and Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the PRA, later exposed as a multiple-agent in

cow. Kosygin¹ went to see him and spoke to him for an hour and a half on these questions. Mehmet Shehu answered him saying that “if this is the way things are, why have they been allowed to get worse since it has been possible to solve them on the Marxist-Leninist road, first of all between two parties and, later on, if it was necessary, they could have been put forward before the other parties.” Mehmet told him that “our Party will maintain a just, principled Marxist-Leninist stand and it will not fall to sentimental and opportunist positions.”

In the letter which Comrade Hysni sent, it is said that Todor Zhivkov² has made a provocation against him. He said, “What is Albania doing? Only Albania does not agree.” Comrade Hysni answered, “What do you mean by that?” Then Zhivkov said, “I was only joking.” Hysni pointed out to him that “you must have had something in mind when you said that only Albania does not agree.” Once again, he replied “I was only joking.” In an illustrated pamphlet the Bulgarians have published a map of the Balkans, in which Albania is presented as part of Yugoslavia. In regard to this I instructed Behar³ to summon the Bulgarian ambassador and to ask him what they are doing and to demand that this pamphlet be banned immediately.

I want to point out that our strength lies in the unity of thought and action of our leadership and of all the Party, which is of special importance. Our unity is based on the teachings of Marxism-Leninism, so we must temper it more and more. We have marched and are marching on this road, struggling for the precise and thorough implementation of the decisions we take jointly, here at the Political Bureau, and when it is necessary, we again consult each other. But in cases when one of us is alone and in difficulties, and does not have the possibility to consult with anybody, then he should act as in time of war, when, as we did even without comrades, we had to decide for ourselves whether or not to throw all forces into attack or to defend and implement the line of the Party.

the service of the Yugoslav UDB, Soviet KGB, British SIS and American CIA. See Enver Hoxha, “The Titoites” (Historical Notes), the “8 Nëntori” Publishing House, Tirana 1982, Eng. ed., pp. 567-633.

¹ At that time Vice-President of the Council of Ministers of the Soviet Union.

² First Secretary of the CC of the Bulgarian Communist Party, notorious a lackey of the Moscow revisionists.

³ Behar Shtylla, then Minister of Foreign Affairs of the People’s Republic of Albania.

LETTER TO COMRADE HYSNI KAPO IN BUCHAREST

June 22, 1960

The Bucharest Meeting was for the world's communists and revolutionaries a test of great responsibility towards the cause of Marxism-Leninism and the communist and workers' movement. The principled stand of the Party of Labour of Albania clearly emerges from the instructions and directives Comrade Enver Hoxha sent to the head of the delegation of the Party of Labour of Albania, Comrade Hysni Kapo, at the Bucharest Meeting.

The following is the letter of Comrade Enver Hoxha sent to Comrade Hysni Kapo in Bucharest on June 22, 1960.

We received your telegrams and letter and studied them in the Political Bureau. We are unanimously of the opinion that the situation is very grave and is not developing in a proper Party way. The development of events, the fanning and extension of the conflict between the Soviet Union and China, as is going on, our Political Bureau considers very wrong, very harmful and very dangerous. Therefore it can by no means reconcile itself to the methods and forms which are being used to resolve this conflict which is costing our socialist camp and international communism dear. Our Political Bureau stands firm, as always, on the Marxist-Leninist line that the disagreements between the Soviet Union and China should never have been left to get worse, that the conflict must not be allowed to deepen, but must be resolved in a Marxist-Leninist way and with Marxist-Leninist methods.

The Political Bureau thinks that the disagreements which exist between the Soviet Union and China have been made known to the communist and workers' parties not according to the Leninist rules, but in a fortuitous way, through open and indirect polemics in the press and by word of mouth. This is not the right method of solving such a conflict if it is desired, as Marxism-Leninism requires, that the other parties, too, should intervene and assist with their experience and weight. This assistance has not been sought until recently, however. According to the telegrams you sent us, even now the Soviet side is aiming to avoid this correct manner of solution. Thus, we come to the conclusion that all efforts to clear up these questions between the two biggest parties of the socialist

camp in a proper and objective manner, in the Marxist-Leninist way, have not been made. And it seems to us that the settlement of the matter by a meeting in which the other communist and workers' parties of our camp should participate is not being taken as seriously as it should be, since the two parties that have disagreements have not presented their theses and views on these disagreements *officially* to the other sister parties.

The Political Bureau considers that our Party has just as great a responsibility as all the other parties, both for the strengthening of the unity of the socialist camp in the Marxist-Leninist way, and for the preservation of the purity of the Party and Marxism-Leninism. The Soviet Union is dear to our Party, but China, too, is dear to us. Therefore, we must make no mistakes; we must not get the Party into an impasse and into ideological and political confusion. We have not done this and we shall never do it. When it is a question of defending our principles, we take no account of whether this one or that one may like it. Our Party has always been guided by the correct Marxist-Leninist stand and it will always be characterized by principled Marxist-Leninist courage.

Now what stand should be maintained towards the events taking place there? You are clear about the line of the Party and there is no need to dwell on it. But since passions have burst out, not in proper party forms, you must be very careful. Your response must be cautious and carefully weighed up. Always think of the interests of the Party and Marxism-Leninism. But this does not mean that you should not give the due reply there and then to whomever it may be. For example, is it not ridiculous and impermissible that a certain Moghioros¹ should come to convince us, Albanians, of the correctness of the line of the Soviet Union and the "faults" of China? Let Moghioros go elsewhere to peddle his wares and not to us. We do not need Moghioros to come and "enlighten" us about those principles and truths for which our Party has fought and is always ready to fight. Or, for example, make sure that Andropov² thoroughly understands that we do not accept that the Soviet representatives should approach our comrades, members of the delegation to the Congress of the Workers' Party of Romania,

¹ Alexandru Moghioros, then a member of the Political Bureau of the CC of the Romanian Workers' Party.

² Yuri Andropov, Member of the Soviet delegation at the Bucharest meeting, at that time chief of the Foreign Department for the East European countries at the CC of the CPSU.

and say to them in tones of amazement: “Why has your leadership not informed you of these things?” Remind Andropov that Mikoyan¹ wanted to talk about these questions² only to Comrade Enver and it was he (Enver) who on his own initiative, took along Mehmet Shehu. Mikoyan begged Comrade Enver to keep all he told him absolutely secret and when this is the case our leadership keeps its word, for it is not in the habit of gossiping about such things. But tell Andropov that we see two dangerous tendencies in the Soviet comrades who talked with the comrades of our delegation: first, they underrate the danger of revisionism, a thing with which we can never agree, and, second, the tendency to present the leadership of our Party as guilty in the eyes of our comrades, for allegedly not informing them. Tell Andropov that they must stop these anti-Marxist tactics immediately, and that they should know that the unity of our leadership is like steel, just as the unity of our leadership with the entire Party of Labour is also like steel, and whoever tries, in one way or another, to make such attempts, may be sure that he will receive blows from us. Tell Andropov also that it is neither proper nor necessary for the Soviet comrades to inform our comrades, because our leadership, which knows how to defend Marxism-Leninism, also knows when and about what it should inform its members.

Say these things to Andropov without heat, but you well understand why they must be said. They are acting in an irregular way and not in a party way, and it is the occasion to bar the way to these actions. Also say to Andropov, “I am very sorry that you brought Moghioros with you, not as the host, but to convince me of the correctness of the line of the Soviet Union and the wrong way of China. Only good manners, since I was his guest, prevented me from being as blunt with him as he deserved.”

Or, when the opportunity presents itself, as when Andropov said to you that “thinking that you are firmly against the Yugoslavs, the Communist Party of China wants to win you over, but it was wrong...”, etc., say that “the times are gone when our Party of

¹ Member of the Presidium of the CC of the CPSU, First Vice-President of the Council of Ministers of the USSR.

² At the beginning of February 1960, Comrade Enver Hoxha, who was in Moscow at the head of the delegation of the PLA to take part in the Meeting of the representatives of the communist and workers' parties of the socialist countries of Europe on the questions of the development of agriculture, met A. Mikoyan at the latter's request. Mikoyan spoke at this meeting for nearly five hours about the ideological and political disagreements between the CPSU and the CP of China.

Labour and its leadership could be misled by anyone and become a partisan of wrong lines. Our Party has been tempered in struggle and does not step on rotten planks. It has stood and will always stand on the road of Marxist-Leninist principles.”

Before we come to the essence of the problem there are also some other questions you should bear in mind because they might help you. There are some crooked developments taking place, as you wrote in your letters to us. Provocations and behind-the-scenes manoeuvres are being hatched. Therefore, stand firm and show them that there is unity, determination and courage in our leadership.

On the basis of the decisions of the Political Bureau you will act as follows:

Call Andropov and tell him, on behalf of the leadership of the Party, always on behalf of the Party, on behalf of the leadership: “I communicated to my leadership what you told me. Our leadership has had knowledge in a general way about these disagreements and has considered them very grave, very harmful to our common cause, and again expresses its opinion that they must be resolved, and resolved in a correct way, according to the Marxist-Leninist organizational rules. Our leadership has expressed the opinion that these ideological and political disagreements between the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Communist Party of China should be solved in a Marxist-Leninist way through joint discussions between the two parties. If they cannot be solved in this way, then the representatives of the communist and workers’ parties of the camp of socialism should be called on to discuss the issues and express their views. The stands maintained at this meeting could be put before a broader meeting of the communist and workers’ parties like that of Moscow in 1957. Now it has been decided to hold this meeting. The leadership of our Party considers this a correct decision. It is in agreement, is preparing to express its opinion on the issues, and is awaiting the fixing of the date.”

Tell them that: “I, (Hysni), am authorized to discuss the setting of the date. Our leadership has appointed and communicated also that our delegation to the coming meeting will be headed by Comrade Enver Hoxha.

“The meeting which it is proposed to hold now in Bucharest with all the representatives of the sister communist and workers’ parties, who have come to the Congress of the Workers’ Party of

Romania, over the disagreements between the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Communist Party of China, is considered by our leadership as premature and very harmful. Our Party also considers very harmful a camouflaged or open campaign in the press about these very delicate questions. Let the coming meeting judge who is right or who is wrong. Our Party will exert all its strength and that modest experience it has to resolve these grave disagreements in the principled Marxist-Leninist way. Our Party assumes all its responsibilities. It will fight honestly and courageously as always to defend its correct Marxist-Leninist line, to defend Marxism-Leninism, to defend the camp of socialism and its unity. The Soviet Union and the Bolshevik Party have been, are, and will remain very dear to our Party. But it is undeniable and indisputable that, both to you, and also to us and our whole camp, great China is very dear too. Therefore, our leadership thinks and reaffirms that the mistakes, wherever they may be, should be considered in a realistic way at a meeting, and that every effort, everything possible, must be done through Marxist-Leninist ways and methods to correct them for the good of socialism and communism. This was the official opinion of our leadership when they set me to Bucharest and it remains so now after I have informed them of what you communicated to me.”

Also tell Andropov: “I (Hysni) am authorized only to represent the Party of Labour of Albania at the Congress of the Workers’ Party of Romania and talk with the representatives of the other parties of the socialist camp about the fixing of the date for the forthcoming meeting. In case the meeting proposed by you and the Workers’ Party of Romania is to be held immediately in Bucharest, as I pointed out previously, our leadership considers it premature, nevertheless I am authorized to take part in it.

“I have been officially authorized to communicate these things to you so that you will transmit them to your leadership. Everything it has to say, our Party says openly without hesitation, in a Leninist way.” Second, at this meeting which might take place, you keep cool. Measure your words well. Make no pronouncement on the disagreements existing between the Soviet Union and China. The declaration should be short and precise.

In essence you will declare on behalf of our Party:

— our Party of Labour has approved and has carried out the decisions of the 1957 Moscow Meeting.

— stress the correct, consistent and principled policy of our

Party, its boundless loyalty to Marxism-Leninism, the great love of our Party and people for the parties and the peoples of the countries of the socialist camp, for all the other sister communist and workers' parties of the world and for the unity of our camp which must not be endangered in any way, but should be strengthened and tempered on the Marxist-Leninist road.

— express the regret of our Party over these disagreements which have arisen between the Communist Party of China and express the conviction that these disagreements should be solved in the Marxist-Leninist way at the upcoming meeting of the communist and workers' parties which will be held later.

— express the determination of our Party that it will fight shoulder to shoulder with the socialist countries, always being vigilant, and mercilessly exposing imperialism and its agents, the revisionists, to the end.

This should be the essence of your statement. We hope that everything will go well. We are on the right road, therefore follow the situations with the coolness and revolutionary courage which characterize you.

Keep us informed on everything.

Good news! Yesterday a splendid rain fell everywhere.

All the comrades send their best regards.

I embrace you,

Enver

P.S. To any attempt or suggestion by the Soviets about my coming to Bucharest, you must reply: "he is not coming."

FROM THE LETTER TO LIRI BELISHOVA ON THE STAND SHE SHOULD MAINTAIN IN PEKING ON DISAGREEMENTS BETWEEN THE SOVIET UNION AND CHINA

June 23, 1960

During the Bucharest Meeting, in June 1960, the diabolic, anti-Marxist tactics which Khrushchev and his group used to impose the treacherous revisionist course and the condemnation of the Communist Party of China on the international communist movement openly emerged. The Party of Labour of Albania came out in defence of Marxism-Leninism and the Communist Party of China with a lofty internationalist spirit.

This is clearly seen also in the letter of June 23, 1960, which Comrade Enver Hoxha sent to Liri Belishova¹ who was on a visit to Peking at that time, in which Comrade Enver Hoxha criticized her for her wrong stand and drew her attention to the stand that should be maintained on the disagreements between the Soviet Union and China. The letter reads:

As soon as you sent us the letter and information, the Political Bureau formed the opinion that you have made a grave mistake in informing the Soviet embassy in Peking about what the Chinese comrades told you. First, you had not yet informed the leadership of your Party and you did not have its approval; second, those questions did not concern our Party and it was not your right to inform the Soviets; and third, you know our opinion that these disagreements ought to and should be solved in a Marxist-Leninist way and form, and not by whispering to one or the other. Beyond this our Party should not take part in these matters.

So I write this short letter to you, warning you to take care not to pronounce yourself on disagreements existing between the Soviet Union and China, because our Political Bureau has judged that the way this conflict is going on is not right and is not on a correct road. All the parties of the camp have decided to discuss

¹ Former Member of the Political Bureau and Secretary of the CC of the PLA, agent of Soviet revisionism, expelled from the Party. In June 1960 she had gone with a delegation on a visit to the People's Republic of China and to some other socialist countries of Asia. This letter was sent to her by special courier.

these issues at a coming meeting, the date of which they will fix later. This is a correct road; therefore at this meeting, we will express our views.

Whoever asks you, say that, “these disagreements are harmful and dangerous to our cause, they have been neglected and have got worse, they should have been solved between the two parties on the Marxist-Leninist road and now that it has been decided to hold a meeting of the communist and workers’ parties in the near future, they must be solved there once and for all. As always, our Party will maintain a principled, Marxist-Leninist stand.”

First in Moscow¹ and now in Bucharest the Soviets have informed all the delegates who have gone to the Romanian congress on the disagreements which they have with the Chinese. In these you are also mentioned as one of those who have informed the Soviets of what the Chinese have told you. Of course, the Soviets were pleased with the information you gave them; that is why they praise you to the skies, describing your gesture as “heroic,” “principled” and other such things. They are lavishing praise and will continue to lavish praise on you. Naturally, you must not let this praise go to your head, because this is done deliberately.

¹ This refers to those delegations that passed through Moscow on the way to Bucharest.

RADIOGRAM TO COMRADE HYSNI KAPO IN BUCHAREST

June 23, 1960

In the materials of this Volume, on the days during which the Bucharest Meeting was in session, and especially in the radiograms to Comrade Hysni Kapo (head of the Delegation of the Party of Labour of Albania to this meeting), the dexterous tactics and the correct Marxist-Leninist stand adopted by our Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha stand out very clearly.

The following is the radiogram which Comrade Enver Hoxha sent to Comrade Hysni Kapo in Bucharest on June 24, 1960.

At the morning meeting you will say: "Our leadership has been informed by the letters of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union that our delegation, not high level, here in Bucharest, will only fix the date and the place of the forthcoming meeting of the communist and workers' parties. In these letters, it is stated that opinions can be exchanged on the external political situation created after the failure of the Paris Conference,¹ whereas here, I can see that things of extreme gravity are being put forward in connection with the Communist Party of China. We received voluminous material from the Soviet delegation only ten hours before the meeting and we have had barely time to breathe. This astonishes us."

When you take the floor at the meeting, you will state: "I am not authorized to pronounce myself on these matters because our leadership knows that these matters will be discussed at the coming meeting of the representatives of the parties, as we have all agreed." If any one of the "mighty" makes any provocative allusion about our non-pronunciation at this meeting then produce the official declaration we sent you to communicate to the Soviet leadership through Andropov and read it out after your speech. If the allusion is made after you have already spoken, then you must request the floor for the second time and read out the declaration

¹ This conference was to be held in May 1960, but it did not take place because of the quarrel between Khrushchev and Eisenhower over the shooting down of a U.S. U-2 spy plane over the territory of the Soviet Union on May 1 in the same year. The violation of the Soviet airspace by this aircraft aroused the indignation of the broad masses of the Soviet people.

of our Central Committee which you transmitted to Andropov.

We understand your difficult situation but do not worry, we are on the right road. The best of health and patience.

Enver

RADIOGRAM TO COMRADE HYSNI KAPO IN BUCHAREST

June 24, 1960

On the same day, June 24, Comrade Enver Hoxha sent another radiogram to Comrade Hysni Kapo.

If they present any communique or resolution at the conclusion of the meeting where the faintest allusion is made against China or outside of the content of the 1957 Moscow Declaration, you must not sign it. Without wasting time you must officially ask if there will be a communique. If there is one, it must be handed over to you. Inform us of its content and await our view on the acceptance or not of this communique.

WE MUST NOT SUBMIT TO ANY PRESSURE

(From the discussion of Comrade Enver Hoxha at the meeting of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania)

June 24, 1960

At the Bucharest Meeting, the Soviet revisionists, through pressure, blackmail and demagoguery aimed at bowing the determined stand of the Party of Labour of Albania. Our Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha came to the conclusion that the cup was filled to the brim. A clear-cut and resolute stand must be maintained towards Khrushchev and his followers. Khrushchev's arrogance and brutality, his behaviour as a boss and dictator, must be attacked. At the meeting of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania on June 24, 1960, Comrade Enver Hoxha held this discussion:

We have received a series of radiograms from Comrade Hysni connected with the Bucharest Meeting. These radiograms were still coming in at three a.m. I thought that it was not necessary to resubmit the Political Bureau after midnight, but on the basis of its directives, I transmitted the respective replies to Comrade Hysni.

It is clear that Hysni is in an extremely difficult situation in Bucharest. The agreement was that the delegations of the communist and workers' parties who take part in the Congress of the Romanian Workers' Party would meet together in Bucharest solely to decide the date and the place of a meeting of the world communist and workers' parties. But Comrade Hysni in fact is faced with an unexpected international meeting hatched by the Khrushchev group.

I think that if this meeting releases a communique, which is not in opposition to the declaration of the meeting of the communist and workers' parties which was held in Moscow in 1957, then Hysni should accept it. But it could come about that the communique contains also other nuances, because it emerges from an irregular meeting, where the representatives of the communist and workers' parties have received a sixty-five page long report compiled by the Soviet leadership, in which the Communist Party of China is condemned. We cannot accept a communique which

makes even the slightest allusion against China. This is important, because the situation is such that extremely grave matters are being presented at the present meeting of the representatives of the communist and workers' parties at Bucharest. The report of the Soviet delegation against the Communist Party of China will have widespread repercussions all over the world, just as the secret report of Khrushchev at the Twentieth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union on the so-called Stalin cult had.¹

And, even if we accept a communique which has no allusions, we must nevertheless consider it as irregular, because it is the result of a surprise meeting, in opposition to Marxist-Leninist organizational rules. Therefore, the stand of our Party which opposes this meeting is correct.

These are a few preliminary thoughts, but in regard to the communique, Hysni has been informed not to pronounce himself until he receives further instructions. If he is given a communique with allusions against China he must categorically say: "I will not sign this communique without notifying the leadership of the Party I represent." Whereas, if it has no allusions at all, then Hysni must stand up at the meeting and say, "I am authorized by the Party of Labour of Albania to declare that I agree with this communique but I add that this communique is a result of the proceedings of an irregular meeting. Since we have not come prepared for a meeting of this kind, we cannot pronounce ourselves on questions which are brought up against the Communist Party of China."

The Chinese comrades have requested that the meeting be postponed but the representatives of the other communist and workers' parties do not agree. This is not correct and it places the Chinese comrades in a difficult situation. A socialist country is demanding time to prepare itself for the meeting, whereas this time is not being given it. It is clear that this is being done purposely.

Hysni must say that our Party of Labour does not agree with the procedure which is proposed to be pursued at the meeting of the communist and workers' parties at Bucharest; that now, it agrees only to decide when and where the coming meeting of the communist and workers' parties, on which we have agreed in principle, will be held and that only after we have also received ex-

¹ In this report J.V. Stalin and his great revolutionary activity were attacked. The purpose of this attack was to justify the liquidation of the Marxist-Leninist line of the Bolshevik Party and to replace it with a revisionist line.

planatory material from the other side, the Communist Party of China, will we prepare ourselves and have our say at the coming meeting.

Many things may happen, but we must not submit to any pressure, we must always implement our correct Marxist-Leninist line.

LETTER TO COMRADE HYSNI KAPO IN BUCHAREST

June 25, 1960

Following the meeting of the Political Bureau on June 24, 1960, Comrade Enver Hoxha sent this letter to Comrade Hysni Kapo on the morning of June 25:

We received last evening's radiograms and I am writing a note to you this morning¹ just to say that you gave the proper reply to the "friend."² Don't worry at all when anyone provokes you, but answer back, strongly even, only with coolness. Dirty goings-on are taking place, but justice always wins. If they continue to make provocations, don't let them be at our expense, let them bear the blame.

¹ Sent by the plane which would bring Comrade Hysni back home.

² Nikita Khrushchev.

RADIOGRAM TO COMRADE HYSNI KAPO IN BUCHAREST

June 25, 1960

In the evening of June 25, 1960, Comrade Enver Hoxha sent the following radiogram:

You must speak tomorrow in accord with the instructions of the Political Bureau which you have received through the letter. At the end of your speech, or when you find the opportune moment, declare: "I, on behalf of our Party, declare that the Party of Labour does not at all agree with the spirit and methods used at this meeting for the solution of this problem, so important to the international communist movement. The opinion of our Party is that these questions must be treated with care, coolness and in a comradely spirit according to the Leninist rules." If after this declaration they ask you provocative questions or make criticisms, stand up and say: "Besides what I have said, I have nothing else to say at this meeting." If you have already spoken, ask permission to speak again and make this declaration. If they refuse you permission to speak, then hand in this speech to the presidium of the meeting and demand that it be registered in the minutes.

We await you,
Enver

FROM THE LETTER TO LIRI BELISHOVA ON THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE BUCHAREST MEETING AND THE STAND SHE SHOULD ASSUME IN MOSCOW

June 28, 1960

In a second letter sent to Liri Belishova in Moscow,¹ on June 28, 1960, Comrade Enver Hoxha stressed:

Things have reached the point where Khrushchev has called the Chinese “Trotskyites” and has said “If you want to, leave the camp.” Naturally, the prudent and principled stand of our Central Committee was not to the liking of Khrushchev but, despite the fact that it is not to the one or the other’s liking, we defend principles. We will express our opinion on the Soviet-Chinese disagreements at the upcoming November meeting in Moscow.

¹ This letter, sent by special courier, was handed to Liri Belishova on the same day the delegation, of which she was a member, arrived in Moscow.

**VERBAL NOTE TO THE SOVIET AMBASSADOR
IN TIRANA ON THE ANTI-MARXIST STAND OF
THE SOVIET AMBASSADOR AND OF THE
MILITARY ATTACHÉ IN BELGRADE IN
CONNECTION WITH THE MEETING AT
SREMSKA MITROVICA**

July 9, 1960

No sooner was the Bucharest Meeting over when the Soviet revisionist leadership launched a campaign of pressure, intervention and diversion against the Party of Labour of Albania and the People's Republic of Albania. In this anti-Albanian campaign they openly emerged in support of the hostile stand and activity of the Yugoslav revisionists. Comrade Enver Hoxha's verbal note to the Soviet ambassador in Tirana on July 9, 1960, on the anti-Marxist stand of the Soviet ambassador and of the military attaché in Belgrade in connection with the meeting at Sremska Mitrovica, shed light on this. The following are excerpts from the note:

As is known, the Party of Labour of Albania, in its relations with the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and with all the other communist and workers' parties, has always based itself on the immortal principles of Marxism-Leninism, of proletarian internationalism. Proceeding from these principles, we wish to openly and sincerely express our deep regret over a certain recent event.

On July 4, 1960 at Sremska Mitrovica in Serbia, the filthy agent of the capitalist bourgeoisie, one of the chief revisionists of the Belgrade clique, the mortal enemy of the Albanian people and the bloody hangman of the Albanian people of Kosova, Aleksander Ranković,¹ speaking at a "solemn" meeting openly attacked the policy of the socialist countries, and in particular, brutally attacked the Party of Labour of Albania, the Albanian people and our People's Republic. The agent of imperialism, Ranković, describing our country as a "hell dominated by barbed wire," etc., even had the audacity to say that the neo-fascist Italian regime is

¹ Former Minister for Internal Affairs of Yugoslavia and former Secretary of the CC of the Yugoslav revisionist party.

more democratic than our regime of people's democracy.

For the Albanian communists, for the Albanian people, there is nothing surprising or unexpected in these declarations from an enemy of our people and the socialist camp, a servant of imperialism as Aleksander Ranković is. When the enemy attacks you, that means that you are on the right road. And we have always been armed and ready to give the fitting response to the enemies of Marxism-Leninism, our homeland and the socialist camp. But the essence of the problem, for which we shall express our concern through this note, does not lie here.

The base attacks by Ranković, launched for premeditated aims against socialism in general and the People's Republic of Albania in particular, assume another significance when at the "solemn" meeting at Sremska Mitrovica, as the Soviet agency TASS has also reported, the ambassador of the Soviet Union to Belgrade, I.K. Zamchevski, and the Soviet Military Attaché in Belgrade, Colonel V.K. Tarasevich, took part and listened through to the end to all the slanders against us by Aleksander Ranković.

The Central Committee of our Party, on this occasion, expresses its astonishment and regret to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union over the stand of the Soviet ambassador and military attaché, a stand which we consider in opposition to the principles of proletarian internationalism on which the relations between our two parties and states are built. We consider this as an unfriendly stand towards the Party of Labour of Albania and the Albanian people, genuine, loyal and consistent friends of the Soviet people and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

Naturally, the question of whether or not the ambassador and the military attaché of the Soviet Union should have participated at this meeting is not for us to decide. This is a question for the Soviet Union, and it has never crossed our minds to interfere in the internal affairs of others. But, as far as we are concerned, we have never allowed and will never allow, on any occasion, that the ambassador of the People's Republic of Albania remain at such a meeting as that of Sremska Mitrovica where the enemies of communism and the agents of imperialism basely attack a sister party or another socialist country. And we would have done this and will do this because we consider it as an internationalist duty, in full accord with the principles on which the relations between the Marxist-Leninist parties and the socialist countries are based.

Even though the whole world got to know about what was said at Sremska Mitrovica and who participated at this revisionist meeting, we deem it as an internationalist and friendly duty that the stand of the Soviet ambassador and military attaché, which in fact is not in the slightest a Marxist one, be treated between our parties, on the basis of the Leninist rules, without giving it publicity. Whereas as far as the tendentious attacks, slanders and aims of Ranković are concerned, as always, this time, too, they will not go unpaid in the proper coin by us.

We cannot imagine that ambassador Zamchevski and Colonel Tarasevich do not know what the Titoite revisionists are, and how dangerous they are for the international communist movement and for the unity of the socialist camp, what they have done and what their aims are against the People's Republic of Albania¹ and our Party of Labour. Today, everybody knows that the Belgrade revisionists are dangerous conspirators against the independence of the Albanian people and of the other socialist countries. The Yugoslav revisionists have gone to such lengths in their plots against the People's Republic of Albania that in 1948 they attempted a military coup to enslave Albania. The nineteen year long history of the life of our Party speaks of the entire criminal activity of the Trotskyites of Belgrade against our country.

Just as the peoples of the Soviet Union quite correctly revolted against the base American aggression, when an American U-2 spy plane on the orders of President Eisenhower violated the sovereignty of the Soviet Union, the Albanian people, too, for more than fifteen years have continued to be revolted at the hostile activity of the revisionists of Belgrade against the independence of our country. We, the entire Albanian people, without exception, wholeheartedly approved and approve the stand of the Soviet government towards American imperialism, as a reply to the aggression by the U-2 spy plane. We wholeheartedly support every resolute stand against the number one enemy of mankind, American imperialism, but at the same time we also fight against the loyal servants of American imperialism, the Belgrade revisionists.

¹ The revisionist Yugoslav leadership had made plans to occupy Albania militarily. In 1948 it claimed there was a danger of an imminent attack by Greece, and on this pretext demanded that several Yugoslav divisions should be dispatched urgently to Albania.

AT THE BUCHAREST MEETING WE DID NOT ACCEPT THE VIOLATION OF THE LENINIST NORMS OF RELATIONS AMONG PARTIES

*(From the speech of Comrade Enver Hoxha at the 17th Plenum of the
Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania)*

July 11, 1960

On July 11-12 1960, the 17th Plenum of the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania held its proceedings which heard, discussed and approved the report on the development of the Bucharest Meeting between the representatives of the communist and workers' parties and the stand maintained by the delegation of our Party at this meeting; delivered by the member of the Political Bureau and Secretary of the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania, Comrade Hysni Kapo. The following is part of the speech delivered by Comrade Enver Hoxha at this Plenum on July 11, 1960.

This is how things stand: between the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Communist Party of China, there are major disagreements which have created a very grave situation for the camp of socialism and for the whole of international communism. And because this difficult and grave situation has been created as a result of these disagreements between the two parties, it is essential that all the communist and workers' parties of the camp of socialism and the entire world strive with might and main to help resolve these ideological and political disagreements as quickly as possible, as well as possible and as fairly as possible by submitting them to a principled discussion, because the interest of international communism, the camp of socialism and our future, requires it.

The Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania thinks that these disagreements are not over minor issues, are not questions that can be solved in passing. Such problems cannot be resolved lightly because they are serious and have to do with the life and future of mankind. We say this with full consciousness and, irrespective of the fact that we are representatives of a small nation of one and a half million inhabitants, we see the question as Marxists, we defend the interests of the people, their Party and the camp of socialism, not only for the pre-

sent but also for the future. As Marxists we have the right to express our point of view.

The views which each Party will express are of great importance. Therefore, particularly at this stage, they must be well thrashed out in the leadership of each Party, the source of the conflict and disagreements must be studied with great care. Without preconceived opinion, without prejudice, a correct Marxist-Leninist conclusion must be arrived at and then they must be discussed in a Marxist-Leninist way at a meeting organized according to the rules, to see who is at fault and why, and every effort must be made to put the guilty party on the right road. At the end of all the efforts, made with great patience, perhaps some capital measure will be taken, according to the need and scale of the misdemeanour as is the Marxist-Leninist practice of our parties. Such a practice, Marxism-Leninism teaches us, is necessary not only for these great problems of an international character, but even when measures are taken over a rank-and-file party member. In this case, too, every effort must be made to put the guilty party (if he is really guilty) on the right road. This is a Marxist practice. This is the practice our Party has always carried out and always will carry out on minor or major problems. Therefore, nobody has the right to criticize our Party on these matters of principle, on which it stands firm as a rock.

The way in which the Soviet leaders tried to present matters at the Bucharest Meeting concerning the disagreements they have with the Communist Party of China, as questions which are in opposition to the whole of international communism, and how these questions, which are so important to the camp of socialism and the whole international communist movement, were put forward, seems to the leadership of our Party neither wise nor worthy of the Soviet leaders. It is not a correct Marxist-Leninist way. To raise the question immediately in this form as was done there and to demand from the representatives of the parties, who had gone to Bucharest for another purpose, that within a few hours they must take a stand against the Communist Party of China, means to accept the very hasty thesis of Nikita Khrushchev that "If you, China, are not with us, go your own way, get out of the socialist camp, you are no longer our comrades." Had our delegate accepted this, he would have committed a grave, impermissible error, which would have been a stain on our Party. Now I am not speaking about the other parties. Here in the Central Committee

we are judging the stand the Political Bureau has taken. We think that it would be impermissible for it to have adopted any other stand without judging the matter well and carefully, without having concrete data from both sides. The Political Bureau could never leave the present and future generations of our Party and people to say: "How has our Party erred so gravely at this historic moment?"

Let us be clear, comrades, I am not speaking about the conflict between us and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. The problem is how the Soviet leaders acted in the solution of such a great and serious question, which has to do with the existence of the camp of socialism. We are asking the Central Committee to judge whether we have acted correctly or not.

Comrades, we are Marxists. Our Party is no longer a Party one or two years old, but a Party which will complete twenty years next year. It has not spent all this time in a feather bed, but in bloody and irreconcilable struggle with Italian fascism, German nazism, the Ballists,¹ the British, the Americans, the Yugoslav revisionists, the Greek monarcho-fascists, and with all sorts of external and internal enemies. Thus, we have learnt Marxism in books, in struggle and in life. Therefore, we are now neither young nor immature. Our Party is not a Party of children such that it is unable to understand Marxism either in theory or in its application in practice. Our Party has always striven to proceed correctly, therefore on its course mistakes of principle have not been made, for it has applied Marxism correctly in all circumstances.

Thus, as Marxists, we are not convinced that these very serious disagreements between the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Communist Party of China have arisen within one or two months. Marxist dialectics does not accept this; they have deep roots. There are many facts showing how this process has occurred and how the mistakes, by accumulating, have become more and more serious, reaching the point where it is said that "China wants war," that "it does not stand for disarmament" or "for peaceful coexistence."

Let us criticize anybody who violates Marxism-Leninism in a Marxist-Leninist way and take the proper measures to correct him. This is the sole correct stand and this concerns all the parties throughout the world, particularly our Party and people, who con-

¹ Members of a traitor organization self-styled "Balli Kombetar."

sistently defend Marxism-Leninism. Gomulka¹ and company, who are now posing as friends of the Soviet Union, have set fire to the friendship with the Soviet Union. It is known that in Poland the church and reaction were permitted to rise against the Soviet army. There, they expelled the Soviet marshals who commanded the Red Army which liberated Poland and Europe from fascism, and now they want to instruct us Albanians. The representative of the Romanian Workers' Party, Moghioros, was put up to convince the leadership of our Party on the correctness of the line of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

We have said this through the representative of our Party to Nikita Khrushchev too. Our comrades who were fighting in the mountains, carried *The History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolshevik)* inside their jackets, while the Romanian legions of the time were martyring the Soviet people. The efforts of Moghioros, together with the representative of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, to convince the representative of the Party of Labour of Albania of the "correctness" of the line of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, we do not accept, these things do not go down with us. We love the Soviet Union not to please Moghioros or Andropov. We have loved the Soviet Union and the Bolshevik Communist Party of Lenin and Stalin and we always will. But when we see that such things are being done, it is a grave mistake to fail to adopt a correct stand, because then one mistake leads to another. Marxism-Leninism and dialectics teach us that if you once make a mistake and do not want to understand that you are wrong, that mistake grows like a snowball. But we shall never allow such a thing.

How could we take part in this unjust activity? From the Chinese comrades we have heard nothing about these matters until recently. Only Mikoyan informed us in February this year. Our airplane had hardly landed in Moscow when immediately one of the functionaries of the Central Committee came and told us that Mikoyan wanted to see me the next morning to discuss some important questions. "Agreed," I told him, "but I shall take Mehmet (Shehu) with me too." He replied, "They told me only you," but I said that Mehmet had to come too.

¹ Wladislaw Gomulka, former First Secretary of the CC of the Polish United Workers' Party. He was condemned in 1949 for anti-Party and anti-state activity. In October 1956 he was rehabilitated by the revisionists and installed as head of the Party. Time was to prove that he remained stubbornly revisionist.

We went and he kept us not less than five hours, and this before the February meeting of the representatives of the communist and workers' parties, which was to be held on the problems of agriculture.

Mikoyan told us: "Comrade Albanians, I shall inform you of many disagreements we have with the Communist Party of China, I stress, with the Communist Party of China. We had decided to tell this only to the First Secretaries, therefore I ask Mehmet Shehu not to misunderstand us, not because we have no trust in him, but this is what we have decided." "No," Mehmet said to him. "I am leaving, indeed I made a great mistake in coming." But Mikoyan himself did not allow him to leave. And then he told us all those things you heard from Comrade Hysni's report.

We told Mikoyan that these were not minor things, but important problems which exist between two parties, therefore we did not understand why they had been left to get worse. We thought that they should have been solved immediately, for they were dangerous to our camp. He told us that he would report what we discussed to the Presidium of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. We told him once more, on behalf of our Party, that this was a major matter, therefore it should be solved between their parties. Finally, he warned us that "this matter is highly secret, therefore do not even tell the Political Bureau." And we did not tell the Political Bureau either, with the exception of a few comrades. You understand that we adopted such an attitude because the question seemed to us extremely delicate and we hoped that the disagreements could be resolved through internal discussions and debates.

However, at the Bucharest Meeting, Nikita Khrushchev found the stand of our Party surprising when it did not line up together with all the other parties to condemn China in those forms and for those reasons he put forward, without making a thorough judgement of these questions. Perhaps he himself has reflected on these questions, but we, too, have the right to say that we have not reflected on all the voluminous materials given to Hysni, which he had no time even to read, let alone give his opinion on them. This was not a case of a minor question. On many other things, not of this nature, we immediately replied to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union that we agree, but on such a major question as to say to China, "Get out of the socialist camp," it seems to us that it is not right. The Political Bureau

thought that we should never act in this way. For this reason we have been told that, "We¹ deeply regret that the Party of Labour of Albania did not line up with the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, for the problems that were raised in Bucharest are problems of the entire socialist camp." But what about us? Isn't it bitter medicine for us not to have the right, as Marxist-Leninists, to ask Nikita Khrushchev whether he has resolved all the other questions of an important international character in the same arbitrary way he wished to resolve the question of China? We are completely within our rights to ask this.

Let us take the question of the Yugoslav revisionists, about which I shall have more to say later. When Nikita Khrushchev was about to go to Yugoslavia for the first time to reconcile with the Yugoslav revisionists, two or three days before he left he sent a letter to the Central Committee of our Party, in which he informed us of this matter. It is known that the condemnation and exposure of the Yugoslav revisionists in 1948 had been done by an international forum of the sister parties, by the Information Bureau, because it was not a simple conflict and only between two parties, but a question that concerned all the communist and workers' parties in the world. Therefore, if another course was to be followed toward the Yugoslav revisionists, the same forum which had decided it should have been convened again to annul or define the form and method of examining this question and tell at what point the change in the attitude towards the revisionists would be made. This is what we think should have been done on the basis of the Leninist norms.

The Political Bureau of our Party sent a letter² to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in which it stated that it had no objection to that visit, as it did not depend

¹ The Soviets.

² "We think," the letter said among other things, "that there is a considerable difference between the content of your letter dated May 23, 1955 and the principal thesis of our common stand toward the Yugoslavs up to now... The procedure proposed for the approval of the abrogation of the Resolution of the Meeting of the Information Bureau of November 1949 does not seem correct to us. In our opinion, such a hasty (and precipitate) decision on a question of such major importance of principle without previously submitting it to a thorough analysis together with all the other parties interested in this question, and even more so, its publication in the press and its proclamation at the Belgrade talks, would not only be premature, but would also cause serious damage to the general orientation." (Extract from a copy of the letter in the Central Archives of the Party.)

on us whether Khrushchev should go to Belgrade or not. However, we pointed out that the Central Committee of our Party thought that another decision should be taken on that question, that the Information Bureau should be convened again, and, at its plenary session, decide what is to be done. As we were not members of the Information Bureau, we expressed the desire to be invited to that meeting as observers so that we, too, could express our view. However, such a thing was not done, although this was a question that did not just concern two parties, but all the communist and workers' parties. The Central Committee of our Party took a stand on this step, informing the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, by means of another letter, copies of which are in the archives of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Central Committee of our Party.

The counter-revolution in Hungary¹ was carried out, a terrible business. There, socialism received a blow from imperialism, united with the Yugoslav revisionists, with Imre Nagy² and all the anti-communist scum. What was the stand adopted before and after these events? This too was a question that concerned all international communism, particularly, the camp of socialism. It was known that a little before this, efforts had been made for the outbreak of such a counter-revolution in Albania, thus there was a danger to the existence of a Warsaw Treaty³ member country, Al-

¹ The Hungarian counter-revolution (October 23-November 4, 1956) was the offspring of revisionism which had become widespread and struck deep roots in that country after the 20th Congress of the CPSU.

The Khrushchev group had directly assisted in the destruction of the Hungarian Workers' Party by bringing the Kadar-Nagy revisionist clique to power, and in this way creating the possibility for the outbreak of the counter-revolution. However, confronted with strong pressure from below, and especially when it saw that Hungary was slipping out of the Soviet sphere of influence, the Khrushchevites were obliged to allow the Soviet troops to go to the aid of the Hungarian defenders of the revolution. The counter-revolution was defeated, but its roots remained. The revisionists still kept their key positions in the organs of political power and in the reorganized party.

² Former Prime Minister of the PR of Hungary from July 1953. In 1954 he was dismissed from his post and expelled from the Party for his anti-socialist and anti-communist activity. In 1956 the revisionists tried to bring him to power again. With their help he became one of the main leaders of the counter-revolution, plunging Hungary into a bloodbath.

³ This treaty was established in October 1954 with the participation of eight European socialist countries as a counterweight to the aggressive North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) and to guarantee peace and security in Europe. After the betrayal by the Soviet leadership, it was transformed into an aggressive treaty

bania, which had been continually threatened during all those years with the loss of her freedom and independence. But our Party knew how to strike at the international enemies and as a result nothing happened in our country. However, we had not been informed of what was occurring in Hungary. Albania “had been forgotten.” The members of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union were sent in all directions by aircraft to the socialist countries to explain the question of the Hungarian counter-revolution, while as to Albania, which was a very sensitive spot in the socialist camp, under attack for years on end by the revisionists headed by Tito and even though they were fully aware that a similar sort of counter-revolution had been prepared against our country, nobody came here and we were told nothing.

Have you ever heard about this? Never. We did not make an issue of these things because we thought that they were mistakes by individual people and that one day they would be corrected. We did not even tell the Central Committee of our Party either, although the Central Committee is the leadership of the Party of Labour. But in those difficult days, we did not want to communicate this sorrow of the Political Bureau to all the comrades of the Central Committee, we did not want these criticisms to lead to the slightest coolness with the Soviet comrades, even unconsciously. We have not allowed this. But we thought that individual people make mistakes, both with us and with them.

The events of Poland¹ occurred. We were not informed about them, no meeting was held, and we must bear in mind that they were not simply internal questions of Poland because we are linked with Poland by a treaty, under which, if the occasion arises, our people will be required to shed blood for the Oder-Neisse border.

This being the case, do the Albanian people not have the right

of the fascist type. The aggression against the Socialist Czechoslovak Republic (August 21, 1968) by the armed forces of five members of the Warsaw Treaty proved this. The People’s Republic of Albania, which was one of the members of this Treaty, had left it de facto back in 1960-61, whereas on September 12, 1968, it freed itself de jure from any obligation stemming from this Treaty by special decision of the People’s Assembly of the PRA.

¹ In June 1956 international imperialism and the revisionists organized the counter-revolutionary revolt in Poznan, Poland, to overthrow the socialist order and re-establish capitalism, an aim which they achieved later through bourgeois-revisionist ideological and political degeneration.

to ask what all those priests are doing in the Polish army? Shall we fight together with such an army? We are bound by a treaty, but despite this we are not even asked about these matters. Once Khrushchev told me frankly, "We do not understand what Gomulka is talking about, only the fascists can speak like Gomulka." Thus, were these problems of two parties only? We are making an issue of them only today, for today Nikita Khrushchev and the other Soviet leaders are expressing regret that we, allegedly, have not properly understood their incorrect actions in Bucharest when we say that those matters are questions between the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Communist Party of China. This stand of theirs is not logical.

Two or three days before the Bucharest Meeting Kosygin went to Mehmet who was in Moscow and told him among other things, "We cannot make any compromise or concession whatsoever towards the Chinese" and he repeated this expression four times over. This means that everything had been pre-decided by the Soviets. When no opinion is accepted, what do you want me there for, to fill the number, to raise my hand? No, if you invite me, I too must say what I think. We are for the Moscow Declaration (1957) and we fight for its application in our country. But, comrades, in the implementation of things we also have our say, the Soviets also have their say, the Chinese or Czechoslovak comrades, too, have something to say about us and we about them, and so on. There can be such questions in life. Of course, it may occur that any party can make concessions or mistakes in practice. But what are we here for? To help one another correct our course.

But we see that in the practice of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and many other parties there are a number of things which do not conform with the implementation of the line. These things have to do with the question of the struggle against Yugoslav revisionism on the basis of the Moscow Declaration and before the Moscow Declaration.

At this point I do not want to go all over again what the Yugoslav revisionists are and how they must be fought. But not everybody thinks as we do about the way in which they must be fought. However, to criticize our Party for its heroic Marxist-Leninist stand against the Yugoslav revisionists, who are striving to disrupt the parties and socialist countries and who seek to liquidate Albania, the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of our Party can never accept. The Central Committee, the entire

Party and people have approved the correct stand we have maintained and continue to maintain towards the Yugoslav revisionists. Many parties and communists throughout the world respect our stand.

However, our Political Bureau has not made public the disagreements concerning the application in practice of the Marxist-Leninist line by all the sister parties, without exception, against the Yugoslav revisionists, but it has known how to manoeuvre with wisdom, and a cool head and not with hot blood, as Khrushchev says. The Political Bureau has acted in such a way as to avoid any hint, not only to the people, not only to international opinion, but on many occasions even to the Central Committee that in the practical application of this matter there are differences between us.

The proofs have been so great that there is no doubt at all that the Yugoslav revisionists are sworn enemies of the socialist camp. They are agents of imperialism, even the Minister of Internal Affairs of the Soviet Union said this at the Conference of the Ministers of Internal Affairs of the Socialist Countries of Europe, which was held in Prague two weeks ago, and everybody was in agreement with this conclusion.

Nikita Khrushchev has criticized our attitude towards the Yugoslav revisionists. When we went to Moscow in 1957 with the delegation of the Party and government and spoke, among other things, about our stand towards the Yugoslav revisionists, Khrushchev became so angry that he stood up and said: "One cannot talk with you, we shall break off the talks." We were indignant but we preserved our calm, for we were on the right road, for we were defending our people and our Party, we were defending our friendship with the Soviet Union. We did not yield to the pressure exerted on us, and with our attitude we obliged Khrushchev to sit down and continue the talks. After what had happened to us, Mehmet and I were very worried when we went to the meeting, but we were not afraid. To behave in such a way towards our Party because it adopts a revolutionary stand against the Yugoslav revisionists is not in the least correct. Nevertheless, we never wavered; on the contrary, we were patient and judged that we were right and that time would show the correctness of the line of the Party. It was not long before it again became apparent what the Yugoslav

revisionists were with the plots they prepared at their congress.¹ Then the Communist Party of the Soviet Union itself adopted a stand; Khrushchev himself exposed them, describing them as “bandits,” “the trojan horse,” and so on.

Not only that, 15 days before the counter-revolution took place in Hungary, Mehmet and I, at a meeting we had with Suslov² in Moscow, while we were talking about international affairs, told him about our impressions with regard to Hungary. We pointed out to him what was happening there, that measures should be taken and that we should be vigilant. He asked our opinion about Imre Nagy.³ When we answered that he was a crook, an anti-Marxist, Suslov immediately told us that Nagy was not a bad man. We told him that this was our opinion, while he told us that the Party there had made a mistake in expelling Nagy. Time showed what Imre Nagy was, and how correct and accurate our opinion was about him.

Nikita Khrushchev had received a long letter from the traitor Panajot Plaku,⁴ who wrote to him about his great “patriotism,” the “ardent love” he had for the Soviet Union and the Party of Labour of Albania, and asked that Khrushchev, with his authority, intervene to liquidate the leadership of our Party led by Enver Hoxha, for allegedly we were “anti-Marxist,” “Stalinists.” He wrote that he had gone to Yugoslavia because a plot had been organized to kill him. As soon as Khrushchev received the letter, he said to us: “What if this Plaku goes to Albania, or we take him in the Soviet Union?” We answered: “If he comes to Albania, we will hang him twenty times, while if he comes to the Soviet Union, you will commit an act which will be fatal to our friendship.” At that he withdrew.

But the affair still goes further. Khrushchev told us that we

¹ The 7th congress of the Yugoslav revisionist party (April 22-26, 1958) adopted an out-and-out anti-Marxist, anti-socialist program which was presented as an “international manifesto.” At this congress all the revisionist cliques of all countries were taken under their protection.

² Mikhail Suslov, Member of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

³ After the failure of the counter-revolution in Hungary, Imre Nagy was taken under protection by the Yugoslav revisionists, who granted him asylum in their embassy in Budapest. Later he was sent to Romania, where, since he had played his part and the revisionists had no further need of him, he was brought to trial and executed.

⁴ A traitor to the PLA and the Albanian people.

had not done well in executing Dali Ndreu and Liri Gega,¹ who was pregnant. “Even the Tsar did not do such a thing” he said. We answered with coolness that we do not execute people for nothing, that we shoot only those who betray the homeland and the people and after it has been proven that they have committed hostile deeds and the cup has been filled. These people were denounced by the Party for years on end, they were traitors and agents of the Yugoslav revisionists, and only when they attempted to flee the country our organs caught them and the people’s court, on the basis of facts, sentenced them to the punishment they deserved. As for the claim that Liri Gega was pregnant, that is a slanderous lie.

We have never talked about these things; you are hearing them for the first time. To have failed to criticize these mistakes as our Political Bureau has criticized them would have been impermissible. And you would not have allowed it, either, for these things do not strengthen our friendship. What have we done despite all these things that have happened and which have been done to us both on the international arena and in our internal matters? Have you seen anything in the press, or have you had the slightest doubt about any action towards the Soviet Union or the leadership of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union? No.

We have told nobody about these attitudes that have been adopted towards us; but we are Marxists, and now the time has come to tell them. The word has been spread that the Albanians are hot-blooded. And why are we hot-blooded? Is it hot-blooded to defend your homeland and your people from the Yugoslav revisionists, from the Greek monarcho-fascists, from the Italian neo-fascists, who for 16 and more years have been attacking us and provoking us on the border? If we are described as hot-blooded because we defend the vital interests of our people, we do not accept this. Let us be cursed by our mother’s milk, let us be cursed by the bread with which the Party and the people feed us, if we do not defend the interests of our people. By acting in this way, we are also defending the interests of the Soviet Union and the entire camp of socialism at the same time.

I want to tell you about a little example which occurred the evening before last. The ambassador of the Soviet Union, Ivanov, came for a meeting and brought me some information from Khrushchev in connection with his meetings with Sophocles

¹ Agents of Yugoslav revisionism, enemies of our Party and people.

Venizelos. Among other things, Venizelos spoke to Khrushchev about Albania. Venizelos told him: "We shall come to terms with Albania, if we talk about the question of northern Epirus,¹ too, the question of which must be solved in the form of autonomy." Khrushchev said: "You must solve these questions in a peaceful way, but I shall speak to the Albanian comrades about this view."

I immediately told the Soviet ambassador that Khrushchev did not give the right answer, that he should have not given him that reply, but should have told Venizelos that Albania's borders are inviolable. The Soviet ambassador said to me "but you know the stand of the Soviet Union." I know this, but concretely the answer he gave Venizelos was not correct. We do not know this Venizelos, I told ambassador Ivanov, but we know his father² very well. If Moscow does not know him, although it ought to, let us say that he has burned all of southern Albania and killed thousands of Albanians. He wanted to burn Gjirokastra, too. He organized bandit gangs, and it was he that had long ago launched the idea of the autonomy of "northern Epirus." Thus, the idea of Venizelos Jr. is an old one, it is the idea of all Greek chauvinism. Therefore, to defend the integrity of their country against this idea, the Albanian people have shed their blood in the past, and if need be, will shed it in the future too. We are for peace in the Balkans, we are for normal state relations, trade relations, but we do not accept such conditions with Greece. We shall normalize our relations with Greece when it says that it is not in a state of war with Albania, otherwise we shall not make any agreement. We must collaborate with it on the basis of parity. We have responded to the way in which they have acted up till now. Tomorrow some Soviet leader may declare that Comrade Enver Hoxha has said that the Soviet Union does not defend Albania. It is not so; things must come out clearly as they are said.

We speak on the basis of facts and do not exaggerate, for in the first place, we have regard for the great collective interest. In this case, too, it is a question of a great interest. With the stand we

¹ The Greek chauvinists call southern Albania, which they dream of annexing, "Northern Epirus," thus describing this ancient Albanian land in this absurd way as "Greek territory."

² Eleutherios Venizelos (1864-1936), a Greek reactionary leader, representative of the interests of the Greek big bourgeoisie. Prime Minister of Greece for several years in succession. In 1919 he sent the Greek army to take part in the intervention against Soviet Russia.

expressed in Bucharest, the Political Bureau has acted very correctly and cool-headedly, for it could not be permitted that all these important political and ideological questions between the two great parties be solved so lightly and irresponsibly.

Finally we ask: "What was done in Bucharest? Nothing was solved, except that the forces were lined up for a fierce struggle, as if we had to deal with the USA, and not with our great sister, China. We have stood loyal to the proposals of the Soviet leaders to go to the Moscow Meeting and solve these questions, but must also have the material from the side of the Chinese comrades. China, too, must be allowed to speak and present its point of view just as the Soviet Union has presented its case in Bucharest, then we can judge.

Since we have decided to hold the Moscow Meeting with a definite program it is necessary that we, too, should have time to study the problem well. The Soviets have accepted such a thing, so why are they acting in this way? This is not right. This is how the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of our Party sees the situation.

The Political Bureau thinks that our Party should in no way sully itself with such non-Marxist-Leninist organizational actions. But then for what purpose did the other parties do so? Each Party is answerable to its Central Committee and its people as well as to international communism. Let the Central Committee of our Party judge us and we are answerable to it, to the Party, to the people and international communism for our stand.

But why did the First Secretaries of the parties of the socialist countries go to Bucharest, while I did not go? I did very well that I did not go, for I was carrying out the decision of the Political Bureau to avoid compromising our Party on questions which are not Marxist-Leninist. I would have presented these opinions of the Political Bureau, which were transmitted very well by Hysni Kapo. My absence upset the Soviet leaders because everybody else went, only Enver did not go, because there was something fishy going on. The Party will send me to Moscow in November to say its word. Our Party will express its view when this view is approved in the Central Committee, for this is not a simple thing.

In Bucharest the date was fixed and the commission appointed, comprised of the representatives of 26 parties to study these questions well, to put them on paper, so that the materials will be sent to the Central Committees of all the respective parties

to study and discuss them. After this, the Central Committee must be told: comrades, here is the material of the one side, here is the material of the other side, here also is the view of the Political Bureau, this is why we think that we must adopt this stand. This is how we think we must discuss this question in the Central Committee and then go to the meeting. This is the most proper form. To refuse to allow one- or two-months' time for a sister Party to reflect, hence to act in such a way that can yield no results whatsoever, is not correct. I think that on this occasion the Political Bureau has adopted a Marxist-Leninist stand, in defence of the interests of the socialist camp. Our stand has not been to the liking of the Soviet leaders for it did not line up with them, as did Gomułka, Kadar and Zhivkov¹ on these questions. But the truth is that only the Party of Labour of Albania has acted well to defend the Soviet Union and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, and we must always be principled on these questions. Mistakes and disagreements may occur, but they must be solved in a correct way, on the basis of the Leninist principles and norms.

The Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party has taken a decision not to attack the Yugoslav revisionists, either in the press or in the speeches of the leaders. When shaking hands with Comrade Hysni Kapo, who had just gone to Bucharest, Todor Zhivkov was so utterly shameless as to say: "What is Albania up to? Only Albania does not agree." "What do you imply by this?" Hysni asked him. "No, no, I was joking" replied Zhivkov. If you are not consistent in the struggle against the Yugoslav revisionists, those things that happened in Bulgaria must occur. Two months ago, in the Bulgarian publishing enterprise a brochure was printed with great mistakes. It is illustrated with a map of the Balkans in which Albania is shown as part of the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia. Of course, the Central Committee of our Party protested over such a thing and, although the Bulgarian leaders expressed their regret for what happened and promised they would take the measure to recall all the brochures, they have been spread to all parts of the world. They present this as simply

¹ First Secretary of the CC of the Hungarian SWP. In 1951 he was imprisoned for grave mistakes and anti-party and anti-socialist activity. In 1954, as a result of the campaign launched by Khrushchev against the so-called "cult of the individual," he was rehabilitated. At the time of the October-November events of 1956 in Hungary, the modern revisionists, mainly the Soviet ones, placed him at the head of the government and, later, even at the head of the Hungarian Party.

a technical mistake. But why was there no mistake made of giving part of Bulgaria, for example, to Turkey?

In Poland, six months ago, people recommended by the Foreign Ministry of the People's Republic of Poland, on the festival of November 29th, attempted to steal state documents and set fire to the Albanian embassy and, after having been caught red-handed, in order to cover their tracks, the thieves took the film "Scanderbeg." But the criminal was caught and we protested over these affairs. But what happened? The prosecutor demanded a sentence of 12 years imprisonment, while the court sentenced the culprit to two months probation.

One week ago, the former cipher clerk of the Polish embassy in Tirana and now an employee of the Foreign Ministry in Warsaw went to our embassy and drew a pistol to kill our ambassador, but our men there grabbed him and handed him over to the police.

What are these things? What is this white terror against our country? We have sent a note of protest to the Polish government, we have recalled our ambassador to Tirana, and we have told the Polish government that if it does not assure the Albanian government that no more such actions against the personnel of our embassy in Warsaw will occur, we shall not return the ambassador there. We also informed all the ambassadors of the socialist countries of this event and they were very indignant about it.

Then what are these things? Why do they happen? Therefore, we must judge, and you must tell us whether we have been mistaken or not, whether we have acted wisely or with heat. You understand that these things are of great importance to all of us and that they must be solved as soon as possible in the right way, in a comradely way. There is no other way for the solution of these questions. Lenin has laid down the norms, then let us implement them. Why two norms, why two standards of measurement or weight? Here, there must be only one norm, one measure, one weight. From all this we should be clear that we are right, that our conscience is clean and nothing has changed in our unwavering stand.

We must be clear about these questions, for in this way we will never go wrong and must not go wrong, we must never distort our compass and not allow anyone else to distort it.

We must bear in mind that this is the beginning of a very complicated affair, but with our conviction and within our modest possibilities we shall do our utmost to see that these matters are put

properly in order, in the Marxist-Leninist way. Now the steel-like unity of the Central Committee of our Party, of the Central Committee with the mass of the Party, of the Party with our people, is required.

We must come out from this Plenum strong as steel, as we have always been and now even more, for we are defending Marxism-Leninism. We must resolutely defend our homeland and our Party, for in this way we defend the people and their future. This is the only correct road.

AT MOSCOW WE WILL SPEAK AS MARXISM-LENINISM TEACHES US; FOR US THERE IS NO OTHER LANGUAGE

(Excerpts from the closing speech Comrade Enver Hoxha delivered at the 17th Plenum of the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania)

July 12, 1960

The struggle waged by the Party of Labour of Albania at the Bucharest Meeting of the communist and workers' parties represented the first open confrontation with Khrushchevite revisionism. But the Party of Labour of Albania decided to wage the decisive battle in Moscow in front of the broad forum of eighty-one parties. Its aim was to ideologically and politically expose Khrushchevite revisionism there. In connection with this follow excerpts from the closing speech of Comrade Enver Hoxha at the 17th Plenum of the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania delivered on July 12, 1960, entitled: "At Moscow We Will Speak as Marxism-Leninism Teaches Us; For Us There Is No Other Language":

We will go to Moscow and speak as Marxism-Leninism teaches us and we will speak like this, as the Central Committee instructs us; for us there is no other language. Of course, some will not like what we will say, but we think that our correct words, based on Marxism-Leninism and on the facts, will not remain within the four walls of the meeting hall. They will most surely be listened to by all the other parties and peoples.

The truth cannot be hidden, it cannot be imprisoned, it cannot be strangled by threats or blackmail. Our Party, which has emerged from the bosom of the people, has never been afraid either of threats or blackmail, but it will always stand unwavering.

It is necessary to maintain such a resolute stand because it is vital for us, as communists, as Marxists, as patriots. Why have the Soviet leaders run things like a fair and why are they trying with surprising flippancy to discuss a hash of formulas, to cling to a few words and expressions (e.g., you said this and you said that), which are not only impermissible, but are also very suspicious. At the Moscow Meeting we will speak in accordance with the principles of Marxism-Leninism and based on our own revolutionary

experience, on the everyday facts.

Is it permissible, that, at a time when imperialism is arming itself to the teeth and is making provocations, at a time when the revolutionary situation in Asia and elsewhere is ripening, when in Japan for example millions of people are attacking Kishi and his government, when they are inspired by the heroic Communist Party of China and by the ideas of Mao Zedong, the Soviet leaders and Khrushchev, clinging to formulas, head straight towards the splitting of the camp of socialism? At these critical moments, the Soviet leaders split the camp and discredit this great revolutionary force which inspires the whole of Asia.

At this moment, when the fate of mankind is at stake, to tell China to get out of the camp is a great crime to mankind and international communism. At a time when the German bundeswehr is receiving arms, rockets and is threatening Europe and the world, Nikita Khrushchev attacks the Communist Party of China and accuses it of being a warmonger because it quite rightly says that the slogans on disarmament are only illusions. Allegedly, only Nikita Khrushchev is for peace.

Of course the facts and the stand of the Marxist-Leninist parties will expose this non-Marxist activity and will force Khrushchev to act differently. At a meeting of graduating officers in the Kremlin he was forced to say: "We withdrew from Geneva, from the commission of the ten, because disarmament has become an illusion, a curtain which serves to deceive the peoples."

Just look at what methods are being used. What is said today is not said tomorrow. One word is said in favour of an issue and five against it. In short, a great confusion. And when you try to dot the "i's," they become like acrobats. In one of *Pravda's* editions they write that they have said this and they have said that. They have said it alright but what emerges here? You left the commission of the ten, but who gave you that right? How long have you, comrades, known of this issue? About ten days. But are we or are we not one of the member states of the Warsaw Treaty? Only today I received a telegram in which I was informed by the Soviet government that it has left Geneva and the issue has been handed over to the United Nations. What is this! There are many other similar things, too, comrades.

The comrades here have listed all these issues and this shows the great maturity of the Central Committee of our Party and not only of the Political Bureau. Anyone of us could make a mistake,

but, as far as we are concerned, this has not happened because we are closely linked with one another, we exchange views and thoughts with one another, we carefully discuss every matter and thus remain on the right road. This is the Marxist-Leninist method, the most correct method, to never go wrong. And we have never gone wrong, not because of the merits of one or two persons, but because of our unity of thought, the open comradely and fraternal discussions, because we are fighters in the great, one and only cause, the triumph of communism, the well-being of our people, the construction of socialism in Albania, to bring this much suffered people into the light.

This unity makes our strength unbreakable, this increases our conviction in our struggle against difficulties, in facing the tempest, to emerge victorious and we will surely emerge victorious. But ahead of us will not be plain sailing. There will be even more battles. Why? Because the Soviet leaders are not acting with a sound Marxist-Leninist logic. I can tell you, and this is the opinion of the entire Political Bureau, that in their activity there are serious and profound mistakes, there is a violation of the Leninist norms, there is subjectivism, anti-Marxism, there is terrible chauvinism. They can reel you off as many formulas and norms as you like, but let us open our eyes and say: just a minute, let's make an analysis of their actions, because we are being told, "either what we say or not at all."

What's the meaning of this? They don't talk to us about Leninism. I have my own opinions and I want to say them, good or bad. But you are taking anti-Leninist measures, which, if you find me a coward, will bring me to my knees. But real communists are not like that. There can be only a few like that.

This is a major issue. The Party has taught us and educated us so that we do not swallow the rotten tidbits the revisionists dish up, so that we do not swallow soap for cheese.

We have long since been ready for this struggle. Perhaps you can criticize us for being, should we say, somewhat conspiratorial towards you on these questions. In this you are right. You cannot imagine what great strength we drew here, from the Plenum of the Central Committee, what great lessons we drew from you for the courage which we must show in the future, because, just as with the forces lined up in Bucharest, it will be very difficult to immediately smash the ranks of the enemy. At the Moscow Meeting a terrible battle will take place. But as matters have been put for-

ward here and the way the Central Committee has armed us, if we have not been intimidated ten times then we will not be intimidated a thousand times.

Therefore this meeting of the Plenum has been for us, the members of the Political Bureau, a great lesson even though you threw on us many flowers. We did not refer these questions to the Central Committee previously because we did not want these sufferings to be communicated to the whole leadership of the Party.

At the November meeting we think that something will be achieved. But it will not be plain sailing. We saw with what rapidity Khrushchev organized the Bucharest Meeting and also the words addressed to Comrade Hysni Kapo by the official delegate of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Violating everything we had decided, he said to Hysni that decisions should be taken at this meeting, that is to expel China, but in Bucharest this was not done because Khrushchev took fright and withdrew. Therefore, he had thought to take decisions. Even though he did not manage to take any decisions, he laid the ground for another meeting in November so that he can say to China "you see how we others are all one fist, therefore, think carefully; either submit to the majority or else, get out!" But these things don't go down with China. The Central Committee of the Communist Party of China at the end of the Bucharest Meeting distributed a letter to all the delegations, a letter written on a Marxist basis, in which they directly accused N.S. Khrushchev and condemned the anti-Marxist methods which were used by him and others. It was stressed that these things would be put forward at the coming meeting. N. Khrushchev accused that China wants war and openly and for evil aims distorts the sayings of Mao Zedong. We ourselves heard Mao Zedong when he spoke at the Meeting of the communist and workers' parties in Moscow, 1957. Mao Zedong spoke in detail about the great strength of the socialist camp, beginning from the Second World War, from the Korean War, in Indochina, etc. Further, after speaking about the great strength of our camp, he stressed that there is a possibility that imperialism will attack us. If war breaks out, imperialism may use the atomic bomb and hundreds of millions of people may be killed, but despite this, he said, we will win. The Soviet leaders do not interpret correctly the expression of the Chinese comrades who say that imperialism is a paper tiger. The Soviet leaders cling onto some expression and distort its meaning. With this expres-

sion, the Chinese wanted to argue the rottenness of imperialism. Mao Zedong himself pointed out the great strength of our camp, saying that in the face of the great strength of the socialist camp, imperialism is nothing else but a paper tiger.

We are for c-existence, but not for the coexistence Khrushchev preaches. He calls Nehru¹ a brother, this man who is suppressing the revolts of the starved Indian people in blood.

Every time I have been to the Kremlin, I have seen the bust of Gandhi² on Khrushchev's table. You know who Gandhi is. Why does the First Secretary of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union have to keep the bust of Gandhi on his table?

The disarmament Nikita Khrushchev is talking about is nothing else but an illusion, a parade. These matters are linked with the fate of revolution, with the fate of mankind. We, even though we are small in number, have our share of the responsibility. So much greater, then, is the responsibility of the Soviet leadership. Therefore wavering stands must not be maintained. If Nikita Khrushchev and company lead this matter into a blind alley, we too will have our say. Our Party has always spoken out on the correct Marxist-Leninist road.

The methods which the Soviet leaders have used are anti-Marxist. This is what Comrade Hysni Kapo said at Bucharest, on behalf of the Political Bureau when he suggested that such methods be immediately stopped. With such methods the enemies aim at placing the membership of our Party against the leadership but our Party will deal blows to such methods.

On the one hand, Mikoyan said to Mehmet Shehu and me "please comrade Albanians, we ask you to keep these things secret." We did not even tell the Political Bureau about them, whereas, on the other hand, Andropov said to the members of our delegation at the Third Congress of the Romanian Workers' Party in Bucharest: "Hasn't your Political Bureau told you about these matters?" We told Khrushchev, through Comrade Hysni, that our Party knows what and when to inform the Party members.

Now we can see that the Soviets have undoubtedly received instructions for the things they do. For example, here too they go to one of the functionaries of the apparatus of the Central Committee without knowing him at all, and they say how are you, when

¹ Then Prime Minister of India.

² M.K. Gandhi (1869-1948), Indian political personality.

are we going to get together, to talk about these questions, but he replied that these matters are discussed where they should be discussed and not with me.

What is all this? This is not Marxist. Therefore, we sent the letter to the committees of the Party.

Another question is that at every moment, vigilance must be at the required level. We must be armed and we must know how to preconceive just how the many enemies surrounding us will exploit this situation. They will try to vent their spleen through their people here, to extend and incite this struggle against our Party and against the construction of socialism in Albania. Therefore vigilance must be sharpened to the limit. As Mehmet pointed out, another problem is the work we must do to realize the plans. We must seriously consider the economic questions; we must think deeply about them, because difficult situations may be created. We must be prepared for every eventuality. What eventuality? It could happen that enemies attack us. For this, we must be vigilant, as always, against enemies. We must face the enemy in fierce and uncompromising struggle, mercilessly attack it.

Naturally our enemies will hatch plots. We know the plans of the Yugoslav revisionists for our country. Thus, we have been and will be vigilant. Now, vigilance must be raised to an even greater level, in the ranks of the Party, in all directions, including discipline in production, so that everything is under the control of the Party.

The Party must gain a firm grip on the economic problems. We must not think now the weather is against us, etc. and allow things to take their own course. It is possible for us to work well, to take in wheat, corn, cotton and other products, despite the bad weather conditions. We must exploit these great possibilities, mobilize ourselves totally in this direction, because the imperialists could spring surprises on us.

Thus, the army must be armed, it must be on alert and vigilant and the revolutionary fire, which burns in the hearts of the communists must imbue the entire army. The Party must be on its feet, it must keep a firm grip on its arms, be disciplined and politically mature. With such readiness and with such preparation, things will surely go well.

The organs of the Ministry of Internal Affairs must show great revolutionary vigilance. They must be as they have always been, on the attack against internal and external enemies to defend the

borders from the innumerable attempts which our enemies will make against us. There, the Party must mobilize all its forces, to stand firm and deal blows to enemies without mercy. Our line has been and is correct and vigilance has never been extinguished. We must be vigilant in the future too and we must not nap. This is of extreme importance.

The truth is that the Albanian communists are courageous; they are not hot-blooded as Khrushchev says, but cool-headed as a good courageous fighter is cool-headed. I say this because there has never been any alarm in our work. We have experienced other very difficult moments, but we have remained unwavering and we have never become confused.

We must mobilize the masses on the road of the Party, for the realization of the plans, for the strengthening of revolutionary vigilance. We must carry out the tasks these moments charge us with thoroughly, without being alarmed, because the enemy also wants to alarm us. The methods of the enemy to fan panic are many and varied but the Party must set the example, the communists must stand unwavering and heroic and they must not become confused. If such a stand is held then the people will be inspired and will be tempered with the unwavering stand of the Party. Therefore, all these qualities of our Party must be brought to the fore, they must be conducted to the base, we must mobilize people and temper them with these virtues of the Party.

This Plenum has been a great school for all of us. So let's arm ourselves with the teachings of this Plenum and get down to work. Now we propose that we publish the draft communique with the aim of letting our people and friends know the development of our meeting of the Central Committee.

THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE IS THE LEADERSHIP OF THE PARTY WHICH ALWAYS JUDGES CORRECTLY, WISELY, CALMLY, AND IF NEED BE, SEVERELY

(From the talk with Koço Tashko)

August 3, 1960

When the Khrushchevite group after the Bucharest Meeting launched a fierce attack against the Party of Labour of Albania to bring it to its knees and compel it to follow the revisionist line, it put into motion also its secret agents in Albania in order "to take the fortress from within." For this aim the Soviet revisionist leadership employed its agents Liri Belishova and Koço Tashko. Koço Tashko's anti-Party views, stands and activities as an agent of the Soviet revisionists are clearly revealed in the conversation between him and Comrade Enver Hoxha on August 3, 1960, entitled: "The Central Committee Is the Leadership of the Party Which Always Judges Correctly, Wisely, Calmly, and if Need Be, Severely." The following are excerpts from this conversation.

Comrade Enver Hoxha said to Koço Tashko: I received your letter in which you asked to meet me. I authorized Comrade Hysni Kapo to talk with you, but you were not satisfied because you wanted to speak with me or with nobody. Of course, anybody may ask to talk with the First Secretary of the Central Committee, but it may happen that the First Secretary is very busy or absent from Tirana. In such cases I authorize somebody else, as I did in your case. In the evening, as soon as I received your letter, I sent it immediately to Hysni through an officer. The officer was instructed to inform you to come and meet Hysni at the Central Committee. This was not to your liking and you used bad language towards our officers. When a Secretary of the Central Committee asks you to come to meet him, you should go there at once, at the fixed time, and not when it pleases you. Otherwise, how can a man call himself a communist if he does not show himself to be correct and disciplined when invited by a comrade whom the Party has elected to the leadership?¹ Besides, you know that our officers are

¹ Even for his meeting with Comrade Enver Hoxha, Koço Tashko was three

our comrades, they are communists, they are not “policemen” as you call them. You are wrong to speak like this because you are a Party member. The Party has charged our officers with an important task.

We have invited you¹ today to talk over the problems which you raised in the letter, and what you discussed with Hysni. Therefore, you must speak openly, clearly, in detail, like a Party member. We have time at our disposal and the patience to hear you out. Tell us about your problems one by one. In what are you opposed to the Central Committee and where does it stem from? Tell us about the talk you have had with the functionaries of the Soviet embassy, what they said to you and what you said to them.

(Koço Tashko began speaking in an irresponsible and insolent manner. Patiently, Comrade Enver Hoxha tried to help him, from time to time breaking in to ask a question).

Comrade Enver Hoxha: You are trying to jump from one thing to another, by telling us what was said at the Plenum² of the Central Committee of our Party, as if I were not present at the meeting. Why don't you tell us about the other matters we want to know? You told us nothing about what you said to Hysni. I say you should judge things better. Many things you raise here are the offspring of your imagination.

You are not in order when you say that the criticisms we levelled at Khrushchev were not fair. In your opinion, over what problems has Khrushchev been wrong? Or is he wrong at all? As you said yourself, your opinion is that Khrushchev was unjustly attacked by those who spoke at the Plenum and no measures were taken against them. This is astonishing. Instead of condemning the attitude of Khrushchev, you seek to condemn the comrades of the Plenum who quite rightly spoke against him.

A little while ago you said, “Perhaps by travelling so much in the capitalist countries, Khrushchev might bring back other ideas. I want to say that there is a possibility that some circumstances might influence him. But if Khrushchev is making mistakes, Stalin made mistakes too.” No Koço, don't mix Khrushchev with Stalin. Do not speak in general, but tell us concretely, has Khrushchev made mistakes or not?

hours late, for which he was severely criticized.

¹ Comrade Rita Marko, Member of the Political Bureau of the CC of the PLA, was also present at this meeting.

² The 17th Plenum, July 11-12, 1960.

Koço Tashko: I say that he has not made mistakes.

Comrade Enver Hoxha: But you say that Khrushchev might make mistakes just as Stalin?

Koço Tashko: Even if he is wrong, I believe that he will be corrected.

Comrade Enver Hoxha: You say that you were not in agreement when I did not go to the Bucharest Meeting, that allegedly I did not reply to the invitation of the Soviets. It is not as you say. I had no such invitation. You fabricate non-existent things.

The norms of the Marxist-Leninist parties are known by all.

If you do not know these norms, then I shall tell you: it has not happened and does not happen that the Central Committee of our Party may say to the First Secretary “don’t go” when he is invited to a meeting of the communist and workers’ parties of the socialist camp of the world. Just at the last Plenum it was decided that at the coming meeting to be held in November in Moscow, the First Secretary of the Central Committee will go at the head of the delegation of our Party. We were invited to Bucharest only by the Romanian Workers’ Party to take part in its Congress and we sent our delegation there. As regards the meeting of the representatives of the communist and workers’ parties which was held in Bucharest, according to the agreement reached before hand, it was aimed only at fixing a time and place of the coming meeting of the communist and workers’ parties of the world, therefore our Central Committee did not consider it necessary to send me to Bucharest, but authorized Comrade Hysni Kapo to take part in the meeting. Now as for whence you deduce the things you are saying, other than what they are in reality and what your starting point is, we do not understand, therefore explain this to us yourself.

You are a Party member, how can it be explained that you think that all the things that were said at the Plenum of the Party’s Central Committee were not put forward correctly, and are without foundation? What is well-founded then? These things that you told us?

Koço Tashko: You should have more confidence in Khrushchev.

Comrade Enver Hoxha: When according to the Marxist-Leninist organizational norms and the rules of proletarian internationalism, one party criticizes another party, or when a leader criticizes the leader of another party, because he has committed mis-

takes, this is a correct stand.

You are of the opinion that the Moscow Meeting should not be held in November, but as soon as possible. But this is a proposal made by you. The essence of the matter is that we shall go to the Moscow Meeting and there we shall express our viewpoint. What have you to say on this?

Koço Tashko: I do not agree that you should go into details.

Comrade Enver Hoxha: What do you agree we should say, tell us.

Koço Tashko: I told you, I have nothing to add. I am a sick man.

Comrade Enver Hoxha: Koço Tashko, you are not as physically sick as you pretend. You are sick in the head. But the Party is healthy. The Party can cure those who are sick in the head if they so desire. It is the Party's duty to help people to have their say, to correct themselves to march on the right road, but in order to receive this aid, their hearts must be open before the Party. Do you know these principles?

Koço Tashko: I know them, that is why I asked to talk with you because I could not speak at the Plenum as I can here. Who would let you speak like this there? They would have me by the throat.

Comrade Enver Hoxha: What is this you are saying? Explain yourself a little. Who does not allow you to speak at the Plenum of the Central Committee? According to you when you cannot speak at the Plenum, this means that the situation there is unhealthy. You said that you have great faith in the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, then why don't you have the same faith in our Party as well, of which you yourself are a member?

Koço Tashko: I said this because, if they interrupted when I spoke, I am nervous and... one interjection, one remark against me, throws me off balance.

Comrade Enver Hoxha: As to what you feel, I do not know. I only know the Leninist norms of our Party. The Central Committee is the leadership of the Party which always judges things correctly, wisely, calmly, but when necessary, severely. Then how can you speak like this about the Central Committee, about the leadership of the Party? The members of the Central Committee are not children, who, as you say, would not judge you well, but would hurl at your throat. What do you mean by saying that you are nerv-

ous?

Koço Tashko: That I cannot speak there, this is a physical problem.

Comrade Enver Hoxha: But can such a stand before the Central Committee of our Party be called Marxist? Last night you said to Hysni that if you had spoken at the Plenum, you would have caused a split. While here you are telling me that if you had spoken, "They would have hurled themselves at your throat." Which statement do you stand by? If you explain this with "health reasons," you do not convince us. It is your duty to give the explanations that the Central Committee demands from you because you are a Party member. Therefore, tell us why you think that the members of the Plenum would not judge you fairly.

The communist speaks openly at the meetings of the Party. When he considers that he is expressing a correct view, this is in the interests of the Party, therefore he defends his opinion to the end, even if all the others are opposed to his view. That is what Lenin teaches us. The interests of the Party should be put above everything else, and not personal interests. The communist might even die, he might collapse unconscious at the meeting, but the Party must know his viewpoint, now or after 50 years, therefore he should express this viewpoint, just as it is. That is how the Party members think, but not you, afraid to speak like this at the Plenum and now you tell me here: "My heart may stop beating if I speak!" I ask you again, tell us, what is this idea you expressed to Hysni that your speech would cause a split?

Koço Tashko: I said that the comrades of the Central Committee must not think that I was criticizing you.

Comrade Enver Hoxha: This is what you think and not the comrades of the Plenum, who understand criticism correctly. And why shouldn't you criticize me? Tell us what is the Central Committee and what am I? I am a Party member, a soldier of the Party. Above me is the Political Bureau, above the Political Bureau is the Central Committee, above which is the Congress of the Party. Then why do you prefer to have a tête-à-tête talk alone with me and not with the Central Committee, which is the leading forum of the Party, while I am a member of the Central Committee? Tomorrow you will come to the Central Committee again and give explanations for these viewpoints.

Koço Tashko: But there are things which one should discuss more in confidence.

Comrade Enver Hoxha: It seems to me you do not have a correct understanding of the Central Committee. What is there in all this to be discussed in confidence? Why should you discuss these things “more in confidence,” for what reasons? How can it be explained that you want to avoid saying these things in the Central Committee? Why are you worried that by speaking at the Plenum of the Central Committee you would cause a split among its ranks? You did not explain this.

You admitted here that if you had spoken at the Plenum, it might have been thought that “Koço waited and said these things at a meeting where there were a whole lot of people!” How can you speak in such a way about the Central Committee? Are you in your senses or not? What is the Central Committee, “a mob,” a random gathering? Better to have raised these matters at the Plenum as there would have been no split at all, only the authority the Party has given you would have declined. Think it over, speak out as you should speak in the Party, you poor man. What are these things? You have been nursing these thoughts for 20 days without saying a word to us.

You have said that you agree only on the question of our going to Moscow and “If we do have any opinions about Khrushchev we should say them to him.” But you know very well, because you were at the Central Committee and heard it there, that we have continually told Khrushchev what we think. Therefore the things we have to say to Khrushchev are not new to him, we have told him to his face and have not kept them to ourselves. Did you hear this at the Plenum or not?

As the facts show, you do not agree with the decisions of the Plenum, except on one thing, that we must go to Moscow.

These are not family problems, neither are they friendly ones. You come out with views contrary to the Central Committee. Then why raise such worrying problems, about which the Central Committee has decided what stand should be adopted, today, and not at the proper time? On such Party problems why wait and think “to meet Comrade Enver when he goes on holiday”? For all these problems that you have and which are in opposition to the Party, you should come to us the very next day. Why did you leave this problem for 20 days? This is not a Party stand. How will you explain this stand to your branch?

Koço Tashko: I did not come because I thought you were busy

with Thorez.¹

Comrade Enver Hoxha: I stayed only two hours with Thorez. You should have asked for a meeting, it was your duty to tell the Party everything and not to think that “now Comrade Enver is with Thorez,” that “I shall go meet him when he goes to Korça on holiday,” etc. If I had not gone to Korça, what would you have done? I suppose you would have kept these things to yourself still, especially as you did not want to tell them to any other Secretary of the Central Committee.

Koço Tashko: As I said to the Soviet comrades, I hoped that you would talk with Thorez about these problems, and that through his mediation a way to solve them would be found.

Comrade Enver Hoxha: So this is what you think! And it seems to me that this is what kept you from meeting me at once. Why do you have hopes in Thorez and yourself and not in Enver, who is your First Secretary? However is your view that now Thorez has come things will be put right correct? Tell us. What things will be put right, have you thought correctly about it or not?

You thought that now that Thorez had come, attempts would be made to improve relations with Khrushchev. What are these attempts? What mediation should we have sought from Thorez, in your opinion? Explain yourself.

Koço Tashko: This is very simple: Thorez is General Secretary of a glorious party and I thought that Comrade Enver will tell him that the Moscow Meeting should be held earlier than November.

Comrade Enver Hoxha: It is still stuck in your mind that the November meeting should be held earlier. I told you that this does not depend on us. We have been and still are of the opinion that this meeting should be held, and we have declared this before the representatives of more than 50 parties. It was decided at Bucharest that this meeting would be held in Moscow, on the occasion of the celebration of the Great October Socialist Revolution. It has also been decided that before the meeting the proceedings of the Commission comprised of the representatives of the 12 parties of the socialist countries and the representatives of the 14 other parties of the capitalist states should take place. These problems will be discussed first at the Commission and then the material will be sent to every party, hence, to our Party too. When they

¹ Maurice Thorez, at that time General Secretary of the French Communist Party, who during those days had come to Albania for vacation.

come, we shall study these materials very carefully and act as was decided at the Plenum of the Central Committee and which you know. Therefore, you had no need to demand from our Party that the meeting should be held as early as possible. If the meeting is held earlier, we are ready to go.

You want the meeting to be held very soon but you do not come, according to the Party rules, and tell the First Secretary your great anxiety. Then what are the reasons that you think “now that Thorez has come the problems will be set on the right path and put in order”? What problems are you talking about?

Koço Tashko: Good grief — about the known problems. All those things that were said at the Plenum and what we are talking about here.

Comrade Enver Hoxha: That is to say that we should tell Thorez everything and he should put them forward in the place you have in mind! But how was it decided at the Central Committee? At the Plenum we decided to put forward these problems at the Moscow Meeting. If we were to solve these problems through Thorez, this would mean we would be acting outside the decision of the Central Committee. How does it come about that you think in such a way?

Koço Tashko: I think it is correct to make use of Thorez for any disagreement you have with Brezhnev, Kozlov¹ and others.

Comrade Enver Hoxha: What is this Brezhnev, why do you try to frighten us with these names? We have nothing to do with the President of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Soviet Union. Don't try to provoke us here. I have told Kozlov to his face what is wrong with him and I shall do so again.

Now tell us about the meetings you have had with the Soviet representatives. We are interested to know what you talked about. Tell us the important things.

Koço Tashko: On July 29, Bespalov² phoned me and asked me to come and talk to him. I met him at the Soviet club. We saw the film and afterwards we went to Dajti Hotel. Bespalov told me that relations between us have become cool.

Comrade Enver Hoxha: Didn't they say why they have become cool?

Koço Tashko: He did not say, nor did I ask. We talked about

¹ Member of the Presidium and Secretary of the CC of the CPSU.

² At that time First Secretary of the Soviet embassy in Tirana.

many things. I told him that the Plenum of the Central Committee of our Party has charged Comrade Enver Hoxha with the solution of the problems. I said that perhaps something might be done through the talks that would be held with Thorez.

Comrade Enver Hoxha: But what was your opinion?

Koço Tashko: My opinion was that these problems should be solved at the November meeting or at any other meeting that might be held. I do not exclude some other meeting apart from that of November.

Comrade Enver Hoxha: Thus you do not exclude another meeting. Go on.

Koço Tashko: I told Bespalov that with the coming of Thorez to our country, there will be something positive, because that day I had read in the newspaper *Zëri i Popullit* the speech Thorez made in Korça and I was impressed by the fact that he spoke very well of our Party, the Central Committee and Comrade Enver Hoxha.

Comrade Enver Hoxha: That is to say that you came to the conclusion that we had talked, that we had discussed these problems too and were of one mind with Thorez. Thus you judge from the outside, formulate in your imagination ideas that Thorez has not come here for a vacation but to talk. And you say this to Bespalov. You thought that the comrades of the Bureau must have come to agreement with Thorez and proceeding from the estimation Thorez made of our Party in the speech he delivered in Korça, you judged that the leadership of our Party has also given way. Thus, according to your thinking, all the things decided by the Plenum have been discarded and Enver has come to the same opinions as Koço. Have you met Novikov?¹

Koço Tashko: I have met him. Bespalov asked me to dinner at Novikov's house, and Ivanov² was there too. After dinner we had a long talk. Near the end, I don't remember how it arose, we talked about Thorez.

Comrade Enver Hoxha: Try to remember how this conversation developed.

Koço Tashko: We just talked about Thorez.

Comrade Enver Hoxha: It was all about Thorez?

Koço Tashko: Yes, that Thorez would save the day.

Comrade Enver Hoxha: But Ivanov — what did he say?

¹ At that time advisor of the Soviet embassy in Tirana.

² At that time ambassador of the Soviet Union in Tirana.

Koço Tashko: I don't know; he spoke in general.

Comrade Enver Hoxha: We know Ivanov very well; he is not one to speak in general.

Koço Tashko: Ivanov has never talked with me about the problems we are speaking about. Neither has Zolotov¹ or Bespalov — they are close friends of mine.

Comrade Enver Hoxha: I find it surprising that they have not talked with you, when you are close friends, at a time when they are approaching cadres whom they know and saying “come and talk with us.”

Koço Tashko: They have not talked with me, not only now, but even in 1957 when I was in the Soviet Union. From all they did for me at that time, I understood something. They did me all these great honours. They said, “If you like you may stay in the villa where Comrade Enver stays with the government delegation”; they even invited me to the reception that was given in the Kremlin. Hence, they have *uvazhenie*² for me and behave well. But recently, when Ivanov shakes hands with me, he does so very briefly in order to avoid compromising me in the eyes of somebody who does not like me.

Comrade Enver Hoxha: But why could he compromise you? Who does not like you, is this true?

Koço Tashko: I do not know, I cannot explain.

Comrade Enver Hoxha: But later why did Ivanov become closer to you again?

Koço Tashko: This is one of the questions that I have in the back of my mind too.

Comrade Enver Hoxha: You said that all the talk with the Soviet representatives was about Thorez, that this was a very important question? But when you consider the question of Thorez important, why do you talk with Novikov and Ivanov and not come to me? You have had all these talks with them before sending me your letter.

Koço Tashko: I went to them by chance.

Comrade Enver Hoxha: The Party comrades will laugh at you when this question is discussed. Since you set the thesis that Comrade Enver might have talked with Thorez, why do you discuss this question with the Soviet representatives?

¹ At that time employee of the Soviet embassy in Tirana.

² Respect, Russ. in the original.

Koço Tashko: I do not see anything wrong with that.

Comrade Enver Hoxha: We are in the Offices of the Central Committee here, therefore speak in the proper manner. I am not a prosecutor but First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Party. Therefore discuss the problems as they are discussed in the Party. What you are telling us does not add up. On the one hand, you say that you can talk only to Comrade Enver because he is the First Secretary of the Central Committee, and on the other hand the idea you have about our Party, you do not tell him, but you go and tell it to Bespalov, whom you consider a close friend, as you yourself said. What are you saying? Bespalov has his place and the First Secretary of the Central Committee of our Party has his.

Why did you not respect the organizational rules of the Party and talk with me? If you have disagreements with the Central Committee and wanted to speak to the First Secretary about them you should have done it at the proper time even immediately after the Plenum. Whether you should have gone to the Soviet representatives or not, this is another matter. In my opinion you had no business to go there, while you not only went and talked with them, but went without saying a word to us and had three meetings with Soviet representatives.

Koço Tashko: No, I had only two.

Comrade Enver Hoxha: This is stated in writing in your letter. Even if you had not met them at all, even the idea of going to them for talks before coming to your Party is impermissible and contrary to the organizational rules of the Party.

I do not accept that you wrote your letter to me before you talked with the Soviet representatives: the very content of it refutes such acceptance.

According to you, it seems that Thorez has come from Paris just to talk with us about these questions and go on to Moscow. When Ivanov told you that besides Thorez, there are also some others who will go to Moscow on August 8 were you not curious to ask who these others are? Then who asked you to say to Ivanov that an invitation to this meeting should go to Comrade Enver? Who authorized you to speak in the name of the First Secretary of the Central Committee? Now you come and say to me that you are of the opinion that the problems should not be left to be discussed in November "since they will grow worse." We know this, but we know the other side, too, that our Party is not making matters worse. It is your actions that are doing this, therefore do not ac-

cuse the Party.

For 4-5 years we have not uttered a word about the unjust actions of certain Soviet leaders. Some Soviet leaders attack us, but we have been patient, while now you come and say that we should not leave things to get worse. Isn't this an accusation? I told you, and I repeat, that it does not depend on our Party to decide the time of the meeting. Why are you so insistent that this meeting should be held as soon as possible? You tell Ivanov that an invitation should go to Comrade Enver, then you come here and tell me to go and talk with Ivanov myself. Have you thought about what course you are on? Why do you talk like this? What wrong has our Party done you? It has brought you up, it has helped you, it is helping and will help you, but what you have done is very grave.

You say that you love the Party, why then do you not tell the Party the things that are worrying you so much?

Koço Tashko: I told you that I am a phlegmatic type, therefore you should also keep in mind the human aspect and types of the people. And what is more, after I met the Soviet representatives, they put me in a difficult position.

Comrade Enver Hoxha: How did they put you in a difficult position? Explain yourself.

Koço Tashko: I intended to meet you, but I postponed it from day to day. As soon as I talked with Beshpalov I understood that this problem could not be put off any longer.

Comrade Enver Hoxha: Explain to us a little: why did you go and talk with him since you condemn this talk?

Koço Tashko: No, I do not condemn it, but I had something to say to you also.

Comrade Enver Hoxha: You tell them everything, while you tell the First Secretary of the Central Committee of your Party only "something." But who is to blame for what you have done? If you realize your mistake, then make a little self-criticism. Didn't the Soviet representatives, with whom you talked, ask how the Plenum went?

Koço Tashko (hesitates), then says: They may have asked me.

Comrade Enver Hoxha: Tell us frankly, did you say anything about the Plenum? Didn't Ivanov ask how these problems were discussed at the Plenum? I ask you again, did Ivanov ask how these matters were discussed in the Plenum? Did he ask you such a question?

What was it that you said to Hysni, you who pose as allegedly knowing the history of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, when you put our leadership in the position of the Mensheviks and Trotskyites and said that what is happening here with us “is like the time of Kronstadt”¹ in the Soviet Union. Is this what you think about your Party? Then what are we — Whiteguardists?

Do you know the history of our Party? It was not you who inculcated the great love of our people for the peoples of the Soviet Union but our Party, during the War, with blood and sweat, while now you come and make such accusations against us. These things that you said have their roots elsewhere, therefore think and reflect, only in the Party way, otherwise you will not correct yourself. Come down to earth. The Party has respected you more than you deserved. Your imagination is sick and this is not a recent illness — you have had this sickness for some time.

To tell the truth, from no one else in my life have I heard such a discussion and presentation of the matter, without start, without finish, without any connection between one thing and another, like this I heard from you. Many comrades have come and have opened their hearts to me when they have made some mistake, but they have emerged from the discussions feeling better. While now you speak to me about “humanism,” about the phlegmatic type! I have been humanitarian with people, with the comrades. What do you want when you tell me now “to see the human side too”? Do you want me to fail to defend the line of the Party, its interests? Please! I put the interests of the Party and of the people above everything else and I will defend them as long as I live. If anybody has facts with which to criticize me and the Central Committee, we shall welcome their just criticisms gladly, and this is how we have always received them.

But if anybody criticizes us for the stand we maintain towards the Yugoslav revisionists, we say “stop” whoever it might be, even Khrushchev, because we call a spade a spade. He himself has said that the Yugoslav leadership is an agency of imperialism. Then why should our Party be attacked for its just stand against the Yugoslav revisionists? For what reasons? How can we keep our mouths shut over these things? When we say that the Communist

¹ With openly hostile tendentiousness Koço Tashko puts the fair criticism which the PLA makes of the Khrushchevite revisionists on a par with the Kronstadt rebellion of 1921, when the Menshevik and Trotskyite forces, assisted by the Anglo-American imperialists, rose against the Soviet power.

Party of the Soviet Union is the mother party, this does not mean that we should keep silent about the mistakes of someone in its leadership.

After the talks we held in Moscow in 1957, out of respect for the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, for a time we did not write against Yugoslav revisionism in our press. However, it was not long and the Yugoslav revisionists held their notorious 7th Congress, with regard to which the correctness of the line of our Party was once again obvious. By taking a revolutionary stand we are defending both the Soviet Union itself and its Communist Party, while those who, in one way or the other, violate the principles of Marxism-Leninism we shall criticize in a Marxist-Leninist way, whoever they may be. Don't we have the right to criticize someone when the cup is full? When mistakes are made, we cannot sit in silence. We shall criticize in a Marxist-Leninist way because this is the way to defend the freedom and the independence of our homeland and of the Soviet Union itself, because so much blood has been shed to win these things. This is the way to defend Marxism-Leninism, proletarian internationalism, Koço Tashko, and not your way. You mix up things in your imagination.

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union has the right to act as it likes, but we have the right to have our say about the complaints made against our Party. Our Party fights to the end to defend the interest of the people and of Marxism-Leninism from the enemies, but your sick imagination says otherwise. Criticism is criticism, therefore when you are faced with mistakes, it is opportunism not to criticize. However, you have suffered to some degree from this disease. I have followed the life of the Party carefully from the very beginning. There are occasions when little should be said, but there are also occasions when you should grit your teeth, and when it is a matter of principles, they must be defended, we must not violate them.

Have you seen our writings where we criticize the Yugoslav revisionists? In them we have constantly spoken about the experience of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Then why come and point out to me one by one the articles published by the Soviet comrades. I know them, but there are also differences in our attitudes that are not just tactical differences. We have made our criticisms known to Khrushchev too. We do not speak about them in secret. We have told him openly to his face and he has spoken to us the same way. But these differences have not led us to a split.

You know the viewpoint of our Party, that the disagreements that have emerged are between two parties, between the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Communist Party of China, and we have said at the proper time that the examination of these questions in Bucharest was premature, hasty, that they should be solved carefully and by strictly applying the Leninist organizational rules on the relations between parties. What then impels you to adopt this stand against the Central Committee? Therefore, as a comrade I say to you: reflect upon these questions. During these next two or three days, according to the Party rules, you have the possibility to write to the Central Committee about these questions.

Koço Tashko: I have nothing more to say.

Comrade Enver Hoxha: That means that you will not act like any Party member, to whom the Party lends a hand to think over his mistakes. Then don't come out tomorrow and say that Comrade Enver did not give me the possibility to reflect more deeply over my mistakes.

Koço Tashko: I have nothing to say. What I had to say, I said here.

Comrade Enver Hoxha: In short, this is your stand. Are you not going to re-examine your position? I advise you once again, to reflect today, tomorrow, till the day after tomorrow, and hand us your views in writing, then we shall judge your case in the Central Committee, because it is a problem of importance which the Plenum of the Party's Central Committee must discuss and decide.

Koço Tashko: I shall not write. I said what I had to say.

**LETTER TO THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF
THE CPSU CONCERNING THE OPEN
INTERFERENCE IN THE INTERNAL AFFAIRS
OF THE PARTY OF LABOUR OF ALBANIA AND
THE ALBANIAN STATE BY SOME
FUNCTIONARIES OF THE SOVIET UNION IN
TIRANA**

August 6, 1960

In the series of pressures and threats of the Soviet revisionist leadership with Khrushchev at the head, the Soviet embassy in Tirana, which openly interfered in our home affairs, carried out an especially hostile and diversionist activity against the Party of Labour of Albania and its leadership. The letter of Comrade Enver Hoxha of August 6, 1960 to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union deals with the open interference in the internal affairs of the Party of Labour of Albania and the Albanian state by some functionaries of the embassy of the Soviet Union in Tirana.

In its relations with the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the Party of Labour of Albania, *the letter reads*, has always been guided by the great principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism...

It is with the greatest regret that we inform you that in these recent times, following the Meeting of the representatives of the communist and workers' parties in Bucharest, we notice a radical change in the attitude of several persons who are functionaries of the Soviet embassy in Tirana, an attitude which can only bring harm to the friendly relations between our two countries and our two parties, for it has to do with the blatant interference of these persons in the internal affairs of our Party and state in contrast to the Marxist-Leninist stand that has always been adopted by Soviet personnel towards our internal questions.

We note with great regret that Comrade K.I. Novikov, counsellor to the Soviet embassy in Tirana, going beyond any Party rules and norms determining our fraternal relations, has many times attempted to gather information from the cadres and functionaries of our Party in Tirana, Elbasan, Durrës and elsewhere

on such important questions about our Party as those examined by the Plenum of the Central Committee of the Party, which concern the general political line of the Party of Labour of Albania. He has spoken to our Party cadres in open opposition to the general line of the Party and has carried out agitation with them in order to place them in wrong positions opposed to the Central Committee of our Party.

The First Secretary of the Soviet embassy, F.P. Bepalov, together with the ambassador, Comrade Ivanov, and the counsellor at the embassy, Comrade K.I. Novikov, through methods impermissible in the relations between Marxist-Leninist parties, have been able to exert a negative influence on Koço Tashko, Chairman of the Auditing Commission in our Party, drawing him to positions openly against the general line of our Party.

Such activity is a flagrant and impermissible interference in the internal affairs of our Marxist-Leninist Party on the part of these functionaries of the Soviet embassy, open activity against the unity of our Party and against its general line.

We have been very concerned particularly by the stand of the Soviet ambassador. Comrade Ivanov, who recently went to such lengths in his unfriendly activity towards our Party as to dare ask our generals and officers publicly at the Tirana airport the astonishing and suspect question: "To whom does the army stand loyal?" There and then our generals gave him the proper answer and came with tears in their eyes to the Central Committee of the Party, revolted by such a tendentious question from Comrade Ivanov. They asked the logical question: "Why does he ask such a question, why should he doubt the loyalty of our army towards the Party, the homeland, the people and the camp of socialism?" For all of us, this stand of the ambassador of the Soviet Union, Comrade Ivanov, is utterly impermissible.

These facts (and there are many others like these) have caused us immense distress. Until now we have turned a deaf ear and have shut one eye towards the actions of these functionaries of the Soviet embassy, and this we have done simply for the sake of the great friendship which exists between our two countries. But now that the actions of several functionaries of the Soviet embassy against the general line and the unity of our Party are assuming intolerable proportions, we deem it our duty to inform you in a comradely manner in the hope that you will take the appropriate measures. These actions of several functionaries of the Soviet em-

bassy do not contribute to the strengthening of the friendship which exists between our two countries. They harm the internationalist relations existing between our two parties.

We feel it our duty to inform you of such things, to talk with you openly and directly, as we have always done, as the Party of the great Lenin itself teaches us. We do not understand why such a change in the attitude of these functionaries of the Soviet embassy should occur. They speak to our cadres in open opposition to the stand adopted by our Party at the Meeting of the communist and workers' parties in Bucharest and are striving intensively to disrupt the unity of our Party and its leadership.

The stand of our Party at the Bucharest Meeting is as clear as daylight. At that Meeting our Party frankly and clearly expressed its views, and nobody is permitted to distort reality about the attitude of our Party. Just as we spoke frankly and clearly at the Bucharest Meeting about the questions which were raised at that Meeting, so too we shall speak frankly and clearly at the coming meeting which will take place in Moscow, as determined by all the parties that participated in the Bucharest Meeting. Nobody is permitted, for any reason, to interfere in our internal affairs in order to change the correct Marxist-Leninist stand of our Party, as some functionaries of the Soviet embassy in Tirana are attempting to do.

Our Party, like all the other Marxist-Leninist parties, has the right to have its own view and to express its own view freely in the way it sees fit, as the great Lenin teaches us. Marxism-Leninism has given our Party this right to express its views freely and it is entirely impermissible that attempts should be made to present our Party as if in these recent times it has taken a wrong road, as some functionaries of the Soviet embassy in Tirana are seeking to "prove." Whoever tries to distort reality about the stand of our Party is gravely mistaken. The Party of Labour of Albania has been, is, and will remain through all its life loyal to Marxism-Leninism, and the best evidence of this is the whole glorious road our Party has traversed, from its creation and up till today...

The Party of Labour of Albania, as always, will struggle with all the strength it has to remain loyal to the end to Marxism-Leninism, as the great Lenin teaches us...

The Central Committee of our Party considers that the differences in the stands maintained by the CPSU and the Party of Labour of Albania at the Bucharest Meeting must not become cause

for interference in each other's internal affairs by any person whatsoever, for this would not help the cause and would impair the common interests between our two parties.

We are convinced that you will take the necessary measures to prevent any repetition of such incidents in the activity of the functionaries of the Soviet embassy in Tirana.

LETTER ADDRESSED TO ALL THE BASIC ORGANIZATIONS OF THE PARTY ABOUT THE HOLDING OF THE BUCHAREST MEETING AND ABOUT THE DISAGREEMENTS BETWEEN THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE SOVIET UNION AND THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF CHINA

August 9, 1960

At the most critical moment for the cause of communism, when the Party of Labour of Albania had to pronounce itself openly against the Khrushchevite plot, the steel-like unity of the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania with the entire Party shone with rare force. The leadership of our Party, with Comrade Enver Hoxha at the head, consistently followed the Leninist line of consultations with and information to the entire Party on these questions of vital importance for the fate of communism and the revolution. Comrade Enver Hoxha's letter of August 9, 1960 to all the Party basic organizations on the development of the Bucharest Meeting and on the disagreements between the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Communist Party of China testifies to this. Excerpts from this letter follow:

Some important ideological and political disagreements have arisen between the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Communist Party of China.

The Central Committee of the Party considers it necessary to inform all the Party organizations of our stand towards this problem by means of this letter.

On June 2, 1960, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union sent a letter to the CC of our Party in which it proposed the holding, at the end of June, of a meeting of the representatives of the communist and workers' parties of the countries of the socialist camp "to exchange opinions about the problems of the present international situation and to determine our further common line." The CC of our Party immediately replied to this letter, stressing that it was in full agreement with holding the proposed meeting at the end of June, and that the delegation of our Party for this purpose would be headed by Comrade

Enver Hoxha. However, on June 7 our CC received another letter from the CC of the CPSU. In this letter the Central Committee of the CPSU informed us that all the parties had agreed in principle to the holding of the meeting of the representatives of the communist and workers' parties of the socialist camp, but some of them had proposed that the meeting should be postponed to a later date. Concerning this, the June 7 letter of the Central Committee of the CPSU said "we could have a preliminary discussion with the representatives of your Party about the time for convening the meeting at the time of the Third Congress of the Romanian Workers' Party on June 20, after which, in agreement with the central committees of the sister parties, we shall fix the definite date of the meeting." The Central Committee of our Party replied to the Central Committee of the CPSU that it agreed that the meeting should be postponed and that agreement should be reached in Bucharest about the fixing of the date, i.e. when it should be held.

But in fact, our delegation, which went to participate in the Congress of the Romanian Workers' Party and to discuss the fixing of the date of the meeting of the representatives of the communist and workers' parties of the socialist camp, found itself in Bucharest faced with an international meeting already prepared.

It is quite clear that this meeting had been organized in haste and in opposition to the most elementary Leninist organizational rules.

In these circumstances, considering the way in which the Bucharest Meeting was prepared and held, the Political Bureau of our Party adopted a correct stand, the only correct, principled and Marxist-Leninist stand that could be adopted. What was this stand?

It can be summed up in a few words: first, the said disagreements are disagreements between the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Communist Party of China; second, the Bucharest Meeting was premature and held in contravention of the Leninist organizational rules; third, our Party will have its say about these disagreements at the coming meeting, which must be prepared according to the rules and the practice existing among the communist and workers' parties.

Our Party, which has always fought and has loyally defended the principles of Marxist-Leninism, is of the opinion that only at a meeting organized according to Leninist organizational rules, after having heard the arguments of the two sides with patience and

without heat, in a comradely spirit, can the conclusion be reached as to who is right and who is wrong, and how we should work jointly in the future for the good of socialism and communism, for the good of the unity of our socialist camp.

This wise, principled and Leninist stand was maintained by Comrade Hysni Kapo at the Bucharest Meeting on the instructions of the Political Bureau. As you know from the communique published in the press, this stand was fully and unanimously approved by the Plenum of the Central Committee of the Party which was held on July 11-12, 1960. The Central Committee is convinced that this correct and principled stand will be unanimously approved by every member of our heroic Party. Only those who do not want to respect the Leninist norms can fail to approve our correct stand.

The disagreements between the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Communist Party of China concern the two biggest countries and parties of the socialist camp. Our Party will work as before to strengthen our great love and friendship with the Soviet Union, with the Soviet people, with the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, all on the basis of Marxism-Leninism, for there is no stronger and more sincere love than that which is based on the triumphant precepts of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. But at the same time, it is undeniable and indisputable that great China, its people and Party, are dear to us too, just as for all the countries of the socialist camp.

Our Party of Labour has always worked and fought for the triumph of Marxism-Leninism, for its application in life, for the preservation of the purity of its principles. For this reason, during its entire glorious history our Party has always had an entirely correct line, a line which responds to the teachings of Lenin, which responds to the interests of the Albanian people, the interests of socialism and communism. Our Party will pursue this line based on these principles, without wavering whatsoever in the future, too.

Our Party will enhance and strengthen its revolutionary vigilance, which must always be at the proper level as befits our heroic Party, because the enemies of the Party and the people, the weak, opportunist and cowardly elements will strive as always in various ways to attack the Party and its correct line, to arouse doubts and slander our friendship with the great Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China, to spread various slogans and views with

a view to causing ideological confusion in our ranks. Being vigilant, all the members of our glorious Party must fight with courage and determination against any efforts of enemies to attain these base aims.

Our Party must strengthen even more the steel-like unity of its ranks, the unity of the entire Party round the Leninist Central Committee of our Party and the unity of the Party with our heroic people. Our unbreakable unity has always been the decisive condition for successfully overcoming any obstacle, for advance towards new successes. Now, too, it is the decisive condition for the triumph of the line of the Party, to crush any activity of our enemies, to defeat the opportunists, the weak and cowardly elements.

The Central Committee of the Party is firmly confident that all the basic organizations, all the Party members whom the Party has educated as the loyal sons of our Party and our people, will be faithful to the death to Marxism-Leninism in judging this important question, will show themselves cautious, just, courageous and principled as always, and will close their ranks still more tightly round the Central Committee of our Party.

The First Secretary of the Central Committee
of the Party of Labour of Albania,
Enver Hoxha

GENUINE UNITY IS ACHIEVED AND STRENGTHENED ONLY ON THE BASIS OF MARXIST-LENINIST PRINCIPLES

(Letter to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China)

August 27, 1960

Nikita Khrushchev and his attacks against Marxism-Leninism and the Communist Party of China dealt a heavy blow to the unity of the international communist and workers' movement. The Party of Labour of Albania, feeling a great responsibility, fought to strengthen this unity on the Leninist road. Comrade Enver Hoxha's letter sent on behalf of the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania on August 27, 1960 to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China sheds light on these efforts of the Party of Labour of Albania.

It is published under the title: "Genuine Unity Is Achieved and Strengthened Only on the Basis of Marxist-Leninist Principles." A copy of this letter was also sent to the parties of the socialist countries.

As is known, at the Bucharest Meeting of the representatives of the communist and workers' parties, which was held in June of this year, in regard to the disagreements which have arisen between the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Communist Party of China, the delegation of the Party of Labour of Albania in accordance with the directives of the Central Committee of our Party maintained a different stand from that of the delegation of the CPSU and of the majority of the delegations of the parties which took part in that meeting.

The Party of Labour of Albania nourishes the most profound respect for all the communist and workers' parties of the world and it expresses its deep regret that for the first time in its own revolutionary history it was forced to adopt a stand like the one it adopted at the Bucharest Meeting, which was in opposition to the stand of the majority of the delegations of the communist and workers' parties. Our Party, as every other Marxist party, has the right to express its views and to maintain the stand it judges to be correct.

At the Bucharest Meeting, the delegation of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union distributed written material to all the delegations of the other parties, in which it was declared that the Communist Party of China had violated the Moscow Declaration of 1957. At that meeting we found ourselves before an international conference especially organized to criticize the Communist Party of China for the “violation” of the Moscow Declaration, relying on the material presented by the delegation of the CPSU, material which was given to the delegation of our Party only ten hours before the meeting.

As is known, Marxism-Leninism teaches us that not only when the mistakes of a Marxist party are discussed, which has millions of members in its ranks and a great consistent revolutionary experience, as has the Communist Party of China, but even when the mistakes of one communist are discussed, we must be extremely careful. We must make a profound analysis of all the causes of the mistakes which this communist has made to try and convince him of his mistakes, take his problem to the basic organization or to the respective party forum, where the question is discussed with great objectiveness, on the basis of the Marxist-Leninist principles, aiming at achieving one goal — the improvement of this communist and his drawing onto the right road. If to analyse the mistakes of one communist and to save him from these mistakes takes such great efforts, then it can be understood just what enormous efforts must be made before “views were exchanged on the mistakes of one party” at an international communist meeting as was the Bucharest Meeting. But, unfortunately, this act was not done.

The Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania proceeds from the Marxist-Leninist principles that to express its own view on the ideological and political mistakes of another Marxist party, it must first of all be convinced on the basis of facts of the existence of these mistakes. This conviction can only be created by analysing, at the Plenum of the Central Committee of the Party, with cool-headedness and on the basis of the Marxist-Leninist method, all the respective arguments connected with the matter. That is, the arguments which are presented by the Party which criticizes, and also the arguments which are presented by the side which is being criticized. After this Marxist-Leninist analysis is made by the Plenum of the Central Committee of our Party, then and only then, will we be able to express our view objectively on the mistakes of another party. We think that this is the most cor-

rect method in the discussion of ideological mistakes of a sister party. The Central Committee of our Party will use this method to arrive at the final conclusions on the “mistakes” which the Communist Party of the Soviet Union attributes to the Communist Party of China and to express its own view on this at the coming Meeting of the communist and workers’ parties in November of this year. We think that to act differently, to act as was done at the Bucharest Meeting, means to condemn a sister party without thoroughly, calmly analysing all the facts, so that a conclusion can be reached whether or not this party is mistaken. In these cases haste is harmful.

For these reasons, at the Bucharest Meeting the delegation of our Party declared that these disagreements have emerged between the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China; and that for their solution, efforts should have been made through talks between these two parties, and if this was not achieved, then the matter should have been put forward before all the other sister parties so that they could express their views; that the Bucharest Meeting was premature and was not in accordance with the Leninist norms; and that as far as the disagreements which had emerged between the CPSU and the Communist Party of China are concerned the Party of Labour of Albania will express its own view at the coming Meeting of the communist and workers’ parties in November.

Naturally, the disagreements which have emerged between the CPSU and the Communist Party of China are of a great principled, ideological and political importance and the solution of these disagreements is of vital importance for the unity of the camp of socialism and for the international communist movement.

Today, not only are all the Marxist parties, including the Party of Labour of Albania, interested in the solution of these disagreements, but it is the duty of all the Marxist parties to make their contribution to the solution of these disagreements. Because now these disagreements have emerged from the framework of relations between the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Communist Party of China, and have assumed an international character.

After the Bucharest Meeting, several communist and workers’ parties of the socialist camp, including the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, have sent the Central Committee of our Party

copies of the letters which they have sent to the Communist Party of China.

In these letters the conclusion has been reached according to which the Communist Party of China has “deviated from Marxist-Leninist theory and practice.” Affirmations are made which convince us even more that our stand at the Bucharest Meeting has been a fully correct stand.

According to our view, these affirmations prove that the Bucharest Meeting did not restrict itself to the simple “exchange of views” on the mistakes of the Communist Party of China and that the Communist Party of China is condemned de facto by the parties which have sent those letters.

Besides this, in these letters it is stressed that at the Bucharest Meeting “the full unity of all the communist and workers’ parties” was verified in the criticism they made of the “mistakes” of the Communist Party of China. Such an affirmation insinuates that the Party of Labour of Albania, too, is lined up among the majority of the other communist and workers’ parties in regard to the “mistakes” which are attributed to the Communist Party of China. If it is referring to the approval of the communique of the Bucharest Meeting, we agree with the fact that there was unity of all the parties, because our Party, too, has approved the communique. But if it is referring to “the unity of all the parties” in regard to the disagreements which have emerged between the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Communist Party of China, this does not correspond to the truth, at least as far as our Party is concerned, because the Party of Labour of Albania did not join the majority of the other parties and it will voice its view on these disagreements at the coming meeting of the communist and workers’ parties in November this year as it has declared many times. To affirm that at the Bucharest Meeting there was “full unity between all parties” in the criticism of the “mistakes” of the Communist Party of China means to distort the facts and the truth.

The Central Committee of our Party is of the opinion that today there is nothing more important for the life of all the communist and workers’ parties of the world, for the preservation and the strengthening of the unity of the socialist camp and the international communist movement, than the solution of these disagreements on the basis of the principles of Marxism-Leninism. Our Party will always be vigilant against the warmongering plans and activity of imperialism and against modern revisionism,

which, as was defined in the Moscow Declaration, is the main danger for the international communist movement.

**LETTER TO THE CC OF THE CPSU IN
CONNECTION WITH ITS PROPOSALS FOR
THE ORGANIZATION OF A MEETING OF
REPRESENTATIVES OF THE CPSU AND THE
PLA BEFORE THE NOVEMBER 1960 MEETING
OF THE COMMUNIST AND WORKERS'
PARTIES IN MOSCOW**

August 29, 1960

On the eve of the Meeting of the 81 communist and workers' parties in November 1960, the revisionist Soviet leadership intensified its pressure and threats against the Party of Labour of Albania with the aim of forcing it to capitulate and become an accomplice of its treacherous revisionist line. But the CC of the Party of Labour of Albania, with Comrade Enver Hoxha at the head, with revolutionary courage, stood unwavering in defence of the Marxist-Leninist line. This stand is clearly expressed in the letter Comrade Enver Hoxha sent, on behalf of the CC of the Party of Labour of Albania on August 29, 1960 to the CC of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in connection with the proposal made by the CC of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union for the organization of a meeting of representatives of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and of the Party of Labour of Albania before the November 1960 Meeting of the communist and workers' parties in Moscow. This letter of Comrade Enver Hoxha reads in part:

We have recently received your letter on August 13, this year, in which you refer to the meeting of representatives of the communist and workers' parties in Bucharest and also propose the organization of a meeting of representatives of our parties before the November Meeting of the communist and workers' parties so that "the PLA and the CPSU can go to the coming November Meeting in full unity of thought" and "to extinguish, in time, the spark of misunderstanding which has emerged so that it will not burst into flame..."

As is known, Marxism-Leninism teaches us that when misunderstanding, contradiction and disagreement emerge between two Marxist parties, they must be solved through talks between the two interested parties, based on the principles of Marxism-Lenin-

ism. Marxism-Leninism also teaches us it would be a violation of elementary Marxist norms, which regulate relations between the communist and workers' parties, for two parties to hold talks to criticize the general line of another Marxist party.

It is known that at the Meeting of the communist and workers' parties in Bucharest, relations between the PLA and the CPSU were not discussed. At that meeting, in opposition to the agenda which had previously been decided on by all the parties of the socialist camp, completely unexpectedly and hastily, a great and vital question was discussed, that is, the principled ideological and political disagreements which have emerged between the CPSU and the CP of China.

At the Bucharest Meeting, our stand was clear; we did not take this stand as a result of any "misunderstanding" as your letter insinuates. It was taken in full consciousness by our side and we hold all responsibilities before our people and the international communist movement for this stand.

Our stand at the Bucharest Meeting is the consistent implementation of the general ideological and political line of our Party, a line that has also been organized by our side which has always been principled, Marxist-Leninist and in full accord with the Moscow Declaration.

The opposition which emerged in Bucharest between our stand and your stand is a result of the discussion not of relations between the CP of the Soviet Union and the PLA, but a result of the "exchange of opinion" on the mistakes which the CPSU attributes to the CP of China.

Therefore, if a meeting was to take place between representatives of the PLA and the CPSU, as is proposed in the above-mentioned letter, then this meeting would discuss the mistakes attributed to the CP of China by the CC of the CPSU, and this would be done by representatives of our parties without the presence of the third interested party, that is, the CP of China. It is understandable that such an act would not be fair. It would not help the matter, but only cause more harm.

Just as every other Marxist party, our Party too feels it its duty to make its own contribution to the solution of these disagreements. Indifference and neutrality towards these matters of such importance are irreconcilable with Marxism-Leninism. Therefore, as we have often declared, as far as the question of the disagreements which have emerged between the CPSU and the CP of

China are concerned, our Party will voice its view at the coming Meeting of the communist and workers' parties.

We assure you that the PLA will always remain loyal to Marxism-Leninism... and to the interests of the people and our homeland. We are convinced that we were not the ones who struck the "spark of misunderstanding" at the Bucharest Meeting and we assure you that we will never be "the ones to light" such a spark.

ON THE GRAVE POLITICAL AND IDEOLOGICAL MISTAKES OF LIRI BELISHOVA

(The discussion of Comrade Enver Hoxha at the meeting of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania)

August 30, 1960

Direct links exist between the internal and external enemies, a co-ordination of activity, especially with the revisionist enemies, to attack our Party and people's state power. Such activity has also been carried out by Liri Belishova, former member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania, agent of Soviet revisionism expelled from the Party. The analysis of the anti-Party stands and activity of Liri Belishova was made by Comrade Enver Hoxha at the discussion he delivered on August 30, 1960 at the meeting of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania, which is published under the title: "On the Grave Political and Ideological Mistakes of Liri Belishova." The following are excerpts from Comrade Enver Hoxha's discussion:

From the discussions which were held at the last meeting of the Plenum of the Central Committee, *stated Comrade Enver Hoxha*, Liri Belishova did not come out with a sound self-criticism. For this reason, it was thought that the Political Bureau should review her.

First of all, I have the following questions: Let Liri tell us what her views are on the people who make up the Political Bureau and how does she evaluate herself in comparison with the other members of the Political Bureau? Is it possible that in her stand towards them she adopted a certain tactic in accordance with the orientation of the Soviet ambassador? Does she have trust in their maturity and ability to take decisions and to maintain correct stands in accordance with the Marxist-Leninist line of the Party? In regard to this, what concepts has she for the comrades of the Political Bureau, because, here, in our country, the line of the Party is not defined only by Enver, but in the first place by the Congress and the Central Committee, while he is the implementor of this line and the decisions of the Central Committee and of the

Political Bureau. Does Liri have correct concepts on the leadership of the Party which is elected at the Congress, because, allegedly, as she herself has said: "There are some comrades who are more capable, there are one or two who are less capable."

Thus, what impression did the information which came from Moscow on your stand there make on you? Regarding this I said to you: reflect on your stand in regard to the mistakes of the Soviets towards the Chinese. The Soviet ambassador has spoken about your stand and don't think that anyone from our Party has engaged in slander. From certain information which we have we think that Liri is in agreement with the concepts of the Soviet ambassador who, among other things, says "Comrade Enver must be kept out of the disagreements which exist between the Soviet Union and China," "we must keep Comrade Enver in reserve." Thus, she is of the opinion that Comrade Enver must be kept in reserve, whereas certain other comrades of the Political Bureau must be sacrificed, because it could come about that the disagreements which exist between the big parties, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Communist Party of China, could be clarified and solved. Then a part of the comrades of the Political Bureau, who would be engaged in the debate which had emerged, would be destroyed, but Comrade Enver will remain uncompromised.

If we were to accept Liri's thesis, according to which "Enver must be kept out of the matters concerning the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Communist Party of China," that would mean to accept that the stand of the Political Bureau on Bucharest was mistaken. Liri should fully understand the essence of the matter. We are not in agreement with the mistaken stands of the Soviet leaders.

Several Soviet leaders have spoken against me other times too and you know our stand very well. There have also been cases when they have praised Enver Hoxha to the skies. But this has been a manoeuvre because on the other hand they do all these things against our Party.

The comrades have informed me that Liri has said that "we must prepare several alternate stands for the Moscow Meeting." In connection with this, I want to say that the political and tactical stand of our Party is not such which can have several variants. The tactic of acting with several variants is an opportunist tactic which means to turn which ever way the wind blows.

This is not a Marxist tactic. We must judge this matter thoroughly because we have a great responsibility. Therefore, let Liri explain herself on this matter. Let her tell us from what concepts she proceeds in connection with the things she has said after the Plenum. This is of utmost importance because she could say "I agree with the Political Bureau," but as long as she thinks of several variants, in fact, she does not agree with the correct stand of our Party.

Or let us look at another of Liri's concepts, as a result of which she does not have correct opinions on the stand of the Chinese comrades. She must analyse this concept deeply. We have always had the best of opinions on the Chinese comrades. We have not had any principled questions about them because their stand has always been correct. For example, on the struggle against revisionism, on the evaluation of the line of our Party, especially on the contribution of our Party at the Moscow Meeting in 1957, etc. In the face of these correct stands of the Chinese comrades, the question naturally emerges for Liri: where is the source of her views against the Communist Party of China? This is connected with what all the comrades said: the deep ideological divergencies between the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Communist Party of China, which have been seen in their press, have not been judged by Liri in an objective way and from Marxist positions. On the contrary, she has thrown the blame onto the Chinese comrades that allegedly they are on the wrong road. Her mistaken views are also clear in the stand she maintained in China, unjustly criticizing the Chinese comrades.

In Moscow too, Liri, you knew about the development of the situation, you were pre-warned because not only did you have instructions, but letters were sent to you from us as the Political Bureau. Therefore how do you explain your opportunist stand at the dinner which was given in Moscow? You should have fought there to defend the line of our Party, something which you did not do. This charges you with a very heavy responsibility.

In China, you were given a wonderful reception because of the high opinion which the Chinese comrades have of our Party, for we cannot say that the Chinese comrades have done this out of pure formality. But despite this, at the dinner which the Soviets gave in your honour, where it was said that "the Chinese business stinks..." you did not object in the slightest. This means that you agreed with the Soviets in their accusations against the Com-

munist Party of China. You should have said: "It is not as you say because we have just come from China and we saw that the Communist Party of China holds a Marxist stand." But you wavered and you did not want to upset the Soviets.

Now we can see what is cooking. We must be conscious of the fact that the situation will become even more difficult. And we must be clear on this — we must not nourish illusions because as things stand, as international events are developing and as Marxism-Leninism is being interpreted by the leaderships of many parties, it is understandable that we are before very serious and tragic events for the international communist movement. Therefore, we must arm ourselves and stand against these events like Marxists, ignoring all difficulties which could arise. We are on the right road. We have fought and will fight against imperialism. Imperialism has not only not laid down its arms but it continues to arm itself to destroy communism, to usurp the freedom of the peoples. Whether Khrushchev likes it not, this is reality and our viewpoint is based on this reality. Therefore, the line of our Party has been, is and will be: Resolute struggle against imperialism, led by U.S. imperialism. Whoever wants to can accuse us that allegedly we are "warmongering," that "we have put the knife between our teeth," etc. But they will not shift us from our view that imperialism is the most savage enemy of the peoples. We nourish no illusions about imperialism.

We say: "The socialist camp, led by the Soviet Union." This is correct, but if the Soviet leadership is not in order and advances on a mistaken road, then it has deprived the Soviet Union of the right to lead the socialist camp.

We are for peace, against war, and we do not say this with words, but with deeds. We never forget the danger of the outbreak of a new war by imperialism and we do not overrate or underrate this danger. But this does not mean that we underrate the strength of the socialist camp. If they are to operate in full unity, the forces of our camp are extremely great. In this situation, if we say that in our camp and in the international communist movement there is unity, then we would be beating the air.

But who has caused the rupture of this unity? This has worried and worries us, because the entire fate of international communism and of every socialist country is connected with this unity. Apart from the undermining activity of imperialism against the socialist countries, our unity is also being undermined by the

agents of imperialism, the modern revisionists.

Our Party is correct when it says that modern revisionism is, today, the main danger to the international communist movement. We are not only spectators of this but also witnesses because after the death of Stalin we saw a rupture in the camp of socialism and in the whole international communist movement.

Why didn't such a rupture happen previously? This did not happen because Stalin acted wisely in relations with the other communist and workers' parties. The fact is that the international communist movement did not take the road that the revisionists were trying to lead it onto because the communists all over the world were fighting and they had complete trust in the Marxist-Leninist line which the Soviet Union, led by Stalin, followed.

Stalin has never acted unwisely. Let somebody say what he likes about Stalin, but the truth is that, in his time, our camp and the world communist movement enjoyed a powerful unity. Let us take the relations of our little Albania with the Soviet Union: "The hegemonism of Stalin" that Tito talks about has never been seen in the life of our Party and state. Stalin has never spoken to us in a threatening manner. He never said to us "Do as I say, or else I will leave you without bread and will never speak to you again" or "I can blow you up in five minutes." Our Party has said, and says, that it has never been, and is not, in agreement with the stands and acts which were taken against Stalin.

We saw what happened in Hungary, in Poland, we see what is going on in Italy and in many other parties. Now just look what is being done against the Communist Party of China. In these moments, it is not permissible for us, as Marxists, maintaining a correct and principled stand, to take events which are developing to the detriment of the camp of socialism so lightly and to fail to make a profound judgement of them. We are facing tempests; thus, we must arm our Party politically and ideologically in defence of Marxism-Leninism no matter what the others say. We are responsible to our Party and people, but we have no small responsibility to the international communist movement. By resolutely defending Marxism-Leninism we defend the lofty interests of our people and socialism.

It should be kept well in mind that revisionism is not only found in Tito, who is the standard-bearer today, but there are also many other revisionists, even in the leadership of the Communist Party of Soviet Union. We are not against tactical attitudes in cer-

tain circumstances and for definite matters. But if the leadership of the Soviet Union, under the pretext of “tactics,” tries to cover up its own mistakes and does not change and make a self-criticism, after the November meeting this tactic will no longer have any value.

We have implemented tactics correctly; we have not violated principles. When the situation requires it, we can change tactics, but always without bowing to the unjust attacks of the Trotskyites or revisionists of every hue. If they slap at us, we will slap back at them. If they hit us hard, then we will respond, we will never turn the other cheek and say ‘strike us’. Both the leadership of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and also all the leaderships of the communist and workers’ parties have fully understood that the Party of Labour of Albania is irreconcilable with revisionism, therefore it maintains a revolutionary stand towards it. Here I am referring to the leaderships, and not the parties, as we don’t know where they stand.

Liri knows that we are opposed to the leadership of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union on several problems of principle, and on organizational matters and not only those of the Bucharest Meeting. The Bucharest Meeting sheds light on other things too. Liri knows about their putschist methods. She has heard this from their own lips. In an expansive mood at lunch, Polyansky explained to Liri how the meeting took place when the old leadership of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in the so-called “anti-Party” group was liquidated. He has said that this act was done in the form of a military putsch, which naturally for us, is anti-Marxist. Here we are not speaking about whether or not those who were overthrown had or had not made mistakes, but about the anti-Marxist methods which were used in this direction. This is their internal affair, but in this way, we understand even better just who they are.

The accentuated opportunist ills and all this revisionism in the leadership of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union cannot fail to be reflected in its foreign policy, even towards our country. Thus, from the development of the situations not only are the Titoites revisionists, but, on the basis of facts, there are also revisionists with social-democratic views in the Soviet leadership. We have talked about this many times in the Political Bureau and in our meetings. Therefore Liri has also known about matters the same as we. She does not have the right to say, “I have not known

about these matters.”

It would have been disastrous if we had accepted to take the revisionist road the Soviet leaders want to lead us on. This would have had grave consequences. What would have been some of the consequences?

First of all, this would have meant silence towards revisionism politically. This would have been a grave crime against Marxism-Leninism. During the development of events many attempts were being made keep us silent. But silence would have been the first phase.

The next phase would have been the opening of borders to revisionism, as for example the leadership of the Bulgarian Communist Party is systematically doing. Naturally, it is doing this for itself and to its detriment. We will not follow this road. If we were to follow such a road, this would be suicidal for our country. Zhivkov is showing a great deal of tolerance and conciliation with revisionism. This is clearer, but this particular stand of conciliation maintained by Zhivkov towards revisionism shows that he is toeing Khrushchev's line. We are convinced that the leaders of the Bulgarian Communist Party will certainly come up against great difficulties, if not today, tomorrow. They will most certainly have to face their Party and people because the opening of Bulgarian and Yugoslavian borders and the penetration of revisionism means, for Bulgaria, the preparation of a counter-revolution as in Hungary. The only difference is that in Hungary there was an uprising, whereas in Bulgaria this could be done silently.

Therefore, silence means to land in the position Yugoslavia is in. If we were to permit such a thing, this would mean the loss of the independence of the homeland and the undermining of socialism. What would it mean if we were to open our borders and make concessions on principle for the Yugoslav leadership, allegedly for the sake of the friendship with the Yugoslav peoples? We have always been, and we are for, friendship with the Yugoslav peoples. But we will never make concessions to the revisionists. Our Party has correctly understood this, therefore it has never interrupted its struggle against revisionism.

If the Soviet leaders have “humanitarian feelings” and are doing their utmost to draw the Yugoslav leadership closer, then how do they turn their backs on such a big country as China so lightly, especially when they know that the leadership of China is neither an agent of imperialism, nor “a Trojan horse” as Tito is? Even if

the Chinese comrades were sectarian, as the Soviet leadership claims, does that mean that we should go to such lengths as to expel them from our socialist camp? Is this a communist and internationalist stand towards socialist China?

The splitting of international communism is a very great responsibility. And how can we advance like this? Can we get along by blackmailing and imposing an anti-Marxist road on our parties? The course of our Party is correct and we will not enter a blind alley, we will not pursue the revisionist line of Khrushchev. Our Party and people have been tempered a great deal in the struggle against revisionism and imperialism, and they have pursued and will always pursue the correct Marxist-Leninist road.

We will defend principles. Of course we will have our difficulties and we are convinced that these difficulties will increase, but we are not afraid of them. We are sure that the Soviet leadership, with its stand and activity towards our Party, is not on the right road. Ivanov is not committing all his anti-Marxist acts on his own accord, but he is acting on the instructions of the Soviet leadership.

We stand firm in our positions. Of course, we carried out the revolution and arrived at socialism through our struggle and efforts, but we have correctly evaluated the great experience of the Soviet Union of Lenin and Stalin. With the aid which the Soviet Union has given us, we built combines, like the "Stalin" combine, but the sweat of our people was also shed there. Whoever is a Marxist-Leninist and an internationalist should know that the people's revolution and the construction of socialism are the deeds of the Albanian people and their Party.

We must be consistent, we must not violate our line, we must not become disorientated or waver from the correct line of the Party. We must not confuse the Soviet Union and its experience with the opportunist stand of the present-day leadership. You, Liri, have not correctly understood this, or else you want to, and you do, mix it up. Concessions should not be made towards their activity. The struggle against revisionism has sharpened our vigilance, it has been a great school which has tempered us and has made it possible for us to see things clearly without heat and preconception.

Therefore we must be consistent and prepared so that we can face every situation, because with open struggle against Khrushchev, he will impose political and economic blockades against our

country.

You, Liri, who have wavered in this situation, must be sure, as we are, that the line of our Party is correct and you must not be so impressed by the Soviet Union and the personality of Khrushchev or anybody else. Our Party will not waver, even in this severe struggle which is being waged inside our camp, a struggle which has entered a very serious phase.

After Liri Belishova spoke and did not make the slightest self-criticism, but on the contrary, tried to minimize her grave mistakes, and after the discussions of the members of the Political Bureau who severely criticized her mistakes and stands, Comrade Enver Hoxha once again took the floor.

The discussions which were held at the July Plenum of the Central Committee and here in the Political Bureau, *said Comrade Enver Hoxha*, were held in the Marxist-Leninist spirit.

At this meeting, Liri was given great help. She has made grave mistakes and they are by no means simple ones. I am in full agreement with the other comrades that she has not implemented the directives of the Party. This happened because she has not been in agreement with the leadership, she has underrated the Political Bureau. Naturally, you, when you saw our stand towards the Soviet leadership, have said to yourself: "The comrades of the Political Bureau are going wrong. Now is the time to come out at the head." And you hastened to maintain a different stand from the stand of the Party. All the flattery several Soviet leaders gave you incited you on this road. All these things together have been influential in your committing of serious ideological and political mistakes.

I am in full agreement with the comrades that you believe the Political Bureau has made mistakes in its stand and you did not want to compromise yourself. But you maintained an opportunist stand towards the Soviet leaders, which in fact led you away from the just course of your own Party. You thought: "When I go back to Albania, I will say that the stand of the Bureau has been taken in haste. I will propose that Enver Hoxha be kept out of the disagreements between the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Communist Party of China. If not today, tomorrow, the situation will change. Time will be on my side." You reserved yourself the place of the saviour of the situation. Thus, you did not select

a principled stand but silence, and indirectly approved of the revisionist activity of the Soviet leaders. You come here and express your surprise, “Why the change in the stand towards the Soviet Union?” and you identify the Soviet Union with the Soviet leadership. Thus you have thought, “I hope that things take the course I want them to take.” But for the Party’s good things did not go the way you wanted them to go.

The situation is very complicated; therefore we must not be intimidated and pessimistic. We must keep a firm grip on Marxism-Leninism, as the compass, and we will never go wrong.

HE WHO HAS NO TRUST IN THE PARTY ARRIVES AT WRONG CONCLUSIONS AND ACTIONS

(Discussion by Comrade Enver Hoxha at the meeting of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania on the activity of Koço Tashko in opposition to the line of the Party)

August 31, 1960

Even after the talks of Comrade Enver Hoxha with Koço Tashko on August 3, 1960, Koço Tashko continued to adhere to an anti-Marxist and anti-Party stand, revealing his countenance as an agent of Soviet revisionism. On August 31, 1960, the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania met to discuss the stand and activity of Koço Tashko in opposition to the line of the Party, where Comrade Enver Hoxha delivered the discussion which is entitled: "He Who Has No Trust in the Party Arrives at Wrong Conclusions and Actions."

The following are excerpts from the discussion:

In my opinion, *said Comrade Enver Hoxha*, Koço Tashko has first and foremost committed very serious anti-Party mistakes, which place him in open opposition to the leadership of the Party. Secondly, he has broken all the organizational rules of the Party, reaching the point where he has even talked, outside of the Party, with the Soviet ambassador on the decisions of the latest Plenum of the Central Committee.

As was mentioned at the Plenum, too, we have voiced our opinion on the Yugoslav and other revisionists and the Plenum heard it, so you¹ have heard it too. We have also voiced our stand to Khrushchev, for whom you are very much preoccupied, but he does not agree with the struggle we are waging against Yugoslav revisionism. As long as our position is clear, why should you get so upset?

The matters we put forward in regard to the leadership of the Soviet Union, the mistakes for which we criticize Khrushchev, do not emerge for the first time today, they have long since emerged, and despite this, for you, Khrushchev has made no mistakes.

¹ Koço Tashko.

You have said nothing, Koço, even though you say “I will bare my soul to you.” This is what we want too and we will judge you on what you say, but we demand that you respect the Political Bureau. If the Political Bureau was what you think it is, Albania would have gone down the drain a long time ago. Therefore, show more respect for the comrades of the Political Bureau and don’t overrate yourself. Speak out, straight, sincerely and calmly, “bare your soul to us” as you said, because so far we have been seeing very dark things in that soul of yours.

Why didn’t you come to me, to tell me about the “grand plans” you had in mind to carry out? You didn’t speak about them at the Plenum because you do not respect it and you were against its conclusions. You say that you will talk to Enver, whereas in fact, you went and talked with the Soviets. Now you don’t like it when we say that you have no trust in the Plenum of the Central Committee of our Marxist-Leninist Party, but let the Plenum judge this.

On the same day you came to meet me, the Soviet military attaché, Colonel Rura, came and informed us that the wife of Koço Tashko had told them that her husband had been arrested. How do you explain this? What does your wife want at the Soviet embassy? Why are you alarmed? My opinion is that you have a guilty conscience and this is why you are alarmed. It seems, you speak to your wife about these things too. You ask for a meeting with Enver, he sends you an officer to notify you about the meeting, while you get alarmed. Your wife even goes to the embassy and you allegedly don’t know anything about this!

According to you, we are against the Soviet Union, whereas you are its “defender.” You have not the slightest notion about Marxism-Leninism. When a Party member goes astray, the Party has the right to criticize him, whoever he may be. This is what Lenin has written with so much fire. Khrushchev allegedly has the right to criticize Stalin after he has died, whereas we haven’t the right to criticize Khrushchev, who is living, and even to his face. According to your viewpoint, somebody who makes a mistake shouldn’t be criticized.

Do you agree with what was put forward at the Plenum and with the correct criticism we made of Khrushchev, who, among other things, has tried to divert us from the ideological struggle against the Yugoslav revisionists? What other criticism did we make of Khrushchev which alarmed you so much? At the Plenum

nothing else was said which could make you bring up the matter that allegedly we spoke against the Soviet Union. All that is an offspring of your imagination.

It is not fitting for you as a communist to tell your Party that you have not discussed anything with Ivanov, at a time when he and his comrades have hovered over our people like hawks, sowing diversion. They are doing everything within their power to find out something and they allegedly haven't asked you anything to avoid "compromising" you, as you yourself said. But how could you be compromised when we all had good relations with the Soviet comrades and made jokes with them? Isn't it better to say that, in you, they found a weak spot and snared you, rather than saying, "they didn't ask me anything because they didn't want to compromise me"?

After the discussions by the comrades of the Political Bureau, who unanimously condemned the anti-Party stand and activity of Koço Tashko, Comrade Enver Hoxha once more took the floor:

I agree with all the discussions of the comrades of the Political Bureau and I think that Koço Tashko should be judged fairly and severely. He continues to hold an anti-Party and hostile stand towards the Party, the Central Committee and the Political Bureau. As the comrades also said, with his interference and with his hesitation to speak the truth, Koço Tashko is still making the same grave mistakes.

We are convinced that you, Koço, have talked to Ivanov about all matters, thus violating the directives of the Central Committee and the Party statute. At the Plenum it was clearly stressed that the matters which we discussed must remain in the Central Committee and if there was any need to tell Ivanov or the Central Committee of the CPSU, then our Central Committee would have taken the decision and authorized people to tell them. Nobody authorized you, but you acted off your own bat. This is a great impermissible mistake.

It is known that when there are disagreements between two parties, they come to an agreement among themselves, they discuss matters, debate; thus, action is taken in accordance with the *known* organizational norms. Whereas you have violated all these norms.

Why did you do this? I am fully convinced that you, because

you were in opposition to the line of the Party and to the Central Committee, thought that the time had come to get rid of the people at the head of the Party, therefore, according to you, a new leadership had to be prepared, predominated by Trotskyites and opportunists, sending Albania straight towards catastrophe. Your words do not convince us. The facts themselves show that you are one hundred per cent in opposition to the line of the Party, to its leadership, to the decisions of the Central Committee, and we are firmly convinced of this. This is clearly proven by your own words.

You are for the policy of conciliation with the serious mistakes of Khrushchev and this has always been your stand towards the enemies. During the national liberation war your principle was "let as little blood as possible or no blood at all be shed." Therefore, as soon as you heard the correct criticism made on Khrushchev, who accuses China of being a warmonger, you, without thinking about matters in the slightest, thought that China wanted bloodshed. Therefore "keep away from China" and it seemed to you that the comrades of the Plenum of the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania are on a mistaken course. You take the criticism of the Plenum on Khrushchev as if, now, we allegedly are against the Soviet Union.

The efforts of the Political Bureau are aimed at turning you from your anti-Party road and views, but you went too far. You have not loved our Party as you should have with deeds, but only with words.

Everybody loves the Party, but they also make sacrifices to always defend it and not to cause it harm. You cannot form a faction in the Central Committee because nobody will follow you.

In the meeting we had together, I advised you to correctly understand your mistakes and to speak here today sincerely. But you did not do this. Those things you said you would come and talk to me about are only a justification. Neither the letter you sent me, nor its date, nor the aim verify that you were going to come and see me. You were going to come to me after you had first gone to Ivanov. Before you suggested it to him, that Enver should go to Moscow, you should have suggested this thought to me. Seeing that you didn't act in this way, we are therefore completely justified in saying that Ivanov suggested this to you. Despite this, it is of no importance to us whether you said to him or he said to you that Enver must go to Moscow. What is important is that you have hatched up all these anti-Party plans behind the Party's back,

therefore they must be condemned. I am in full agreement with the comrades of the Political Bureau that such anti-Party, vacillating communists who do not respect the Marxist-Leninist line of the Party, its revolutionary stands and sacrifices, do not deserve to be in the Party. Don't forget that Ivanov and Bespalov, too, will not be able to defend you. They, too, have realized what they have done and now they have shut their mouths because their acts are not Marxist. Against whom have they carried out these actions? Against a Party which has loved the Soviet Union and its glorious people wholeheartedly, which has always listened to the Soviet Union. But let the Soviet leaders also listen to our fair criticism for once.

To Marxism-Leninism there is no big or small. Marxism-Leninism is the compass which shows the correct line of a Party. To make fair criticism of Khrushchev does not mean that you are anti-Soviet, as you accuse us. We have constantly shown our love for the Soviet Union with proof. The truth is that we say that you are anti-Marxist and against the Soviet Union. The rubbish you have in your head proves this. The Central Committee, of which you are so afraid, will judge your views. You wanted matters to be solved in a social-democratic way. This is how you have always judged matters, to speak about things in a "friendly" way. You think that you know the rights of the Party members but if you were clear about them, then, as the Chairman of the Central Auditing Commission, you would not have gone on Bespalov's invitation to Novikov's home to meet the Soviet ambassador.

If the ambassador invited me through somebody else to go and have dinner with him and a third party I would never accept. Therefore your going there in this manner is very mysterious, and outside of the Party rules and outside friendly diplomatic and Marxist-Leninist relations.

The functionaries of the Soviet embassy, too, have a good share of the blame in these matters. The Soviet ambassador, Ivanov, asked for a meeting with me and I received him, as always. But when he asked me about the question of the Plenum I cut him short. We have had very sincere and friendly ties with him, but he spoiled this situation himself. After the Bucharest Meeting he started speaking in an arrogant tone. Thus, we were forced to show him his place. But why did Ivanov do all these things outside of friendly and organizational rules? It is difficult to believe that he did all this of his own bat. Anyhow, his aim was to split the

leadership and to place our leadership in contradiction with the Party.

WE WILL GO TO MOSCOW NOT WITH TEN BANNERS, BUT WITH ONLY ONE, THE BANNER OF MARXISM-LENINISM

(The speech of Comrade Enver Hoxha at the 18th Plenum of the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania concerning the grave mistakes in the Party line by Liri Belishova)

September 6, 1960

After the meeting of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania on August 30, 1960, at which the great political and ideological mistakes of Liri Belishova were analysed, on September 6, 1960, the 18th Plenum of the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania was convened to examine her anti-Party stands and activity. At this Plenum, Comrade Enver Hoxha delivered an important speech, in which, alongside the analysis of the grave mistakes concerning the Party line of Liri Belishova, he clearly defined the Marxist-Leninist strategy and tactics the Party of Labour of Albania would pursue at the November meeting in Moscow.

After informing the Plenum on some decisions taken by the Political Bureau and the development of the correspondence with the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Comrade Enver Hoxha said:

We have been informed by the Central Committees of the CPSU, Bulgaria, Romania and Czechoslovakia about a letter which each of them has addressed to the Communist Party of China. In essence these letters make serious accusations against the Communist Party of China of deviation from Marxism-Leninism, sectarianism, great-state chauvinism and other charges like these. At the same time, these letters defend Nikita S. Khrushchev against what is said in a document which was distributed to the representatives of the communist and workers' parties of the socialist camp by the delegation of the Communist Party of China at the end of the Bucharest Meeting.

The material of the Chinese comrades said, among other things, that the Bucharest Meeting was not held in accord with the proper forms, that Nikita S. Khrushchev's interjections and actions during the meeting were not Marxist-Leninist and that these questions which are raised are of great importance to the further

development of the international communist movement.

We have sent three letters to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.¹ In the first letter we have pointed out to it, in a comradely way, the diversionist, sabotaging activity of the Soviet ambassador, V.I. Ivanov, of the Counsellor, Novikov, and the First Secretary, Bespalov, against our Party and leadership. Since the Bucharest Meeting these three senior functionaries of the Soviet embassy in Tirana have carried out a hostile work against our Party and leadership, breaking every rule of friendship and party behavior. Their aim has been to disrupt the leadership. They have made efforts to this end using every form and method, about some of which you know. They strove to find a crack in the leadership of our Party and, first of all, to learn what was discussed at the July Plenum, what stands were adopted and if possible, to learn what each speaker had said.

We have been exceptionally patient with regard to these actions in this situation, for we were guided by the principle of preserving the friendship with the people of the Soviet Union. But our Party and people have been extremely vigilant towards these actions, which have an unfriendly and anti-Marxist smell. It is a fact that all our comrades, whom they have provoked, have stood up to them very well and have given them the deserved reply. There was only Koço Tashko, with whom they managed to succeed and they undid him in a most despicable way, as we shall see. He alone told them about everything that was discussed at the July Plenum of the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania.

The second letter that we sent to the Central Committee of the CPSU, we sent at the same time to the Communist Party of China too. After the Bucharest Meeting, particularly in the letters which the leadership of the communist parties of the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria and Romania addressed to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, it is alleged that all the communist and workers' parties were in complete solidarity at the Bucharest Meeting on their stand towards the Communist Party of China, a thing which is not true. Therefore, in this we dot the i's. We express our opinion about the stand we adopted in Bucharest and we say that as to the allegations of mistakes by the

¹ These letters are published in this volume on pages: 123, 131, 136, respectively.

Communist Party of China, our Party did not support these at the Bucharest Meeting.

In the letter the idea is expressed that these problems, which have been made the property of the international communist movement, concern all parties just as they do ours. Therefore we shall express our opinion about these questions at the meeting which has been decided to hold in November, where we shall speak our mind in a revolutionary and Marxist-Leninist way. The contradictions that have arisen constitute a very big issue for the international communist movement, therefore before we go to the Moscow Meeting, after we have received the necessary material and studied it, we shall put it before the Plenum of the Central Committee for discussion and decision, and we shall put forward the view of the Plenum of the Central Committee of our Party at that meeting. This, we think, is the Marxist-Leninist way for the solution of a question of an international character. We think there is no other way and to pursue any other course would be incorrect.

Another question which we raised in our letter addressed to the communist parties of the Soviet Union and China and which is of importance is that not only must the problems which have arisen, developed and assumed a very serious character be solved between the two parties, but also we think and propose that, if it is not too late, the two great parties, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Communist Party of China, should hold a top-level meeting prior to the meeting of the Commission, which will be held at the end of September, to discuss the main questions around which their disagreements have arisen. We say in the letter that this would be of great help to the work of the Commission or the plenary meeting in Moscow. We make this proposal proceeding from the interests of international communism. Now we have been informed that our idea is considered reasonable and the meeting of the representatives of two parties will be held around September 15-17, but at what level we do not know.

The third letter concerns the proposal of the Central Committee of the CPSU for a meeting with representatives of our Party. We reply in the letter that it is proper that when disagreements arise between two parties, the questions should be discussed and sorted out as correctly as possible in the Marxist-Leninist way. But there are no disagreements between our two parties, because these disagreements exist between them and another party. There-

fore, for us to go to Moscow and discuss the “mistakes” of another party without its representatives being present too is not at all Marxist and we cannot do such a thing. Such a method of work does not assist the solution of the disagreements that exist, on the contrary it may render the situation more difficult. In a word, we tell them that we do not talk behind anyone’s back.

As to what the Soviet leaders say that a “spark of misunderstanding” has arisen between our two parties, we have replied that our Party has kindled neither spark nor fire.

Thus, the Political Bureau has sent these three letters to the Central Committee of the CPSU.

For the best preparation of the Plenum in regard to the questions we shall discuss, I recommend that the Chinese articles “Long Live Leninism,” the material distributed by the Soviet representatives at the Bucharest Meeting, the 1957 Moscow Declaration, the copies of the letters we have recently addressed to the Central Committee of the CPSU, of which we spoke above, as well as the materials that we have been recommended and not read as yet should be put at the disposal of members and candidate members of the Central Committee. All these should be studied carefully so that when we discuss them at the Plenum, the comrades will be prepared. If we have other materials from the Communist Party of China about its views, these too will be made available for study.

Let us now get down concretely to the question of Liri Belishova.

You know that at the July Plenum, apart from other things, Liri was criticized for the major serious mistakes she made during her stay in China and the Soviet Union. But at that meeting of the Plenum these mistakes were only touched upon in passing in the course of the discussion. However, after these questions which several comrades mentioned were raised, Liri did not appear before the Plenum with a self-criticism, although she knew that the Political Bureau had arrived at the conclusion that her self-criticism before the Bureau was incomplete, that there were many gaps in it. Precisely for these reasons I said at the Plenum that, after being re-examined once more in the Political Bureau, her case should be presented to the Plenum.

We gave her the possibility to reflect deeply, to ponder over the grave mistakes she has made in such complicated and difficult situations, to come out with a correct conclusion and reveal the

causes which impelled her to make these mistakes.

I want to say that the Political Bureau of the Central Committee, which is always guided by the principle that things must be explained to the comrades to save them from the wrong road and mistakes, has patiently tried to help Liri.

The Political Bureau thinks that Liri Belishova's mistakes are very great and serious. They show that, in fact, she is in opposition to the line of our Party, she is not in agreement, not in unity of thought and action on a number of ideological and political questions with the Central Committee of the Party, with our entire Party. She does not understand the vital importance to our Party, as to any Marxist Party, of the question of the ideological and political unity in the Party, and more so, the question of the unity of the Central Committee and Political Bureau itself. This question is of vital importance particularly in the existing situation, when the imperialist enemies and the modern revisionists are striving to split the leadership of our Party at all costs, even if they can cause some small cracks, to weaken it and then attack the Party. Therefore those who damage this steel-like unity which the Party has forged with struggle and bloodshed through all sorts of storms must be severely punished, as they deserve, as the great interests of the Party and the people require.

What are the mistakes of Liri Belishova?

As you know, Liri went to China. This trip had a state character and the delegation of which she was a member did not include all sorts of people, but Party people. Thus, the delegation was not comprised of apolitical people, but of known personalities of our Party and state.

Before leaving for China, she knew of the disagreements that existed between the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Communist Party of China, not to the full extent to which they developed later, but she knew many things. When it was recommended to her, as far as possible, to avoid expressing opinions on these still unresolved problems, this means that she had knowledge of the essence of the disagreements between the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Communist Party of China. However, Liri Belishova went to China and did not act as recommended.

During her stay in China, Liri Belishova showed a surprising fear and avoided any discussion with the Chinese comrades when it was a question of expressing the opinion of our Party about

modern revisionism, about our friendship with the Communist Party of China and its government, and about the correct meaning of ties with the Soviet Union. Indeed in various forms she asked them as far as possible to refrain from discussing Party questions because, allegedly, “she was not authorized,” etc.¹

Why she did this, we shall see later, but the fact is that the Chinese comrades wanted to discuss Party questions with us. We cannot prevent them from talking, but we have our own stand and this stand can be expressed on every occasion. It is not so simple to seek to avoid talking about Party questions. Although Liri strove at all costs to avoid dealing with Party problems in the talks with the Chinese comrades, they considered it reasonable to talk to us about so great and delicate a question. Of course they did this because they had great trust in and deep respect for our Party. As it seems this is not how Liri Belishova evaluated this question.

Instead of maintaining the stand that should have been maintained in these talks with the Chinese comrades, without any instructions to do such a thing, she opposed their views on some questions and gave them an understanding that we were leaning towards the Soviet leaders. Not only had our Party not expressed itself in favour of such a stand, but all the comrades of the Political Bureau were in disagreement with many stands of the Soviet leaders about political and ideological problems which were apparent both in their practical activity and in their press. Therefore, our Party had never pronounced itself against China. With her attitude, Liri Belishova implied to the Chinese comrades that our

¹ This was a false justification of Liri Belishova's. Not only did she have the necessary instructions from the Political Bureau of the CC of the PLA concerning the stand she should adopt in the PRC, but also through a special radiogram of June 4, 1960, Comrade Enver Hoxha drew her attention and instructed her: “We are reading your greetings in newspapers, and they astonish us. They are extremely dry and contain mistakes.

“First of all you must speak longer and exceptionally warmly of China; sternly expose the imperialists and the Yugoslav revisionists... It is entirely impermissible to speak of a certain modern revisionism. The successes of our country and the correct policy of the Party in every field must be pointed out well and at length everywhere. The speeches must be politically and ideologically elevated and not with banal phrases... Tear up the hackneyed greetings and speeches you have prepared and formulate entirely new ones.”

While the other radiogram of June 6 said: “Talks with the Chinese comrades on the ideological questions under discussion may be held only by you.” (Taken from the copies of the originals of the radiograms which are in the Central Archives of the Party).

Party did not agree with their views.

The other mistake of Liri Belishova was that she went and made contact with the counsellor of the Soviet embassy in Peking and told him about the things the Chinese comrades had said to her. From this her aim emerges very clearly. The Soviet leaders, from Khrushchev down to Polyansky, understood how Liri was thinking, that they were her personal opinions, that she was against the Chinese views and for the Soviet position on these questions.

Liri Belishova was considered by them the “heroine” of the situation. The Soviet leaders utilized her actions to create a difficult situation in our Party, in our leadership and among our cadres. After the Bucharest Meeting they got hold of all the comrades who were in the USSR to expound their views¹ and to get their opinion, in one way or another, to see if they were with the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania. One of these views was that in China Liri Belishova took an “heroic stand,” that “she gave the Chinese comrades the proper reply and did not allow them to issue a communique on the talks they held with her.” This is what the Soviet leaders are saying.

Not only was Liri Belishova predisposed to adopt such a stand, but she made another organizational mistake — she violated the discipline of the Party. She did nothing at all to seek the opinion of the Political Bureau. She did not understand that this was a harmful action to fan the flames in this situation of disagreements which existed between the two parties.

Before she left for China, I talked with Liri about what Mikoyan had told us about the Communist Party of China. I instructed her, also, not to talk about this question with anyone, as long as we had still not informed even the Central Committee of our Party of these disagreements. Liri should have understood that since we had not informed our Party it was not up to us to inform the Communist Party of China of what Mikoyan had said about them. Not only was Liri instructed, but even if she had no instruction at all, as a member of the Political Bureau, she should have realized that

¹ On June 6, 1960, Comrade Enver Hoxha, in a “very urgent” radiogram sent to Liri Belishova, instructed her: “Concerning the Chinese articles on Leninism, you should find the opportunity to say to them that the CC of the PLA finds them very good, and there is no reason why you should not declare yourself in support of them. Continue to put forward the line of our Party everywhere and in all aspects.” (Taken from the original copy in the Central Archives of the Party).

the questions raised with her by the Chinese comrades could not be discussed with a third party without obtaining the approval of the Central Committee.

Why did Liri not seek the opinion of the leadership of the Party? Because she did not have a correct concept of the leadership of the Political Bureau. She has been conceited and overrated her own abilities and intelligence, otherwise, like any other member of the Central Committee, when difficulties are encountered about an important problem, she should consult the leadership of the Party and not act without receiving its advice. Liri did not do this because she liked the position she held.

At the Political Bureau she tried hard to justify herself concerning her mistakes in Peking. She clung to such arguments as that she "was alone" and had "nobody to consult." But the fact is that she continued to make mistakes in Moscow, too, indeed up to the meeting of the Political Bureau after she returned. She does not want to understand her grave mistakes and she does not admit them.

When Liri was in Peking I sent her a radiogram. What was its content? When the holding of the Bucharest Meeting in June was proposed to us, we had received a radiogram from our embassy in Peking, through whom we were briefly informed of what had happened at the meeting of the council of the World Federation of Trade Unions, of the major differences of principle between the delegations of the Soviet Union and China. We knew that Liri would have meetings with the Chinese comrades, therefore we sent a radiogram concerning the meeting of the communist and workers' parties which it was thought would be held in June. We told her that the Chinese comrades had proposed the postponement of the June meeting, but, if the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the other parties agree with their proposal, we have no objection. If it is to be held in June, we said in the radiogram, the Chinese comrades should be informed, if they will allow us to express our modest opinion, that the participation of the great Communist Party of China in this meeting is essential.

During this time we received another letter from the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in which we were informed of the postponement of the meeting that was to have been held in June. Then we sent another radiogram to Liri, in which we said that it was not necessary to transmit to the Chinese comrades the content of the first radiogram, because our fear that the Chinese

comrades would not come to the meeting they had proposed should be postponed had disappeared. Liri read and interpreted the radiogram in the way she wanted and according to the plan she was turning over in her mind.

Likewise, we instructed her to find the opportunity to inform the Chinese comrades that we had read and liked the articles published by them on the occasion of the 90th anniversary of Lenin's birth.

Liri did not carry out this instruction from the Political Bureau because she had her own views. But irrespective of the fact that these articles were not to her liking, she should have transmitted the view of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of our Party to the Chinese comrades. When she returned she could have expressed her personal view to the Political Bureau. This shows that Liri Belishova went to China with definite thoughts, different from those of the comrades of the Political Bureau, who, in those days, held frequent discussions on the political and ideological stands of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Communist Party of China.

When she reached Moscow Liri was more completely armed. You know that we sent Liri two simple but very clear letters, fully sufficient weapons for her to avoid making mistakes.¹

In the first letter, which she received as soon as she arrived in Ulan-Bator, the Political Bureau pointed out to her that she had made grave mistakes in China and for this reason she should take care not to let the flattery and high-sounding praise that she might receive from the Soviet leaders go to her head. In the second letter, which she received as soon as she landed in Moscow, she was informed of the holding of the Bucharest Meeting, the stand adopted there by our Party, and it was stressed to her that this stand did not please the Soviet leaders, therefore she should be careful to defend the line of the Party, to stress that she fully agreed with the stand of the Central Committee of the Party, expressed in Bucharest by Comrade Hysni. This stand would have been correct and would have barred the way to efforts by anyone who might try to split our leadership.

¹ When she returned to Albania, Liri Belishova was asked by the Political Bureau and the basic organization of which she was a member to hand these letters in. She said that she had allegedly destroyed them. In fact she handed them over to the Soviet leaders during the meetings she had with them. (See the letters in this volume, p. 70 and p. 80).

Thus, Liri Belishova had been prepared so as to avoid any mistakes, had she agreed with the line of the Central Committee. But the fact is that this is not what happened.

We know the tactics pursued by the Soviet leaders. They invited Liri to lunch, but there she did not maintain the stand on which she had been instructed by the Political Bureau. Liri used there the tactics of jokes. "We must make jokes," she thought, "to get out of this situation." But in fact jokes did not help her and a situation created which was favourable to the Soviet leaders, unfavourable and in opposition to the stand of the Central Committee of our Party, and compatible, in the final analysis, with the view of Liri Belishova.

During the lunch the Soviet leaders began with praises and toasts to Liri and with attacks on our Party, but Liri dodged the touchy issues, the blows and venom against our Party, directed particularly by Kozlov. Kozlov expressed his dissatisfaction over the stand of Comrade Hysni in Bucharest and she did not knock him back immediately. She pretended not to be clear about this question, but she allegedly told Kozlov that "Enver Hoxha has no skeleton in the closet like Gomulka," about whom they said adopted a *pravilno*,¹ *yasno*² stand. She should have intervened immediately to say that at Bucharest our Party adopted a correct and clear stand and that she agreed with that stand.

Then Kozlov said that "we want friendship, but without zigzags." But who is developing friendship with zigzags? Liri did not give the proper reply to this either. In the letter we said to Liri that Khrushchev did not like the stand of our Party at the Bucharest Meeting, therefore she should have understood that when there was talk of zigzags it was our Party which was being attacked and she should have replied that our Party does not make "zigzags."

Thus such a stand of Liri Belishova is deliberate.

During the lunch other insinuations were made such as: "Whom are you Albanians with — with the 200 or the 600 million?" This, too, went without the proper reply from Liri. At the meeting I had with Ivanov I told him that what Kozlov said was anti-Marxist. And what does he mean by "with the 200 or the 600 million?" Our Party is on a Marxist road, therefore it is with all the countries of our socialist camp. However, at the Plenum Liri

¹ Correct, Russ. in the original.

² Clear, Russ. in the original.

told us that she did not hear this question properly or did not understand it. But it is impossible that this escaped her ears, for he said it at lunch, sitting near her, and we do not agree with such a justification. They might even have said these things in a confusing, indirect way, but at the end of the lunch she should have risen and said: "Comrades, there are no zigzags in our line. We are for a unity of all the countries of our camp. Therefore, let us drink this toast to the triumph of Marxism-Leninism." But in fact this was not the way she acted. The lunch and these venom-filled remarks of the Soviet leaders were passed off with a laugh.

But why with a laugh? Because Liri Belishova did not agree with the line of our Party on these questions. She had a different view and she thought that her view was correct and, in the final account, in her opinion, the views of the leadership of our Party were not correct and that in this situation we were making mistakes.

Thus, even when she came back, Liri showed some signs and took some actions which confirm this. She began especially to say to the comrades: "Comrade Enver should be spared, we should not draw him into this situation so that he will not compromise himself over these questions." In plain language this means: "Nobody knows how the conflict between the Communist Party of China and the Communist Party of Soviet Union will end. Therefore, we should leave Comrade Enver out of it, not let him meddle in it, and when this problem is over, then we shall see who is right, you or I. That's the time for Comrade Enver to come out and give the others who were wrong the stick. In this way we are in order," according to her view.

That is, even after her return to Tirana, in spite of the advice given her at the meeting of the Political Bureau, Liri Belishova continued to maintain the same stand and to concoct intrigues to disrupt the leadership of the Party. Linked with this is also Liri's other saying that "we must prepare several variants for the Moscow Meeting" and, after we see which way the "wind" is blowing, make use of the one which seems to us the most advantageous. This is a very wrong, opportunist view, entirely unacceptable to our Party of Labour. We must go to the Moscow Meeting not with "several variants," but with a clear-cut stand, not with ten banners, but with one, the banner of Marxism-Leninism.

Another view of Liri was that the comrades of the Plenum or the alternate members of the Political Bureau should not be given

the documents exchanged between the Political Bureau and Comrade Hysni Kapo in Bucharest, who was instructed through them about the stand he should adopt there. What does this mean? This is connected with the fact that "these documents bear Enver's signature, therefore we should not expose him." Why should we not inform the Central Committee of the practice followed by the Political Bureau and let the Plenum judge of its work? What is wrong with this?

The comrades of the Political Bureau analysed Liri Belishova's mistakes and arrived at the conclusion that such mistakes are not made easily. They were made because she had some distorted views about the others and overestimation of herself.

Liri Belishova should have made it clear that revisionism does not exist only in Yugoslavia, that revisionist views also exist in parties of other countries, which are deviating from the correct Marxist-Leninist road.

Many times we have discussed with Liri that many actions of the Soviet leaders are not on the right road, but on an opportunist road, which is to the advantage of the revisionists, particularly of the Yugoslav revisionists.

And this has not been a matter only of tactical stands on their part. We observe that the Soviet leaders have allowed the struggle against the Yugoslav revisionists to die down. From time to time they write theoretical articles against the Yugoslav revisionists, but even those have many gaps in them, while as to the concrete struggle against them, this they have put right out. Indeed there are parties such as the Bulgarian Communist Party that have even taken decisions not to say anything against the Yugoslav revisionists.

When we speak of our love for the USSR we must not include here those who make mistakes, whoever they may be, Soviet, Czechs, Bulgarians or Albanians. Every Marxist and leader must have it clear that we do not love the USSR for the beautiful eyes of Ivanov. Ivanov does not love the Soviet Union or our friendship with the Soviet Union as long as he acts in a hostile way against a people and a Party who nurture a sincere love for the Soviet people, which he has seen with his own eyes during his three year stay in our country. And why should we keep Ivanov happy? To avoid ruining our friendship? The same goes for Kozlov, Khrushchev, and others.

We have our own views which we have expressed and will ex-

press. But Liri Belishova was not reconciled to this stand, for she has wavered in the Party line. She has been led to these positions by her conceit.

FROM THE REPORT AT THE 18TH PLENUM OF THE CC OF PLA: “ON THE ANTI-PARTY ACTIVITY OF KOÇO TASHKO”

September 7, 1960

After the meeting of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania on August 31, 1960, at which a detailed analysis was made of the activity of Koço Tashko, which was in opposition to the line of the Party, this matter was also discussed by the 18th Plenum of the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania which met on September 7, 1960. The Report of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania “On the Anti-Party Activity of Koço Tashko,” was delivered by Comrade Enver Hoxha. The following are excerpts from this report, delivered on September 7:

“He¹ has not been in agreement with the proceedings and conclusions of the July Plenum and with the line and stand which was defined there. Because he was infected with the feeling of career-seeking, nourishing old dissatisfaction with the Party, and because he had for a long time been in opposition with it, he thought that the time had come to take up the anti-Party flag, because, according to him, the Central Committee of our Party had made a grave mistake; it had become “anti-Soviet,” that the fate of socialism in Albania is allegedly on the brink of disaster, etc., and that the saviour of the situation was to be Koço Tashko. He, behind the back of the Central Committee and against it, has held talks with the Soviet ambassador and with other employees of the Soviet embassy in Tirana three times on end during which the line of our Party has been slandered and spoken against. This is an open anti-Party act because it is a plot which a member of our Party, and even worse, an important cadre of the Party, as he is the Chairman of the Auditing Commission, has hatched together with representatives of another country against the Party.

It must be stressed that while Koço Tashko turned all sorts of ideas over and over in his mind, he never once bothered to go to the First Secretary of the Central Committee or to another comrade of the Political Bureau with whom he could discuss the mat-

¹ Koço Tashko.

ters, which according to him, preoccupied him. He thought it more necessary and more logical to speak about these things with the Soviet ambassador and other Soviet employees. And only after these meetings did he ask to talk with me. This shows that Koço Tashko did not trust his Party and its leadership, and that in his actions, he proceeded from evil aims, from anti-Party aims, and not as he is trying to convince us, allegedly from good intentions, as the “mediator” between our Party and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. The very concepts of “mediators” are completely alien to our Party, which recognizes only one “mediator” and that is Marxism-Leninism which, just like a mirror, reveals who is on the right road and who is in the wrong.

The source of the mistakes of Koço Tashko, of his anti-Party acts, are a lack of trust in the Party and its leading organs, wrong concepts which he nourishes for the Party, which he does not consider as a militant collective, but as a circle of friends, his old dissatisfaction with the Party and his career-seeking, his great fear which does not in the slightest reconcile with Marxist-Leninist resolution which should characterize every communist and in the first place the leaders of the Party, especially in the present situation. But Koço Tashko does not want to recognize these mistakes which urge him to make such a grave mistake as to resort to anti-Party activity. The damage he has caused our Party is great. Conspiring to the detriment of the Party, distorting, before the employees of the Soviet embassy, the real stands of the Party, interpreting them in accordance with his own concepts and fantasy, revealing information about the proceedings of the Plenum of the Central Committee, has resulted in attacks against the line of our Party also by people who are not members of our Party. The Political Bureau of the Central Committee, putting forward the case of Koço Tashko for discussion, proposes to the Plenum of the Central Committee and the Auditing Commission of the Party, that for his anti-Party activity, for breaking the rules of discipline, secrecy and the organizational norms of the Party, for distortion of the line of the Party and for the fact that for a long time he has been and is in opposition to the Party, he be discharged from his function as Chairman of the Auditing Commission and also be expelled from the ranks of this commission.

FROM THE CLOSING SPEECH AT THE 18TH PLENUM OF THE CC OF THE PARTY OF LABOUR OF ALBANIA CONCERNING LIRI BELISHOVA'S HOSTILE STAND WHICH RAN COUNTER TO THE PARTY'S LINE

September 7, 1960

At the meeting of the Political Bureau as well as at the 18th Plenum of the Central Committee which discussed Liri Belishova's mistakes and anti-Party stands, she stuck to her hostile position against our Party's Marxist-Leninist line. The following are extracts from the closing speech made by Comrade Enver Hoxha at the 18th Plenum, on September 7, 1960 concerning Liri Belishova's hostile stands which ran counter to our Party's line:

We shall speak here like Marxists, and not like the leadership of a small state. As Marxists, it is our right to have our say, to defend communism enjoying the same right as the Soviets or any other big or small Marxist-Leninist party. It is not a matter of conceit if we say we defend and help the cause of international communism with our consistent and correct stand. Marxists have a correct understanding of this. Those who are not Marxist and conceal their anti-Marxist bourgeois views can ironically say "Who are you who speak in such a manner and defend international communism? As for us, you are not worth a penny." We do not care what others say. We do not care either whether they call or will call us "dogmatic," "sectarian" or attribute to us other such epithets which do not belong to our Party.

Our Party's line has been correct and Marxist-Leninist. It has been tested during almost 20 years in life, in every struggle, for the liberation of the homeland, the construction of socialism and the defence of Marxism-Leninism from the Yugoslav revisionists and enemies of every hue. This has also been borne out by the great successes our people have achieved, the great economic, political, cultural and other transformations Albania has undergone. The Albanian people speak admiringly about all these successes.

What catches one's eye as far as our people are concerned is their conviction and correct understanding that these great economic, spiritual and social achievements have been brought to

them by Marxism-Leninism, the correct Marxist-Leninist line of our Party. This is of very great significance. This is also proved by the extremely close ties of the Party with our people.

Thus, our Party's life and work show that its line is correct, and has enjoyed approval and support by our people and that it is neither dogmatic nor sectarian. We reject this epithet which they attribute to us now in undertone and clamorously in the future, and we continue on our Marxist-Leninist road. Those who try to do such things are doomed to failure. Struggle and life will expose them.

It is not only our communists and people, but the communist and workers parties of many countries of the world that admirably speak about the correct line of our Party and the great achievements of our country. They speak thus because of the fact that the Party of Labour of Albania liberated its country and led it on the road of progress, the road of socialism. They witness the great vitality and heroism of the Albanian people and our Party, which stand up to all these storms with great firmness.

Therefore, let no one, including Liri, think that this admiration of the world's communists for our small and heroic Party is credit to Khrushchev. Not in the slightest. If it were for Khrushchev and the present-day Soviet leadership, Albania would not have been what it is today and the other parties' assessment of our Party and country and admiration for them would not have existed.

We are before the Central Committee, and it is correct to hold open Marxist discussions. Liri can express her surprise for there have been cases in meetings of the Political Bureau when we have made open allusions. For example, we have said that there are Party leaders who assess the worth of the leadership of another Party on the basis of the potato or tomato production and not of the political line it pursues. Liri has retorted: "How can one speak about these comrades in such a manner?" We have told her we speak on the basis of facts and not out on the street, but here in the Central Committee, quite openly. But the time is also bound to come when these views and this opinion, as well as other facts brought to light by life itself, are certainly to be referred to at international conferences too.

Many other parties have supported the Party of Labour of Albania on account of its firm stand against modern revisionism, especially Yugoslav revisionism. This goes to show that in these parties there are truly great healthy forces, even though the worm of

revisionism has penetrated and is eating away at the leadership of some of them. However, it is very difficult to subdue the Marxist-Leninist forces in all the parties. They have understood our stand though we have not come out openly against the mistakes of the Soviet leaders.

Liri Belishova should not think that this is a tactic to defend Khrushchev. This is by no means the case. We have continued and still continue to fight against revisionism. International communism has seen for itself that we are against Khrushchev and the true Marxist-Leninists have appraised our Party's correct stand and tactics. Our stand has been correct and nobody has dared to attack us openly, though efforts, which have amounted even to threats, pressures and blackmail, have been made, but we have shown them their place.

Then, they have resorted to the tactics of discrediting the Party of Labour of Albania. But how? They say to us: "You are shouting and screaming clamorously against revisionism and making them get swell-headed." This slogan is widespread in all the leaderships of the countries of people's democracy, including even the leadership of some communist parties of Western Europe. What they say is unfounded. In fact, this is an appeal to renounce the fight against Yugoslav revisionism.

These tactics continue and have developed into different forms up to attacks against our Party, since we did not fall into line as the Soviet leadership wanted us to do, that is, to follow another road. But none of these tactics succeeded and no force whatsoever can intimidate our Party, though they will call us "dogmatists," "sectarians" or "narrow-minded nationalists" and will try to lead us into blind alleys. This is proven by the strength of our Party and its Central Committee. It is clear that these are vain efforts to lead us onto this road.

It is our desire to solve disagreements between parties on the correct path. But they have not made and do not want to make efforts to solve these disagreements. And this is not all. Pospelov¹ should know that Marxism-Leninism teaches us that no talks behind the backs of another party should be held and that the mistakes which some comrade has made must be discussed openly, according to Marxist-Leninist rules. What kind of respect should we have for one who acts otherwise? One must be consistent

¹ Pyotr N. Pospelov, Deputy Member of the Presidium of the CC of the CPSU.

through to the end if he defends Marxism-Leninism. We say to Pospelov: "You have read Lenin all your life, but facts go to show that you are now distorting it."

The correctness of our Party's line has been clear the whole time. Did our Party err as regards the Yugoslav issue? Facts have proved that it did not. There are other people who erred. Khrushchev in the first place. He is not a Marxist to be as bold as to admit his error. Since he has erred, he should make self-criticism and say: "I have accused Stalin of having erred towards the Yugoslavs. Life proved that Stalin was right." Thus, if you are a Marxist, you should come forward to say that Stalin has not erred on this question.

What is the meaning of keeping silent and failing to expose the Yugoslav revisionists for fear of inflating their arrogance? This means one should hush up because if there is talk against the Yugoslav revisionists, others will be exposed, for it is not only the Yugoslavs who are revisionist. Stepping up the fight against the Yugoslav revisionists enables you to be aware of other revisionist elements, under whatever form they may appear.

The Czech leaders say, "Your party takes a stand towards the revisionists but it does not adopt any such stand towards the Communist Party of China, which fails to abide by the principle of co-existence." But why should we be against the Communist Party of China? What is our Party's line on this issue? We stand for peaceful coexistence but, when speaking about coexistence, Lenin did not advise us to make common cause with and make bedfellows of the representatives of the monopoly bourgeoisie.

You will certainly become indignant if you see a film they have recently produced. This film which seems to me is called *SOS*, tells how a sailor and a collective farmer go to live with a British multimillionaire. His daughter provides the collective farmer with the best room and falls in love with the Soviet sailor, whereas the lord orders his son-in-law who was a drunkard and a hooligan out of his home.

We are in favour of peaceful coexistence, but not of such a coexistence as that depicted in the film. We stand for Leninist coexistence in order to expose imperialism and revisionism, expose any manoeuvre or efforts of theirs to destroy us. Their aim is to destroy communism, our is to destroy imperialism and its agency, revisionism. We want coexistence with Greece for example, but

without ceding Gjirokastra and Korça¹ to Greece which it claims. We can in no way make concessions to the Greek chauvinists under the signboard of peaceful coexistence. In the future, Khrushchev may confer the medal of peace on such people who have annexationist designs on us. Anyhow, we shall put forward this question at the meeting.

We do not want to fling doors wide open to American spies, decadent art and the American way of life. No, we are not in favour of this road. By means of our ideology, we must fight all the manoeuvres and condemn the plans and line of reconciliation with bourgeois ideology. Imperialism tries to destroy our countries not only through other means but also through ideology, theatre, music, ballet, the press, television, and so on. We do not approach coexistence by spreading the American way of life. We do not agree that Czech or Soviet workers in the embassies should give receptions and dance American style. The comrades who work in our representations abroad are scandalized at such things. We do not stand for such a road.

We have said to Mikoyan too that they should revise the view they hold concerning the border dispute between China and India. We tell them that in case the Greeks cross our border on Gramoz,² we will in no way sit back with folded arms. The Chinese, too, did the same thing towards the Indians.

We, as well as the Chinese, declare that our camp is strong but it is another matter that because of an opportunist line in the understanding of peaceful coexistence, questions of so great an importance which would help strengthen our entire camp, are not defended. It is not fair to fail to pay the proper attention to the interests of great China. They can say they have raised their voice in the United Nations to this end, but there are many other occasions to speak about the defence of China's interests.

There is talk at large that our camp is monolithic, in unity and so on. But we are very well aware that the existence of so grave disagreements in the ranks of our camp is not good at all. If no efforts are made on the Marxist-Leninist road to do away with these disagreements then the Soviet leaders will embark on a very dangerous revisionist course.

Who is to blame for all this? We have sought that Marxist-

¹ Regions in southern Albania.

² A mountain on the Albanian border with Greece.

Leninist principles must be adhered to in relations between parties. The Soviet leaders accuse us of allegedly attaching great importance to form and approaching questions in a rigid way. But the questions we have raised are not a matter of form. Khrushchev went to Brioni four times to hold talks with the Yugoslavs about the Hungarian issue. Why did he not talk with us at least once and why was the meeting of the parties, members of the Information Bureau, not held at that time?

Why was the very important issue concerning Poland solved in a bilateral manner?

Our Party has adopted correct attitudes in all these situations, otherwise they would have directly attacked it. Nevertheless, the attack was launched in the wake of the Bucharest Meeting. Until then, the Soviet leaders had said nothing bad about the line of our Party except about the consistent stand we adopted towards the Yugoslav revisionists alleging that we were hotheads and so on. Whereas now, in their view, our Party has turned “sectarian,” “narrow nationalist.” But we are neither sectarians, nationalists nor dogmatists, we are Marxists. Our Party’s correct line has been tested in life and in our struggle — that is why it enjoys the sympathy of all the communists in the world and this encourages us to forge ahead.

These questions have been and are clear. We will present them in a more concrete way, point out that nobody is justified in accusing China and that we are against the accusations levelled at her. The opportunist and revisionist mistakes of the Soviet and other leaders will also come out in the open.

Liri Belishova was aware of this state of affairs, but she did not act in the proper way for she was extremely wavering on the line of the Party. This vacillating attitude prompted her to take up the methods and suggestions of the Soviet leaders. She was prompted to take this road by her wrong views as well as by the weak aspect of her character such as power-seeking, sick ambition and her underestimation of the other leading comrades including members of the Political Bureau.

Liri Belishova took the wrong path because she wavered and departed from the correct line of the Party. She held that the line was not correct, that the comrades had erred and were moving against the Soviet Union: she thought she was on good terms with the Soviet Union and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. But our Party and our Central Committee are not against the So-

viet Union. They are against those Soviet leaders who continue to err towards China, world communism and our Party.

WE MUST BE ON GUARD AGAINST PROVOCATIONS AND DEFEND THE PARTY

(From the discussion of Comrade Enver Hoxha at the 18th Plenum of the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania on the hostile and anti-Party stand of Koço Tashko)

September 8, 1960

At the end of the meeting of the 18th Plenum of the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania at which the question of the hostile and anti-Party stand and activity of Koço Tashko were discussed, Comrade Enver Hoxha delivered the discussion which is published under the title: "We Must Be on Guard Against Provocations and Defend the Party." The following are excerpts of this discussion:

The Plenum has quite correctly unanimously expressed itself for the expulsion of Koço Tashko from the Party.¹ Now there is no longer any shade of doubt that we are dealing not only with an anti-Party element, but also a provocateur with a tool in the hands of others, to split the unity of our Party.

Koço Tashko has not acted on his own. This is proven by the facts. After his talks with me, I suggested to him that he reflect deeply and hand in his thoughts on paper, with the aim of informing the Political Bureau and the Central Committee on these thoughts so that they would be able to judge them. For this aim we gave him two to three days to think and to write. But he refused, saying "I have no reason for writing. I have said all I had to say."

He said nothing new to the Political Bureau, whereas at the Plenum, even though he had refused to write, he came before us with a written discussion, as it seems his "friends" have not left him in the lurch. You saw that the discussion was prepared by

¹ After examining the question of Koço Tashko, the Political Bureau of the CC of the PLA placed it before the Plenum of the CC and the Central Auditing Commission for discussion and proposed that he should be dismissed from the post of chairman of the Central Auditing Commission and be expelled from the ranks of this Commission for his anti-Party activity, his violation of the discipline, security and organizational norms of the Party, for his distortion of the line of the Party, and because of the fact that he had long been and continued to be in opposition to the Party. The proposal was approved unanimously. The Plenum also expelled him from the Party.

others.¹ This clearly shows that they,² failing to find anywhere to cling to against our Party and its correct line and stand, in its close ties with Leninism and with the Soviet people, found a provocateur and placed him in action. But we must be on our guard against provocations; we must be extremely careful of them.

The Soviet leaders want to and are trying to accuse us of being anti-Soviet, therefore, all the theses of Koço Tashko are in the first place their theses. Look at how filthy these Trotskyite aims are, which they are trying to implement through a provocateur. Therefore we must carry out a struggle with our ranks closed to the extreme, against the provocateurs and we must strengthen our unity.

We know who Koço Tashko is,³ therefore it is a waste of time to speak about him.

But Koço Tashko has received “assurances,” and this is clear from his stand. When I sent for him for the meeting he was terrified because he thought that we would arrest him. At the meeting of the Political Bureau he was very upset, whereas here, he comes to us full of arrogance, slander and provocations. They have said to him: “Go to the Central Committee and sow these ‘lofty’ ideas because there could be people there who, even if they are not with us at the moment, should recognize our real line and they could reflect on it in the future.” They are ready to take the pulse of everybody here to split us. They will also try to leave us without bread. Just look at what dirty work these people are doing. Comrades, our just cause will win, but we have and will have difficulties, these are inevitable. We will try to save people, but people like Koço Tashko, even though we should make an effort to save them, should be thrown immediately out of the Party.

There is no doubt that Ivanov and company are not doing these things of their own accord. These are instructions from above, and not from just anybody, but from Khrushchev himself,

¹ During the discussion, after reading a sentence Koço Tashko even read aloud the word “full stop.” Laughing immediately broke loose in the hall and some participants immediately added after him the word “tochka” which means “full stop” in Russian. This ridiculous act by Koço Tashko was sufficient proof to understand that the text of his discussion had been dictated by employees of the Soviet embassy and that during his translation he had gotten mixed up failing to distinguish the text from the punctuation marks.

² The Soviets.

³ Several times on end he has been criticized by the Party for disruptive activity, careerism, long-standing discontent with the Party, for showing fear, distrust and arrogance toward it.

because even for the bread grain which should be given to Albania, Khrushchev has to give the order, even though we buy it in cash.

We must remain cool-headed, knowing that these people want to damage our friendship with the peoples of the Soviet Union.

With this, I don't mean that we musn't speak against the revisionist stand of the Soviet leaders, because the time will come when we speak openly, but everything has its own time and place. We must be on guard against provocations and strengthen the Party.

RADIOGRAM TO MEHMET SHEHU IN NEW YORK

September 20, 1960

At a time when the renegade Khrushchev group was stepping up attacks against Marxism-Leninism in the ranks of the international communist and workers' movement, to impose its revisionist line in the field of international relations, this group was vociferously advertising Khrushchevite peaceful coexistence, the world without arms and wars, the parliamentary peaceful road. It advocated that imperialism, especially that of the United States and its bigwigs, had become reasonable, had changed their aggressive nature and other such anti-Leninist slogans. Also from the United Nations rostrum at the 15th session in 1960, the arch-revisionist Khrushchev served up these capitulationist and defeatist slogans with great pomp. The Party of Labour of Albania adopted a firm consistent Marxist-Leninist stand towards this activity, in the United Nations and in the entire field of foreign policy, though it was not the time to speak out openly. For the sake of preserving unity, the Party of Labour of Albania could not make public its opposition to Khrushchev's capitulationist stand. It found ways to denounce the revisionist tactics and stands in foreign policy. This is clearly evident in the radiograms that Comrade Enver Hoxha sent to Mehmet Shehu, then Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Albania, who headed the Albanian delegation at the 15th session of the United Nations General Assembly in 1960. In the radiogram dated September 20, 1960, Comrade Enver Hoxha wrote to Mehmet Shehu, among other things:

As regards to any new proposal that can be made at the United Nations, and which according to your view is not correct, not only politically but ideologically too, concerning not only the immediate effect but the prospective effect too, you must not be in a hurry to give your immediate approval allegedly to not go astray from the "herd."¹ Therefore, as we have decided, must you keep us up to date because for the sake of political eventuality, we can fall into line, but at the same time, you must make known our remarks

¹ By "herd," Comrade Enver Hoxha means the delegations of the countries of the socialist camp which took part in the 15th session of the United Nations General Assembly at that time.

to the “friends” orally and in writing.

As to your official speeches, always preserving the diplomatic form, though others may smooth down, you must seize on all key points, against U.S. imperialism and so on and so forth, so that nobody dare accuse us of smoothing down at any time. You know how to go about the rest. Here, everything is all right. We are preparing the departure of the delegation for Moscow.

Many regards,
Shpati

RADIOGRAM TO MEHMET SHEHU IN NEW YORK

September 23, 1960

Continuing work at the 15th session of the UN General Assembly at the head of the Albanian delegation, Mehmet Shehu received the following radiogram from Comrade Enver Hoxha on September 23, 1960:

Mehmet,

We are receiving the radiograms. Keep sending them to us, for they are “entertaining.”

The German official delegation has postponed its arrival until an unspecified date. It gives reasons, but they do not hold water. The reasons are those we know.

With those who show themselves approachable and have not changed their attitude toward us, get close to them and try to find a way to break their front and stir up their brains, for they are bound to vacillate...

After our request about which you know, the Soviets revised their decision on grain and accorded us a quantity payable through foreign exchange and in gold. We told them that we were still not satisfied but we would buy it. The Romanians are giving us nothing...

Here with us everything goes smoothly, don't worry. Our Radio protested to the Soviets because Radio Moscow has said nothing in its Albanian language service about where you are, whether you have spoken or not, but instead it announces these things through its Arabic language service. We voiced our protest and told them that if they persisted in that perfidious stand, then we would no longer relay the broadcasts of Radio Moscow through Radio Tirana.

We are preparing to send the delegation.¹ It has rained a lot these days. Everybody is doing well at home, the comrades are fine, and send their greetings.

Affectionately yours,

¹ On September 27, 1960, the delegation of the PLA, comprising Comrade Hysni Kapo and Comrade Ramiz Alia, Secretary of the CC of the PLA, which was to take part in the Commission of the 26 parties for the preparation of the materials of the November meeting, left for Moscow.

RADIOGRAM TO MEHMET SHEHU IN NEW YORK

September 26, 1960

The Soviet revisionists stepped up their pressure against the Party of Labour of Albania and the People's Republic of Albania, especially on the eve of the meeting of the Preparatory Commission which would prepare the meeting of the 81 parties. This is evident in the radiogram dated September 26, 1960, which Comrade Enver Hoxha sent to Mehmet Shehu.

The Soviets continue carrying out provocations, even in the personnel of our navy. Our men gave them a rebuff. Don't worry, their evil doings will rebound on them. They retreat with their tails between their legs.

Keep a cool head but hit back hard at all those who yap at you or try to provoke you. Stand firm on what we have decided.

We read the speeches. You did very well with the bit about the "Kralj" of Belgrade.¹ He showed once more that he is nothing but an agent of imperialism, which he did not mention once throughout his entire speech. Expose him mercilessly, not only to his admirers in our camp, but to the others as well.

Embraces,
Shpati

¹ A reference to Tito.

RADIOGRAM TO MEHMET SHEHU IN NEW YORK

September 28, 1960

In his radiogram dated September 28, Comrade Enver Hoxha relayed miscellaneous instructions and information to Mehmet Shehu in regards to the growing disagreements between the Khrushchev group and their supports, on the one hand, and the Marxist-Leninist communists, on the other. The following is what Comrade Enver Hoxha wrote in full:

Dear Mehmet,

1. We liked your speech very much. TASS delayed its transmission, so we were unable to give it either on the radio or in the newspapers on the same day. We published it in the newspapers the next day and repeated it several times on the radio. The newspapers will come out with several articles based on your speech.

2. Castro's speech was a good one. We published as much of it as was transmitted by TASS. We have published nothing of the other friends' speeches. We will go about it on a reciprocal basis: we will publish as many lines from their speeches as they publish from yours.

3. Our Comrades Behar or Reiz should send us communiques on talks and contacts you might have with the various leaders, in uncoded telegrams so the Albanian Telegraphic Agency can print them.

4. The Central Committee of the Communist Party of China handed us its letters in reply to the parties that had sent it letters, about which you know. It gives them hell, especially your neighbour at the United Nations, Zhivko.¹

5. Pospelov gave our Moscow delegation a very cool reception — only “How do you do,” and nothing more. They took them to a hotel. All the other delegations were sent to the same place.

6. From Bulgaria we are informed that...

At the Plovdiv Fair, Kardelj's² latest book in Bulgarian is sell-

¹ Ironic diminutive to Todor Zhivkov, General Secretary of the Bulgarian Communist Party.

² A Yugoslav revisionist ideologist. In his book *Socialism and War*, he falsifies the fundamental principles of Marxist-Leninist science, distorts the reality of socialism and openly puts himself completely in the service of the instigators of predatory wars.

ing like hotcakes.

7. On September 30 we have a meeting of the Political Bureau on education and the directives of the plan. We shall hold the Plenum on October 3 or 5.

8. We gave the Chinese document in an organized way to all the principal Party and state cadres so they could read it. They also read the Soviet document at the same time. Among all the cadres there is enthusiastic support for, and great confidence in, the correct line of the Party. The cadres are united and full of determination.

9. September 30 is the Chinese National Day celebration. I shall use this occasion¹ to fire the first “warning shots” so that the Soviet “friends” will get to hear of them.

10. Fiqret and the kids are doing fine. I keep her informed about you. All the comrades are well and send their greetings. I am awaiting your radiogram impatiently to learn how the famous dinner went.

Affectionately yours,
Shpati

¹ See this volume, p. 190.

RADIOGRAM TO MEHMET SHEHU IN NEW YORK

September 29, 1960

In his radiogram dated September 29, Comrade Enver Hoxha exposed the demagogic fuss and ambitions of Nikita Khrushchev and his followers about disarmament and other problems. The radiogram reads:

Dear Mehmet,

We are carefully following the speeches of everybody and can describe them with Shakespeare's words, "much ado about nothing." In fact, the ado is great and especially when the "self ado," if we may adopt this term, is deafening. Long live the echoes and the variety shows, because that is all that will come out of it, and we are of the same mind as you, that it turned out as we had predicted. Of course, in the end, as a conclusion, it will be said that the meeting was positive and as "Rrapo Lelo"¹ has already expressed it at lunch, "we did well to have come."

The close negotiations with the Belgrade arch-revisionist are shameful. Their continuous and legal talks are certainly cooking up new actions, disastrous to us...

The influence of the Soviet Union, China and of all our countries is being undermined. Here we should see, in particular, the undermining of the Chinese influence in the new states of the so-called "Third World." With his great manoeuvre "Rrapo Lelo" aims to deal China a blow ideologically and undermine it politically. With these actions he assists the development of capitalism, strengthens imperialism, weakens our camp and positions in the UNO...

Rrapo Lelo's admirers and bootlickers consider this terrible capitulation a great success. I think that with those whom you think are worried about this situation but who haven't the courage to speak up about it, you should tactfully let them know our views on these manoeuvres. Why should we keep our correct views so much to ourselves? Maybe one of them will tell "Rrapo Lelo" our views, but so what. "Rrapo" will understand that we do not talk with him about these questions, so let him jump up and down if

¹ An ironic reference to Khrushchev. Rrapo Lelo was an enemy of the people, a kulak from Mallakastra region in southern Albania.

he likes.

In regard to Gomulka's speech, we have arrived at the same conclusion as you. In no way can we accept it. The status quo in favour of the imperialists can never be accepted. You stick to the stand we decided, while as to Gomulka's proposals, not only do not accept them, but tell them that we shall denounce them at the plenary meeting of the communist and workers' parties in Moscow if they are included in the resolution.

Last night, I was with your family. I gave Fiqret your radiograms to read and she found them amusing. Your mother and children are well. Don't worry about them. Your youngest son's sword is broken, so when you come bring him a sword. I think you will find one there because not all the swords will have been beaten into ploughshares.¹

¹ By this phrase, Comrade Enver Hoxha ridicules the demagogic slogan of the Soviet revisionists about disarmament: "beat swords into ploughshares," advertised by N. Khrushchev at that time.

RADIOGRAM TO MEHMET SHEHU IN NEW YORK

September 30, 1960

In his radiogram dated September 30, Comrade Enver Hoxha informed Mehmet Shehu of the talks held between the delegations of the Communist Party of China and that of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, concerning the disagreements between the two parties. Here is what Comrade Enver Hoxha wrote, among other things:

The Chinese delegation sharply criticized the Soviets and Khrushchev especially for having created this international situation between our enemies and us, and unequal relations of mother and son, between the Soviet and the Chinese communist parties and states. Principles were defended on these questions.

The Soviet delegation tried with might and main to justify Khrushchev's attacks on China and his prettifying of imperialism. They persisted stubbornly in their views on the Sino-Indian question, on the violation of the Soviet borders by American aircraft, justified forcefully the mistakes that have been recognized on the question of Stalin, in Poland and Hungary. For your information, these three problems and many others have been taken up correctly in the latest Chinese material, which you, of course, have not read. As you see, both sides stand on their positions. Not a single step forward was made and could not be made.

A fierce struggle is expected in the Preparatory Commission which will meet on September 30.

The Communist Party of China and our Party expect attacks from all sides, but we will stand rock firm to defend our parties, Marxism-Leninism, to make the truth clear and expose the errors. Don't worry. We have never shrunk from the just struggle and never will. Everything is in order here.

Affectionately Yours,
Shpati

OUR PEOPLE AND PARTY WILL PRESERVE AND DEVELOP FRIENDSHIP WITH THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA WITH ALL THEIR STRENGTH

(Speech at the reception given by the embassy of the People's Republic of China on the 11th anniversary of the proclamation of the PRC)

September 30, 1960

In his speech on the occasion of the 11th Anniversary of the Proclamation of the People's Republic of China, delivered at the Chinese embassy in Tirana on September 30, 1960, Comrade Enver Hoxha utilized the opportunity to stress the necessity of the defence of China, the condemnation of all the modern revisionists who scorn her and preserve the purity of Marxism-Leninism. On all accounts, after the grave situation the Khrushchev group created at Bucharest, these words were directed against the Soviet revisionists. The following is the complete text of the speech:

Dear comrades and friends,

It is a great joy for me, on behalf of the Central Committee of the Party, the government and the Presidium of the People's Assembly, to wholeheartedly congratulate the great heroic Chinese people, the glorious Communist Party of China, and the Chinese government on the occasion of the 11th anniversary of the proclamation of the People's Republic of China, and to wish them ever greater successes in the construction of socialism and in the resolute struggle they are waging in defence of socialism and peace throughout the world!

The triumph of the People's Revolution and the proclamation of the People's Republic of China on October 1, 1949, is an event of great historic significance not only for the fraternal Chinese people but for the whole of mankind. After the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution, gloriously led by the Bolshevik Party and the great Lenin, the Chinese People's Revolution marks the most significant event in the history of this century. The proclamation of the People's Republic of China is the crowning of centuries of aspirations and struggles by the Chinese people for freedom and independence, for food and for peace; it is the outcome of the correct Marxist-Leninist leadership of the Communist

Party of China, which led China to its greatest victory, to the proclamation of the People's Republic.

Under the leadership of the glorious Communist Party of China, with its great son Mao Zedong at the head, the heroic Chinese people, 650 million strong, the most numerous in the world, after a protracted revolutionary struggle under extremely difficult conditions, eleven years ago smashed and overthrew forever the Japanese imperialists, the Chiang Kai-shek clique, the imperialist lackeys, the bloodsucking capitalists and landlords, and established their regime of people's democracy. With the birth of the new People's China, international imperialism suffered a very heavy blow and its detested colonial system began to collapse rapidly. This is a contribution of great world historic significance for the whole of mankind, for its national and social liberation. The revolutionary movement — not only in Asia, but throughout the world — took on a new impetus and based itself, and continues to base itself, on the results also of this colossal victory.

V.I. Lenin and J.V. Stalin made very high assessments of the great revolutionary potential of the Chinese people and of their powerful contribution to the liberation struggle of the peoples to free themselves from the clutches of imperialism. In the resolutions of the Prague Conference of the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party, V.I. Lenin writes:

“The Conference... notes the world significance of the revolutionary struggle of the Chinese people, which is bringing about the liberation of Asia and undermining the domination of the European bourgeoisie, it hails the Republican revolutionaries of China, and expresses the enthusiasm and complete sympathy with which the Russian proletariat are following the achievements of the revolutionary Chinese people...”¹

J.V. Stalin has said:

“The forces of the revolutionary movement in China are very great. They have still not shown themselves properly. They will show themselves in the future. The rulers in the East and West who do not see these forces and do not duly take them into account will suffer the consequences...”

“Truth and justice here are entirely with the Chinese revolution. That is why we sympathize, and will continue to sympathize, with the Chinese revolution for the liberation of the Chinese peo-

¹ V.I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, vol. 17, p. 548, Alb. ed.

ple from the yoke of the imperialists and for the union of China into a single state. He who disregards this force, and continues to disregard it in the future, will certainly suffer defeat.”¹

Internal Chinese reaction and the imperialists greatly underestimated the revolutionary forces of the Chinese people, who triumphed over them once and for all, and on the October 1, 1949, proclaimed the People’s Republic. The old China, under the domination of the imperialists and their stooges, the bloodthirsty reactionary rulers, was extremely backward from the economic point of view, although it was a country of colossal wealth and ancient culture, with a large area and the biggest population in the world. The barbarous exploitation by the colonialists and the ruling classes had strangled the inexhaustible energies of this highly gifted people of great creative abilities. Within the short period of eleven years after they took power in their hands, this great and valiant people demonstrated to the entire world their marvellous abilities and talents, and achieved successes unprecedented in the thousands of years of their history. They are quickly transforming their homeland into an advanced socialist country, and with their brilliant example are inspiring the other peoples of the world who have recently shaken off the colonial yoke of imperialism or who are still suffering under its savage exploitation.

During the post-liberation years the Chinese national economy has developed at very rapid rates, a characteristic which is observed only in the socialist countries, where Marxist-Leninist parties are in the leadership.

Following its successful fulfilment of the 1st Five-Year Plan in 1957, the People’s Republic of China has achieved amazing successes in the years 1958 and 1959, by attaining the main indices of the 2nd Five-Year Plan three years ahead of schedule. In the past year alone the total value of industrial production increased 39.3 per cent over that of 1958; and that of agricultural production rose 16.7 per cent. From a country where poverty and chronic hunger predominated, a country ruled by the landlords, the local capitalists, as well as the imperialists — ranging from the Japanese, British and French to the U.S. imperialists — great China is today being transformed day by day into an advanced socialist country, and the material and cultural level of the working masses is being steadily improved.

¹ J.V. Stalin, *Works*, vol. 7, pp. 296-297, Alb. ed.

Gone forever is the time when the people of China enjoyed no rights. Only now can the broad masses of the people enjoy all the benefits of socialist democracy and take an active and extensive part in solving the existing problems of the country.

In multinational People's China national oppression has been wiped out, along with the overthrow of the old state power, and today all the different nationalities live in harmony with each other as one big family; they enjoy equal rights, help one another in a fraternal way, and thus live in exemplary, complete unity.

The profound economic and social changes that have taken place during these eleven years in the fraternal People's Republic of China are due to the determined, correct and creative application of the principles of Marxism-Leninism by the Communist Party of China, to its close ties with the labouring masses, to the authority enjoyed by the Communist Party and the ardent love the entire Chinese people have for the Communist Party, its Central Committee, and the great son of the people and the Party, Mao Zedong. The constant and very great achievements of the talented Chinese people in the successful construction of socialism are also due to the correct, principled and unwavering struggle of the Communist Party of China in defence of the purity of Marxist-Leninist principles, to its struggle against modern revisionism and against any other harmful anti-Marxist manifestation. The colossal achievements of these eleven years in the People's Republic of China have turned new China into a major world power, a resolute fighter for peace and socialism, which enjoys great and ever-increasing international authority.

In its foreign policy the Communist Party of China has been and is guided by the lofty principles of the Leninist policy of peace and friendship among nations, by the lofty principles of proletarian internationalism. This great and glorious party, in the ranks of which about 14 million members militate, is a tremendous force in the international communist movement and marches shoulder-to-shoulder in closed ranks with all the communist and workers' parties of the world, holding high and unsullied the banner of Marxism-Leninism. The great People's Republic of China, a member of the big family of the socialist camp, plays a major and important role in the international arena. It wages a constant struggle for the strengthening and steeling of the unity of the socialist camp and makes a very great contribution to the struggle of all the peoples of the world for the defence of peace and for the

just solution of all unresolved international problems. The Communist Party of China and the great Chinese people take a correct revolutionary view of the question of the liberation of the peoples enslaved by the imperialists and colonialists, and give them all possible help for their national liberation.

Precisely because of this just struggle, the People's Republic of China has won respect and sympathy not only on the continent of Asia, but throughout the whole world. Therefore, the efforts of the imperialist aggressors, especially the U.S. imperialists and their faithful lackeys, the Yugoslav revisionists, who slander China and concoct a thousand and one dirty lies to present it as a "country which wants not peace but war, which is against peaceful coexistence among countries of different social systems," etc. are in vain.

In order to undermine the great sympathy and influence which the People's Republic of China is steadily gaining in the international arena, the U.S. imperialists are struggling stubbornly to debar it from its legitimate place in the United Nations Organization or in the other international organizations. The rapacious U.S. imperialists have occupied the ancient Chinese territory of Taiwan and are struggling with every means to prevent China from participating in the solution of international problems. All these activities of the U.S. imperialists are part of their aggressive policy against the camp of socialism in general and against People's China in particular. Thus, the defence of the People's Republic of China against any attempts of the imperialists, and our insistence that it must gain all the rights that belong to it in the international arena, serve to strengthen the socialist camp and to ward off a new world war. To allow U.S. imperialism to continue its policy toward the People's Republic of China means to allow it to attack one of the soundest positions of our socialist camp, to strike a blow against peace and peaceful coexistence between the peoples. Any attempt, of whatever nature, on the part of the imperialists and their servants to harm great People's China will be answered with heavy blows from the camp of socialism, from all the communists of the world and all progressive mankind. Great China will succeed in winning its legitimate rights over the imperialists and their stooges.

With the aim of deceiving the people and lulling them to sleep, the U.S. imperialists are loudly clamouring that allegedly they stand for peaceful coexistence between states of different politi-

cal-social systems, but their words are only a bluff. The attitude of the U.S. government toward China, toward Albania and many other countries is the best proof of this. The government of the People's Republic of China has always striven sincerely to maintain peaceful relations with all states, irrespective of their regimes, and the numerous friendly ties of the People's Republic of China with a great number of states of Asia and Africa, with Cuba and others, confirm this. The trade and cultural relations which China maintains and is developing day by day with a great number of states confirms this. But the policy of the imperialists will suffer ignominious failure, as it has already.

As is known, the regular session of the United Nations Organization has opened in New York and its proceedings are continuing. There, the Chairman of the Government of the People's Republic of Albania, Mehmet Shehu, expressed the will of the Albanian people, of our Party and our government for the preservation of peace in the world. He condemned colonialism. Mehmet Shehu defended China and insistently demanded that it be admitted to the United Nations Organization and the Chiang Kai-shek puppet regime be ousted, rightly emphasizing that no major international problem can find a correct and fair solution without the participation of China. Imperialism is in decay. However, Marxism-Leninism teaches us that as long as imperialism exists, the causes of predatory wars exist too. Therefore, we should always be vigilant toward the imperialists because only in this way shall we impose the will of peace-loving mankind on these imperialist beasts with human faces. This will be attained only in the revolutionary way, by making no concessions of principle to the imperialists, by always remaining vigilant against all their attempts to weaken our political, ideological, economic and military positions. We should unite our efforts with the revolutionary liberation struggles of the colonial and dependent countries, as well as with all peace-loving and progressive forces in the world. The U.S. imperialists and their lackeys must be mercilessly denounced for their feverish preparations for war; both they and the Belgrade revisionists should be ruthlessly fought and exposed politically and ideologically, for this is the only way that we can properly serve the cause of genuine peace, the cause of coexistence, the cause of the liberation of peoples from the colonial yoke, the cause of the triumph of socialism and communism. Our Party has been following this Marxist-Leninist road and will continue to do so undeviatingly.

Like the People's Republic of China, our People's Republic follows, and will consistently follow, a policy of peace and peaceful coexistence among peoples, just as the great Lenin defined it for us; namely, that parallel with the efforts to establish friendly relations among states, we must never give up the political and ideological struggle against the capitalists and against the traitors to Marxism-Leninism, the modern revisionists.

The Albanian people are bound to the great Chinese people by an unbreakable friendship, and they follow their struggle for peace and socialism with sympathy and admiration. Our Party and Government have supported, and will continue to support, the peaceful policy of the People's Republic of China and defend its rights in the international arena with might and main. Our people and Party rejoice that in the Chinese people they have a great and loyal friend, and they will rally all their forces to preserve and constantly strengthen the sound friendship based on Marxism-Leninism which links our two fraternal peoples.

At this gathering on the occasion of this glorious anniversary, I take the opportunity to express once more, on behalf of our Party and people, our deep gratitude and our most heartfelt thanks to the Communist Party of China, the government of the People's Republic of China, and all the great Chinese people for the aid they have given and continue to give our country for the construction of socialism. In these moments of rejoicing for the friendly Chinese people, we send them our most ardent wishes for the realization of their aspirations, for the construction of socialism and for the triumph of peace in the world!

Allow me, comrades and guests, to propose a toast:

To the great and gifted Chinese people!

To the glorious Communist Party of China, with Mao Zedong at the head!

To the government of the People's Republic of China, headed by Zhou Enlai!

To the everlasting friendship between our two peoples!

To peace in the world!

To your health, comrades and guests!

LETTER TO COMRADE HYSNI KAPO IN MOSCOW

October 1, 1960

The Preparatory Commission which was to prepare the meeting of the 81 communist and workers' parties met in Moscow on October 1, 1960. The Khrushchev group tried to utilize the proceedings of this commission to impose their treacherous course on the communist movement, just as they did at the Bucharest Meeting. During the proceedings of the meeting of the commission, they undertook a series of cunning manoeuvres to achieve their anti-Marxist ends. These tactics were firmly opposed by the delegation of the Party of Labour of Albania, headed by Comrade Hysni Kapo, member of the Political Bureau and Secretary of the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania. The resolve of the Party of Labour of Albania to defend the Marxist-Leninist views and position in fierce and uncompromising struggle is evident in the letter which Comrade Enver Hoxha sent to Comrade Hysni Kapo in Moscow on October 1, 1960. The letter reads:

Dear Comrade Hysni:

I received the letter and the materials you sent to me yesterday while we were holding the meeting of the Political Bureau to discuss the guidelines of the 4th Congress for the 3rd Five-Year Plan as well as the report on the reorganization of the school. When I received the material, your radiogram arrived, through which you let us know that the material had to be returned. We have already sent it to be typed. I am writing all this to give you the understanding that I have not begun reading the material you sent me as yet, therefore I have nothing to say for the time being. I will give my view by radiogram or a longer letter which I shall send by air.

Sharing your view, I hold that the Soviets are playing a deliberate dirty manoeuvre.

The material they have distributed can be acceptable up to a point, predisposed and drafted in such a way as to make even stronger worded amendments. This is not important to them. They can also say, "If you want, we can make it stronger, only there must not be any polemics. Everything will be all right and as for the implementation of what we shall put on paper, we will worry about that. In other words, we shall carry on in our way and violate this declaration, too, like that of Moscow in 1957, and if

you level accusations at us again, we shall again organize a second Bucharest and we will fix you up properly.”

If the Soviets have made certain concessions or are ready to make the declaration stronger still, they do this not because they have changed their minds or because they admit their mistakes. These are so-called concessions, made to us to bring the matter to an end. They think we suffer and die for statements. We abide by Marxism-Leninism. We want and insist that the Soviets must correct their opportunist mistakes. The declaration must be the outcome of these discussions. This is precisely what frightens the Soviets and does not frighten us.

The Soviets fear discussions not only because upheavals have taken place in the other parties after the Bucharest Meeting but because these upheavals will become even more powerful after November. Thus, they try to obviate the course of events by issuing statements. They can say, “If you like, we can make it stronger,” and thus, all their hangers-on will shout themselves hoarse and acclaim “Eureka! This is, has been and will be our line. We have never erred. China reflected on her mistakes, revised them and took the correct course. Thus, the Bucharest Meeting was very *poljezno*.¹ In our parties, we condemned China and Albania for being dogmatists and so on. We killed two birds with one stone. We exposed and cured them. We also opened the way so that we can tell the parties in the future that the sick men have not been cured fully, because the malady of dogmatism has reappeared. In the long run, we have won in both fields and carry on the road we have so far followed.” This is to some extent, in my view, the way the Soviets and their followers will reason. Nikita has found the remedy for Zhivko and his ilk.

In no way should we fall for the fiendish manoeuvres of the Soviet revisionists. We must let the Soviets and others know that we agree to elaborate this material further, to remove or add things, but this material should be the result of all-round discussions in November, the aim of which will be to check up on how the principles of Marxism-Leninism and the decisions taken by the Moscow Meeting in 1957 have been implemented, who has departed from them and who has implemented them consistently. The Bucharest Meeting will also be reassessed on the basis of facts, not only on the Soviets’ facts but also of facts which other

¹ Useful, Russ. in the original.

parties will provide concerning this question.

The coming Moscow Meeting cannot be held for form's sake. Nor can it be a meeting of sterile polemics, but must be a meeting of great constructive importance on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and the Leninist norms. It will not have the character of a reconciliatory, pacifist meeting to gloss over the grave mistakes, but a meeting which should uncover and put mistakes right. There is no other road and nobody should expect another way out from us. If we do not look these mistakes right in the eye, we are certain that the revisionists will continue their destructive work obstinately. Therefore, there is only one road — struggle to defend Marxism-Leninism and not reconciliation with the opportunist and revisionist mistakes in ideology and politics as Khrushchev and his group are doing. I think that the fight must be launched right in the commission, where the other parties, apart from China, have sent people of fourth-rate importance. The Soviets have come to agreement with them, adopted the same tactics and seek to easily leap over the ditch they themselves have widened, and to develop a thousand and one accusations at China and us. But this does not go down with us.

No need to write longer. You know how things stand yourself. I can write at greater length when I send you my remarks concerning the material.

Embraces,
Enver

P.S. I am writing in a hurry because the plane may leave soon and this may make reading difficult. Yesterday, we called on the Chinese comrades and I dropped the “first bombshells” in the course of my speech.

RADIOGRAM TO COMRADE HYSNI KAPO IN MOSCOW

October 1, 1960

During the proceedings of the meeting of the commission which had to prepare the Moscow Meeting of the 81 parties in November 1960, the Soviet revisionists tried every means to cover up the anti-Marxist actions they took at the Bucharest Meeting and after against Marxism-Leninism, the Communist Party of China and the Party of Labour of Albania. This aim was also served by the draft declaration they put forward. In his radiogram dated October 1, 1960, to Comrade Hysni Kapo in Moscow, Comrade Enver Hoxha instructed that our Party's delegation should continue to resolutely denounce the already known ambitions and tactics of the Nikita Khrushchev group. The radiogram follows:

Comrade Hysni,

1. The problem should be raised like this: Which way should the international communist movement develop in the present situation and what course has it followed since the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union up till now.

2. The Chinese and we think that grave tactical and strategic mistakes of principle have been committed by the Khrushchev group. This group has deviated from Marxist-Leninist principles and violated the declaration of the 1957 Moscow Meeting. This group not only persisted in its mistakes, but also held the Bucharest Meeting and accused China directly, and us indirectly, of dogmatism and so on. Thus the Chinese and we will fight so that our correct theses and the grave mistake committed by the Soviet leadership at the Bucharest Meeting will be confirmed and accepted by all.

3. The group of Khrushchev and those he has compromised defend the opposite thesis. In Bucharest he lined up almost all those present and made the leaders, at least, agree that "Khrushchev has not made mistakes, that the Chinese have made mistakes and that the Bucharest Meeting was necessary and correct."

4. In our opinion, all problems should be solved at the coming Moscow Meeting in 1960, while the Khrushchev group has solved them for its purposes at Bucharest. So the Khrushchev group comes to the Moscow Meeting with the conviction that its road and actions have been correct, and we will have to adopt a decla-

ration which will say where the international communist movement should go. But about who has deviated, who is guilty, and about what the Bucharest Meeting represents nothing is said, which means that China stays condemned.

5. Now let us suppose that the declaration of the coming Moscow Meeting may be formulated appropriately and defines the correct road for the international communist movement. Such a declaration will be more or less, a copy of that adopted at the Moscow Meeting of 1957. Likewise, let us suppose that the commission that meets there to prepare the Moscow Meeting formulates the declaration, but without indicating in concrete terms who deviated and why China was condemned in Bucharest. Even if this is the case our just aim will not be achieved.

6. Our aim and task do not consist in adding to the collection of declarations, but in condemning and correcting mistakes, and this is important, because only then will there be assurance that either the declaration of 1957 or the new one will be implemented correctly and in a Marxist-Leninist way.

7. To the Khrushchev group, Marxism-Leninism, the declaration of the 1957 Moscow Meeting and the new one which will emerge from the coming Moscow Meeting are of no value. Thus, even if we try to make this a good one it will be worthless without an analysis of the mistakes and admission of them on their part. Therefore, your meeting should start the fight against the mistakes and not keep simply to the discussion of the declaration. The declaration should be discussed by means of the exposure of the mistakes of the Khrushchev group. Possibly no conclusion will be reached until the conference is held. Thus their manoeuvre fails.

8. The new document has many weaknesses. We shall speak about it later, but the slight concessions by the Khrushchev group are aimed at lulling us to sleep and making us think that, with the amendment of the declaration, any discussion about the group's mistakes is blocked.

9. At the Moscow Meeting we shall raise the problems just as we said above since as far as we are concerned the entire problem remains unsolved. We have handed the Khrushchev group and all the parties a correct draft declaration, on the basis of which we want the proceedings to develop. At the meeting we shall go beyond the limits of the declaration since we consider it as the conclusion of the debate which will take place, while the Khrushchev group looks at it differently. It aims at the opposite. The repre-

sentatives of many other parties at this meeting are compromised in advance in one way or another and to various degrees, and faced with a declaration well prepared in advance by the commission, will be taken aback by our correct discussion, by our severe but just criticism which the Khrushchev group will try to oppose, since they will be unable to stop it, and finally the conclusion will be reached that we disagree with the Khrushchev group and its supporters, but do agree with the draft declaration prepared before hand.

10. On the one hand, we end up in disagreement, as the Khrushchev group will never admit its mistakes, and on the other hand the Moscow Meeting will face us with the dilemma to sign this declaration which is correct (but which does not say who has committed the mistakes concerning the line, etc.), or not to sign it. If we put our signature to a declaration with such mistakes of principle and do not achieve our aim of having the mistakes of the Khrushchev group clearly brought out, then this group will triumph and China will remain condemned. If we refuse to sign it, we will give the Khrushchev group and its followers another weapon to accuse us of refusing to sign a correct declaration.

This constitutes a well thought out tactic of the Khrushchev group. It must have been worked out by the entire pro-Soviet group with Zhivkov and company, who have been informed about this material before hand. Therefore, try to amend the declaration according to our viewpoint. If this is not done, then we will be on the course I mentioned above which is dangerous.

In the correctly worked out declaration the mistakes of the Khrushchev group should be recognized and its aims at the Bucharest Meeting condemned. If the Khrushchev group does not admit its mistakes, the document will remain in the air and thus everything will be decided after the discussions in the meeting. In conclusion, these are only some preliminary ideas. You should ponder over them and act according to the correct line of our Party, according to the instructions the Political Bureau has given and gives you. Keep us constantly up to date.

Enver

RADIOGRAM TO MEHMET SHEHU IN NEW YORK

October 1, 1960

In our previous bulletins, we acquainted you with the radiogram which Comrade Enver Hoxha sent Mehmet Shehu, then Chairman of the Council of Ministers, Head of the Albanian Delegation at the 15th Session of the United Nations General Assembly in 1960, on September 29, 1960. In his radiogram dated October 1, 1960, which we shall present in this bulletin, Comrade Enver Hoxha informs Mehmet Shehu of the base manoeuvres and tactics of Nikita Khrushchev and his followers on the eve of the opening of the meeting of the Preparatory Commission in Moscow, which had as its aim the preparation of the Meeting of the 81 communist and workers' parties, which was to be held in November of that year. Comrade Enver Hoxha writes:

Dear Mehmet,

1. The meeting in Moscow opens today. The delegations are very colourless, apart from the Chinese and ours. 50 people all told. We hear that the Bulgarian delegation will do what the Soviets tell them and avoid stirring up polemics. This is the general watchword issued by the "friend"¹ you have there.

2. The Soviets handed out a document in the form of a 36-page declaration, which is to be discussed in regard to adding to it or removing some bits.

3. The first impression of the material: a dirty manoeuvre by the revisionists, not a polemical one, but some devious and base insinuations, a lot of large gaps, smoothing over some angles dangerous to them, some tactical retreats to throw dust in people's eyes, some approaches to our theses, to the effect: "Look, we are making concessions to your stubbornness and we are facing a savage enemy, therefore take this declaration, be content with it, worship it if you like."

4. What is the manoeuvre of the revisionists? In my opinion, they want to draw a veil over all their mistakes, and the veil is this declaration. They think we are desperately concerned about declarations, as if we did not have our ideology, Marxism-Leninism. Hence according to them, they are "fulfilling our desire" with a

¹ That is, Nikita Khrushchev.

declaration in which room is left for amendments. Indeed, they are ready “to make it much stronger.” I believe they will make a few concessions and then say: “You see! This has been our line, you made some additions, we agreed to them, and now there is nothing to divide us. Hurrah! But who has deviated from Marxism-Leninism? Who is revisionist or dogmatic? What occurred in Bucharest and how things went on later and so on and so forth, all these matters have been decided, and decided correctly and unanimously. You slipped into dogmatism, we condemned you and we were right. We exposed you in our parties, this was useful to you, you reflected upon your mistakes and came here. We held a discussion and reached agreement, and even produced a declaration. Go home now boys. Make self-criticism in your parties and hence forth do not commit the mistake of criticizing us because we shall bring you to a second Bucharest, and this time you will be habitual criminals.” This is approximately “Rrapo Lelo’s” aim. This reasoning and tactic of “Rrapo’s” is certainly extremely gratifying to Zhivko and company, since sooner or later they will certainly have an earthquake under their feet, but with this manoeuvre they think they may avert the danger. This, of course, is their road but not ours. Our road is that which we have decided on and which is correct.

5. I warned Hysni to begin the fight right in the commission and let them understand clearly that we can discuss the declaration, removing or adding something, but that the declaration should be the conclusion of a Marxist-Leninist debate about the problems under discussion: who has applied Marxism-Leninism and the 1957 Moscow Declaration correctly and who has betrayed it? Who are the revisionists and who is not dogmatic? Who organized the Bucharest Meeting and for what purpose? Who created this split and why? All the problems will be laid on the table and examined, not only on the basis of the false facts of the Soviets, but on the basis of the arguments of the Chinese, ours and anybody else. We do not accept peace for peace’s sake in the communist movement. We do not permit faults to be covered up. We cannot allow the Moscow Meeting to be a “meeting of revisionists” and of right-wing pacifists. We shall fight to make it a militant, constructive, Marxist meeting. There is no other way. In this manner any illusion of the Khrushchevites will vanish. All their manoeuvres will fail and things will be carried through to the end.

Affectionately,

THE MOSCOW DECLARATION MUST BE MADE AS STRONG AS POSSIBLE, WITH GUNPOWDER AND NOT COTTON WOOL

*(Letter of Comrade Enver Hoxha to Comrade Hysni Kapo in
Moscow)*

October 4, 1960

In the course of the proceedings of the meeting of the commission which was to prepare the Meeting of the 81 communist and workers' parties in Moscow, a fierce struggle took place between the representatives of the Party of Labour of Albania and the Soviet revisionists and their followers, especially over the declaration which was to be presented for approval at the November meeting. Resolutely defending the Marxist-Leninist line and stands, the Party of Labour of Albania fought to make the declaration an expression of the interests of international communism and the proletariat, against Khrushchevite revisionism. This is evident in Comrade Enver Hoxha's instructions to Comrade Hysni Kapo in Moscow on October 4, 1960, in the letter entitled: "The Moscow Declaration Must Be Made as Strong as Possible, With Gunpowder and Not Cotton Wool."

Dear Comrade Hysni,

I received your letter this morning and I understood your views. I agree with these views and the proposals you make, which, in general, conform with what I have written you.

Thus I am stressing once more, as we discussed when you left Tirana, to press for the declaration of the Moscow Meeting to be as strong as possible — gunpowder and not cotton wool — and to contain questions formulated correctly, according to our views, and not equivocal, unclear views, such as those the Soviet delegation will try to put in, which are opportunist and revisionist.

There is one thing you must bear in mind; that by means of the declaration, not only must we express the correct Marxist-Leninist views of our Party about the problems, but when reading this document, every communist in the world should at once understand that in the "ideological conflict" which the Khrushchev group trumpeted inside and outside the camp, this group lost and their revisionist course was condemned. In the first place, the members of those parties where the questions were put forward in a dis-

torted way, slandering the Communist Party of China and the Party of Labour of Albania, which were condemned unjustly and had mud thrown at them when they read the declaration, must understand this fact. This is very important, for the slanderers have no intention of going back to their parties and making self-criticism. Therefore, much depends on your contribution to the discussion there, much depends on the formulations which you will propose. Pay great attention to the formulations of the main issues. In these formulations, bear in mind not to stay within the limits of the Soviet text and the form they have given to the presentation of the problem. By this I mean: don't try to adjust the question of the phrasing put up by the Soviets or to avoid damaging the general or partial framework of the structure of the Soviet text. Such a manner of construction will hinder you from formulating the ideas as we conceive them, because the Soviets have built that text in conformity with their views, they have extended themselves in some places in order to introduce a bit of poison or they have spread the poison in a whole "tirade" over which they have also sprinkled a coating of sugar. Therefore don't worry about the Soviet structure and the way they have constructed the text. You must concern yourself with the key problems, cut out all the tittle-tattle and nonsense, then leave it to the Secretariat to correct the structure of the declaration.

In my opinion the declaration stinks on the main questions and is just what you think it is. I read it through carefully once and made notes alongside the text. Time did not permit me to sum up all these remarks and elaborate them. Thus I decided to send you the text with the notes I have made. Don't think that every note on this is a jewel. There are some unnecessary, hasty things, written in anger. Therefore have a look at them yourself — the aim is mostly to draw your attention to something which may not have struck your eye while it has struck mine, and vice versa. I am sure that you have gone through the Soviet material with a fine-tooth comb and have seen all the delicate questions. Therefore my mind is at ease on that score. Anyway, although you will find it somehow difficult to read my notes, for I have scribbled them, I shall be satisfied if they are of any help to you.

If you have anything particular to consult me about, send a radiogram. As to the speech you will have to deliver, it will be best if you send us a copy because, as you yourself say, we may be able to help you with some comments either by radiogram or by return-

ing the text with our remarks if we have any and if the time of the return of the plane permits.

...The Khrushchev group has lined up a large number of parties on its side — which it caught on the hop and is taking advantage of their trust in and love for the Communist Party of the Soviet Union — and it will be difficult for these parties and these communists to have the courage to adopt a clear-cut stand immediately. This is true. But it becomes very dangerous to leave this matter to drag out because revisionism will do its own dreadful work, will compromise people and parties, will carry on large-scale demagoguery with propaganda and with large material funds. Within ten years the Tito clique completely disintegrated the Party and the genuine communists and patriots were thrown into jails or killed. Therefore the most correct stand is that at this meeting we should carry the matter through to the end, as Marxists. It must come out nakedly who is on an anti-Marxist road, who is betraying Marxism-Leninism and violating the 1957 Moscow Declaration This is the Khrushchev group. Therefore, the meeting should dot the i's. The i's must be dotted about Bucharest and those who have made mistakes must admit them at the meeting like Marxists and go back to their parties to correct them. If the Khrushchev group does not want to admit its mistakes, then it is responsible for splitting the ideological unity of the international communist movement. We are on the correct Marxist-Leninist road. The Khrushchev group has deviated into revisionism; therefore, our struggle and time itself will expose them. But there is one other thing, the threat of a split and the split itself will speed up the process of the bankruptcy of the Khrushchev group and its isolation from the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the other parties, which will be shocked and will reflect on the matter better and sooner. Otherwise, these parties pretend to be outside the conflict, indeed they consider it a success that it did not come to a split, and leave it to time to prove whether the Soviet line or ours is correct. The slogan "Let time verify the line," as some advocate..., is to the liking of Khrushchev, and is an opportunist, revisionist and anti-Marxist slogan. It contains in itself the fear of not taking things through to the end and radically curing the mistakes. This idea serves to preserve the Khrushchevite status quo with a bit of patching up, which Khrushchev has not, does not and will not take any notice of at all. This slogan helps the revisionists to go further, to spread revisionism. In a word, if this slogan is

adopted, we can be sure that there are great dangers.

Revisionism is the main danger, it must be attacked, however big the “heads” that have this purulence within them. To clear up the abscess the scalpel must be used. All those who say, “Let us leave it to time,” understand the situation but lack the revolutionary courage to put the finger on the sore spot and to use the effective means to clean it.

On the other hand, we should realize that the Khrushchev group is terrified at the situation, terrified of a split. They see that their policy is suffering failures, that it has created a grave situation, that it is far from correct, that ideologically they are quite deliberately and hopelessly on the road to disaster. Thus, in this situation, is it permissible for us to allow this revisionist group to regain its breath to get over this great chasm which it has created? It seems to me that we must not allow this. If we do not expose the Khrushchev group, we shall be making a great mistake for they will take advantage of this to do more harm to the Soviet Union, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and international communism. Khrushchev is an exhibitionist clown. Look what he is doing at the UNO. This is why I sent you that long radiogram the evening before last.

But anyway, dear Hysni, carry on as you are doing, you are doing fine.

Every day I receive “amusing” radiograms from Mehmet. Matters continue as before. No concrete results whatever. No disarmament, no reorganization of the UNO Secretariat, no meeting, not a damned thing. The only “success” has been the creation of the third force with Tito at the head and the blessing of *dyadya*¹ Khrushchev.

I embrace you,
Enver

¹ Uncle, Russ. in the original.

RADIOGRAM TO MEHMET SHEHU IN NEW YORK

October 4, 1960

In two radiograms of October 4 and 6, 1960, Comrade Enver Hoxha notified Mehmet Shehu of the development of the proceedings at the Preparatory Commission of the Moscow Meeting and on the struggle waged by the delegation of the PLA there in the implementation of the directives and the Marxist-Leninist line of the CC of the PLA. In the radiogram of October 4, 1960, Comrade Enver Hoxha writes, among other things:

Mehmet,

I have received all the radiograms. We are following the “fiasco” of the UNO.

The meeting in Moscow was convened on Saturday. It was only opened. Suslovka¹ opened it. Koslovka, Andropovka, Muhitdinovka, Pospelovka and others were present. The atmosphere was ice-cold. Time was given to study the material, and today, Tuesday, at fourteen hours the meeting will open again.

I studied the draft declaration carefully and I sent Hysni all my comments together with the suggestions about the tactics we should use at the Commission. The declaration stinks, revisionist, hackneyed repetitions and dragging out of issues to dilute the poison so we might swallow it and in the process it has been powdered with sugar to sweeten the taste. It makes a few “feints,” alleged retreats, which do not satisfy us at all, therefore I put Hysni on his guard, instructed him on how the questions should be formulated.

In the meeting there are some who are afraid, a fear we don't share, of what might happen if the Khrushchev group doesn't come to its senses. We don't agree with them on this, but we should hold discussions with them and convince them because we see things more correctly and more radically, and the Khrushchev group should be afraid of what we intend to do and we should not be afraid of them. Our positions are correct and strong, theirs are revisionist and weak. Therefore we should strike while the iron is hot, for otherwise if the clown gets away with it this time, he will

¹ Disrespectful form of Suslov. Likewise with Koslov, Andropov, etc.

be up to a thousand and one tricks, let alone in ten or fifteen years when he will do terrible things. Anyway, this is the last stage, you'll be back and we will talk about this here before we go to Moscow.

Enver

RADIOGRAM TO MEHMET SHEHU IN NEW YORK

October 6, 1960

We present the radiogram Comrade Enver Hoxha sent to Mehmet Shehu in New York, on October 6, 1960:

Mehmet,

You gave Vinogradov a good reply on the question of disarmament. "Rrapo Lelo" wants to cover his failures at the UNO, to confuse the masses and to mobilize the press to declare that there will be new "festivals" in the coming year. It is a good thing for public opinion to exert pressure on the Americans, since it means increased indignation and vigilance, but he wants to be the "big man" himself, he takes the initiative himself, to go himself, to be everything himself.

Therefore you acted correctly in not refusing him in principle, but we have plenty of time in which to declare ourselves. He will declare himself because he disregards our opinions. And this because he is up to some mischief.

The Commission met yesterday in Moscow, five people or so spoke, obedient delegates, who had adopted the watchword "no word about the contradictions," as if nothing had happened. They mentioned neither the Soviet Union nor China. General expressions of approval of the Soviet draft declaration. The Finn, the Hungarian, the West German, the Mongolian and the Italian spoke. The Chinese will speak today...

There is nothing new on the internal front. The ploughing is underway, the sugar beet is being lifted but it is very poor. A small earthquake shook the Kardhiq area, but nobody was injured, only some houses were wrecked. The situation is not alarming.

Yours,
Shpati

LETTER TO COMRADE HYSNI KAPO IN MOSCOW

October 7, 1960

In the letter which Comrade Enver Hoxha sent Comrade Hysni Kapo on October 7, 1960 in Moscow, he instructed him to attack the tactics of the Khrushchev group and its followers to adopt a draft resolution through which they could conceal their mistakes and treachery to Marxism-Leninism and the international communist and workers' movement. The letter follows in part:

Dear Comrade Hysni,

Today, we opened the Plenum. Things are going well. The discussions about the school reform are continuing. Contributions to the discussion are good. We shall discuss this problem tomorrow as well, and then we shall examine the draft directives of the five-year plan.

Today at noon, I received the parcel with the material you sent me. You will understand that I have had very little time, but I have glanced rapidly through your letter, your speech, and the re-formulations and amendments of the draft declaration you are going to make.

1. In regard to your speech, I liked it. The problems were dealt with well and its tone was correct. If the opportunity presents itself, either to you in the plenary meeting or to Ramiz Alia in the Commission, you should defend the Communist Party of China more strongly since the main assault is against it. The main batteries are aimed at it. They hate us just as much as the Chinese, and there is no doubt that they will attack us, but the main attack will be concentrated on the Communist Party of China at the moment since they think, and with reason, that the greatest potential danger to them is the Communist Party of China, and they also think: "If we can defeat them, the Albanians will be no problem."

Therefore, for the time being, our positions are not being attacked but we will be attacked, especially when we hit Khrushchev with hard facts. They will accuse us, too, of being "dogmatic" because we take the side of China. We must show the Soviet representatives and their supporters that ours is a Marxist-Leninist line, that we defend the Communist Party of China because it upholds a correct Marxist-Leninist line, that we are fighting the revisionist

and right opportunist viewpoints as well as the slanderers and falsifiers.

From these positions we attack all those who dare to attack us, either openly or in an underhanded way.

Apart from those parties that we know have taken the wrong positions, don't attack those that hesitate, that lack the courage to say what they think, or those that say nothing about our Party or only something of no consequence. Don't push them into open conflict with us, manoeuvre. The attack should be concentrated on the main enemy, on those who have caused the opportunist deviation and who attack our correct line. If these parties apart from the Soviets, Bulgarians, Poles and some others make some half-hearted attack on the Communist Party of China, because they cannot do otherwise, don't put pressure on them. Leave it to the Chinese to judge the best tactic to follow.

2. In my opinion, the Soviet leaders want to close the matter to cover up their rotten robe, because for the time being, it is not in their interests to deepen the contradictions. They are ready to make some concession simply to get over the river without wetting their feet: to make the amendments demanded, in one way or another, and then proclaim "There is no reason to hold a discussion or debate..." "We agree..." "Go home."

I may be mistaken in my assessment of what the Soviets are up to. I told you at the start that I had only a quick glance through the material. Your speech deprives the Soviets of this possibility because it comes out clearly that "we have accounts to settle." Initially our speeches may be like a "prelude" but later they must burst out like Beethoven's symphonies. We are not for "serenades and nocturnes."

3. I also read the formulations of the amendments to the draft statement. They seem good. Consult and collaborate with the Chinese comrades. Why should the Soviets and others coordinate their activities and not we?

I would want you to re-examine the formulations about the "transition to socialism" once again so that the spirit of our point of view comes out better. I remind you once again of the question of the "cult," which should be formulated in another way, because in November we are going to take it up in connection with Stalin and the attitude of Khrushchev. There is a passage about "factions." Have another look at it to see whether it has been put there as a trap. One last remark. On page 27, in the 2nd paragraph of

the draft statement typed in Tirana, or on page 14 of your text, Lenin's idea should be brought out clearly "...as long as the bourgeoisie does not impede the workers' movement and its vanguard in its ideological, political and economic struggle..." (this is a quotation from Lenin). But the idea that the Soviets have introduced subsequently should be made more precise, because there they mean Nehru and others, in order to justify the aid they give them.

4. It is difficult to say what you should slap back in their faces and what you should not. It depends on the circumstances. You must go by the principle, defend the Party and its line fearlessly without hesitating, "should I say this or hold back?," as you judge it. You should expose your opponent by means of fair arguments and crush him. A single fact used at the right time and place can be enough to make your opponent fall flat on his face in the mud. Therefore don't tie yourself down and don't worry too much about making some mistake.

The question is simply that we should keep some things for the Moscow Meeting instead of throwing them in at the Commission because if the Soviets are to learn of them, they would work out their tactics for a counter-attack.

As long as they hesitate, the French should be told in various forms: "Which way are you going? We have a feeling that you understand where the mistakes lie and you should help to avoid even more serious mistakes, etc." Make an effort in this direction.

One of the diplomats of a country of people's democracy told one of our comrades in Rome that the leaders of the communist and workers' parties of the camp, with the exception of the Party of Labour of Albania and the Communist Party of China, knew what was to be put forward at Bucharest because Khrushchev had consulted them previously. Hence, the Bucharest Meeting was organized beforehand behind the scenes as an international faction (we shall use this argument at the Moscow Meeting).

I have nothing else to add but to wish you success. I know that you are working hard and suffering from the "icy" atmosphere, but we can do nothing about it. The struggle for justice is no bed of roses. When you fight for the Party, for the people and communism, there is neither tiredness nor boredom.

The comrades went to the *priyom*¹ given by the Germans. I did not, as I wanted to write you this letter and send it tomorrow by

¹ Reception, Russ. in the original.

air mail. I did not go to the German's reception also for the reason that I wanted to make him realize that we did not take it kindly that their delegation did not return our official visit, although they had decided the date and the composition of the delegation. The reasons they gave for not coming were unconvincing, but the real ones are those we know and over which you are fighting there.

“Fiasco” in the UNO with a capital “F.” Mehmet leaves New York on October 11 and arrives in Tirana on 20-21. On October 25, we are convening the People's Assembly and on this occasion Mehmet will speak on the “triumph” of disarmament and “Rrapo Lelo's” coexistence in the UNO.

Yours affectionately,
Enver

RADIOGRAM TO COMRADE HYSNI KAPO IN MOSCOW

October 9, 1960

We present the radiogram which Comrade Enver Hoxha sent to Mehmet Shehu and Hysni Kapo who were in New York and Moscow respectively in October 1960. The radiogram addressed to Comrade Hysni Kapo in Moscow on October 9, 1960 clearly testifies to the determination of the Party of Labour of Albania to defend principles and the Leninist approach to peaceful coexistence. Here is the content of the radiogram:

Comrade Hysni,

I received your radiogram and understood how the situation is developing. The work is going very well. Things are warming up. The manure must be uncovered. Apart from other things which you know, say this to Suslov: "The falsifiers will find it difficult to accuse the Albanian communists of failing to understand and opposing coexistence. They have always stood for coexistence and will continue to do so, as Lenin and Stalin taught them. But it is even more difficult for the supporters of the counter-revolutionary fascist traitor, Imre Nagy, to accuse the Party of Labour of Albania of being a bourgeois Party and the Albanian communists of being so many Kerenskys. However, we shall soon prove with facts who are the Kerenskys and who the genuine Marxist-Leninists."

As for the other things, act as you see it fit, but let Suslovka have it, because the others must see that the Soviet leaders attacked us first in such a manner and so they should not be surprised at what will descend on the heads of the Khrushchevites in November. Let them have a taste of the prelude.

My best regards,
Enver

RADIOGRAM TO MEHMET SHEHU IN NEW YORK

October 9, 1960

In this October 9, 1960 radiogram Comrade Enver Hoxha wrote to Mehmet Shehu in New York about the savage attacks mounted by the Soviet revisionists and their followers against the Party of Labour of Albania at the meeting of the Preparatory Commission in Moscow. Here is the text of the radiogram:

Mehmet,

The struggle has warmed up and things are going well. The crooks must be exposed once and for all. All who have made their contribution to the discussion have attacked China and us with the exception of the Japanese, the Koreans and the Vietnamese who didn't say a word either about us or Soviets, but their comments to the draft declaration are nearly the same as ours on all questions, as well as on those concerning modern revisionism and Yugoslav revisionism.

Bagdash¹ in particular has attacked China and us. In regard to us, he said: "We do not know that kind of communism the Albanians are after." But the dirtiest speeches have been those delivered by the Romanians and especially Suslovka. Suslovka said we are against coexistence and he equated us with the bourgeois parties and Kerensky.

On Monday, they will take some blows both from us and the Chinese. As far as we know the Bulgarian has not spoken yet, nor the Czech. We are looking forward to your return.

Shpati

¹ General Secretary of the CC of the CP of Syria, living permanently in Moscow.

RADIOGRAM TO COMRADE HYSNI KAPO IN MOSCOW

October 11, 1960

Comrade Enver Hoxha's radiogram to Comrade Hysni Kapo in Moscow on October 11, 1960 shows the determination of not only the Party of Labour of Albania and the Communist Party of China, but the entire genuine communist and workers' movement, desired to defend the purity of Marxism-Leninism against the perversions of the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union:

Comrade Hysni,

I agree with you. Do not waste your major arguments at such a meeting. Content yourself with some warning thrusts at all those who deserve them. In November the "Front" they have created will be knocked about worse than it is now. Bravo to the Indonesian! It is very important that the Soviet leaders and their lackeys see that not everybody is a lamb. In the commission, Ramiz should smack the noses of the provocateurs and slanderers. The plane arrives today.

Greetings,
Enver

LETTER TO COMRADE HYSNI KAPO IN MOSCOW

October 13, 1960

In his letter to Comrade Hysni Kapo on October 13, 1960, Comrade Enver Hoxha gave instructions that the delegation of our Party continue to strongly denounce the Khrushchev group and his followers. In volume 19 of the Works of Comrade Enver Hoxha this letter was published in an abridged form to avoid making public the disagreements with the CP of China at that time. In this volume the letter is published in full. The letter reads:

Dear Hysni,

Reading the second speech of the Chinese delegation reinforced the belief which I expressed about the first speech. The Chinese are not for carrying the matter through to the end, they are for regulating matters by means of phrases in resolutions or declarations. They want to "correct what can be corrected and let time correct the rest." It seems to me that they do not understand what a threat the Khrushchev group represents to the world communist movement and are ready to coexist with this group. It does not depend on us whether or not this group will remain in power, but it is essential for us to expose this group, headed by Khrushchev, as it deserves.

The Chinese leaders are doing nothing in this direction, they are doing the opposite: they attack Stalin and compare Khrushchev with Lenin.

They agree that we must make a good or somewhat good declaration, agree that the Soviets must retract the accusations and slanders which they have made against China, but is this sufficient? I have the impression that the Chinese will be satisfied if we get half-way. We cannot be satisfied just with this. In their two speeches in the commission not a word is said against the main culprit, Khrushchev, but on the contrary, they speak well of him, because "he criticized Stalin correctly." I have the impression that the Chinese comrades are hesitant and, if the draft-declaration turns out more or less good, I foresee that their contribution at the meeting will be even more academic, like their speeches in the commission. It seems to me that the Chinese comrades do not realize that the Khrushchev group has very weak positions, both ide-

ologically and politically. Then should we be satisfied to defend ourselves or should we go on the attack? In my opinion the Chinese are defending themselves and not attacking, and are not going to attack later, either. The Chinese comrades are worried about the impression and atmosphere that might be created by their attack among the delegates of the commission or later in the meeting. This is not good. I have told you once that if I were in the skin of the Soviet revisionists, I would accept the field that the Chinese are opening to me because there I find good grass and could browse freely. However, the determined revisionists do not change so easily, they will not accept everything. Just as Tito “assisted” us by going from treachery to treachery every day, Khrushchev and company will do the same thing. But they will do great damage. I think that the speeches of Deng Xiaoping in the commission indicate a seeking for compromise with the Soviet revisionists: they must withdraw the accusations (this is a kind of retreat and exposure) and we must refrain from attacking them and exposing them to the end.

I am preparing my speech for the meeting as we have decided, but, as you can guess, it cannot be equated with the form, the tone and the content of the speeches of the Chinese in the commission. As things are turning out, at the meeting, too, we shall be alone in our stand. The majority will be angry with us and will abuse us, but we shall be right and time will prove us so. You can be sure that at the meeting no one will dare to agree with us. But we shall do our duty and defend Marxism-Leninism. The Chinese hesitate to separate the Khrushchev group from the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Soviet Union itself, and put themselves on a course which naturally hinders them from saying what they feel and openly denouncing those who are at fault. If you don't put your finger on the culprits and sort out the wheat from the chaff, then you bind your own hands and harm yourself. No, those who say, “How could the glorious Soviet Union or the great Communist Party of Lenin be attacked for the fault of a few bastards?” are not going to make an impression on us. If you do not make a division between them, then of course, you are obliged to soften your criticism and the fault is not revealed. We say: “It is precisely to defend the Soviet Union and the Party of Lenin that these ‘bastards’ must be exposed and the criticism must not be softened and deviators covered up.” In that case, irrespective of whether an “ot-

*lichno*¹ declaration” is brought out, the danger remains, indeed it becomes more threatening both for our camp and the communist and workers’ movement.

But we shall see, and, as Khrushchev says, “God grant” that I am mistaken in my judgement. You have not told us when you expect the first act to be over, because it has been going on for about three weeks!

There’s nothing fresh from here (there are plenty of the usual things with the Soviet people here). Mehmet left New York on the 11th and will arrive in Tirana on October 20-21.

Best regards to you and Ramiz,
Enver

P.S. I think that before you return to Albania you should talk with the Chinese delegation about how they intend to present these matters in general at the Moscow Meeting, will they put them forward in an “academic” form, or will they give the thing a bit of fire. It will be good if you could put forward our opinion in general terms, but don’t say, this is what we are going to do, but rather this is what should be done.

¹ Brilliant, Russ. in the original.

**EVEN IF WE HAVE TO GO WITHOUT BREAD,
WE ALBANIANS DO NOT VIOLATE
PRINCIPLES, WE DO NOT BETRAY MARXISM-
LENINISM**

*(Contribution to the discussion at the meeting of the Political Bureau
of the CC of the Party of Labour of Albania)*

October 31, 1960

On the eve of the meeting of the 81 parties that was to be held in Moscow, in November 1960, the Party of Labour of Albania was preparing for the great open battle against the revisionist traitors with Khrushchev at the head, to defend Marxism-Leninism and the interests of the international communist and workers' movement. Our Party was convinced and the experience following the Bucharest Meeting has corroborated that the Khrushchev group and its followers were to mount even more savage attacks on the Party of Labour of Albania and our country. At that time, our Party's Central Committee, with Comrade Enver Hoxha at the head, were resolved to safeguard Marxism-Leninism at all costs and with revolutionary courage. This communist determination is also proven by Comrade Enver Hoxha's contribution to the discussion at the meeting of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania on October 31, 1960, which approved the speech of the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania that was to be delivered at the meeting of the communist and workers' parties in Moscow, in November 1960. His contribution to the discussion is entitled: "Even if We Have to Go Without Bread, We Albanians Do Not Violate Principles, We Do Not Betray Marxism-Leninism."

We shall present extracts from his contribution to the discussion:

Comrade Enver Hoxha said: The Communist Party of the Soviet Union, previously, during J.V. Stalin's life, always defended our Party, but this is not so today. The present actions of the Soviet leaders towards our Party must be considered negative. The present-day leaders of the Soviet Union are opposed to us because we criticize them straight and hard. They, however, do not accept our criticism, they are arrogant and the main thing is that they have deviated from Marxism-Leninism. About this we must have no illusions whatsoever. This is an entire line of Khrushchev and

company, therefore their attitude towards us will not be correct.

Thus, it is important for the present and the future of our Party that we maintain a Marxist-Leninist attitude. Therefore we must be conscious of the resolute policy we are pursuing and the difficulties that we shall encounter on our course. In these directions we must mobilize all our forces, organize our struggle and resistance, for things will not go smoothly.

We have been and remain encircled. Now a difficult situation is being created for us even with the countries of people's democracy and with the Soviet Union. Such a situation will become steadily worse with the aim of completely isolating our country politically and economically. This situation which is being created does not pass without being noticed by imperialism which, together with the revisionists, will try to attack our sincere ties with China, for we have unity of views with it and with a series of other countries, both of Asia and of Latin America. The imperialist and revisionist enemies will make extensive preparations to attack us, but we shall fight invincibly through to the end, consistently defending Marxism-Leninism, our homeland and socialism.

The just, principled struggle of our Party against revisionism has demonstrated and continues to demonstrate the correctness of its line. Several years have gone by, changes have been made and situations have been created in favour of revisionism too, but everything has confirmed the correctness of our line. We do not withdraw from this correct course. The personal spite and the vengeance of Khrushchev and other leaders who follow him do not frighten us — we shall defend the Marxist-Leninist principles, and we are convinced that they are on a wrong course. Khrushchev and his followers bear a great responsibility towards our camp and Marxism-Leninism; with their stand they have caused splits in the ranks of our camp. And now they think that these things can be glossed over by issuing from the Moscow Meeting a declaration with a few general phrases which are neither one thing nor the other.

From all the data it is clear that the Soviet leadership is taking no step forward, but is insisting on its own views. There may be some phrases against imperialism in the declaration but it is a fact that in essence the Soviet leadership is not changing its attitude. Indeed, it has taken a great step backward between the meeting with the Chinese comrades in September and the meeting of the Editorial Commission for the draft declaration of the Moscow

Meeting, in which they say that allegedly they have made no mistakes. This is not a Marxist-Leninist stand. Therefore our speech in November at the Moscow Meeting will meet strong opposition from the Soviet leadership. We must bear this in mind.

Expressing determination to resist the revisionist pressures, Comrade Enver Hoxha pointed out: Even if we have to go without bread, we Albanians do not violate principles, we do not betray Marxism-Leninism. Let this be clear to all, friends and enemies.

Our Party has won its correct, Marxist-Leninist individuality with undaunted struggle in defence of principles, with revolutionary work, withstanding the tests of time, especially now that revisionist stands have been manifested openly in the leadership of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Time and the struggle gave our Party an ever-greater maturity, therefore it understands the problems very much better today. Our Party was in a position to understand the hostile attitudes not only in our Party, but also in the other parties, therefore our Party demonstrated its own individuality on many questions, in opposition also to the present line of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

We must bring this out clearly. We say without reservation that all the evils which are apparent in the socialist camp today have their source in the errors of the present Soviet leadership. This is our view, which they cannot make us change, even with the threats that will be made towards us that "Albania is an encircled country, it has economic needs," etc. Let these gentlemen who speak in this way know that Albania and the Albanian communists do not sell themselves either for rubles, or for wheat, or for dollars. Whoever wants unity with us, let him build relations only on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. As to aid, those who are Marxists and friends of our people must give it to us. We, too, must honour our commitments towards real friends. As to the pseudo-friends who dishonour their pledges, they harm themselves in the first place, while the prestige of our Party grows.

**WHETHER ALBANIA IS A SOCIALIST
COUNTRY OR NOT DOES NOT DEPEND ON
KHRUSHCHEV, BUT HAS BEEN DECIDED BY
THE ALBANIAN PEOPLE THROUGH THE
WARS THEY HAVE FOUGHT AND THE BLOOD
THEY HAVE SHED**

(From the Conversation with Andropov in Moscow)

November 8, 1960

Prior to the meeting of the 81 communist and workers' parties in Moscow, resorting to unprecedented chauvinism, the Khrushchev group stepped up attacks, pressures and blackmail against the Party of Labour of Albania and socialist Albania to bring them to their knees and to make them give up their denunciation of the revisionist line and the defence of Marxist-Leninist positions at the meeting. They sank to such depths as to commit base provocations and exert direct pressures on the delegation of the Party of Labour of Albania headed by Comrade Enver Hoxha, who had gone to Moscow to attend the meeting of the 81 parties. Just at that time, in their efforts to subdue our Party, openly and in pursuit of sinister counter-revolutionary aims, they ignored the very existence of the People's Republic of Albania as a socialist country. But the delegation of the Party of Labour of Albania, with Comrade Hoxha at the head, gave a fitting rebuff to all the revisionist intrigues and slander. Comrade Enver Hoxha also expressed this valiant stand of the Party of Labour of Albania in the conversation he had with Yuri Andropov in Moscow on November 8, 1960. The conversation follows under the title: "Whether Albania Is a Socialist Country or Not Does Not Depend on Khrushchev, but Has Been Decided by the Albanian People Through the Wars They Have Fought and the Blood They Have Shed."

Comrade Enver Hoxha: I was informed today that Khrushchev has expressed the desire to meet me tomorrow at 11:00 a.m. I had decided to respond positively to this request, but today I read the Soviet documents in which Albania does not figure as a socialist country.

Y. Andropov: What documents are these, I do not understand you. Tell me concretely what material you mean, where has this been said?

Comrade Enver Hoxha: This is the material of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union addressed to the Communist Party of China.¹

Y. Andropov: But why should you be concerned about it; this is a letter to China. What has China to do with Albania?

Comrade Enver Hoxha: And this made my meeting with Khrushchev definitely impossible.

Y. Andropov: I do not understand you, what is said about you in the material?

Comrade Enver Hoxha: Read it and you will see.

Y. Andropov: I have read it and am very familiar with its content since I myself participated in drawing it up. But your statement, Comrade Enver, is a very serious one.

Comrade Enver Hoxha: Yes, it is serious. Tell Khrushchev that whether Albania is a socialist country or not does not depend on Khrushchev, but has been decided by the Albanian people themselves through the wars they have fought and the blood they have shed. This has been decided by the Party of Labour of Albania which has marched and will always march on the Marxist-Leninist road.

Y. Andropov: I do not understand you, Comrade Enver, that material is meant for China, what has it to do with Albania?

Comrade Enver Hoxha: I speak on behalf of my homeland, my people, my country.

Y. Andropov: This is a very serious statement and I can only express my regret over it.

Comrade Enver Hoxha: We shall have the meeting of the parties, and there our Party will express its opinion. That is all. Good-bye.

¹ A letter of 125 pages addressed by the CC of the CPSU to the CC of the Communist Party of China. The CC of the CPSU ignored the existence of the People's Republic of Albania as a socialist country and maligned the Party of Labour of Albania

WE SHALL ARDENTLY DEFEND MARXISM-LENINISM AND THE INTERESTS OF THE PEOPLE

(From the conversation of the delegation of the Party of Labour of Albania with the representatives of the CPSU, A. Mikoyan, F. Kozlov, M. Suslov, P. Pospelov and Y. Andropov in Moscow)

November 10, 1960

In continuation of their direct pressures, the Soviet leaders demanded a meeting with the delegation of the PLA which was in Moscow, with the aim of “convincing” our delegation not to raise questions at the meeting of the 81 parties on which the PLA was in disagreement with them, and especially on the anti-Marxist and hostile activity towards our country after the Bucharest Meeting. At that meeting, too, the delegation of the PLA, led by Comrade Enver Hoxha, exposed with indisputable facts the anti-Marxist and anti-Albanian line and stand of the Soviet leadership, with Khrushchev at the head, and expressed its resolution to defend with all its strength the interests of Marxism-Leninism and the Albanian people. This is also seen in the talks between the delegation of the PLA and the representatives of the CPSU, Mikoyan, Kozlov, Suslov, Pospelov and Andropov in Moscow on November 10, 1960. This conversation is published under the title: “We Shall Ardently Defend Marxism-Leninism and the Interests of the People.” The conversation follows:

Mikoyan is the first to speak. Expressing his “regret” over the disagreements that have arisen between the CPSU and the PLA, he accuses our Party of allegedly being the cause of these disagreements of “not having the same trust as before...” in the CPSU, he complains of our officers having allegedly completely changed their attitude towards the Soviet officers at the naval base of Vlora and asks, “Do you want to leave the Warsaw Treaty?,” etc. He claims that the Soviet leadership allegedly stands for the clearing up of these “misunderstandings” in the best way. “Tell us,” he went on, “Where are our mistakes, we shall not get angry. We are angry only when you talk behind our backs.”

Comrade Enver Hoxha: Tell us when and where we have said anything against you behind your back? With us Albanians, it is not the custom to talk behind someone’s back.

What you said concerning the military base of Vlora is not true. There is a close friendship between the Albanian and Soviet sailors and officers there. This was the case until the Bucharest Meeting and it continues to be so as far as we are concerned. The Central Committee of our Party has instructed our men at the base to maintain a correct attitude towards the Soviet personnel. But some of your sailors have even attacked ours. The Ministry of Defence of the PRA has issued instructions that these matters should be settled through the Party branches. An incident took place between an officer of our Navy and a Soviet Rear-Admiral who came from Sevastopol on an inspection and who was addicted to drinking. Quite improperly, he got hold of one of our officers, a good comrade who had studied in the Soviet Union, and demanded that he tell him what was decided at the Plenum of the Central Committee because, he said, "I will give lectures on this matter in Sevastopol, and I will be asked about it." Our officer replied that the communique on the Plenum of the Central Committee had been published in the newspaper¹ so what more did he want? He took his hat and left, and reported the matter to his commander. Your comrades had the Rear-Admiral on the mat, he begged our pardon and the incident was closed.

Concerning the delivery of the submarines: our seamen were trained for two and a half years in Sevastopol, and they had distinguished themselves in the firing practice. Our staff and our seamen had prepared themselves to receive the submarines in a solemn manner. There is a Soviet Rear-Admiral on our staff. We do not know exactly what he is but a Rear-Admiral he certainly is not. He said: "The submarines cannot be handed over to you because you are not trained." The comrades of our Ministry of Defence questioned the validity of the statement. Were it necessary for our militarymen to study for some months longer they should have been informed about it. But the Soviet staff itself had said that the Albanian crews had completed their training.

Then they told us that winter had come, that seas were stormy. Our comrades came here, to your Admiralty, stated their case and received the reply that "the submarines will be handed over to you." But again came the order from your people not to give them to us. When we were in Tirana our Ministry of Defence sent a let-

¹ *Zëri i Popullit*, September 9, 1960.

ter to Gorshkov¹ and explained the matter in comradely terms just as I put it to you. The letter said that if several more months were needed to train our seamen, you can tell us so. But the reason does not lie here.

A. Mikoyan: And where does it lie?

Comrade Enver Hoxha: It is up to you to tell us this. But this is not the main problem... Let us come now to the question of our leaving the Warsaw Treaty, since you mentioned this at the start...

A. Mikoyan: We did not, but such was the impression created.

Comrade Enver Hoxha: How can such an impression be created on the basis of what a certain Rear-Admiral says? Let us consider this question, for there are more serious things in it.

A. Mikoyan: Really? We know nothing of them.

Comrade Enver Hoxha: How is it that you know nothing of them? If this is the case, it is not right that your Central Committee does not know about them. Do you know that we have been threatened with expulsion from the Warsaw Treaty? Grechko² has made such a threat.

A. Mikoyan: We know nothing about it. Tell us.

Comrade Enver Hoxha: We shall tell you all right; for it is a matter of principle. Two of your marshals, Malinovsky and Grechko, have said such a thing. You must know this.

Comrade Hysni Kapo: On October 22, I informed Polyansky of this.

A. Mikoyan: You may not believe me, but I do not know.

Comrade Enver Hoxha: Since you put the matter in this way, that you know nothing about it, we must remind you that four months ago we wrote you a letter concerning your ambassador. Why did you not follow the Leninist practice of your Party and reply to us?

F. Kozlov: We shall send you another ambassador.

Comrade Enver Hoxha: You say so now but why have you not written to us? We wrote to you four months ago but have received no answer.

A. Mikoyan: We did well not to answer you. And this is why: for 15 years now our ambassadors have been going to the Party committees to ask for information. This has been so in Albania

¹ Sergey Gorshkov, Soviet admiral, Deputy Minister of Defence of the USSR.

² Marshal Grechko, Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces of the Warsaw

too. Is it interference on the part of our ambassador to ask the Chairman of the Auditing Commission¹ about what went on at the Plenum?²

Comrade Enver Hoxha: Yes, it is interference and entirely impermissible. I can say that in our country nothing has been hidden from the Soviet personnel. For 16 years we have followed the practice of informing you about all the important documents and decisions of the Central Committee of our Party and government. Why have we done this? Because we have been sincere and frank with the Soviet Union and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. You have no right to accuse our Party of bad behaviour towards the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. We have been very closely linked with the Soviet comrades, ranging from the ambassador to the ordinary specialists. All doors have been open to them.

A. Mikoyan, M. Suslov: Precisely that is so.

Comrade Enver Hoxha: We think that perhaps no other Party has behaved in this way towards the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Why have we done this? Because we have considered the Communist Party of the Soviet Union as the Party which, under Lenin's leadership, carried out the Great Socialist Revolution and was the first to open the way to socialism and communism.

We have had disagreements prior to the Bucharest Meeting, and we shall tell you them. For example, on the question of Yugoslav revisionism. But we have gone about it in such a way that nothing has leaked out. Why have our relations deteriorated after Bucharest? What did we say at Bucharest? We expressed our attitude, stressing that the disagreements which were presented by Khrushchev at the Bucharest Meeting were over matters concerning the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Communist Party of China, and that the Party of Labour of Albania reserved the right to voice its opinions about them at the Moscow Meeting. Why then was our Party attacked?

We do not agree with the Bucharest Meeting, but we did nothing to make you change your attitude towards us one hundred per cent. First of all, your ambassador behaved in a despicable manner towards us. We liked him. After the Bucharest Meeting and especially after his return from Moscow, he began to attack us and

¹ Koço Tashko.

² The 17th Plenum of the CC of the PLA (July 11-12, 1960), which approved the activity of the delegation of the PLA to the Bucharest Meeting.

behave contemptuously towards us.

A. Mikoyan: I have never thought he would go as far as that.

Comrade Enver Hoxha: That means you do not believe us. Do not forget that I am the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania. I have been and am a friend of the Soviet Union. You can fail to believe me, but you believe your *chinovniks*.¹ What interest has the Party of Labour of Albania in creating disagreements and saying false things about the ambassador of the Soviet Union?

A. Mikoyan: I believe that you are not interested in this. The ambassador has spoken no ill of you. Personally, he is a good man.

M. Suslov: But not very bright, especially politically.

A. Mikoyan: Tell us, what should we do to improve our relations? We shall replace the ambassador.

Comrade Enver Hoxha: Things are not as simple as that. We do not maintain only diplomatic relations but also inter-party links and these must be on a Marxist-Leninist basis. For example, ambassador Ivanov had contacts with me. Why should he meet the Chairman of the Auditing Commission?

I am the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Party. I have asked you why you expelled Zhukov?² Up to now I know nothing. The Soviet ambassador has always come to ask me about the Plenums of our Party and I have informed him about them. He came and asked me about the proceeding of this Plenum too. I told him what was to be told. Since the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Party told him that much, he should have gone home to bed. Otherwise, if your ambassador is going to get hold of one and the other, he and his friends are not diplomats and representatives of a socialist country, but intelligence agents. The staff of the embassy, through Bespalov got hold of the Chairman of the Auditing Commission and worked on him in two sessions, then for the third session, he was invited to dinner in the name of the ambassador at the residence of the First Secretary of the embassy. There were three of them, the ambassador, the Counsellor and the Secretary. And there our comrade, who 15

¹ Chinovniks, Russ. in the original. Professional officials of Tsarist Russia. Such bureaucratic officials were also cultivated by revisionism in the USSR.

² Member of the CC of the CPSU, Marshal of the Soviet Union, Minister of Defence of the USSR. While he was on a visit to the PR of Albania, the Khrushchev group discharged him from all functions and informed him of this as soon as he landed in Moscow upon his return from Tirana.

days before had agreed with the decision of the Plenum, with the line of our Central Committee, was opposed to the line of the Party. Now I ask you: can an ambassador be allowed to act in this manner and on his own responsibility?

We think that all these actions were aimed at creating disruption in our Party. Your ambassador went even further. At the airport, alluding to the Bucharest events, he asked our Generals: "With whom will the army side?"

A. Mikoyan, F. Kozlov: He is a fool.

Comrade Enver Hoxha: I respect you, but we cannot swallow such "excuses," although we lack your experience. The question of the invitation Khrushchev sent me is very important. First, I decided to accept it. But when I read your material, the letter addressed to the Chinese comrades on November 5, I saw that Albania was not included in the socialist camp. All the countries of people's democracy of Europe are mentioned there with the exception of Albania.

M. Suslov: Neither is the Soviet Union mentioned there.

Comrade Enver Hoxha: What are you trying to tell us? Were I in your place, I would admit that it is wrong. Ivanov has acted in this way, Grechko likewise. Such things are written in the document. Khrushchev has told Deng Xiaoping disgraceful things about Albania, but you admit nothing whereas we have always been sincere with you. Kosygin did not behave well towards me in a conversation we had either. He behaved as if he were an overlord. He said: "In your Party there are enemies that want to split us."

This year, because of very unfavourable natural conditions, we were badly in need of bread grain. We had bread for only 15 days. We asked you for 50 thousand tons of wheat. We waited for 45 days but received no reply. Then we bought it in France with convertible currency. The French merchant came immediately to Albania to size up the situation. He asked: "How is such a thing possible? Albania has never bought bread grain from the western countries, yet the Soviet Union is selling grain everywhere." In order to dispel his doubt, we told him "The Soviet Union has given us grain, has given us corn, but we use it to feed the pigs." We know where you sell your grain, where the Romanians, the Germans sell theirs: in England and elsewhere. You put conditions on us and we were obliged to offer you gold to buy the grain we needed.

A. Mikoyan: We have not refused to supply you with grain. I know that grain has been shipped to you every month. You proposed to our people to pay in gold and they accepted. Why would we want your currency?

Comrade Enver Hoxha: Comrade Pospelov, when you were in Albania you have seen what love our people nurture for the Soviet Union. But now you seek this love from Koço Tashko and Liri Belishova, and not from us.

The tactic you are following is completely wrong. You should have talked with me before you wrote those things in the letter I mentioned. But when you accuse our Party and its leadership of being anti-Soviet, of being criminals, and as you say, of resorting to “Stalinist methods,” when after you have made all these public accusations you want to talk with me, this I can never accept.

A. Mikoyan: We invited you to talks earlier but you refused.

Comrade Enver Hoxha: Things are not as you say. I had taken some days off. It was only partly a vacation, because I was working on the Report for the Party Congress.¹ Comrade Hysni Kapo told me that Ivanov had informed him that if he wished Comrade Enver could go to rest in the Soviet Union. But he did not tell me anything about the meeting with Khrushchev.

Comrade Hysni Kapo: In regard to your letter in which you invited us to hold talks, it was quite clear what we were going to talk about.

Comrade Enver Hoxha: The letter said that we should meet to discuss the question of China.

A. Mikoyan: Not the question of China. The word “China” is not even mentioned there.² You refused to meet us.

Mehmet Shehu: How can such a thing be denied? How can you behave in such a way towards our country? Shame on you, Comrade Kozlov, that you allow yourself to present small Albania with an ultimatum: “Either with us or with China.”

F. Kozlov: When your delegation passed through here, I only

¹ The 4th Congress of the Party of Labour of Albania, which it had been decided was to be held in November 1960. Later, because of the meeting of the 81 communist and workers’ parties in Moscow, it was postponed until February 1961.

² A downright lie on the part of A. Mikoyan. The letter of August 13 that the CC of the CPSU sent to the CC of the Party of Labour of Albania said expressly: “The meeting of the representatives of the communist and workers’ parties held in Bucharest showed that between the Communist Party of China and the other sister parties there is a different understanding of a series of important problems of the international situation and the tactics of the communist parties...” (See also p. 136)

said that I was surprised at Comrade Kapo's position. Your stand was different from that of other parties. We have treated you so well. When Comrade Enver spoke in Leningrad, he said that the Albanian people feel that they are not one million but 201 million.

Comrade Enver Hoxha: I still say it too, but not if you do not think of China. Both you and we should be for the unity of the camp, for a billion strong camp. We love the Soviet Union but we have a great love for the Chinese people and the Communist Party of China too. Why is it, Comrade Kozlov, that since the Bucharest Meeting you speak of "zigzags" by our Party and ask with whom we will side, "with the 200 or the 600 millions?" At a meeting at which the ambassadors of other countries were present, you said that a single bomb would be enough to turn Albania into dust and ashes...

Comrade Hysni Kapo: You say that we allegedly talk behind your backs. But on October 22, Khrushchev told Deng Xiaoping that from then on he would maintain the same stand towards Albania as towards Yugoslavia.

Y. Andropov: That is how things stood: in the conversation with the Chinese comrades, Comrade Khrushchev said that some Albanian leaders are dissatisfied because the question of Berlin is not yet settled.

Comrade Enver Hoxha: And I am the one who has said it. After Khrushchev returned from Paris, Ivanov asked me about the Berlin question. I answered: "In my personal opinion, imperialism is badly shaken, our positions are strong, in America there is a favourable political situation which could be utilized for the settlement of the Berlin question." This was my personal opinion.

A. Mikoyan: There is nothing wrong with that, but not as some one who offended us put it, saying to our officers: "Berlin scared you, you did not keep your word," etc.

Y. Andropov: It is in connection with these words that Khrushchev said that we have had good relations with the Albanians, but now, as things stand, we cannot trust them. We lost Albania...

Comrade Enver Hoxha: Even in these terms, this is not in the least comradely. What has the Bolshevik Party taught us? All these things have a source. Marxism-Leninism does not recognize that events can develop spontaneously. Hence you should go thoroughly into these matters. What are the reasons things came to this state after the Bucharest Meeting? We think that it is up to you to tell us.

A. Mikoyan: We may be wicked but we are not fools. Why should we want our relations with you to become worse?

Comrade Enver Hoxha: We have asked this question too. Apart from the fact that we have not been wrong, but even if we had, why did the Communist Party of the Soviet Union which has seen many things not show a little patience with us Albanians and its leadership say; “Well, the Albanians have made a mistake but let us see what they have to say tomorrow after they have thought things over.”

You should know, comrades, that we are grieved when we see all these things which are occurring in the attitude of the leaders and other Soviet officials towards Albania and our Party of Labour. We say to you that the unhealthy spirit which exists among your people in Albania should be completely changed. Since the Bucharest Meeting, seeing what Ivanov and company are doing, I have not met and will not meet your people in Tirana.

A. Mikoyan: Your cadres have changed their attitude towards us. The Central Committee of our Party is not mentioned, Khrushchev is mentioned only as a blunderer.

Comrade Enver Hoxha: I must tell you in a comradely way that Khrushchev often accuses us of being “hotheaded.” But Khrushchev himself should keep his tongue in check because every state, every person has his dignity. He has said that we shall treat Albania the same as Yugoslavia. You should not write such things in a document.

P. Pospelov: With his sharp replies at the Bucharest Meeting, Comrade Kapo was not in order.

Comrade Enver Hoxha: Even now we do not agree with the Bucharest Meeting as you organized it.

A. Mikoyan: The Bucharest Meeting is another issue. Now the question is whether our relations should be improved or not. Comrade Khrushchev said today, in his speech, that we shall maintain friendship even with those parties with which we have differences. We must meet and talk things over.

Comrade Enver Hoxha: We are not against meetings. But we ask the comrades of the leadership of the CPSU to be more careful because to distribute among 80 and more parties a document in which Albania is excluded from the socialist countries and then invite us to “come and talk” is unacceptable.

M. Suslov, A. Mikoyan: Let’s meet and talk about how we can improve our relations.

Comrade Enver Hoxha: We, too, seek to improve our relations.

M. Suslov: But not in that tone.

Comrade Enver Hoxha: I want to give you a piece of advice: put out of your mind that we are hotheaded. When Marxism-Leninism and the interests of our people are at stake, we shall defend them hotly.

WE HAVE FOUGHT WITH EMPTY STOMACHS AND BAREFOOTED, BUT HAVE NEVER KOWTOWED TO ANYBODY

(The conversation of the delegation of the Party of Labour of Albania, led by Comrade Enver Hoxha, at the meeting with N.S. Khrushchev in the Kremlin, Moscow)

November 12, 1960

The campaign of open threats and pressures by the Soviet leadership against the delegation of the Party of Labour of Albania, which had gone to Moscow to take part in the proceedings of the meetings of 81 communist and workers' parties in November 1960, were escalated with the personal and arrogant interference of the arch-revisionist Khrushchev. His anti-Marxist and chauvinist attitude was openly manifested at the meeting which the delegation of the Party of Labour of Albania agreed to hold once more with the representatives of the CPSU on November 12, 1960. At the meeting, the delegation was led by Comrade Enver Hoxha and composed of Mehmet Shehu, Hysni Kapo and Ramiz Alia, while the Soviet side was headed by Khrushchev and composed of Mikoyan, Kozlov and Andropov.

The Soviet revisionist bosses unscrupulously tried not only to disguise their hostile actions against the Party of Labour of Albania and the People's Republic of Albania, but also to impose submission and adherence to the revisionist line on our delegation. But the delegation of the Party of Labour of Albania, with Comrade Enver Hoxha at the head, bluntly told the truth to the revisionists and adopted a firm and unyielding Marxist-Leninist stand, firmly emphasizing the determination of the Party of Labour of Albania and the Albanian people to fight with might and main through to the end for revolution and communism. This revolutionary steadfastness of the Party of Labour of Albania is clearly evident in the talks held between the delegation of the Party of Labour of Albania, led by Comrade Enver Hoxha, and Khrushchev at the meeting in the Kremlin on November 12, 1960. Their talk is entitled "We Have Fought With Empty Stomachs and Barefooted, but Have Never Kowtowed to Anybody," and is as follows:

N.S. Khrushchev: You have the floor, we are listening.

Comrade Enver Hoxha: You have invited us. The host should speak first.

N.S. Khrushchev: We accept the Albanians' terms. I do not understand what has happened since my visit to Albania in 1959. Had you been dissatisfied with us even then, I must have been a blockhead and very naive not to have realized this. At that time we had nothing but nice words to say, apart from some jokes such as that I made with Mehmet Shehu about the poplars.¹

Comrade Enver Hoxha: If this is intended to open up conversation, it is another matter. The joke about the poplars is out of place here.

N.S. Khrushchev: What other reason could there be then, why you have changed your attitude towards us?

Comrade Enver Hoxha: It is not us who have changed our attitude, but you. We have had disagreements on previous occasions, as for example, over the stand to be taken towards the Yugoslav revisionists, but this change of attitude occurred after the Bucharest Meeting, and precisely on your part.

N.S. Khrushchev: I want to get one thing clear. I thought that we had no disagreements over Yugoslavia. You have spoken more than we have about this problem. We, too, have written about it, but dispassionately. We have said that the more said against them, the more their value would be increased and that is what happened.

Comrade Enver Hoxha: In our opinion, that is not so.

N.S. Khrushchev: I speak for us, but I want to ask you: in what tone shall we speak? If you do not want our friendship, then tell us so.

Comrade Enver Hoxha: We want to be friends always. We want to talk in a friendly way, but this does not mean that we should see eye to eye with you over all matters.

N.S. Khrushchev: Three times we have invited you to talks. Do you want to break off relations with us?

Comrade Enver Hoxha: It is you who caused the deterioration of our relations after the Bucharest Meeting. We have pointed out many facts to your comrades, they should have told you.

N.S. Khrushchev: I do not quite understand this. I had no conflict with Hysni Kapo at the Bucharest Meeting. He said that he was not authorized by the Central Committee to take a definite

¹ The sole criticism N. Khrushchev found it possible to make during his stay in Albania in May 1959 was that the poplars along our roads should be replaced with fig trees and plums.

stand towards the questions under discussion.

Comrade Hysni Kapo: At Bucharest, I expressed our Party's opinion that the Bucharest Meeting was premature and held in contravention of the Leninist organizational norms, that the disagreements discussed there were disagreements between the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Communist Party of China, and that the Party of Labour of Albania would express its opinion at a future meeting. Thereupon you said that you were amazed at the stand taken by the Party of Labour of Albania. You said this both at the meeting of the 12 parties of the socialist countries and at the broader meeting of 50 and more parties. In reality, we had told you our stand before we spoke at the meeting of the 12 parties. I had spoken with Andropov about this. After he informed you of our talk, you told him to tell the Albanians that they must think things over and change their stand.

Comrade Enver Hoxha: The Central Committee of our Party has never accepted the Bucharest Meeting. From the very beginning, I was informed about all that was going on at Bucharest.

N.S. Khrushchev: This is of no great importance. The point is that even before the Bucharest Meeting you were not in agreement with us but you said nothing about this to us, and we considered you as friends. I am to blame for having trusted you so much.

Mehmet Shehu: I ask Comrade Khrushchev to recall our talks of 1957. We spoke to you with open hearts about all the problems, including that of the activity of the Yugoslav revisionists. You listened to us, then after a telling reply to you by Comrade Enver, you rose to your feet and said: "Do you want to put us back on Stalin's road?" That means that you knew long ago that we thought about the Yugoslav revisionists differently from you. You knew this at least as early as April 1957. But you should also remember that in 1955, when you were to go to Yugoslavia, we replied to your letter in which you suggested changing the attitude that should be maintained towards the Yugoslav revisionists, that the problem should first be analysed by the Information Bureau which should take the decision.

A. Mikoyan: Yes, that is what happened.

N.S. Khrushchev: You say that new people with little experience have come to power in the Soviet Union. Do you want to teach us?

Comrade Enver Hoxha: No, there is no need. This is an internal question of yours. But do you know what your ambassador has

said? Other things apart, I shall tell you only one fact that has to do with the army. He has asked to whom will the Albanian army be loyal. This question he addressed to our generals at the airport, in the presence of one of your generals. Our officers replied that the Albanian army would be loyal to Marxism-Leninism, to the Party of Labour and socialism.

N.S. Khrushchev: If our ambassador has said such a thing, he has been foolish.

Comrade Enver Hoxha: Yes, but this is political foolishness.

N.S. Khrushchev: This is every sort of foolishness.

A. Mikoyan: Do you think that such behaviour by our ambassador expresses our line?

Comrade Enver Hoxha: A fool's foolishness, even of a political character, may be excused once, but when it is repeated many times over, then this is a line.

N.S. Khrushchev: Yes, that is true.

Comrade Enver Hoxha: Your ambassador has been a friend of our Party, and ours personally. He was no fool. He committed this "foolishness" following the Bucharest Meeting. Why did he not display such "foolishness" prior to the Bucharest Meeting, during the three consecutive years he stayed in Albania? That is astonishing!

A. Mikoyan: It is not astonishing but previously he used to receive information from you regularly and had not noticed such behaviour on your part.

Comrade Enver Hoxha: It seems to me that you said that he did not know that there were disagreements between us...

A. Mikoyan: Comrade Enver told us that previously he used to tell Ivanov everything, but later he did not. Hence the change in the behaviour of the ambassador. We have discussed these things.

Comrade Enver Hoxha: If we have discussed these things, as Mikoyan says, then why are we sitting here? If, after discussing matters, we say that we do not agree with you, you can then say to us: "We have discussed these things."

A. Mikoyan: But we recalled our ambassador. Why do you harp on this question?

Comrade Enver Hoxha: All right, we will leave the ambassador aside, but what you have written about Albania and the Party of Labour in your letter about us to the Chinese comrades is monstrous.

A. Mikoyan: We have expressed our opinion.

Comrade Ramiz Alia: You publicly accuse us of anti-Sovietism. (*He reads the page 46 of the letter*).

N.S. Khrushchev: This is our opinion. You must not get angry.

Mehmet Shehu: You attack us and we should not get angry.

N.S. Khrushchev: We are sorry about what happened with these people.¹ You do not agree. I have not known Koço Tashko, I may perhaps have seen him, but even if you were to show me his photo, I would not remember him.

Comrade Enver Hoxha: If you want his photo, we may send it to you.

N.S. Khrushchev: I know Liri Belishova less than you do. I know that she was a member of the Bureau. She told us about the talk she had in China. Kosygin told Mehmet this when he was in Moscow, and when he heard it, he went white with rage. She was a courageous woman, she told us openly what she felt. This is a tragedy. You expelled her because she stood for friendship with us. That is why we wrote about this in the document.

Comrade Enver Hoxha: That is to say you consider what has been written here, in your material, to be correct?

N.S. Khrushchev: Yes, we do.

Comrade Enver Hoxha: There are two points here. First, you say that we expelled a member of the Bureau in an undemocratic way. Who told you that this was done not according to democratic rules and Leninist norms, but according to “Stalinist Methods,” as you call them? Second, you say that we expelled her for pro-Sovietism, and that implies that we are anti-Soviet. Can you explain this to us?

N.S. Khrushchev: If you have come here intending to disagree with us and break off relations, say so openly and we won’t waste time.

Comrade Enver Hoxha: You did not answer our question. And you have distributed this material to all the parties.

N.S. Khrushchev: To those parties to which the Chinese have distributed their material.

Comrade Enver Hoxha: And we have our point of view which does not coincide with yours. Two or three times you have raised the question of whether we are for friendship or for breaking off relations. We came here to strengthen our friendship. But you ad-

¹ Liri Belishova and Koço Tashko.

mit none of your mistakes. You have made criticism of us, and so have we of you. You have criticized on the quiet and publicly, before all. You may have other criticisms. Tell us, and we shall tell you ours, so that our Central Committees may know them. The Central Committee of our Party has sent us here to strengthen our friendship.

N.S. Khrushchev: One of your comrades told our armymen that Khrushchev is not a Marxist.

Comrade Enver Hoxha: In connection with the question of the militarymen, we have talked with your comrades. How could it be in our interest to have our militarymen quarrel at the Vlora base. While you produce “documents” to the effect that one of our comrades has allegedly said this and that. Have a good look at your militarymen. I told Mikoyan that your rear-admiral at the Vlora naval base is not a rear-admiral.

N.S. Khrushchev: We can dismantle the base if you like.

Comrade Enver Hoxha: Then what Malinovsky and Grechko have said turns out to be true. Are you trying to threaten us? If the Soviet people hear that you want to dismantle the Vlora base at a time when it is serving the defence of Albania and the other socialist countries of Europe, they will not forgive you for this...

N.S. Khrushchev: Comrade Enver, don't raise your voice.

Comrade Enver Hoxha: If you dismantle the base, you will be making a big mistake. We have fought with empty stomachs and barefooted but have never kowtowed to anybody.

N.S. Khrushchev: The submarines are ours.

Comrade Enver Hoxha: Yours and ours. We are fighting for socialism. The territory of the base is ours. About the submarines, we have signed agreements which recognize the rights of the Albanian state. I defend the interests of my country.

A. Mikoyan: Your tone is such as if Khrushchev has given you nothing. We have talked among ourselves about the base. Khrushchev was not for dismantling it. I said to him: if our officers go on quarrelling with the Albanians, why should we keep the base?

Mehmet Shehu: You have treated us as enemies. Even here in Moscow you have carried out intelligence activities against us.¹ You know this very well.

¹ The reference is to the bugging devices installed secretly by the Soviet revisionists both at the residence of the delegation of the PLA in Zarechye of Moscow and in the offices of the embassy of the People's Republic of Albania in Moscow

Comrade Enver Hoxha: As the question was put here, we might just as well discuss it at the Warsaw Treaty. I want to say that if such a thing has occurred to you, it has never crossed our minds. And then, to say, "We shall dismantle it if you like!" Relations between the Albanians and the Soviet personnel at the Vlora base have always been good. Only since the Bucharest Meeting have some incidents taken place and they were caused by your officers who were not in order. If you insist, we can call together the Warsaw Treaty. But the Vlora base is ours and will remain ours.

N.S. Khrushchev: You flare up in anger. You have spat on me. No one can talk to you.

Comrade Enver Hoxha: You always say that we are hot-headed.

N.S. Khrushchev: You distort my words. Does your interpreter know Russian?

Comrade Enver Hoxha: Don't carp at the interpreter. He knows Russian very well. I respect you and you should respect me.

N.S. Khrushchev: This is just how Macmillan wanted to talk to me.

Comrade Hysni Kapo: Comrade Enver is not Macmillan, so take that back.

N.S. Khrushchev: But where shall I put it?

Mehmet Shehu: Put it in your pocket.

Comrade Hysni Kapo (addressing the comrades of our delegation): I do not agree that the talks should be conducted like this.

(Comrade Enver Hoxha and the other comrades rise and leave the room.)

SPEECH DELIVERED AT THE MEETING OF 81 COMMUNIST AND WORKERS' PARTIES IN MOSCOW

November 16, 1960

The Meeting of 81 communist and workers' parties was held in Moscow from November 10 to December 1, 1960. It was held in a very complicated situation of the international communist movement as a result of the spread of modern revisionism and especially the schismatic anti-Marxist activity of the Soviet leadership with Khrushchev at the head. The delegation of the Party of Labour of Albania was led by Comrade Enver Hoxha who spoke on behalf of the CC of the Party of Labour of Albania.

The Party of Labour of Albania tried in every way to avoid publicizing its differences with the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, lest it would put weapons into the hands of the enemies of communism. On the other hand, it was not yet cognizant of Khrushchev's real intentions, therefore it tried to settle the differences through talks and consultations in a comradely spirit. While maintaining a principled stand, it strove and hoped to make the Soviet leaders realize their mistakes and take the right path. Thus, Comrade Enver Hoxha's speech bears the seal of the time and circumstances it came into being.

As time went on, real treacherous features of the Soviet revisionists became more and more evident to the Party of Labour of Albania. The more their treachery was revealed, the harsher and more irreconcilable became the battle the PLA waged against Khrushchevite revisionism in order to expose and crush it completely.

At the meeting, our Party openly attacked the disruptive activity of the Soviet revisionist leadership, with Nikita Khrushchev at the head; this heroic revolutionary act of our Party will remain one of the most brilliant pages in the history not only of our Party but also of the international communist and workers' movement. The speech Comrade Enver Hoxha delivered at the Moscow Meeting in November 1960 will remain a glorious monument in the history of the international communist and workers' movement forever. It is an extremely important contribution by the Party of Labour of Albania and Comrade Enver Hoxha to the exposure of the Khrushchev revisionist clique and to the defence of the purity of Marxism-Leninism on a world scale.

Comrade Enver Hoxha's speech at the meeting of 81 parties, which

has great and ever lasting relevance, reflects the line of struggle of the Party of Labour of Albania against Khrushchevite revisionism. It makes a devastating criticism of the opportunist views of the Soviet leaders in all their most essential manifestations and presents the stand of the Party of Labour of Albania on the most important problems of world development, strategy and tactics, and relations between the communist parties and the socialist countries. In Moscow, Comrade Enver Hoxha hit right on the mark. He proved that the source of evil which had gripped the communist movement should be sought in the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and in its decisions. By means of indisputable arguments, he rejected the revisionist theses and anti-Marxist actions of the Soviet leaders, one by one laying bare their reactionary aims. The speech which Comrade Enver Hoxha delivered on behalf of the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania at the Meeting of 81 communist and workers' parties in Moscow on November 16, 1960 follows, without modification:

Dear comrades,

This Meeting of the communist and workers' parties is of historic importance to the international communist movement, for it is making a detailed analysis of the international political situation, drawing up a balance of the successes and of the mistakes that may have been verified along our course, helping us see more clearly the line we should pursue henceforth in order to score further successes to the benefit of socialism, communism and peace.

The existence of the socialist camp, headed by the Soviet Union, is already an accomplished fact in the world. The communist movement in general has been enlarged, strengthened and tempered. The communist and workers' parties throughout the world have become a colossal force which is leading mankind forward towards socialism, towards peace.

As the draft statement which has been prepared emphasizes, our socialist camp is very much stronger than that of the imperialists. Socialism is growing stronger and attaining new heights day by day while imperialism is growing weaker and decaying. We should make use of all our means and forces to speed up this process. This will come about if we remain unwaveringly loyal to Marxism-Leninism and apply it correctly. Otherwise, we shall retard this process, for we are faced with a ruthless enemy, imperialism, headed by U.S. imperialism, which we must defeat and destroy.

We want peace, while imperialism does not want peace and is preparing for a third world war. We must fight with all our might to avert a world war and to bring about the triumph of a just and democratic peace in the world. This will be achieved when we have forced imperialism to disarm. Imperialism will not give up its arms of its own free will. To believe anything of the kind is merely to deceive oneself and others. Therefore we should confront imperialism with the colossal economic, military, moral, political and ideological strength of the socialist camp, as well as with the combined strength of the peoples throughout the world, to sabotage, in every way, the war which the imperialists are preparing.

The Party of Labour of Albania has never hidden this situation and the threat with which imperialism is menacing peace-loving mankind from its own people, nor will it ever do so. We can assure you that the Albanian people, who detest war, have not been intimidated by this correct action of their Party: they have not become pessimistic, nor have they been marking time as far as socialist construction is concerned. They have a clear vision of their future and have set to work with full confidence, always vigilant, keeping the pick in one hand and the rifle in the other.

Our view is that imperialism, headed by American imperialism, should be mercilessly exposed, politically and ideologically, and at no time should we permit flattery, prettification, or currying favour with imperialism. No concessions of principle should be made to it. The tactics and compromises which are permissible on our part should help our cause, not that of the enemy.

Facing a ruthless enemy, the guarantee for the triumph of our cause lies in our complete unity, which will be secured by eliminating the deep ideological differences which have been manifested, and by building this unity on the foundations of Marxism-Leninism, on equality, on brotherhood, on the spirit of comradeship and proletarian internationalism. Our Party is of the opinion that not only should we not have any ideological split but we should maintain a unified political stand on all issues. Our tactics and strategy towards the enemy should be worked out by all our parties, based on Marxist-Leninist principles, on correct political criteria complying with the concrete existing situation.

Our socialist camp, headed by the glorious Soviet Union, has become a colossal force from all points of view, both as to its economic and cultural as well as to its military potential. At the centre of the successes, at the centre of the strength of our camp lies the

colossal moral and political, economic, cultural and military strength of the Soviet Union. The Soviet successes in industry, agriculture, education and culture, in science and in military are exceptionally great. At the same time they are of immeasurable assistance to the achievement of major successes in the other countries of the socialist camp.

It is rightly pointed out in the draft statement that the great and inexhaustible strength of the socialist camp headed by the Soviet Union is the decisive factor in the triumph of peace in the world, it is the moral, political and ideological force which inspires the peoples of the world who are fighting to free themselves from the yoke of the bloodsucking colonialists, from the clutches of imperialism and capitalism, it is its force of example and its economic aid which helps and inspires other peoples to win the battle for complete liberation from the exploiting capitalists.

It is for this major reason that the Soviet Union and the socialist camp have become the centre and hope of the peoples of the world, their moral, political and economic prop, their firm and loyal champions against the threats of the warmongering U.S., British, French aggressors and their allies.

All the peoples of the world aspire to and fight for freedom, independence, sovereignty, social justice, culture and peace. These sacred aspirations of theirs have been and are being suppressed by the capitalists, the feudal lords and imperialists, and thus it is natural that the struggle of these peoples should be waged with great severity against the capitalists, feudal lords and imperialists. It is also natural for the peoples of the world to seek allies in this battle for life which they are waging against their executioners. It is only the Soviet Union and the socialist camp that are their great, powerful and faithful allies.

Therefore, in the struggle for peace, disarmament, and social progress in the world, the socialist camp is not alone facing the imperialist camp but is in close alliance with all the progressive peoples of the world, while the imperialists remain alone facing the socialist camp.

We are living at a time when we are witnessing the total destruction of colonialism, the elimination of this plague that has wiped peoples from the face of the earth. New states are springing up in Africa and Asia. The states where capital, the scourge and the bullet reigned supreme are putting an end to the yoke of bondage, and the people are taking their destiny into their own hands.

This has been and is being achieved thanks to the struggle of these peoples and the moral support given to them by the Soviet Union, People's China and the other countries of the socialist camp.

Traitors to Marxism-Leninism, agents of imperialism and intriguers, like Josip Broz Tito, are trying in a thousand ways, by hatching up diabolical schemes, to mislead the peoples and the newly set up states, to detach them from their natural allies, to link them directly with U.S. imperialism. We should exert all our strength to defeat the schemes of these lackeys of imperialism.

We are witnessing the disintegration of imperialism, its decomposition, its agony. We are living and fighting in the epoch which is characterized by the irresistible transition from capitalism to socialism. All the brilliant teachings of Karl Marx and Vladimir Ilyich Lenin, which have never become outdated, as the revisionists claim, are being confirmed in practice.

World imperialism is being dealt heavy blows, which clearly shows that it is no longer in its "golden age" when it made the law as and when it wanted. The initiative has slipped from its hands, and this was not because of its own wish or desire. The initiative was wrested from it, not by mere words and discourses, but after a long process of bloody battles and revolutions which capitalism itself provoked against the proletariat, against the strength of the peoples who were rising to smash the world of hunger and misery, the world of slavery. This glorious page was opened by the Great October Socialist Revolution, by the great Soviet Union, by the great Lenin.

Even now, when it sees its approaching doom, when it has strong and determined opponents such as the socialist camp and its great alliance with all the peoples of the world, world imperialism, headed by U.S. imperialism, is mustering, organizing, and arming its assault forces. It is preparing for war. He who fails to see this is blind. He who sees it but covers it up is a traitor in the service of imperialism.

The Party of Labour of Albania is of the opinion that in spite of the major difficulties we encounter on our way to establish peace in the world, to bring about disarmament and settle the other international problems there is no reason to be pessimistic. Only our enemies, who are suffering losses, are and must be pessimistic. We have won, we are winning and shall continue to win. That is why we have been and are optimistic and convinced that our efforts will be crowned with success.

But we think that exaggerated, unrealistic optimism is not only not good, but is even harmful. He who denies, belittles, who has no faith in our great economic, political, military and moral strength is a defeatist and does not deserve to be called a communist. On the other hand, he who, intoxicated by our potential, disregards the strength of the opponents, thinking that the enemy has lost all hope, has become harmless and is entirely at our mercy, he is not a realist. He bluffs, lulls mankind to sleep in the face of all these complicated and very dangerous situations which demand very great vigilance from us all, which demand the heightening of the revolutionary drive of the masses, not its slackening, disintegration, decomposition and relaxation. "Waters sleep, but not the enemy," is a wise saying of our long-suffering people.

Let us look facts straight in the eye. World imperialism, headed by its most aggressive detachment, U.S. imperialism, is directing the course of its economy towards preparations for war. It is arming itself to the teeth. U.S. imperialism is arming Bonn's Germany, Japan and all its allies and satellites with all kinds of weapons. It has set up and perfected aggressive military organizations, it has established and continues to establish military bases all around the socialist camp. It is accumulating stocks of nuclear weapons and refuses to disarm, to stop testing nuclear weapons, and is feverishly engaged in inventing new means of mass extermination. Why is it doing all this? To go to a wedding party? No, to go to war against us, to do away with socialism and communism, to enslave the peoples.

The Party of Labour of Albania is of the opinion that if we say and think otherwise we are deceiving ourselves and others. We would not call ourselves communists if we were afraid of the vicissitudes of life. We communists detest war. We communists will fight to the end to smash the diabolical plans for war which the U.S. imperialists are preparing, but if they declare war on us, we should deal them a mortal blow that will wipe imperialism from the face of the earth, once and for all.

Faced with threats of atomic war from world imperialism, headed by American imperialism, we should be fully prepared economically, politically, morally, as well as militarily to cope with any eventuality.

We must prevent a world war. It is not decreed by fate to be inevitable. But no one will ever excuse us if we live in a dream and let the enemy catch us unaware, for it has never happened that the

enemy is to be trusted, otherwise he would not be called an enemy. The enemy is and remains an enemy, and a perfidious one at that. He who puts his trust in the enemy will sooner or later lose his case.

In order to prevent war, we should do everything possible, striving with all our means. The policy of the Soviet Union and of our socialist camp has been and remains a policy of peace. All the Soviet proposals and those of the governments of our countries of the people's democracy made in the international arena have aimed at easing tensions among nations, at solving unsettled issues through negotiations and not through war.

The peaceful policy of the countries of the socialist camp has exerted a major influence in exposing the aggressive aims of imperialism, in mobilizing the peoples against the warmongers, in promoting their glorious struggle against the imperialist oppressors and their tools. The examples of heroic Cuba, the struggle of the Japanese people and the events in south Korea and Turkey are the best proof of this.

But despite this, many concrete problems which have been laid on the table, like the proposals for disarmament, the summit conference, etc., have not yet been resolved and are being systematically sabotaged by the U.S. imperialists.¹

What conclusion should we draw from all this? The Party of Labour of Albania thinks that imperialism and, first and foremost, U.S. imperialism, has not changed its hide, its hair or its nature. It is aggressive, it may plunge the world into a war. Therefore, as we emphasized at the meeting of the Editorial Committee, we continue to insist that it should be brought home clearly to all the people that there is no absolute guarantee against world war until socialism has triumphed throughout the world or at least in the majority of countries. The U.S. imperialists make no secret of their refusal to disarm. They are increasing their armaments, preparing for war, therefore we should be on our guard.

We should make no concessions of principle to the enemy. We

¹ In December 1959, N. Khrushchev, the then head of the Soviet government, who was for the settlement of major international issues with the chiefs of imperialism by mere means of discussions, made arrangements through diplomatic channels for the calling of a summit conference with the participation of the heads of the governments of the USSR, USA, Britain and France. This conference was to have been held in May 1960, but it could not be held because of the sabotage of the U.S. imperialists and the vacillating adventurist stand of N. Khrushchev.

should entertain no illusions about imperialism because despite our good intentions we would make things infinitely worse. In addition to arming and preparing war against us, the enemy is carrying on unbridled propaganda to poison the spirit and benumb the minds of the people. They spend millions of dollars to recruit agents and spies, millions of dollars to organize espionage, sabotage and assassinations in our countries. U.S. imperialism has given and is giving thousands of millions of dollars to its loyal agents, the treacherous Tito gang. It is doing all this to weaken our internal front, to split us, to weaken and disorganize our rear areas.

There is a great deal of discussion about peaceful coexistence. Some even go so far as to assert such absurdities as that People's China and Albania are allegedly opposed to peaceful coexistence. Obviously, such harmful and erroneous views should be refuted once and for all. There can be no socialist state, there can be no communist, who is opposed to peaceful coexistence, who is a warmonger. The great Lenin was the first to put forward the principle of peaceful coexistence among states of different social orders as an objective necessity as long as socialist and capitalist states exist side by side in the world. Standing loyal to this great principle of Lenin's, our Party of Labour has always held, and still holds, that the policy of peaceful coexistence responds to the fundamental interests of all the peoples, responds to the purpose of further strengthening of the positions of socialism; therefore this principle of Lenin's is the basis of the foreign policy of our people's state.

Peaceful coexistence between two opposing systems does not imply, as the modern revisionists claim, that we should give up the class struggle. On the contrary, the class struggle must continue, the political and ideological struggle against imperialism against bourgeois and revisionist ideology should become ever more intense. While struggling consistently to establish Leninist peaceful coexistence, while making no concessions at all to imperialism over principles, the class struggle in the capitalist countries, as well as the national liberation movement of the peoples of colonial and dependent countries should be developed.

In our view, the communist and workers' parties in the capitalist countries should strive to establish peaceful coexistence between their countries, which are still under the capitalist system, and our socialist countries. This strengthens the positions of peace

and weakens the positions of capitalism in those countries and, in general, helps the class struggle. But their task does not end there. In these countries, the class struggle must be developed, intensified and strengthened and the working masses, led by the proletariat of the particular country headed by the Communist Party, and in alliance with the whole world proletariat, should make life impossible for imperialism, should smash its war bases and its hold on the economy, seize economic and political power from its hands and proceed to the destruction of the old state power and the establishment of the new state power of the people. Will they do this by violence or in the peaceful parliamentary way?

This question has been clear, and it was not necessary for Comrade Khrushchev to confuse it at the 20th Congress, and do so in such a way as to please the opportunists. Why was it necessary to make all those parodies of the clear theses of Lenin and of the October Socialist Revolution? The Party of Labour of Albania is quite clear about and does not shift from Lenin's teachings on this matter. So far no people, no proletariat and no communist and workers' party has seized state power without bloodshed and without violence.

Our Party thinks that, in this matter, we should be prepared for both eventualities, and we should be well prepared, especially, for taking power by violence, for if we are well prepared for this, the other possibility has more chance of success. The bourgeoisie may allow you to sing psalms, but then it deals you a fascist blow to the head and crushes you because you have not trained the necessary cadres to attack, nor done illegal work, you have not prepared a place where you can protect yourself and still work nor the means with which to fight. We should forestall this tragic eventuality.

The Party of Labour of Albania has been, is and will be for peace and peaceful coexistence and will fight for them in the Marxist-Leninist way, as Lenin taught us, and on the basis of the Moscow Declaration. It has been, is, and will be striving actively for general disarmament. On no occasion, not for one moment, will the Party of Labour of Albania cease waging a political and ideological struggle against the activities of the imperialists and capitalists, and against bourgeois ideology. It will not cease waging a stern, uninterrupted and uncompromising struggle against modern revisionism and, in particular, against Yugoslav Titoite revisionism. There may be comrades who reproach us Albanians

with being stubborn, hotheaded, sectarian, dogmatic, and whatever you like, but we reject all these false accusations and tell them that we do not deviate from these positions, for they are Marxist-Leninist positions.

They say that we are in favour of war and against coexistence. Comrade Kozlov has even put to us Albanians this alternative: either coexistence, as he conceives it, or an atomic bomb from the imperialists which would turn Albania to ashes and leave no Albanian alive. Until now, no representative of U.S. imperialism has made such an atomic threat against the Albanian people. But here it is, from a member of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, and to whom? To a small, heroic people, to a people who have fought through centuries against countless savage enemies and who have never bent the knee, to a small people and to a people who have fought with unprecedented heroism against the Hitlerites and Italian fascists, to a Party which stands loyal and consistent to the end to Marxism-Leninism. But, Comrade Frol Kozlov, you have got the wrong address. You cannot frighten us into submitting to your mistaken wishes, and we never confuse the glorious Party of Lenin with you, who behave so badly, so disgracefully, towards the Albanian people and towards the Party of Labour of Albania. The Party of Labour of Albania will strive for, and support, all the correct and peaceful proposals of the Soviet Union and other countries of the socialist camp, as well as those of other peace-loving countries.

The Party of Labour of Albania will exert all its strength, use all its rights and carry out all its obligations to strengthen the unity of the socialist camp, a Marxist-Leninist unity. It is absurd to think that small socialist Albania wants to break away and live outside the socialist camp, outside our fraternity of socialist peoples. Albania is indebted to no one for its presence within the ranks of the socialist camp. Our people themselves and the Party of Labour of Albania have placed it there with their blood and sweat, their work, their sacrifices, with the system of government which they have established and with the Marxist-Leninist line they pursue. But let no one even think that because Albania is a small country, because the Party of Labour of Albania is a small Party, it should do what someone else says when it is convinced that that someone is mistaken.

As I said earlier, the Party of Labour of Albania thinks that our socialist camp, which has one common aim, which is guided

by Marxism-Leninism, should also have its own strategy and tactics, and these should be worked out together by our parties and states of the socialist camp. Within the ranks of our camp, we have set up certain forms of organization of work, but the truth is that these have remained somewhat formal, or to put it better, they do not function in a collective way, for instance, the organs of the Warsaw Treaty and the Council for Mutual Economic Aid.¹ Let me make it quite clear. This is not a question of whether we, too, should be consulted or not. Of course, no one denies us the right to be consulted, but we should hold meetings for consultation. We raise the problem on principle and say that these forms of organization should function at regular intervals, problems should be taken up for discussion, decisions should be adopted, and there should be a check-up on the implementation of these decisions.

The development and further strengthening of the economies of the socialist countries has been and always is the main concern of our parties and governments, and constitutes one of the decisive factors of the unconquerable strength of the socialist camp.

The construction of socialism and communism is proceeding at a rapid rate in our countries. This is due to the great efforts of our peoples and to the reciprocal aid they render one another.

So far, the Peoples Republic of Albania has given economic aid to no one, first because we are poor, and second because no one stands in need of our economic aid. But within proper norms, we have made and are making every effort to give the countries which are our friends and brothers some help through our exports. We have been aided by our friends, first and foremost by the Soviet Union. We have been helped by credits and specialists without which it would have been very difficult for our country and our economy to develop at the rate they have developed.

The Party of Labour and the government of the People's Republic of Albania have utilized this aid of the Soviet Union and the other people's democracies as well as they could, to the best advantage of our people. Our people are forever grateful to the Soviet people and to the peoples of the people's democracies for this aid. We have considered, consider and will consider this aid

¹ Set up in January 1949. At the end of February of the same year the PR of Albania became one of its members. From an institution for reciprocal aid, with the coming to power of the Khrushchev revisionist clique in the Soviet Union, COMECON degenerated, too, becoming an instrument for the achievement of the social-imperialist aims of this clique.

not as charity but as fraternal, internationalist aid.

Our people, who have been in dire poverty, who have fought with heroism, who have been murdered and burnt out, had the right to seek the aid of their friends and brothers bigger and economically better off than they. And it was and still is the internationalist duty of their friends to give this aid. Therefore, it is necessary to reject any sinister and anti-Marxist view that anyone may hold about the nature and purpose of this aid. Economic pressures on the Party of Labour of Albania, on the Albanian government and on our people will never be of any avail.

I wish to propose here that the aid of the economically stronger countries for the economically weaker ones, such as ours, should be greater. The Albanian people have no intention of folding their arms and opening their mouths to be fed by others. That is not their custom. Nor do our people expect the standard of living in our country to be raised at once to the standard of living in many other countries of people's democracy, but greater aid should be given our country to further develop its productive forces. We think that the economically stronger countries of the socialist camp should accord credits also to neutral capitalist countries and to peoples recently liberated from colonialism, provided the leaders of these capitalist countries are opposed to imperialism, support the peaceful policy of the socialist camp and do not hinder or oppose the legitimate struggle of the revolutionary forces, but first of all, the needs of the countries of the socialist camp should be looked into more carefully and be fulfilled. Of course, India stands in need of iron and steel, but socialist Albania stands in greater and more urgent need of them. Egypt needs irrigation and electric power, but socialist Albania has greater and more urgent need for them.

On many political issues of first-rate importance, our socialist camp has held and holds identical views. But since collective consultations have not been held regularly, on many occasions it has been noted that states from our socialist camp take political initiatives (not that we are opposed in principle to taking initiatives), which very often affect other states of the socialist camp as well. Some of these initiatives are not correct, especially when they are not taken collectively by the members of the Warsaw Treaty.

An initiative of this kind is that of the Bulgarian government which, with total disregard for Albania, informed the Greek government that the Balkan countries of people's democracy agree to

disarm if the Greek government is prepared to do so too. From our point of view, this initiative was wrong, for even if Greece had endorsed it, the Albanian government would not have accepted it. Albania is in agreement with the Soviet proposal made by Nikita Khrushchev in May 1959,¹ but not with the Bulgarian proposal, which wants the Balkan countries to disarm, while leaving Italy unaffected. Or have the Bulgarian comrades forgotten that bourgeois and fascist Italy has attacked Albania a number of times during this century?

On the other hand, can it be permitted that, without any consultation at all with the Albanian government, with which they are bound by a defensive treaty, the Bulgarian comrades should propose a treaty of friendship and non-aggression to the Greek government, at a time when Greece maintains a state of war with Albania and is making territorial claims against our homeland? It seems to us that it is dangerous to take such unilateral actions.

From this correct and legitimate opposition of ours, perhaps the Bulgarian comrades may have arrived at the conclusion that we Albanians allegedly do not properly understand coexistence, that we want war, and so forth. These views are erroneous.

Similar gestures have been made also by the Polish comrades at the United Nations, when Comrade Gomulka stated in a unilateral way at the General Assembly of the United Nations Organization that Poland proposes that "the status quo on the stationing of military forces in the world should be preserved, and concretely, that no more military bases should be created, but those that have been set up already should remain, that no more missiles should be installed but the existing ones should remain, that those states that have the secret of the atomic bomb should keep it and not give it to other states." In our opinion, such a proposal is contrary to the interests of our camp. No more missiles to be installed, but by whom and where? All the NATO members including Italy, West Germany and Greece have been equipped with missiles. Not to give the secret of the atomic bomb to whom? Britain, France, and West Germany have it. It is clear that a proposal of this kind will oblige us, the countries of people's democracy, not to install missiles, and any other country of the socialist camp,

¹ Through this proposal and the notes which the Soviet government addressed on May 25, 1959 to the governments of Albania, Bulgaria, Romania, Yugoslavia, Turkey, Greece, Italy, France, Britain and the USA, it proposed the creation of a zone free of nuclear weapons and missiles in the Balkans and the Adriatic region.

except the Soviet Union, not to have the atomic bomb.

We pose the question: why should communist China not have the atomic bomb? We think that China should have it, and when it has the bomb and missiles, then we shall see in what terms U.S. imperialism will speak, we shall see whether they will continue to deny China its rights in the international arena, we shall see whether the U.S. imperialists will dare brandish their weapons as they are doing at present.

Someone may pose the question: will China win its rights over the United States of America by possessing and dropping the bomb? No, China will never use the bomb unless she is attacked by those who have aggression and war in their very blood. If the Soviet Union did not possess the bomb, imperialism would have been talking in a different tone with it. We will never attack with the bomb; we are opposed to war. We are ready to destroy the bomb, but we must keep it to defend ourselves. "It is fear that guards the vineyard," our people say. The imperialists should be afraid of us, and terribly afraid at that.

Based on Marxism-Leninism and on the Moscow Declaration and the Manifesto on Peace, the Party of Labour of Albania has pursued a correct Marxist-Leninist line in matters of international policy and in the important problems of socialist construction. In international relations, the line of our Party has been in accord with the policy of the socialist camp.

The Party of Labour of Albania has considered, considers, and will consider the Soviet Union as the saviour of our people and its great experience as universal, very necessary and indispensable to all. The Party of Labour of Albania has followed, implemented and adopted this great experience unreservedly in all fields and has scored successes. We have scored successes in setting up and strengthening our industry, in collectivizing agriculture, in developing education and culture, making great progress, and in building our state and our Party. Our Party has now gained maturity and a rich experience by working in this direction.

Our Party has educated, educates, and will continue to educate our people with a great love and loyalty towards the peoples and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. This love has been tempered and will be tempered each passing day, for it is kneaded with blood, for it has developed on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. We have loved, and still love the Soviet people from the bottom of our hearts and the Soviet people,

on their part, have loved and love the people and the Party of Labour of Albania in the same way. This is friendship between peoples, friendship between Marxist-Leninist parties and, therefore, it will flourish through the ages and will never die. This is the unshakable conviction of the Albanian communists, a conviction they have deeply implanted and will continue to implant among our people. We have said and we repeat now that, without this friendship, there could not have been freedom for our people. This is the fruit of Leninism.

The major problems of the time have concerned both the Party of Labour of Albania and our small people. Our People's Republic has been and is surrounded geographically by capitalist states and the Yugoslav revisionists. We have had to be highly vigilant and tie down people and considerable funds to defend our borders, to defend the freedom and sovereignty of our country from the innumerable attempts of the imperialists and their satellites, their lackeys.

We are a small country and a small people who have suffered to an extraordinary degree, but who have also fought very hard. We are not indebted to anyone for the freedom we enjoy today, for we have won it with our own blood. We are continually aware, day and night, of our imperialist enemies, of their manoeuvres against the socialist camp and our country in particular, therefore we have never had, nor will we ever, entertain illusions about their changing their nature and their intentions towards peoples, our camp, and towards socialist Albania in particular. Our Party has been and is for peace, and will fight unceasingly, by the side of the Soviet Union, People's China, the other countries of the socialist camp and all the progressive peoples of the world to defend peace. For this sacred purpose the Party of Labour of Albania and our government have supported with all their strength the peaceful policy of the Communist Party and government of the Soviet Union, and all the countries of the socialist camp. On every issue and on every proposal we have been in solidarity with them.

The U.S. and British imperialists have accused and accuse us Albanians of being "savage and war-like." This is understandable, for the Albanian people have dealt telling blows at their repeated attempts to put us under bondage and have smashed the heads of their agents who have conspired against the Party of Labour of Albania and our regime of people's democracy.

The Tito gang, the Greek monarcho-fascist chauvinists, the

rulers in Rome and others have accused and accuse us of being “warmongers and disturbers of the peace in the Balkans” because, without hesitation, we have always and will always hit them hard, for their intentions have been, remain and will always be to chop up Albania among themselves, to enslave our people.

We do not think we need prove at this meeting that war is alien to the socialist countries, to our Marxist-Leninist parties, but the question remains: why do the imperialists and their agents accuse China and Albania of being war-like, and opposed to peaceful co-existence?

Let us take the question of Albania. Against whom would Albania make war and why? It would be ridiculous to waste our time in answering this question. But those who accuse us of this are trying to cover up their aggressive intentions towards Albania.

Ranković wants us to turn our borders into a roadhouse with two gates through which Yugoslav, Italian and Greek agents and weapons could go in and out freely, “without visas,” in order to bring us their “culture of cut-throats,” so that Tito may realize his dream of turning Albania into the 7th republic of Yugoslavia, so that the reactionary Italian bourgeoisie may put into action their predatory intentions towards Albania for the third time, or so that the Greek monarcho-fascists may realize their crazy dream of grabbing southern Albania. Because we have not permitted such a thing and never will permit it, we are “warmongers.” They know very well that if they violate our border they will have to fight us and the whole socialist camp.

Their aim, therefore, has been and is to isolate us from the camp and from our friends, to accuse us of being “warmongers and savage” because we do not open our borders for them to graze freely, to accuse us of being opposed to peaceful coexistence. But the irony of fate is that there are comrades who believe this ploy of the revisionists and these slanders against the Party of Labour of Albania. Of course, we are opposed to any coexistence for the sake of which we Albanians would have to make territorial and political concession to Sophocles Venizelos. No, the time has gone forever when the territory of Albania could be treated as a token to be bartered. We are opposed to such a coexistence with the Yugoslav state which implies that we would have to give up our ideological and political struggle against the Yugoslav revisionists, these agents of international imperialism, these traitors to Marxism-Leninism. We are opposed to such coexistence with

the British or U.S. imperialists for the sake of which we would have to recognize, as they demand, the old political, diplomatic and trading concessions King Zog's regime had granted them.

As a general conclusion, the Party of Labour of Albania is absolutely convinced that our great cause, that of the victory of socialism and peace, will triumph. Through determined action, the combined forces of the socialist camp, headed by the Soviet Union, of the international communist and workers' movement, and of all the peace-loving peoples have the possibility of compelling the imperialists to accept peaceful coexistence, of averting a world war. But, at the same time, we will intensify our revolutionary vigilance more and more so that the enemy may never take us by surprise. We are convinced that victory will be ours in this noble struggle for world peace and the triumph of socialism. The Albanian people and the Party of Labour of Albania, just as heretofore, will spare nothing to assist the triumph of our common cause with all their might. As always, we shall march forward in steel-like unity with the whole socialist camp, with the Soviet Union, and with the whole international communist and workers' movement.

The unity of the international communist and workers' movement is the decisive factor in realizing the noble aims of the triumph of peace, democracy, national independence and socialism. This question is especially emphasized in the 1957 Moscow Declaration and the draft statement prepared for our meeting. In the 1957 Declaration, it is stressed that: "The communist and workers' parties bear an exceptionally serious historic responsibility for the fate of the world socialist system and the international communist movement. The communist and workers' parties taking part in the meeting declare that they will spare no effort to strengthen their unity and comradely collaboration in the interests of the further unity of the family of socialist states, in the interest of the international workers' movement, in the interests of the cause of peace and socialism."

It must be said that especially in recent times, in the international communist movement and in the relations among certain parties, profound ideological and political disagreements have arisen, the deepening of which can bring nothing but damage to our great cause. Therefore, the Party of Labour of Albania thinks that in order to go forward together towards fresh victories it is necessary to condemn the mistakes and negative manifestations which have appeared so far and to correct them.

We want to refer here to the Bucharest Meeting at which our Party, as you know, refrained from expressing its opinion concerning the differences which have arisen between the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Communist Party of China, but reserved the right to do so at this meeting of the representatives of the communist and workers' parties. At that time, the Party of Labour of Albania was accused by the Soviet comrades, and by some comrades of the other fraternal parties, of everything imaginable, but no one took the trouble to think for a moment why this Party maintained such a stand against the whole current, why this Party, which has stood loyal to the end to Marxism-Leninism and the Moscow Declaration, is suddenly accused of allegedly "opposing Marxism-Leninism and the Moscow Declaration," why this Party so closely bound to the Soviet Union and to the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, all at once comes out in opposition to the leadership of the Soviet Union.

Now that all the comrades have in their hands both the Soviet information material as well as that of the Communist Party of China, let them reflect on it themselves. We have read and studied both the Soviet and the Chinese materials, we have discussed them carefully with the Party activists, and come to this meeting with the unanimous view of our whole Party.

As we all know, on June 24 this year, on the occasion of the 3rd Congress of the Romanian Workers' Party, the Bucharest Meeting was organized unexpectedly, and without any previous warning, at least as far as our Party was concerned, on the initiative of the comrades of leadership of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Instead of "exchanging opinions" and setting the date for this meeting we are holding today, which was agreed upon through the letters of June 2 and 7, it took up another topic, namely the ideological and political accusation against the Communist Party of China on the basis of the "Soviet information" material. On the basis of this material, entirely unknown up to a few hours before the meeting, the delegates of the fraternal communist and workers' parties were supposed to pronounce themselves in favour of the views of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, at a time when they had come to Bucharest for another purpose and had no mandate (at least as regards the delegation of our Party) from their parties to discuss, let alone decide, such an important issue of international communism. Nor could a serious discussion be thought of about this

material, which contained such gross accusations against another Marxist-Leninist Party, when not only the delegates but especially the leaderships of the communist and workers' parties were not allowed to study it from all angles, and without allowing the necessary time to the accused Party to submit its views in all the forms which the accusing Party had used. The fact is that the overriding concern of the Soviet leadership was to have its accusations against the Communist Party of China passed over quickly, and to have the Communist Party of China condemned at all cost.

This was the concern of Comrade Khrushchev and other Soviet comrades in Bucharest, and not at all the international political issues worrying our camp and the world as a whole after the failure of the summit conference in Paris.

Our Party would have been in full agreement with an international meeting of communist and workers' parties, with whatever other meeting, of whatever agenda that might be set, provided that these meetings were in order, had the approval of all the parties, had a clear agenda set in advance, provided the communists and workers' parties were given the necessary materials and allowed enough time to study these materials so that they could prepare themselves and if necessary so that the Political Bureau could receive the approval of the Plenum of the Central Committees on the decisions that might eventually be taken at this conference. Hence meetings should be conducted according to the norms governing the relations among the communist and workers' parties, in a comradely communist and internationalist spirit, and with lofty communist morality.

The Bucharest Meeting did not comply with these norms, therefore although it took part in it, our Party denounced and denounces that meeting as out of order and in violation of the Leninist norms.

We think that the Bucharest Meeting did a great disservice to the cause of the international communist movement, to the cause of the international solidarity of the workers, to the cause of strengthening the unity of the socialist camp, to the cause of setting a Marxist-Leninist example in settling ideological, political and organizational disputes that may arise within the ranks of the communist and workers' parties and which damage Marxism-Leninism. The blame for this falls on the comrades of the leadership of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union who organized this meeting, who conceived those forms, and who applied those non-

Marxist norms in this matter.

The aim was to have the Communist Party of China condemned by the international communist movement on baseless charges of faults and mistakes which do not exist. The Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania is fully convinced of this on the basis of the study of the facts and the Soviet and Chinese materials which the Party of Labour of Albania now has at its disposal, on the basis of a detailed analysis which the Party of Labour of Albania has made of the international situation and of the official stands of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Communist Party of China.

The entire Party of Labour of Albania holds the unanimous view that the Soviet comrades made a grave mistake in Bucharest. They condemned the Communist Party of China unjustly of having allegedly deviated from Marxism-Leninism, of having allegedly violated and abandoned the 1957 Moscow Declaration. They have accused the Communist Party of China of being, “dogmatic,” “sectarian,” of being “in favour of war,” of being “opposed to peaceful coexistence,” of “wanting a privileged position in the camp and in the international communist movement,” etc.

The Soviet comrades made a grave mistake also when, taking advantage of the great love and trust which the communists have for the Soviet Union and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, they tried to impose their incorrect views about the Communist Party of China on the other communist and workers' parties.

Right from the start, when the Soviet comrades began their feverish and impermissible work of inveigling the comrades of our delegation in Bucharest, it became clear to the Party of Labour of Albania that the Soviet comrades, resorting to groundless arguments and pressure, wished to lead the delegation of the Party of Labour of Albania into the trap they had prepared, to bring it into line with the distorted views of the Soviet comrades.

What was of importance to Comrade Khrushchev (and Comrade Andropov said as much to Comrade Hysni Kapo) was whether we would “line up with the Soviet side or not.” Comrade Khrushchev expressed this opinion in another way also in his interjections against our Party at the Bucharest Meeting. This was corroborated as well by many unjust and unfriendly gestures of the Soviet leadership and the employees of the Soviet embassy in Tirana after the Bucharest Meeting, to which I shall refer later.

What was important for the comrades of the Soviet leadership was not the views of a Marxist-Leninist Party such as ours, but only that we should maintain the same attitude as that maintained by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in the Bucharest Meeting.

No warning was given to the Party of Labour of Albania by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, which organized the Bucharest Meeting, that, on the occasion of the Congress of the Romanian Workers' Party, accusations would be brought against the Communist Party of China for alleged grave mistakes of line. For the Party of Labour of Albania, this was quite unexpected. While now we hear that with the exception of the Party of Labour of Albania, the Communist Party of China, the Workers' Party of Korea and the Workers' Party of Vietnam, the other parties of our camp were cognizant of the fact that a meeting would be organized in Bucharest to accuse China. If this is so, then it is very clear that the question becomes very much more serious and assumes the form of a faction of an international character.

Nevertheless, our Party was not taken unaware and it did not lack vigilance, and this was because it always observes the Leninist norms in relations with the other parties, because it has great Marxist respect for the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the Communist Party of China, and all the other communist and workers' parties, because it respects the feeling of equality among parties, an equality which the other parties should respect towards the Party of Labour of Albania, regardless of it being small in numbers.

Right from the beginning, our Party saw that these norms were being violated at the Bucharest Meeting, and that is why it took the stand you all know, a stand which it considered and still considers as the only correct one to maintain towards the events as they developed.

Some leaders of fraternal parties dubbed us as "neutralists," some others reproached us with "departing from the correct Marxist-Leninist line," and these leaders went so far as to try to discredit our Party before their own parties. We scornfully reject all these things because they are slanders, they are dishonest, and they are incompatible with communist morality.

We pose the questions to those who undertook such despicable actions against the Party of Labour of Albania: has a Party the right to express its opinions freely on how it sees matters? What

opinion did the Party of Labour of Albania express in Bucharest? We expressed our loyalty to Marxism-Leninism, and this is corroborated by the entire life and struggle of the Party of Labour of Albania. We expressed our loyalty to the decisions of the 1957 Moscow Declaration and the Manifesto on Peace, and this is corroborated by the line consistently pursued by the Party of Labour of Albania. We expressed our loyalty to and defended the unity of the socialist camp, and this is corroborated by the whole struggle of the Party of Labour of Albania. We expressed our affection for and loyalty to the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and to the Soviet peoples, and this is corroborated by the whole life of the Party of Labour of Albania. We did not agree "to pass judgement" on the "mistakes" of the Communist Party of China and, even less, "to condemn" the Communist Party of China without taking into account the views of the Communist Party of China on the charges raised against it in such a distorted, hasty, and anti-Marxist way. We counselled caution, cool-headedness and a comradely spirit in treating this matter so vital and exceptionally serious for international communism. This was the whole "crime" for which stones were thrown at us. But we think that the stones which were picked up to strike us fell back on the heads of those who threw them. The passage of time is confirming the correctness of the stand maintained by the Party of Labour of Albania.

Why were Comrade Khrushchev and the other Soviet comrades in such a great hurry to accuse the Communist Party of China groundlessly and without facts? Is it permissible for communists, and especially for the principal leaders of so great a Party as the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, to perpetrate such an ugly act? Let them answer this question themselves, but the Party of Labour of Albania also has the full right to express its opinion on the matter.

The Party of Labour of Albania is of the opinion that the Bucharest Meeting was not only a great mistake but also a mistake which was deliberately aggravated. In no way should the Bucharest Meeting be left in oblivion but it should be severely condemned as a black stain in the international communist movement.

There is not the least doubt that the ideological differences have been and are grave, and that these have arisen and have been developed between the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Communist Party of China. These should have been settled in

due time and in a Marxist-Leninist way between the two parties concerned.

According to the Chinese document, the Communist Party of China says that these differences of principle were raised by the Chinese comrades immediately following the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Some of these matters have been taken into consideration by the Soviet comrades, while others have been rejected.

The Party of Labour of Albania thinks that if these differences could not be settled between the two parties concerned, a meeting should have been sought of the communist and workers' parties at which these matters could have been brought up, discussed and a stand taken towards them. It is not right that these matters should have been left unsettled, and the blame for this must fall on the Soviet comrades who had knowledge of these differences but disregarded them because they were dead certain of their line and its "inviolability," and this, we think, is an idealist and metaphysical approach.

If the Soviet comrades were convinced of the correctness of their line and their tactics, why did they not organize such a meeting in due time and have these differences settled? Were the matters raised so trivial, for example, the condemnation of J.V. Stalin, the major question of the Hungarian counter-revolution, that of the forms of the seizure of power, not to speak of many other very important problems that emerged later? No, they were not trivial at all. We all have our own views on these problems, because as communists we are all interested in them, because all our parties are responsible to our own peoples, but they are responsible to international communism, as well.

In order to condemn the Communist Party of China for imaginary faults and sins, Comrade Khrushchev and the other Soviet leaders were very concerned to present the case as if the differences existed between China and the whole international communist movement, but, when it came to problems like those I just mentioned, judgement on them has been passed by Khrushchev and the comrades around him alone, thinking that there was no need for them to be discussed collectively, at a meeting of the representatives of all the parties, although these were major problems of an international character.

The Hungarian counter-revolution occurred but matters were hushed up. Why this tactic of hushing things up when they are not

to their advantage, while for things which are to their advantage the Soviet comrades not only call meetings like that of Bucharest, but do their utmost to force on others the view that China "is in opposition to the line of all the communist and workers' parties of the world"?

The Soviet comrades made a similar attempt towards us also. In August this year, the Soviet leadership sent a letter to our Party in which it proposed that, "with a view to preventing the spark of differences from flaring up," the representatives of our two parties should meet so that our Party would align itself with the Soviet Union against the Communist Party of China, and that our two parties should present a united front at this present meeting. Of course, the Central Committee of our Party refused such a thing, and in its official reply described this as something quite un-Marxist, a factional act directed against a third fraternal Party, against the Communist Party of China. Of course, this correct, principled stand of our Party was not to the liking of the leadership of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

There is no doubt that these matters are of first-rate importance. There is no doubt that they concern us all, but neither is there any doubt for the Party of Labour of Albania that the matters, as they were raised in Bucharest against China, were tendentious and aimed at condemning the Communist Party of China and isolating it from the whole international communist movement.

For the Party of Labour of Albania this was dreadful and unacceptable, not only because it was not convinced of the truth of these allegations, but also because it rightly suspected that a non-Marxist action was being organized against a great and glorious fraternal Party like the Communist Party of China, that under the guise of an accusation of dogmatism against China, an attack was being launched against Marxism-Leninism.

At the meeting, the Communist Party of China was accused of many faults. This should have figured in the communique. Why was it not done? If the accusations were well founded, why all this hesitation and why issue a communique which did not correspond to the purpose for which the meeting was called? Why was there no reference in it to the "great danger of dogmatism" allegedly threatening international communism?

No, comrades, the Bucharest Meeting cannot be justified. It was not based on principles. It was a biased one to achieve certain

objectives, of which the main one in the opinion of the Party of Labour of Albania was by accusing the Communist Party of China of dogmatism to cover up some grave mistakes of line which the Soviet leading comrades have allowed themselves to make.

The Soviet comrades stood in need of the support of the other parties on this matter. Therefore, they blatantly tried to take them by surprise. That is how the Soviet comrades achieved half their aim and won the right to put forward the condemnation of China in these parties as the outcome of an “international conference of communism.” In the communist and workers’ parties, with the exception of the Party of Labour of Albania and certain other communist and workers’ parties, the question was raised of the “grave errors of policy committed by the Communist Party of China” and the “unanimous” condemnation of China in Bucharest was reported, in an effort to create opinion in the parties and among the people in this direction. The Party of Labour of Albania was also condemned at some of these party meetings.

After the Bucharest Meeting, the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania decided, and decided rightly, to discuss in the Party only the communique, to tell the Party that there existed divergencies of principle between the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Communist Party of China which should be taken up and settled at the coming meeting which would be held in Moscow in November. And this was what was done.

But this stand of our Party did not please the leading comrades of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, and we were very soon made aware of this. Immediately following the Bucharest Meeting, an unexpected, unprincipled attack was launched, and brutal intervention and all-round pressure was undertaken against our Party and its Central Committee. The attack was begun by Comrade Khrushchev in Bucharest and was continued by Comrade Kozlov in Moscow. The comrades of our Political Bureau who happened to pass through Moscow were worked upon with a view to turning them against the leadership of our Party, putting forward that “the leadership of the Party of Labour of Albania had betrayed the friendship with the Soviet Union,” that “the line pursued by the leadership of the Party of Labour of Albania is characterized by ‘zigzags’,” that “Albania must decide to go either with the 200 million (with the Soviet Union) or with the 650 million (with People’s China),” and finally that “an isolated Albania is in danger for it would take only one atomic bomb dropped by the

Americans to wipe out Albania and all its population completely,” and other threats of the kind. It is absolutely clear that the aim was to sow discord in the leadership of our Party, to remove from the leadership of the Party of Labour of Albania those elements who the Soviet leaders thought stood in the way of their crooked and dishonest undertaking.

What came out of this divisive work was that Liri Belishova, former member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania, capitulated to the cajolery of the Soviet leaders, to their blackmail and intimidation and took a stand in open opposition to the line of the Party.

The attempt of the Soviet comrades in their letter to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China to present this question as if the friends of the Soviet Union in Albania are being persecuted is a falsehood. The million and a half Albanians and the Party of Labour of Albania, which has forged and steeled this friendship tempered in blood are lifelong friends of the Soviet people, and not the various capitulators, splitters and deviationists.

But the attempts to arouse doubts about the correct stand of our Party in Bucharest were not confined just to Moscow. They were made with great fervour in Tirana, too, by the employees of the Soviet embassy headed by the Soviet ambassador to Tirana himself.

As I said before, prior to the Bucharest Meeting, one could not imagine closer, more sincere, more fraternal relations, than those between us and the Soviet comrades. We kept nothing hidden from the Soviet comrades, neither Party nor state secrets. This was the decision of our Central Committee. These relations reflected the great love and loyalty which our Party had tempered in blood between the peoples of Albania and the Soviet Union.

Over these sacred sentiments of the Party of Labour of Albania and our people, certain sickly elements, with the Soviet ambassador at the head, trampled roughshod. Taking advantage of our friendly relations, taking advantage of the good faith of our cadres, they began feverish and intensive attempts to attack the Marxist-Leninist line of the Party of Labour of Albania, to split the Party, to create panic and confusion in its ranks, and to alienate the leadership from the Party. The Soviet ambassador to Tirana went so far as to attempt to incite the generals of our army to raise the people’s army against the leadership of the Party of La-

bour of Albania and the Albanian state. But the saw struck a nail because the unity of our Party is steel-like. Our cadres, tempered in the national liberation war and in the bitter life and death struggle with the Yugoslav revisionists, defended their heroic Party in a Marxist way. They know very well how to draw the line between the Communist Party of the Soviet Union of Lenin and the splitters, and in fact they put these denigrators in their place.

Nevertheless, the employees of the Soviet embassy to Tirana, headed by the ambassador, through impermissible anti-Marxist methods, managed to make the Chairman of the Audit Commission of the Party of Labour of Albania, who 15 days earlier had expressed his solidarity with the line pursued by the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania in Bucharest, embroil himself in these intrigues and go completely off the rails of Marxism-Leninism, so that he came out in flagrant opposition to the line of the Party. It is clear that these despicable efforts of these Soviet comrades were aimed at splitting the leadership of the Party of Labour of Albania, at alienating it from the mass of the Party. And this as a punishment for the "crime" we had committed in Bucharest, by having the courage to express our views freely as we saw fit.

The functionaries of the Soviet embassy to Tirana went even further. They turned to the Albanians who had studied in the Soviet Union with a view to inciting them against the Albanian leadership, thinking that they would be a contingent suitable to their crooked aims. But the Albanians, whether those who had completed their studies in the Soviet Union, or those who had not done so, know that base methods such as those used by the employees of the Soviet embassy to Tirana are altogether alien to Marxism-Leninism. The Albanians are the sons and daughters of their own people, of their own Party. They are Marxist-Leninists and internationalists.

We could list many other examples, but to avoid taking up a great deal of time at this important meeting I shall mention only two other typical cases. The pressure on our Party continued even during the days when the Commission was meeting, here in Moscow, to draw up the draft statement which has been submitted to us, when the Soviet comrades told us that we should look ahead and not back. During those days in Moscow, the member of the Central Committee and Minister of the Soviet Union, Marshal Malinovsky, launched an open attack on the Albanian people, on

the Party of Labour of Albania, on the Albanian government and on our leadership, at an enlarged meeting of the Chiefs of Staff of the Warsaw Treaty countries. This unfriendly and public attack has much in common with the diversionist attack of the Soviet ambassador to Tirana, who tried to incite our people's army against the leadership of our Party and our state. But, like the Soviet ambassador, Marshal Malinovsky, too, is making a grave mistake. No one can achieve this aim, and even less that of breaking up the friendship of our people with the peoples of the Soviet Union. The just struggle of the Party of Labour of Albania against these subversive acts strengthens the sincere friendship of our people with the peoples of the Soviet Union. Nor can this friendship be broken up by the astonishing statements of Marshal Grechko, Commander-in-Chief of the Warsaw Treaty, who not only told our military delegation that it was difficult for him to meet the requirements of our army for some very essential armaments, for the supply of which contracts have been signed, but said bluntly: "You are in the Warsaw Treaty only for the time being," implying that Marshal Grechko seems to have decided to throw us out. But fortunately, it is not up to the Comrade Marshal to take such a decision.

In October this year, Comrade Khrushchev declared in all seriousness to the Chinese comrades, "We shall treat Albania like Yugoslavia." We say this at this meeting of international communism so that all may see how far things have gone and what attitude is being maintained towards a small socialist country. What "crime" has the Party of Labour of Albania committed for our country to be treated like Tito's Yugoslavia? Can it be said we have betrayed Marxism-Leninism as the Tito clique has done? No, and all the international communist movement, all the concrete political, ideological and economic activity of our Party and our state during the whole period of the national liberation war, and during these 16 years since the liberation of the country, bear witness to this. This is borne out even by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union itself, which in its letter of August 13, 1960 to the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania stressed: "The relations between the Party of Labour of Albania and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, based on the principles of proletarian internationalism, have always been truly fraternal. The friendship between our parties and peoples has never, at any time, been clouded by any misunder-

standing or deviation. The positions of the Party of Labour of Albania and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union on all the most important issues of the international communist and workers' movement and of foreign policy have been identical." Of what then are we guilty? Our only "crime" is that in Bucharest we did not agree that a fraternal communist party like the Communist Party of China should be unjustly condemned; our only "crime" is that we had the courage to oppose openly, at an international communist meeting (and not in the marketplace), the unjust action of Comrade Khrushchev; our only "crime" is that we are a small Party of a small and poor people, which according to Comrade Khrushchev, should merely applaud and approve but express no opinion of its own. But this is neither Marxist nor acceptable. Marxism-Leninism has granted us the right to have our say, and no one can take this from us either by means of political and economic pressure, or by means of threats and the names they might call us. On this occasion we would like to ask Comrade Khrushchev why he did not make such a statement to us instead of to a representative of a third party. Or does Comrade Khrushchev think that the Party of Labour of Albania has no views of its own, but has made common cause with the Communist Party of China in an unprincipled manner, and therefore, on matters pertaining to our Party, one can talk with the Chinese comrades? No, Comrade Khrushchev, you continue to blunder and hold very wrong opinions about our Party. The Party of Labour of Albania has its own views and will answer for them both to its own people as well as to the international communist and workers' movement.

We are obliged to inform this meeting that the Soviet leaders have, in fact, passed from threats of treating Albania in the same way as Titoite Yugoslavia to concrete acts. This year our country has suffered many natural calamities. There was a big earthquake, the flood in October, and especially the drought which was terrible, with not a drop of rain for 120 days in succession. Nearly all the grain was lost. The people were threatened with starvation. The very limited reserves were consumed. Our government urgently sought to buy grain from the Soviet Union, explaining the very critical situation we were faced with. This happened after the Bucharest Meeting. We waited 45 days for a reply from the Soviet government while we had only 15 days bread for the people. After 45 days and after repeated official requests, instead of 50,000 tons, the Soviet government accorded us only 10,000 tons, that is,

enough to last us 15 days, and this grain was to be delivered during the months of September and October. This was open pressure on our Party to submit to the wishes of the Soviet comrades.

During those critical days we got wise to many things. Did the Soviet Union, which sells grain to the whole world, not have 50,000 tons to give the Albanian people, who are loyal brothers of the Soviet people, loyal to Marxism-Leninism and to the socialist camp, at a time when, through no fault of their own, they were threatened with starvation? Comrade Khrushchev had once said to us, "Don't worry about grain, for all that you consume in a whole year is eaten by mice in our country." The mice in the Soviet Union might eat, but the Albanian people could be left to die of starvation until the leadership of the Party of Labour of Albania submits to the will of the Soviet leaders. This is terrible comrades, but it is true. If they hear about it, the Soviet people will never forgive them, for it is neither Marxist, internationalist, nor comradely. Nor is it a friendly act not to accept our clearing for buying grain from the Soviet Union, but to oblige us to draw the limited gold reserve from our national bank in order to buy corn for the people's bread from the Soviet Union.

These acts are linked with one another, they are not just accidental. Particularly in recent days, Comrade Khrushchev's attacks on our Party of Labour have reached their climax. Comrade Khrushchev, on November 6, you declared that "The Albanians behave towards us just like Tito." You said to the Chinese comrades, "We lost an Albania and you Chinese won an Albania," and finally, you declared that "The Party of Labour of Albania is our weak link."

What are all these monstrous accusations, this behaving like a "dealer" towards our Party, our people and a socialist country, which was allegedly lost and won as a gamble? What appraisal is this of a fraternal party, which according to you, is allegedly the weak link in the international communist movement? For us it is clear, and we understand only too well, that our correct and principled Marxist-Leninist stand, that our courage to disagree with you and condemn those acts of yours which are wrong, impel you to attack our Party, to resort to all kinds of pressure against it, to pronounce the most extreme monstrosities against our Party. But there is nothing comradely, nothing communist in this. You liken us to the Yugoslav revisionists. But everybody knows how our Party has fought and continues to fight the Yugoslav revisionists.

It is not we who behave like the Yugoslavs but you, Comrade Khrushchev, who are using methods alien to Marxism-Leninism against our Party. You consider Albania as a market commodity which can be gained by one or lost by another. There was a time when Albania was considered a medium of exchange, when others thought it depended on them whether Albania should or should not exist, but that time came to an end with the triumph of the ideas of Marxism-Leninism in our country. You are repeating the same thing when you arrive at the conclusion that you have “lost” Albania, or that someone else has “won” it, or that Albania is no longer a socialist country, as it turns out from the letter you handed to us on November 8, in which our country is not mentioned as a socialist country.

The fact that Albania is marching on the road of socialism and that it is a member of the socialist camp is not determined by you, Comrade Khrushchev. It does not depend on your wishes. The Albanian people, headed by their Party of Labour, decided this through their struggle, and there is no force capable of turning them from that course.

As regards your claim that our Party of Labour is the weakest link in the socialist camp and the international communist movement, we say that the twenty-year history of our Party, the heroic struggle of our people and our Party against the fascist invaders, and the sixteen years that have elapsed from the liberation of the country to this day, during which our Party and our people have faced up to all the storms, demonstrate the opposite. Surrounded by enemies like an island amidst the waves, the People’s Republic of Albania has courageously withstood all the assaults and provocations of the imperialists and their lackeys. Like a granite rock, it has kept and continues to keep aloft the banner of socialism behind the enemy lines. You, Comrade Khrushchev, raised your hand against our small people and their Party. But we are convinced that the Soviet people, who shed their blood for the freedom of our people, and the great Party of Lenin will not be in agreement with this activity of yours. We have complete faith in Marxism-Leninism. We are certain that the fraternal parties which have sent their delegates to this meeting will examine and pass judgement on this issue with Marxist-Leninist justice.

Our Party has always called the Communist Party of the Soviet Union a mother party, and it has said this because it is the oldest party, the glorious Party of the Bolsheviks, because of its universal

experience, of its great maturity. But our Party has never accepted and will never accept that some Soviet leader may impose on it his views which it considers erroneous.

The Soviet leadership viewed this matter of principled importance utterly wrong, in an idealistic and metaphysical way. It has become swellheaded over the colossal successes attained by the Soviet peoples and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, and is violating Marxist-Leninist principles, it considers itself infallible, considers every decision, every action, every word and gesture it makes, infallible and irrevocable. Others may err, others may be condemned, while it is above such reproach. "Our decisions are sacred, they are inviolable." "We can make no concession to, no compromise with the Communist Party of China," the leaders of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union told our people. Then why did they call us together in Bucharest? Of course, to vote with our eyes closed for the views of the Soviet leaders. Is this Marxist? Is this normal?

Is it permissible for one Party to engage in subversive acts against another Party, to cause a split, to overthrow the leadership of another Party or another state? Never. The Soviet leaders accused Comrade Stalin of allegedly interfering in other parties, of imposing the views of the Bolshevik Party upon others. We can testify that at no time did Comrade Stalin do such a thing towards us. He always behaved as a great Marxist, as an outstanding internationalist, as a comrade towards the Albanian people and the Party of Labour of Albania, as a brother and sincere friend of the Albanian people. In 1945, when our people were threatened with starvation, Comrade Stalin diverted the ships loaded with grain destined for the Soviet people, who were also in a very bad food situation at that time, and sent the grain at once to the Albanian people. Whereas the present Soviet leaders permit themselves these ugly deeds.

Are such economic pressures permissible? Is it permissible to threaten the Albanian people, as the Soviet leaders did after the Bucharest Meeting? In no way whatsoever. We know that the aid which is given to our small people who, before the war experienced great suffering from every point of view, who during the Second World War went through devastation and destruction but were never brought to their knees, and who, under the glorious leadership of the Communist Party of Albania fought with enormous heroism until they liberated themselves, is internationalist

aid.

But why did the Soviet leadership change its attitude towards us after the Bucharest Meeting to the point that it let the Albanian people suffer from hunger? The Romanian leadership did the same thing too when it refused to sell a single ear of wheat to the Albanian people on a clearing basis, at a time when Romania was trading in grain with the capitalist countries, while we were obliged to buy corn from the French farmers, paying in foreign currency.

Some months before the Bucharest Meeting, Comrade Dej¹ invited a delegation of our Party for the specific purpose of conducting talks on the future development of Albania. This was a laudable and Marxist concern on his part. Comrade Dej said to our Party: "We, the other countries of people's democracy, should no longer discuss whether we should grant Albania this much or that much credit, but we should decide to build such and such factories in Albania, to raise the means of production to a higher level regardless of how many million rubles it will cost — that is of no importance." Comrade Dej added, "We have talked this over with Comrade Khrushchev, too, and we were in agreement."

But then came the Bucharest Meeting and our Party maintained the stand you all know. The Romanian comrades forgot what they had previously said and chose the course of leaving the Albanian people to suffer from hunger.

We have made these things officially known to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union before this. We have not discussed them publicly nor have whispered them from ear to ear, but we are revealing them here for the first time in a Party meeting, like this one here today. Why are we raising these matters? We do so proceeding from the desire to put an end to these negative manifestations which do not strengthen our unity but weaken it. We proceed from the desire to strengthen the relations and Marxist-Leninist bonds among communist and workers' parties, among socialist states, rejecting any bad manifestation that has arisen up to date. We are optimistic and we have complete faith and unshaken confidence that the Soviet and other comrades will understand our criticisms in the proper way. They are severe, but they are frank and sincere, and aim at strengthen-

¹ Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej, First Secretary of the CC of the Romanian Workers' Party.

ing our relations. Notwithstanding these unjust and harmful attitudes which are maintained towards us, but which we believe will be stopped in the future, our Party and our people will consolidate still further their unbounded love for and loyalty to the Soviet peoples, the CPSU, to the peoples and communist and workers' parties of the socialist camp, always on the basis of the Marxist-Leninist teachings.

To our Party friendship means justice and mutual respect on the basis of Marxism-Leninism. This is what the 1957 Moscow Declaration says, and what is stressed in the draft statement which has been submitted to us. We declare in all earnestness that the Party of Labour of Albania and the Albanian people will be, as always, determined fighters for the strengthening of relations and unity in the socialist camp and the international communist movement.

The Albanian people will go through fire for their true friends. And these are not empty words of mine. Here I am expressing the sentiments of our people and of our Party, and let no one ever think that we love the Soviet Union and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union for the sake of someone's beautiful eyes or to please some individual.

In the 1957 Moscow Declaration as well as in the draft statement submitted to us, it is pointed out that revisionism constitutes the main danger in the international communist and worker's movement today. In the 1957 Moscow Declaration it is rightly stressed that the existence of bourgeois influence is the internal source of revisionism, while capitulation to the pressure of imperialism is its external source. Experience has fully corroborated that disguised under pseudo-Marxist and pseudo-revolutionary slogans modern revisionism has tried with every means to discredit our great doctrine, Marxism-Leninism, as "outdated" and no longer responding to social development. Hiding behind the slogan of creative Marxism, of new conditions, the revisionists have striven, on the one hand, to deprive Marxism of its revolutionary spirit and to undermine the belief of the working class and the working people in socialism, and, on the other hand, to use all the means in their power to prettify imperialism, to present it as moderate and peaceful. During the three years that have elapsed since the Moscow Conference, it has been fully confirmed that the modern revisionists are nothing but splitters of the communist movement and the socialist camp, loyal lackeys of imperialism,

avowed enemies of socialism and the working class.

Life itself has demonstrated that until now the standard-bearer of modern revisionism, its most aggressive and dangerous representatives are the Yugoslav revisionists, the traitor clique of Tito and Co. At the time when the Moscow Declaration was approved, this hostile group, agents of U.S. imperialism, were not publicly denounced, although in our opinion, there were enough facts and information to warrant such a thing. Not only that, but later on, when the danger it presented became more evident, the fight against Yugoslav revisionism, the consistent and ceaseless fight to smash it ideologically and politically, was not conducted with the proper intensity. On the contrary! And this has been and is the source of many evils and much damage to our international communist and workers' movement. In the opinion of our Party, the reason for the failure to carry out the total exposure of the revisionist Tito group, for the raising of false "hopes" about an alleged "improvement" and positive "change" in this group of traitors, is the influence of the trend to conciliation, the mistaken views, and incorrect assessment of the danger of this group on the part of Comrade Khrushchev and certain other Soviet leaders.

It has been said that J.V. Stalin was mistaken in his assessment of the Yugoslav revisionists and in sharpening the attitude towards them. Our Party has never endorsed such a view because time and experience have proved the contrary. Stalin made a very correct assessment of the danger of the Yugoslav revisionists; he tried to settle this affair at the proper moment and in a Marxist way: the Information Bureau, as a collective organ, was called together at that time, and after the Titoite group was exposed, a merciless struggle was waged against it. Time has proved over and over again that such a thing was necessary and correct.

The Party of Labour of Albania has always held the opinion and is convinced that the Tito group are traitors to Marxism-Leninism, agents of imperialism, dangerous enemies of the socialist camp and the entire international communist and workers' movement, therefore a merciless struggle should be waged against them. On our part, we have waged and continue to wage this struggle as internationalist communists, and also because we have felt and continue to feel on our backs the burden of the hostile activity of the revisionist Tito clique against our Party and our country. But this stand of our Party has never been to the liking of Comrade Khrushchev and certain other comrades.

The Titoite group have been a group of Trotskyites and renegades for a very long time. For the Party of Labour of Albania at least, they have been such since 1942, that is, since 18 years ago.

As far back as 1942, when there was a great upsurge in the struggle of the Albanian people, the Belgrade Trotskyite group, disguising themselves as friends and abusing our trust in them, tried their utmost to hinder the development of our armed struggle, to hamper the creation of powerful Albanian partisan fighting detachments, and since it was impossible to stop them, they sought to take direct political and military control of these detachments. They attempted to make everything dependent on Belgrade and to make our Party and our partisan army a mere appendage of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia and the Yugoslav national liberation army.

While preserving its friendship with the Yugoslav partisans, our Party successfully resisted these diabolical aims. It was at that time that the Titoite group tried to lay the foundations of the Balkan Federation under the direction of Belgrade Titoites, to hitch the communist parties to the chariot of the Yugoslav Communist Party, to place the partisan armies of the Balkan peoples under the Titoite Yugoslav staff. It was to this end that, in agreement with the British, they tried to set up the Balkan staff and to place it, that is to say, to place the Balkan armies, under the direction of the Anglo-Americans. Our Party successfully resisted these diabolical schemes. And when the banner of liberation was hoisted in Tirana, the Titoite gang in Belgrade ordered their agents in Albania to discredit the success of the Communist Party of Albania and to organize a putsch to overthrow the leadership of our Party, the leadership which had organized the Party, guided the national liberation war and led the Albanian people to victory. The first putsch was organized by Tito together with his secret agents within our Party.¹

The Belgrade conspirators did not lay down their arms, and together with their arch-agent in our Party, the traitor Koçi Xoxe,

¹ At the 2nd Plenum of the CC of the CPA held in Berat on November 23, 1944, the delegate of the CC of the CPY hatched up a plot behind the scenes against the CPA with the participation of the anti-Party elements Sejfulla Malëshova, Koçi Xoxe and Pandi Kristo. The main objective of this conspiracy was to overthrow the leadership of the Party headed by Comrade Enver Hoxha and replace it with a pro-Yugoslav leadership. But the Communist Party of Albania smashed this plot of Tito's.

continued the reorganization of their plot against the new Albania in other forms, new forms. Their intention was to turn Albania into the 7th republic of Yugoslavia.

At a time when our country had been devastated and laid waste and needed to be completely rebuilt, when our people were without food and shelter, but with high morale, when our people and army, weapons in hand, kept vigilant watch against the plots of reaction, organized by the Anglo-American military missions which were threatening the new Albania with new invasions, when a large part of the Albanian partisan army had crossed the border and gone to the aid of the Yugoslav brothers fighting shoulder to shoulder with them and together liberating Montenegro, Bosnia, Herzegovina, Kosova and Macedonia, the Belgrade conspirators were hatching up schemes to enslave Albania.

But our Party heroically resisted these secret agents who posed as communists. When the Belgrade Trotskyites realized that the game was nearly up, that our Party was smashing their plots, they tried their last card, namely, to invade Albania with their army, to overwhelm all resistance, to arrest the leaders of the Party of Labour of Albania and the Albanian state and to proclaim Albania the 7th republic of Yugoslavia. Our Party smashed this diabolical plan of theirs too. The aid and intervention of J.V. Stalin at these moments was decisive for our Party and for the freedom of the Albanian people.

Precisely at this time the Information Bureau exposed the Tito clique. The Information Bureau brought about the defeat of the conspiracies of the Tito clique, not only in Albania, but also in the other people's democracies. Posing as communists, the renegade and agent of imperialism, Tito, as well as his gang, tried to alienate the people's democracies in the Balkans and Central Europe from the wartime friendship and alliance with the Soviet Union, to destroy the communist and workers' parties of our countries and to turn our states into reserves of Anglo-American imperialism.

Who was there who did not know about and see in action the hostile schemes of imperialism and its loyal servant Tito? Everybody knew, everybody learned and all unanimously approved the correct decisions of the Information Bureau. Everyone, without exception, approved the resolutions of the Information Bureau, which without exception, were and still are correct, in our opinion.

To those who did not want to see and understand these acts of this gang, it was proved for the second time in the Hungarian

counter-revolution and in the unceasing plots against Albania that the wolf may change his coat but he remains a wolf. Tito and his gang may resort to trickery, may try to disguise themselves, but they remain traitors and agents of imperialism, the murderers of the heroic Yugoslav internationalist communists, and this is what they will be, and how they will act until they are wiped out.

The Party of Labour of Albania considers the decisions taken against the renegade Tito group by the Information Bureau not as decisions taken by Comrade Stalin personally, but as decisions taken by all the parties that took part in the Information Bureau. And not only by these parties alone, but also by the communist and workers' parties which did not take part in it. Since this was a matter that concerned all the communist and workers' parties, it also concerned the Party of Labour of Albania, which, having received and studied a copy of the letter Comrades Stalin and Molotov had written to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia, endorsed both the letter and the decisions of the Information Bureau in full.

Why then was the "change of attitude" towards the Yugoslav revisionists adopted by Comrade Khrushchev and the Central Committee of the CPSU in 1955 not made an issue for consultation in the normal way with the other communist and workers' parties, but was conceived and carried out in such a hasty and unilateral way? This was a matter that concerned us all. Either the Yugoslav revisionists had undertaken a struggle against Marxism-Leninism and the communist and workers' parties of the world, or they had not; either they were wrong, or we were wrong in regard to them, and not just Stalin. This could not be resolved by Comrade Khrushchev at his own discretion, and it is impermissible for him to try to do so. But in fact, that is what he did, and this change of attitude in the relations with the Yugoslav revisionists is connected with his visit to Belgrade. This was a bombshell to the Party of Labour of Albania which immediately opposed it categorically. Before Comrade Khrushchev set out for Belgrade in May 1955, the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania sent a letter to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in which it expressed the opposition of our Party to his going to Belgrade, stressing that the Yugoslav issue could not be settled in an unilateral way, but that a meeting of the Information Bureau should be called to which it asked that the Party of Labour of Albania should also be invited. It is there that

this matter should have been settled after a correct and lengthy discussion.

Of course, formally we had no right to decide whether Comrade Khrushchev should or should not go to Belgrade and we backed down in this, but in essence we were right, and time has confirmed that the Yugoslav issue should not have been settled in this precipitate way. The slogan of the “overriding interests” was launched, the 2nd resolution of the Information Bureau was speedily revoked, the “epoch of reconciliation” with the “Yugoslav comrades” began, the conspirators were re-examined and rehabilitated, it was a case of the Yugoslav comrades here and the Yugoslav comrades there, and “Yugoslav comrades” came off unscathed, strutted like peacocks, trumpeted abroad that their “just cause” had triumphed, that the “criminal Stalin” had trumped up all these things, and a situation was created in which whoever refused to take this course was dubbed a “Stalinist” who should be done away with.

Our Party refused to take such a conciliatory and opportunist course. It stood fast on the correct Marxist-Leninist ideological position, on the position of the ideological and political struggle against the Yugoslav revisionists. The Party of Labour of Albania remained unshaken in its views that the Titoite group were traitors, renegades, Trotskyites, subversionists and agents of the U.S. imperialists, that the Party of Labour of Albania has not been mistaken about them.

The Party of Labour of Albania remained unshaken in its view that Comrade Stalin had made no mistake in this matter, that, with their line of betrayal, the revisionists had attempted to enslave Albania, to destroy the Party of Labour of Albania, and through hatching up a number of international plots with the Anglo-American imperialists, they had tried to embroil Albania in international conflicts.

On the other hand, the Party of Labour of Albania was in favour of establishing state relations of good neighbourliness, trade and cultural relations with the Federal People’s Republic of Yugoslavia, provided that the norms of peaceful coexistence between states of different regimes were observed, because as far as the Party of Labour of Albania is concerned, Titoite Yugoslavia has not been, is not and never will be a socialist country as long as it is headed by a group of renegades and agents of imperialism.

No open or disguised attempt will make the Party of Labour

of Albania waver from this correct stand. It was futile for the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union to try to persuade us, through Comrade Suslov, to eliminate the question of Koçi Xoxe from the report submitted to our 3rd Congress in May 1956, because that would mean negating our struggle and our principled stand.

In Albania, the Titoite saw struck a nail, or, as Tito says, “Albania was a thorn in his foot,” and, of course, the Titoite traitor group continued their struggle against the Party of Labour of Albania, thinking that they were exposing us by dubbing us “Stalinists.”

The Belgrade group did not confine their fight against us to propaganda alone, but they continued their espionage, subversion, plots and the dispatching of armed bands into our country, more intensively than before 1948. These are all facts. But the tragedy is that while the Party of Labour of Albania, on the one hand, was defending itself against the bitter and unceasing attacks by the Yugoslav revisionists, on the other hand, the unwavering, principled, Marxist-Leninist stand of our Party was in opposition to the conciliatory stand of the Soviet leaders and of certain other communist and workers’ parties towards the Yugoslav revisionists.

At that time it was loudly proclaimed and written that “Yugoslavia is a socialist country, and this is a fact,” that the “Yugoslav communists have great experience and great merits,” that “the Yugoslav experience is worthy of greater interest and more attentive study,” that “the period of disputes and misunderstandings had not been caused by Yugoslavia,” that “great injustice had been done to it,” and so on and so forth. This, of course, gave heart to the Tito clique, who thought, they had won everything, except that there still remained one “thorn in their foot,” which they intended to isolate and later, liquidate. However, not only could our Party not be isolated, much less liquidated, but on the contrary, time proved that the views of our Party were correct.

A great deal of pressure has been exerted on our Party over this stand. The Albanian leaders were described as “hot-blooded” and “stubborn,” “exaggerating” matters with Yugoslavia, “unjustly harassing” the Yugoslavs, etc. The attack against our Party in this direction has been led by Comrade Khrushchev.

So far, I have briefly mentioned what the Yugoslav revisionists did against our Party and our country during the war, after the war

and after 1948, but I shall dwell a little also on the events prior to the Hungarian counter-revolution, which is the work of Yugoslav agents. The Belgrade traitor group began to organize a counter-revolution in Albania also. Had our Party made the mistake of joining in the “conciliation waltz” with the Yugoslav revisionists, as was preached after 1955, then people’s democracy in Albania would have gone down the drain. We, Albanians, would not have been here in this hall, but would have been still fighting in our mountains.

Firmly united by steel-like bonds, our Party and people remained extremely vigilant and discovered and unmasked Tito’s spies in our Central Committee who worked in collusion with the Yugoslav legation in Tirana. Tito sent word to these traitors, saying that they had precipitated things, that they should have waited for his orders. These spies and traitors also wrote to Comrade Khrushchev asking him to intervene against the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania. These are documented facts. Tito’s aim was that the counter-revolution in Albania should be coordinated with that of Hungary.

Our 3rd Congress was to be held following the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. The Yugoslav agents thought that the time had come to overthrow the “obstinate and Stalinist” Albanian leadership, and organized a plot which was discovered and crushed at the Party Conference of the city of Tirana in April 1956. The plotters received the stern punishment they deserved.

Tito’s other dangerous agents in Albania, Dali Ndreu and Liri Gega, received orders from Tito to flee to Yugoslavia because “they were in danger” and because activities against the Party of Labour “had to be organized from Yugoslav territory.” Our Party was fully aware of Tito’s activity and secret orders. It was wide awake and caught the traitors right on the border when they were trying to flee. The traitors were brought to trial and were executed. All the Yugoslav agents who were preparing the counter-revolution in Albania were detected and wiped out. But to our amazement, Comrade Khrushchev came out against us in defence of these traitors and Yugoslav agents. He accused us of having shot the Yugoslav agent, the traitor Liri Gega, “when she was pregnant, a thing which had not happened even at the time of the Tsar, and this had made a bad impression on world opinion.” These were slanders trumped up by the Yugoslavs in whom Comrade

Khrushchev had more faith than in us. We, of course, denied all these insinuations made by Comrade Khrushchev.

But Comrade Khrushchev's incorrect, unprincipled, and hostile stand towards our Party and its leadership did not stop there. The other Yugoslav agent and traitor to the Party of Labour of Albania and to the Albanian people, Panajot Plaku, fled to Yugoslavia and placed himself in the service of the Yugoslavs. He organized the hostile broadcasts from the so-called "socialist Albania" radio station. This traitor wrote to the renegade Tito and to Comrade Khrushchev, asking the latter to use his authority to eliminate the leadership of Albania, headed by Enver Hoxha, under the pretext that we were "anti-Marxists and Stalinists." Far from being indignant at this traitor's letter, Comrade Khrushchev expressed the opinion that Panajot Plaku could return to Albania on condition that we do nothing to him, or he could find political asylum in the Soviet Union. We felt as if the walls of the Kremlin had dropped on our heads, for we could never imagine that the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union could go so far as to support the agents of Tito and traitors to our Party against our Party and people. But the culmination of our principled opposition over the Yugoslav issue with Comrade Khrushchev was reached when, faced with our principled insistence in the exposure of the Belgrade Titoite agency, he was so enraged that, during the official talks between the two delegations in April 1957, he said to us angrily: "We are breaking off the talks. We cannot come to terms with you. You are seeking to lead us to the road of Stalin."

We were disgusted at such an unfriendly stand by Comrade Khrushchev who wanted to break off the talks, which would mean an aggravation of relations with the Albanian Party and state over the question of the betrayers of Marxism-Leninism, the Tito group. We could never have agreed on this matter, but we, who had been accused of being hot-blooded, maintained our aplomb for we were convinced that we were in the right, and not Comrade Khrushchev, that the line we were pursuing was the correct one, and not that of Comrade Khrushchev, that our line would be confirmed again by experience, as it has been confirmed many times over.

In our opinion, the counter-revolution in Hungary was mainly the work of the Titoites. In Tito and the Belgrade renegades, the U.S. imperialists had their best weapon to destroy the people's

democracy in Hungary.

After Comrade Khrushchev's visit to Belgrade in 1955, no more was said about Tito's subversive activity. The organization of the counter-revolution in Hungary did not burst out unexpectedly. We can tell you it was prepared, quite openly, and it would be impossible for anyone to convince us that this counter-revolution was prepared in the greatest secrecy. It was prepared by the agents of the Tito gang in collusion with the traitor Imre Nagy, in collusion with the Hungarian fascists, and all of them acted openly under the direction of America.

The scheme of the Titoites, who were the leaders, was for Hungary to be detached from our socialist camp, to be turned into a second Yugoslavia, to be linked with the NATO alliance through Yugoslavia, Greece and Turkey, to receive aid from the USA and, together with Yugoslavia and under the direction of the imperialists, to continue the struggle against the socialist camp.

The counter-revolutionaries worked openly in Hungary. But how is it that their activities attracted no attention? We cannot understand how it was possible for Tito and the Trotskyite bands to have worked so freely in a fraternal country of people's democracy like Hungary where the Party was in power and the weapons of the dictatorship were in its hands, where the Soviet army was present. We think that the stand of Comrade Khrushchev and other Soviet comrades towards Hungary was not clear because the very wrong views which they held about the Belgrade gang did not allow them to see the situation correctly.

The Soviet comrades trusted Imre Nagy, Tito's man. We do not say this for nothing or without good grounds. Before the counter-revolution took place and when things were boiling up at the "Petöfi Club," I went through to Moscow and, in conversation with Comrade Suslov, told him what I had seen on my way in Budapest. I told him, too, that the revisionist Imre Nagy was raising his head and was organizing the counter-revolution at the "Petöfi Club." Comrade Suslov categorically opposed my view and, in order to prove to me that Imre Nagy was a good man, pulled out of his drawer Imre Nagy's fresh "self-criticism." Nevertheless, I told Comrade Suslov that Imre Nagy was a traitor.

We wonder and pose the legitimate question: why did Comrade Khrushchev and the Soviet comrades go many times to Brioni to talk with the renegade Tito about the question of Hungary? If the Soviet comrades knew that the Titoites were preparing the

counter-revolution in a country of our camp, is it permissible for the leaders of the Soviet Union to go and talk with an enemy who organizes plots and counter-revolutions in the socialist countries?

It is right, that, as a communist party, as a state of people's democracy, as a member of the Warsaw Treaty and of the socialist camp, we should ask Comrade Khrushchev and the Soviet comrades to tell us why so many meetings were arranged with Tito at Brioni in 1956, with this traitor to Marxism-Leninism, and not a single meeting with our countries, not a single meeting of the members of the Warsaw Treaty?

Whether to intervene or not to intervene with arms in Hungary is, we think, not within the competence of one person alone, seeing that we have set up the Warsaw Treaty. We should decide jointly because otherwise it is of no use to speak of an alliance, of the collective spirit and collaboration among the parties. The Hungarian counter-revolution cost our camp blood, it cost Hungary and the Soviet Union blood.

Why was this bloodshed permitted and no steps taken to prevent it? We are of the opinion that no preliminary steps could be taken as long as Comrade Khrushchev placed his trust in the organizer of the Hungarian counter-revolution, the traitor Tito, and the Soviet comrade so seriously underestimated the absolutely necessary regular meetings with their friends and allies, so long as they considered their unilateral decisions on matters that concern us all as the only correct ones, and so long as they attached no importance whatsoever to collective work and collective decisions.

The Party of Labour of Albania is not at all clear about this matter; how things developed and how decisions were taken. At a time when the Titoites are conducting talks at Brioni with the Soviet comrades, on the one hand, and feverishly organizing counter-revolutions in Hungary and Albania, on the other, the Soviet comrades made not the slightest effort to inform our leadership, at least as a matter of form since we are allies, on what was happening or on what measures they intend to take.

But this is not a formal matter. The Soviet comrades know only too well what the Belgrade gang thought of Albania and what their aims were. In fact, not only is this stand of the Soviet comrades to be condemned, but it is also incomprehensible.

Hungary was a great lesson to us, in regard to what was done and in regard to the drama that was played on the stage and behind

the scenes there. We believed that after the Hungarian counter-revolution, the treachery of Tito and his gang was more than clear. We know that many documents, documents that expose the barbarous activity of the Tito group in the Hungarian events, are kept locked away and are not brought to light. Why this should happen, we do not understand. What interests are hidden behind these documents which are not brought to light but are kept under lock and key? After the death of Stalin, the most trifling items were searched out to condemn him, while the documents that expose a vile traitor like Tito are locked away in a drawer.

But even after the Hungarian counter-revolution, the political and ideological fight against the Titoite gang, instead of reaching a crescendo, as Marxism-Leninism demands, was played down, leading to reconciliation, smiles, contacts, moderation and almost to kisses. In fact, thanks to this opportunist attitude, the Titoites got out of this predicament too.

The Party of Labour of Albania was opposed to the line followed by Comrade Khrushchev and the other comrades towards the Yugoslav revisionists. Our Party's battle against the revisionists continued with even more fury. Since it was impossible to attack our correct line, many friends and comrades, particularly the Soviet and Bulgarian comrades, ridiculed us, had an ironic smile on their faces, and with their friendly contacts with the Titoites, isolated our people everywhere.

We have hoped that after the 7th Titoite Congress, even the blind, let alone the Marxists, would see with whom they were dealing and what they should do. Unfortunately, things did not turn out that way. Not long after the 7th Titoite Congress, the exposure of revisionism was toned down. The Soviet theoretical publications spoke of every kind of revisionism, even of revisionism in Honolulu, but had very little to say about Yugoslav revisionism. This is like saying "don't see the wolf before your eyes but look for its tracks." Slogans were put out: "don't speak anymore of Tito and his group, for that will fan their vanity," "don't speak anymore of Tito and his group, for that would harm the Yugoslav peoples," "don't speak about the Titoite renegades, for Tito makes use of what we say to mobilize the Yugoslav peoples against our camp," etc. Many parties adopted these slogans, but not our Party, and we think we acted correctly.

Such a situation was created that the press of friendly countries accepted articles from Albanian writers only provided they

made no mention of the Yugoslav revisionists. Everywhere in the countries of people's democracy in Europe, except in Czechoslovakia, where, in general, the Czechoslovak comrades assessed our activities correctly,¹ our ambassadors were isolated in a round-about way because the diplomats of friendly countries preferred to converse with the Titoite diplomats, while they hated our diplomats and did not want even to set eyes on them.

And matters went so far that Comrade Khrushchev made his coming to Albania in May 1959, at the head of the Soviet Party and government delegation, conditional on the Yugoslav issue. The first thing Comrade Khrushchev said, at the beginning of the talks in Tirana, was to inform everybody at the meeting that he would not talk against the Yugoslav revisionists, a thing which no one could compel him to do, but such a statement was intended to show quite openly that he disagreed with the Party of Labour of Albania on this issue.

We respected the wishes of our guest during the whole time he stayed in Albania regardless of the fact that the Titoite press was highly elated and did not fail to write that Khrushchev had shut the mouths of the Albanians. This, in fact, responded to reality, but Comrade Khrushchev was a very long way from convincing us on this matter, and the Titoites learned that quite clearly, because after our guest's departure from our country, the Party of Labour of Albania no longer felt bound by the conditions put upon us by our guest and continued its own Marxist-Leninist course.

In his talks with Vukmanović-Tempo,² among other things, Comrade Khrushchev has equated our stand, as far as its tone is concerned, with that of the Yugoslavs, and has said that he did not agree with the tone of the Albanians. We consider that Comrade Khrushchev's statement to Vukmanović-Tempo, to this enemy of Marxism-Leninism, the socialist camp and Albania is wrong and should be condemned. We hold that one should get what he deserves, and we, on our part, disagree with Comrade Khrushchev's conciliatory tone towards the revisionists. Our people say that to your enemy you raise your voice, but to your loved one you speak in honeyed tones.

Some comrades have the mistaken idea that we maintain this

¹ This stand was maintained only in the beginning.

² Svetozar Vukmanović-Tempo, one of the Yugoslav revisionist leaders who, as early as 1943, brought slanderous accusations against the CC of the Communist Party of Albania (later the Party of Labour of Albania).

attitude towards the Titoites because we allegedly want to be the banner-bearers of the fight against revisionism, or because we view this problem from a narrow angle, from a purely national angle, therefore, they claim, we have embarked if not on a “chauvinist course,” at least on that of “narrow nationalism.” The Party of Labour of Albania has always viewed the question of Yugoslav revisionism through the prism of Marxism-Leninism, it has always viewed and fought it as the main danger to the international communist movement, as a danger to the unity of the socialist camp.

But while being internationalists, we are, at the same time, communists of a specific country, of Albania. We Albanian communists would not be called communists if we failed to defend the freedom of our sacred country consistently and resolutely from the plots and diversionist attacks of the revisionist Tito clique that are aimed at the invasion of Albania, a fact which is already known to everyone. Could we Albanian communists possibly permit our country to become the prey of Tito, of the U.S. imperialists, of the Greeks or of the Italians? No, never.

Some others advise us not to speak against the Yugoslavs, saying: “Why are you afraid? You are defended by the Soviet Union.” We have told these comrades, and tell them again, that we are afraid neither of the Yugoslav Trotskyites nor of anyone else. We have said, and say it again, that as Marxist-Leninists, not for one moment should we diminish the struggle against the revisionists and the imperialists until we wipe them out. Because if the Soviet Union is to defend you, you must first defend yourself.

The Yugoslavs accuse us of allegedly “being chauvinists, of interfering in their internal affairs and of demanding a rectification of the Albanian-Yugoslav borders.” A number of our friends think and imply that we Albanian communists swim in such waters. We tell our friends who think thus that they are grossly mistaken. We are not chauvinists; we have not demanded nor do we demand rectification of the borders. But what we demand and will continually demand from the Titoites, and we will expose them to the end for this, is that they give up perpetrating the crime of genocide against the Albanian population in Kosova, that they give up the white terror against the Albanians of Kosova, that they give up driving the Albanians from their native soil and deporting them en masse to Turkey. We demand that the rights of the Albanian minority in Yugoslavia should be recognized according to the constitution of the Federal People’s Republic of Yugoslavia. Is this

chauvinist or Marxist?

This is our attitude on these matters. But if the Titoites speak of peaceful coexistence, of peace, of good neighbourly relations, and on the other hand, organize plots, an army of mercenaries and fascists in Yugoslavia for the purpose of attacking our borders and of chopping up socialist Albania together with the Greek monarcho-fascists, then you may be certain that not only the Albanians in the new Albania, but also the one million Albanians living under Titoite bondage will rise, arms in hand, to stay the hand of the criminals. This is Marxist, and if anything happens, this is what will be done. The Party of Labour of Albania does not permit anyone to trifle or play politics with the rights of the Albanian people.

We do not interfere in the internal affairs of others, but when, as a result of the slackening of the fight against Yugoslav revisionism, things go so far that in a friendly country like Bulgaria a map of the Balkans is printed in which Albania is included within the boundaries of Federal Yugoslavia, we cannot remain silent. We are told that this happened due to a technical error of an employee, but why had this not happened before?

However, this is not an isolated instance. At a meeting in Sremska Mitrovica, the bandit Ranković attacked Albania as usual, calling it “a hell where barbed wire and the boots of the frontier guards reign supreme,” and saying that the democracy of the Italian neo-fascists is more advanced than ours.

Ranković’s words would be of no significance to us except that the Soviet and Bulgarian ambassadors to Belgrade, who attended this meeting, listened to these words with the greatest serenity, without making the slightest protest. We protested in a comradely way over this to the Central Committees of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Bulgarian Communist Party.

In his letter of reply to the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania, Comrade Zhivkov dared to reject our protest and called the speech of the bandit Ranković a positive one. We could never have imagined that the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party could describe as positive the speech of a bandit like Ranković who so grossly insults socialist Albania, likening it to hell. We not only reject with contempt this impermissible insult by the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party, but we are dead certain that the Bulgarian Communist Party and the heroic

Bulgarian people would be utterly revolted if they were to hear of this.

Things will not go too well if we allow such mistakes towards one another.

We can never agree with Comrade Khrushchev, and we protested to him at the time, over the talks he had with Sophocles Venizelos in connection with the Greek minority in Albania. Comrade Khrushchev is well aware that the borders of Albania are inviolable and sacred, and that anyone who touches them is an aggressor. The Albanian people will fight to the last drop of their blood if anyone touches their borders. Comrade Khrushchev was gravely mistaken when he told Venizelos that he had seen Greeks and Albanians working together as brothers in Korça. In Korça there is no Greek minority whatsoever, but for centuries the Greeks have coveted the Korça district as they do all Albania. There is a very small Greek minority in Gjirokastra. Comrade Khrushchev knows that they enjoy full rights, use their own language, have their own schools, in addition to all the rights the other Albanian citizens enjoy.

The claims of the Greeks, among them, those of Sophocles Venizelos, the son of Eleutherios Venizelos, who murdered the Albanians and put whole districts of southern Albania to the torch, the most rabid Greek chauvinist and father of the idea of Great Greece, of the partitioning of Albania and annexing it under the slogan of autonomy, are very well known. Comrade Khrushchev is well aware of the attitude of the Party of Labour of Albania, the Albanian government and people on this question. Then to fail to give Sophocles Venizelos the answer he deserved, to leave hopes and illusions and to say that he will transmit to the Albanian comrades the desires of a British agent, a chauvinist, an enemy of communism and Albania — this is unacceptable to us and deserves condemnation.

Comrade Khrushchev, we have given our reply to Sophocles Venizelos, and we believe you have learned of this through the press. We are not opposed to your politicizing with Sophocles Venizelos, but refrain from politicizing with our boundaries and our rights, for we have not allowed nor will we allow such a thing. And it is not as nationalists, but as internationalists that we do this.

Some may consider these things I am telling you as out of place, as statements inappropriate to the level of this meeting. It

would not have been hard for me to have put together a speech in an allegedly theoretical tone, to have spoken in generalizations and quotations, to have submitted a report in general terms in order to please you and pass my turn. But to the Party of Labour of Albania it seems that this is not the occasion. What I have said may appear to some as attacks but these are criticisms which have followed their proper course, which have been made before, when and where necessary, within Leninist norms. But seeing that one error follows another, it would be a mistake to keep silent, because attitudes, deeds and practice confirm, enrich and create theory.

How quickly the Bucharest Meeting was organized and how quickly the Communist Party of China was condemned for “dogmatism.” But why has a conference to condemn revisionism not been organized at the same speed?

Has revisionism been totally exposed, as the Soviet comrades claim? No. In no way whatsoever. Revisionism has been and continues to be the main danger. Yugoslav revisionism has not been liquidated, and the way it is being dealt with is leaving it a clear field for all forms of action.

And can it be said that there are no disturbing manifestations of modern revisionism in other parties? Anyone who says “no” is closing his eyes to this danger and one fine day will wake to see that unexpected things have happened to us. We are Marxists, and should analyse our work just as Lenin did and taught us to do. He was not afraid of mistakes, he looked them in the eye and corrected them. This is the way the Bolshevik Party was tempered and this is the way our parties have been tempered.

But what is happening in the ranks of our parties? What is happening in our camp since the 20th Congress? Comrade Suslov may be very optimistic as he said in the October meeting of the Commission, while reproaching the delegation of the Party of Labour of Albania, Comrade Hysni Kapo, with pessimism in his view of events. We Albanian communists have not been pessimistic even at the blackest moments of the history of our Party and people, and we never shall be, but we shall always be realists.

Much has been said about our unity. This is essential and we should fight to strengthen and temper it. But the fact is that on many important issues of principle we have no unity.

The Party of Labour of Albania is of the opinion that things should be re-examined in the light of a Marxist-Leninist analysis

and the errors should be corrected. Let us take the question of the criticism of Stalin and his work. Our Party, as a Marxist-Leninist party, is fully aware that the cult of the individual is an alien and dangerous manifestation for the parties and for the communist movement itself. Marxist parties should not only not permit the development of the cult of the individual, which hampers the activity of the masses, negates their role, is contrary to the development of the life of the Party and with laws that govern it, but should also fight with might and main to uproot it when it begins to appear or has already appeared in a specific country. Looking at it from this angle, we fully agree that the cult of the individual of Stalin should be criticized as a dangerous manifestation in the line of the Party. But in our opinion, the 20th Congress and especially Comrade Khrushchev's secret report did not put the question of Comrade Stalin correctly, in an objective Marxist-Leninist way.

Stalin was severely and unjustly condemned on this question by Comrade Khrushchev and the 20th Congress. Comrade Stalin and his work does not belong to the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Soviet people alone, but to us all. Just as Comrade Khrushchev said in Bucharest that the differences are not between the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Communist Party of China, but between the Communist Party of China and international communism, just as it pleases him to say that the decisions of the 20th and 21st Congresses were adopted by all the communist and workers' parties, in the same way he should also be magnanimous and consistent in passing judgement on Stalin's work so that the communist and workers' parties of the world could adopt it in all conscience.

There cannot be two yardsticks, nor two measures of weight on these questions. Then why was Comrade Stalin condemned at the 20th Congress without prior consultation with the other communist and workers' parties of the world? Why was this "anathema" upon Stalin pronounced all of a sudden to the communist and workers' parties of the world, and why did many fraternal parties learn of it only when the imperialist press published Comrade Khrushchev's secret report far and wide?

The condemnation of Comrade Stalin was imposed on the communist and progressive world by Comrade Khrushchev. What could our parties do under these circumstances, when unexpectedly, using the great authority of the Soviet Union, such a matter

was imposed en bloc?

The Party of Labour of Albania found itself in a great dilemma. It was not convinced, and will never be convinced, on the question of condemning Comrade Stalin in that way and in those forms that Comrade Khrushchev used. Our Party adopted, in general, the formulas of the 20th Congress on this matter, but nevertheless, it did not stick to the limitations set by the Congress, nor did it yield to the blackmail and intimidation from outside our country.

The Party of Labour of Albania maintained a realistic stand on the question of Stalin. It was just and grateful towards this glorious Marxist against whom, while he was alive, there was no one among us "brave enough" to come out and criticize, but when he was dead a great deal of mud was thrown. An intolerable situation was created in which the leading role of J.V. Stalin was negated in a whole glorious epoch of the Soviet Union, when the first socialist state in the world was set up, when the Soviet Union waxed strong, when the imperialist plots were successfully defeated, when the Trotskyites, Bukharinites and the class of kulaks were crushed, when the construction of heavy industry and collectivization triumphed, in a word, when the Soviet Union became a colossal power, which succeeded in building socialism, and which fought the Second World War with legendary heroism and defeated fascism, when a powerful socialist camp was set up, and so on and so forth.

The Party of Labour of Albania thinks that it is not right, normal or Marxist, to blot out Stalin's name and great work from this entire epoch, as is being done at the present time. We should all defend the good and immortal work of Stalin. He who does not defend it is an opportunist and a coward.

As a person, and as the leader of the Bolshevik Communist Party after Lenin's death, Comrade Stalin was, at the same time, the most prominent leader of international communism, helping in a very positive way and with great authority in consolidating and promoting the victories of communism throughout the world. All of Comrade Stalin's theoretical works are a fiery testimony to his loyalty to his teacher of genius, the great Lenin and Leninism.

Stalin fought for the rights of the working class and the working people in the whole world, he fought to the end, with great consistency, for the freedom of the peoples of our countries of people's democracy.

Viewed from this angle alone, Stalin belongs to the entire communist world and not to the Soviet communists only. He belongs to all the workers of the world and not just to the Soviet workers.

Had Comrade Khrushchev and the Soviet comrades viewed this matter in this spirit, the gross mistakes that were made would have been avoided. But they viewed the question of Stalin very simply and only from the internal aspect of the Soviet Union. However, in the opinion of the Party of Labour of Albania, even from this aspect, they viewed it in a one-sided way, seeing only his mistakes, almost completely putting aside his great activity, his major contribution to the strengthening of the Soviet Union, to the tempering of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, to the building of the economy of the Soviet Union, of its industry, its kolkhozian agriculture, in leading the Soviet people to their great victory over German fascism.

Did Stalin make mistakes? In so long a period filled with heroism, trials, struggle, triumphs, not only Joseph Stalin personally, but also the leadership as a collective body, could not help making mistakes. Which is the Party and who is the leader that can claim to have made no mistakes in their work? When the present Soviet leadership is criticized, the comrades of the Soviet leadership advise us to look ahead, they tell us to avoid polemics, but when it comes to Stalin, they not only did not look ahead but they turned right round, completely backward, in order to track down only the weak aspects in Stalin's work.

The cult of the individual of Stalin must, of course, be overcome. But can it be said, as it has been claimed, that Stalin himself was the sponsor of this cult of the individual? The cult of the individual must be overcome without fail, but was it necessary and was it right to go to such lengths as to point the finger at anyone who mentioned Stalin's name, to look askance at anyone who used a quotation from Stalin? With great speed and zeal certain persons smashed the statues of Stalin and changed the names of cities that had been named after him. But why go any further? At Bucharest, turning to the Chinese comrades, Comrade Khrushchev said: "You are clinging to a dead horse, come and get his bones if you wish!" These references were to Stalin.

The Party of Labour of Albania declares solemnly that it is opposed to these acts and to these assessments of the work and person of J.V. Stalin.

Soviet comrades, why were these questions raised in this man-

ner and in such a distorted form, while the possibilities existed for both Stalin's mistakes and those of the leadership to be pointed out properly, to be corrected, but without creating that great shock in the hearts of the communists of the whole world, which only the sense of discipline and the authority of the Soviet Union prevented from bursting out?

Comrade Mikoyan has said that we dared not criticize Comrade Stalin when he was alive because he would have cut off our heads. We are sure that Comrade Khrushchev will not cut off our heads if we criticize him correctly.

After the 20th Congress, the events we know of took place in Poland, the counter-revolution broke out in Hungary, attacks began on the Soviet system, upsets occurred in many communist and workers' parties of the world, and finally this which is going on now.

We pose the question: Why did these things occur in the international communist movement, in the ranks of our camp, after the 20th Congress? Do these things happen because the leadership of the Party of Labour of Albania is sectarian, dogmatic and pessimistic?

A thing of this kind should be of extraordinary concern to us, and we should look for the source of the malady and cure it. But certainly, this sickness cannot be cured by patting the renegade Tito on the back, nor by putting in the statement that modern revisionism has been completely defeated, as the Soviet comrades claim.

The authority of Leninism has been and is decisive. It should be established in such a way as to clean up erroneous views everywhere and in a radical way. There is no other way out for us communists. If there are things which can and should be said outright, just as they are, this should be done now, at this conference, before it is too late. Communists, we think, should sleep with a clear conscience. They should consolidate their Marxist unity, but without keeping back their reservation, without nurturing feelings of favouritism and hatred. A communist must speak out openly about what he feels in his heart, and matters should be judged correctly.

There may be people who are not pleased with what our small Party is saying. Our small Party can be isolated, our country may be subjected to economic pressure in order to prove, allegedly, to our people that their leadership is no good. Our Party may be and

is being attacked. Mikhail Suslov equates the Party of Labour of Albania with the bourgeois parties and its leaders to Kerensky. But this does not intimidate us. We have learned some lessons. Ranković has not said worse things about the Party of Labour of Albania. Tito has called us Goebbels, but again, we are Leninists, and they are Trotskyites, traitors, lackeys and agents of imperialism.

I wish to emphasize that the Party of Labour of Albania and the Albanian people have shown in practice how much they love, how much they respect the Soviet Union and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, and that when the Party of Labour of Albania criticizes the wrongdoings of certain Soviet leaders, that does not mean that our views and our attitude have changed. We Albanians, as Marxists, have the courage to criticize these comrades with our Marxist severity, we tell them frankly what we think. Hypocrites we have never been nor will ever be.

In spite of the severity we show, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union will hold us dear, regardless of errors we may make, but the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the other communist and workers' parties of the world will not condemn us for our sincerity or because we do not talk behind people's backs or swear allegiance to a hundred banners.

In conclusion, I wish to say a few words about the draft statement submitted to us by the Editorial Commission. Our delegation acquainted itself with this draft and scrutinized it carefully. In the new draft statement many amendments have been made to the first variant submitted by the Soviet delegation, which was taken as a basis for the work of the Editorial Commission. With the amendments made to it, the new draft statement has been considerably improved, many important ideas have been strengthened, a number of theses have been formulated more correctly and the overwhelming majority of the allusions against the Communist Party of China have been deleted.

At the meeting of the Editorial Commission, the delegation of our Party offered many suggestions, some of which were adopted. Although our delegation was not in agreement that certain important matters of principle should remain in the draft, it agreed that this document should be submitted to this meeting, reserving its right to express its views once again on all the issues on which it disagreed. Above all, we think that those five issues which remain uncoordinated should be settled so that we may draw up a

document which has the unanimous approval of all.

We think that it is essential to make clear in the statement the idea of Lenin expressed recently by Comrade Maurice Thorez, as well as by Comrade Suslov in his speech at the meeting of the Editorial Commission, that there can be an absolute guarantee of the prohibition of war only when socialism has triumphed throughout the world or, at least, in a number of other major imperialist countries. At the same time, that paragraph which refers to factionalist or group activity in the international communist movement should be deleted, since, as we have pointed out at the meeting of the Commission, this too does not help consolidate unity, but on the contrary, undermines it. We are also in favour of deleting the words referring to the overcoming of the dangerous consequences of the cult of the individual, or else, of adding the phrase "which occurred in a number of parties," a thing which corresponds better to reality.

I do not want to take the time of this meeting over these questions and other opinions which we have on the draft statement. Our delegation will make its concrete remarks when the draft statement itself is under discussion.

We shall do well and it will be salutary if we take the courage at this conference to look our mistakes in the face and treat the wounds, wherever they may be, because there is the danger they may be aggravated and become dangerous. We do not consider it an offence when comrades criticize us justly and on facts, but we never, never accept that without any facts they may call us "dogmatic," "sectarian," "narrow nationalists," simply because we fight with persistence against modern revisionism and especially against Yugoslav revisionism. If anyone considers our struggle against revisionism as dogmatic or sectarian, we say to him, "take off your revisionist spectacles, and you will see more clearly."

The Party of Labour of Albania thinks that this Conference will remain an historic one, for it will be a conference in the tradition of the Leninist conferences which the Bolshevik Party has organized in order to expose the distorted views and root them right out, in order to strengthen and steel the unity of our international communist and workers' movement on the basis of Marxism-Leninism. Our Party of Labour will continue to strive with determination to strengthen our unity, our fraternal bonds, the joint activity of our communist and workers' parties, for this is the guarantee of the triumph of the cause of peace and socialism. The unity of the

socialist camp, with the Soviet Union at the head, the unity of the international communist and workers' movement with the glorious Communist Party of the Soviet Union at the centre, is the most sacred thing which our Party will guard as the apple of its eye and will strengthen more and more with each passing day.

RADIOGRAM TO COMRADE HYSNI KAPO IN MOSCOW

November 30, 1960

Tirelessly working on the Moscow Declaration to ensure its solid Marxist-Leninist and principled character, the following radiogram of Comrade Enver Hoxha to Comrade Hysni Kapo on November 30, 1960 sets out clear lines of demarcation on where the Party of Labour of Albania should stand and under what terms it should be signed, for the good of proletarian internationalism. We reproduce it as follows:

Comrade Hysni,

We received your radiogram. If all the things you wrote about in the radiogram are removed from the draft declaration, if the Chinese proposal is added, and the 20th Congress remains according to the 1957 Moscow Declaration, you may sign the declaration. Go about these questions always in full agreement with the Chinese comrades. If a declaration on non-acceptance of the inclusion of the 20th Congress, or on the formulation according to the Moscow Meeting is necessary, make a written statement, hand it in and sign the Document of the Meeting.

We had a good trip.¹ Last night we were at a dinner given at the Palace of Brigades.² Indescribable enthusiasm. The comrades are well. Regards to Ramiz. We are waiting for you.

Affectionately yours,
Enver

¹ In the afternoon of November 29, 1960, Comrade Enver Hoxha and Mehmet Shehu returned to their country.

² On the occasion of the 48th anniversary of the proclamation of the independence of Albania and the 16th anniversary of the Liberation.

REPORT TO THE 21ST PLENUM OF THE CC OF THE PLA: “ON THE MEETING OF THE REPRESENTATIVES OF THE COMMUNIST AND WORKERS’ PARTIES, HELD IN MOSCOW IN NOVEMBER 1960”

December 19, 1960

The 21st Plenum of the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania was held on December 19-20, 1960 in Tirana. It listened to the report delivered by Comrade Enver Hoxha on behalf of the delegation of the Party of Labour of Albania, which attended the meeting of 81 communist and workers’ parties, held in Moscow, in November 1960. The Plenum discussed and unanimously endorsed Comrade Enver Hoxha’s report and the activity of the delegation of the Party of Labour of Albania during the Moscow Meeting. The report makes a further, profound theoretical analysis and summing up of the major problems that had arisen in the ranks of the international communist and workers’ parties, a firm substantiation and defence of the Marxist-Leninist views about various aspects of world development, the revolutionary line and strategy which the communist parties should follow and a devastating criticism of the dangerous opportunist views of the Khrushchevite revisionists.

This important document is published for the first time in Volume 19 of the Works of Comrade Enver Hoxha.

In the first chapter, Comrade Enver Hoxha makes a profound scientific analysis of the fundamental differences existing at that time in the ranks of the international communist and workers’ movement concerning the definition of the character of our epoch in regard to the question of war and peace, peaceful coexistence, the question of the roads of transition to socialism, revisionism and dogmatism, as well as the questions of unity of the socialist camp and the international communist movement. He points out:

Around these questions of such great importance a major struggle over principle was waged first in Bucharest where, as is known, the Soviet leaders and those of some other parties wanted to make an accomplished fact of the “condemnation” of Marxism, the condemnation of the correct views which were defended by the Communist Party of China, by labelling it “dogmatic” and “sec-

tarian.” Our Party did not associate itself with this anti-Marxist conspiracy because, in principle, it did not agree either with the methods adopted by the organizers of the Bucharest Meeting or with the content of the issues they put forward. An even greater struggle was waged on the above-mentioned matters of principle at the meeting of the Commission in Moscow during October, and, finally, a determined struggle was waged at the meeting of the representatives of the communist and workers’ parties in November, in Moscow, over the correct Marxist meaning of these questions, for the defence of Leninism in the explanation, comprehension and interpretation of them.

In the course of this struggle, during this long process, the positions of various parties towards these questions were also defined. Thus, from the time of the November meeting it was clear that the differences on these problems were not just between the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Communist Party of China, and even less between the Communist Party of China and the whole of international communism, as the Soviet leaders claimed in Bucharest, but these disagreements included many parties, and became disagreements between Marxists and opportunists, between parties which defended the purity of Marxism-Leninism and parties which were distorting a number of its theses and interpreting them in a one-sided manner. If it was only the Communist Party of China and our Party of Labour which rose openly in defence of the Marxist principles at Bucharest, against the trend which was distorting the principles of Marxism-Leninism and the 1957 Moscow Declaration, in the October Commission seven out of the twenty-six parties represented took correct positions.

At the Moscow Meeting this ratio of forces underwent a change. Besides the former seven parties, another 4-5 parties adopted the correct stand regarding all the questions under discussion... but there were a considerable number of parties, which, on particular questions such as the problems of the roads of transition to socialism, the aggressive nature of imperialism, the necessity of the struggle against revisionism and other questions, supported our theses. Such positions were adopted by almost all the parties of Latin America.

The change in the ratio of forces speaks of the determined struggle waged at the meeting by the Chinese delegation, the delegation of our Party and others, which, through convincing arguments, refuted the distorted views and made clear to all their prin-

ciplered position on the issues under discussion. The fact that a considerable number of parties, completely or partially adopted the correct positions, indicates that Marxist-Leninist right is on our side, that it is being rapidly adopted by others, that right will triumph over wrong, that Marxism-Leninism will as always triumph over opportunism and revisionism. Absolutely convinced of this, our Party will continue to fight with determination, as it has done up till now, for the purity of our Marxist-Leninist ideology, for the triumph of socialism and communism.

The Stand Adopted by the Party of Labour of Albania Towards the Differences in the Communist Movement

Our Party of Labour has always pursued a correct Marxist-Leninist line and has upheld the principles of the 1957 Moscow Declaration. On all the fundamental matters which we mentioned above, that is, in connection with the definition of the epoch, the question of the struggle against imperialism, the problem of war and peace, etc. our Party has defended and implemented the correct Marxist-Leninist view. Our Party has never accepted or said that Leninism has become "outdated." On the contrary, it has fought incessantly and with determination against the Yugoslav revisionists, who, in order to cover up their betrayal, declare Marxism "outdated." Our Party has never had any illusions about the character of U.S. imperialism and its leaders, but has constantly educated the masses of the people to hate it and be vigilant against it; we have never thought that peace will be donated to us, that without first liquidating imperialism it is possible to create a world without weapons, without armies and without wars. On the contrary, having a correct view of the problem of war and peace, the danger threatening mankind from imperialism and reaction, our Party has mobilized the people under the slogan: "The pick in one hand and the rifle in the other." Our Party has fought consistently to unmask imperialism and its lackeys, the Yugoslav revisionists, and has never approved the "soft" policy, the "big" policy of the Soviet leaders or even that of the Bulgarian leaders, either towards U.S. imperialism or towards Yugoslav revisionism. Our Party has never thought that for the sake of coexistence the class struggle in the capitalist countries should be extinguished or the political and ideological struggle against imperialism and the bourgeoisie should be liquidated. On the contrary, our Party has always opposed any such opportunist concept of peaceful coexist-

ence.

Thus, the position of our Party on these matters of principle has been in complete accord with the teachings of Marxism-Leninism and it has long been in opposition to the position of the Soviet leaders. However, our Party has been in opposition in principle to the views and actions of the present Soviet leaders also on a series of other questions of principles, about which our Central Committee has been informed.

For instance, we have not been in agreement with the Soviet leaders in connection with their stand towards Yugoslav revisionism. This dates back to May 1955, at the time when Khrushchev and Bulganin¹ went to Belgrade and, in a unilateral manner, overriding the Information Bureau, decided to rehabilitate the Tito clique, a thing which, as is known, brought about many evils in the international communist and workers' movement later. At that time, our Party expressed its opposition to this rehabilitation and since then it has never approved the tactics and the stand of the Soviet leadership towards Tito and his clique, a clique which was coddled, described as socialist, with which they consulted about everything, etc.

Our Party did not agree with the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, especially with the criticism against Stalin and the explanation of the peaceful road of transition to socialism. On the first issue we were not and are not in agreement, first because the criticism against the "cult of Stalin" was made without prior consultation with the other fraternal parties, although Stalin was not only the leader of the Soviet Union but also of the international proletariat, and second, because only the mistakes of Stalin were mentioned without saying a single word about the positive aspects of his activity. On the second issue, in fact the 20th Congress gave the opportunists ideological weapons to propagate only the peaceful road of taking power.

At the 20th Congress, Khrushchev presented the issue of the transition to socialism in a distorted way. He put special stress on taking power in a peaceful way and through the parliamentary road, a thing which is contrary to the teachings of Marxism-Leninism and the experience of history so far.

Apart from these questions, our Party did not agree with the

¹ Nikolai Bulganin, at that time President of the Council of Ministers of the Soviet Union.

Soviet leaders also in regard to the events in Hungary, with their assessment of them, with the hesitation they showed over the liquidation of counter-revolution there, and over the complete exposure of the Yugoslav revisionists on this issue. The Central Committee has been informed about this matter, therefore it is not necessary to dwell on it at length.

Finally, our Party was not in agreement with the Soviet leaders and has been opposed to them also over many other issues which have to do with the correct Leninist concept of relations among fraternal parties, which are equal and independent from one another. In connection with this, the Central Committee is also informed of the improper interference of the Soviet leaders in the internal affairs of our Party, such as the case of the enemies of our Party, Liri Gega, Tuk Jakova, Panajot Plaku, and others.

Hence, it is evident that on the fundamental questions of the foreign policy, of the tactics and strategy of the communist movement, our Party has always maintained a correct Marxist-Leninist line, a line which has run counter to that pursued by the Soviet leadership. But while consistently pursuing the above-mentioned line, while resolutely defending the correct Marxist-Leninist principles, without making concessions over them, despite the many pressures exerted on it by the Soviet leaders, the Central Committee of our Party did not express its opposition publicly. Why did the Central Committee do this?

First, because after the 20th Congress, all the attacks of the imperialist and revisionist enemies were concentrated on splitting the unity of our communist movement. Therefore, for the sake of this unity, we had to contain ourselves and consistently apply the Marxist-Leninist line, while avoiding open criticism addressed to the Soviet leadership.

Second, because as is known, as a result of the criticism of Stalin, when reaction and the revisionists began to cast doubts on the entire Soviet system, and in particular, as a result of the events in Poland and Hungary, the efforts of the whole of world reaction to lower the authority of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the prestige of the Soviet Union itself were very great. In these circumstances, it was an internationalist duty to defend the Soviet Union and its Communist Party, to give reaction not a single weapon and to assist the Soviet leadership by means of comradely criticism to put it on the right road. This was what our Party did. We publicly defended the Communist Party of the Soviet Union,

the Soviet Union itself, but from 1957 on, as the opportunity presented itself, we have also pointed out to the Soviet leaders a number of matters on which we had criticism, especially in connection with their stand towards Yugoslav revisionism, towards the events in Hungary, towards the interference in the internal affairs of our Party.

This stand of our Party is correct, internationalist, Marxist-Leninist. At that time to act differently meant to play into the hands of the enemy, to damage the general cause of socialism and the international working class.

But the Soviet leaders plunged more deeply into their errors. Matters went so far that they were not only coddling Tito and his clique, but they were also showering flattery on Eisenhower, thus demonstrating that they were distorting the Marxist-Leninist concept on imperialism and the class struggle. The Chinese comrades, absolutely correctly, considered it reasonable to dot the i's on the fundamental questions of the international situation and the strategy and tactics of the communist movement, by means of some articles, which explained these things on the basis of the Marxist-Leninist teachings. But the Soviet leaders did not pause to reflect. On the contrary, they organized the anti-Marxist behind-the-scenes plot of Bucharest in order to settle accounts with the Communist Party of China and with any other party which had become an obstacle to their erroneous course.

We shall not dwell on the proceedings of the Bucharest Meeting because the Plenum of the Central Committee is already informed on this, but I shall briefly mention our stand at this meeting.

As we said before, our Party did not agree with the organizers of the Bucharest Meeting, the Soviet leaders, not only on the anti-Marxist methods which were used there, but in essence it did not agree also with the accusation brought against the Communist Party of China. Therefore, it maintained the correct and principled stand which is known.

How did it come to pass that our Party maintained that stand? Was it accidental? The stand of our Party in Bucharest was not accidental. It was in keeping with the consistent line which our Party constantly pursued with the principled position which our Party defended on the fundamental questions under discussion. In Bucharest we defended Marxism-Leninism, we defended the line of the Party and, while waging this principled and courageous

struggle, on the one hand, we found ourselves on the same side as the Chinese comrades and defended their glorious Party which, like ours, was fighting in defence of the purity of Marxism-Leninism and, on the other hand, we ran counter to the Soviet leaders and all the representatives of the other parties who organized the Bucharest Meeting, who defended a wrong cause in opposition to the teachings of Marxism-Leninism. Here lies the principled importance of our stand in Bucharest, a stand which was the logical and consistent outcome of the entire Marxist-Leninist line pursued by our Party, a stand which has enhanced the authority and prestige of our Party in the eyes of the international communist movement.

Our Party condemned the Bucharest Meeting and described it correctly as a blot on the communist movement. The correctness of our stand in Bucharest and our assessment of the anti-Marxist behind-the-scenes plot hatched up there was demonstrated at the Moscow Meeting and by the documents approved there. Not a single representative of any of the parties there had the courage to defend the Bucharest Meeting, to answer our criticism and those of the Chinese comrades of the factional work which went on there. Not only this, but none dared to propose that a single good word should be put in about the Bucharest Meeting in the declaration published which comprised 52 pages. Not the slightest trace remained of the Bucharest Meeting.

On the other hand, however, the Bucharest Meeting marks the beginning of the overt aggravation of relations between our Party and the Soviet leaders, a thing which soon began to express itself in the political and economic relations between our two countries and states. The blame for the situation rests completely on the Soviet side which was not pleased with the principled stand of our Party in Bucharest. It began to express this displeasure in many wrong actions which began to cause serious harm to the friendship and fraternal ties between our two parties and countries. This is how the anti-Marxist interference in the internal affairs of our Party by some Soviet persons began. It had the aim of splitting our Party, of arousing dissatisfaction with its leadership, of casting doubt on the correctness of the line of our Party, of attacking the leadership of our Party, with the final aim of liquidating it. The staff of the Soviet embassy in Tirana, headed by the ambassador, worked in this direction; Kozlov in Moscow worked in this direction on our comrades who passed through there; this was the aim

of the words of Marshal Malinovsky at the dinner for the Chiefs of Staffs of the Warsaw Treaty; this was the objective of the economic pressures which began in regard to bread and the reduction of economic aid; the threats by Marshal Grechko to throw our country out of the Warsaw Treaty, and the provocations at the military base of Vlora, etc. are linked with this.

The objective of these wrong and anti-Marxist actions is clear: the Soviet leadership aimed either to make us change our stand, that is to abandon the correct Marxist-Leninist course, the principled stand maintained by our Party or, as a result of the difficulties which would be created, in the opinion of the Soviet leaders, some division must take place in the Party, dissatisfaction must be increased in its ranks and among the people and, as a way out, the leadership of the Party must be liquidated to bring to the head of it the "saviours" who would be loyal to the anti-Marxist line of the Soviet leadership.

But, as is known, in reckoning their accounts they had forgotten whom they were dealing with and all these intentions were foiled. They did not succeed thanks to the loyalty of our Party to Marxism-Leninism, thanks to its staunch and principled stand, thanks to the steel-like Marxist-Leninist unity of the Party with the masses of the people, the unity of the Party with its Central Committee, the unity of the Central Committee with the Political Bureau. This unbreakable unity has been and is the guarantee of all the victories of our people and Party. Therefore, our primary duty is to make this unity ever stronger and defend it like the apple of our eye.

The source of the wrong actions of the Soviet leadership towards our Party should be sought in its non-Marxist views on fundamental issues and in the disagreements over matters of principle which exist between our Party and the Soviet leaders, over questions of principle of the international communist and workers' movement. The incorrect actions of the Soviet leaders against our Party also express the anti-Marxist concept they have about the relations between sister parties and fraternal countries, the concept they have about criticism and the Marxist-Leninist unity of the communist movement and socialist camp. In Bucharest we expressed our opposition to the stand of the Soviet leaders, we criticized their crooked actions in a correct and principled way.

For Marxists, fair and principled criticism is not contrary to unity. On the contrary, criticism aids the consolidation of unity, it

is a motive force, a law of development. The Soviet leaders do not see the problem this way. They are not used to listening to criticisms, but only to making criticisms. In words, they accept the principle of equal rights in the relations among parties, but in fact they recognize only their right to say the final word, while the rest must obey blindly. Therefore, according to them, if some party or other dares to criticize them, that party is in an anti-Soviet position, is factional against the unity of the communist movement and so on. This distorted concept impels them to incorrect actions like those mentioned above. In these concepts and acts Marxist dialectics has been replaced with metaphysics, with idealism.

The acts we mentioned and the erroneous stand maintained by the Soviet leaders towards our Party and our country following the Bucharest Meeting, made us more than ever convinced that our Party was in a correct Marxist-Leninist position, that its position on all the fundamental issues was principled, therefore it had to be defended with determination, standing firm against any pressure.

The delegation of our Party in Moscow, in October, at the meeting of the Commission which worked out the draft of the declaration approved at the November meeting, maintained this correct and principled stand. At this meeting, our delegation presented the correct viewpoint of our Party openly on all matters of principle under discussion, and together with the Chinese comrades and the comrades of those other parties which also took a correct stand, resolutely defended the Marxist-Leninist teaching with sound arguments. A great struggle for principle went on in the Commission over every issue, over every paragraph and every word. This work went on for nearly 25 days.

To give you an idea of the correct struggle waged by our delegation there, as well as by the other delegations which took sound positions, suffice it to mention these facts; in compiling the draft declaration, the draft presented by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union was taken as the basis. This draft of 36 pages contained many erroneous views, and in many parts there were hidden attacks against the Communist Party of China and the Party of Labour of Albania. For instance, it accused us of “national communism,” of being opponents of the policy of peaceful coexistence, compared us with Yugoslavia, accused us of being “factionalists,” and so on. Apart from this, the draft did not properly stress the necessity of the struggle against imperialism and had a soft,

and frequently opportunist spirit, putting great stress on the peaceful road of transition to socialism; the national bourgeoisie was presented almost as a supporter of socialism, it failed to mention Yugoslav revisionism, dogmatism was presented as more dangerous than revisionism, even though it said that revisionism is the main danger and so on. 175 pages of comments on this draft were presented, of which our delegation presented 20 pages and the Chinese delegation 40. It must be stressed that none of our comments was refuted by argument as incorrect; but those which were not included in the declaration were rejected on the pretext of tactics or by the majority of votes. Nevertheless, the basic draft was almost completely changed. It was extended from 36 pages to 52. The hidden attacks against us were thrown out, the section on imperialism was strengthened, the paragraph on Yugoslav revisionism and dogmatism was put in order and so on. However, some questions remained, such as that of the importance of the 20th and 21st Congresses, that of factions, of the cult of the individual, etc., to which our delegation, the Chinese delegation and the delegations of some other parties did not agree, but which would be taken up again for discussion at the November meeting.

In the meeting of the Commission it was very clear how correct and principled were our positions and how distorted were the positions of the Soviet leaders and the parties supporting them. The opportunist spirit which has gripped some parties, such as the communist parties of Italy, Syria, Britain, the United States of America and others showed itself plainly, and this emerged even more clearly at the November meeting. The Soviet leaders tried hard to manoeuvre, resorting to all kinds of methods, ranging from working on individuals among the various delegations to the procedural machinations. Here is a typical fact: the Commission agreed that a phrase which Maurice Thorez had used in a speech during those days should be put in the declaration. It was: "There will be an absolute guarantee of the liquidation of all kinds of war only when socialism has triumphed in all countries or in the main capitalist countries." This thesis was inserted on the proposal of the French delegation, and was supported by our delegation and the Chinese. But before two days had passed, the Soviets proposed that it should be re-examined, presumably because their Presidium had not approved it. Despite our resistance, the majority of the meeting decided to omit it, but at the November meeting they were forced to put it back again in another form.

The proceedings at the preparatory meeting and the views expressed there indicated clearly that the Moscow Meeting in November would become an arena of the struggle between the correct Marxist-Leninist view and the tendency to deviate from the revolutionary positions of our ideology.

Our Party and the delegation appointed by the Central Committee of the Party were prepared for this struggle. The Central Committee of our Party instructed its delegation that at the Moscow Meeting it should put forward the principled views of our Party on all questions under discussion, frankly and sincerely and with Marxist-Leninist courage, that it should inform the meeting of the erroneous acts of the Soviet leaders against our Party following the Bucharest Meeting, and criticize them severely with the aim of preventing any repetition of such acts in the future. We report to the Central Committee of our Party that the delegation carried out this directive and, as was decided by the Central Committee of the Party, all the matters were put before the meeting of the representatives of the 81 communist and workers' parties which was convened in November this year in Moscow.

Did the Central Committee of the Party act correctly when it decided that all matters should be put forward openly at the November meeting? We answer: Yes, the Central Committee acted correctly, for the following reasons:

1. Because, as a Marxist-Leninist Party, we were duty-bound to defend the principled positions of the 1957 Moscow Declaration, which were being violated. If we were to remain silent in face of the distortions of Marxism-Leninism, in face of actions contrary to the fundamental principles of our ideology, irrespective of the fact that the violators and deviators were the leaders of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, we could not call ourselves communists. In order to defend the purity of Marxism-Leninism, to defend the cause of socialism and communism, we must always be principled, never sentimental or one sided.

2. Because, in its violation of the 1957 Moscow Declaration and the principles of Marxism-Leninism, as well as in its concrete actions, the Soviet leadership had gone so far that to have remained silent about these grave errors and offences would have been suicide, a crime against our common cause. The Bucharest Meeting and the anti-Marxist behind-the-scenes plot which was organized there by the Soviet leaders, the pressures and damaging actions against our Party, on the one hand, and against the Com-

munist Party of China, on the other (I mean the withdrawal of the specialists, the cancelling of orders for various machinery, etc.), were the first signs of very dangerous actions which, if not unmasked, would have had even more serious consequences for the communist movement and the socialist camp.

3. Because our sincere and principled criticism had a good purpose: by condemning the wrong view and actions, it aimed at liquidating them, at closing the door to them, so that they would never be repeated, at clearing the air of the negative manifestations, and on this basis, at helping to strengthen our communist movement, to reinforce our unity which was endangered. This aim, and this aim alone, was what impelled the Central Committee of the Party to express its views openly, and it was absolutely correct to do so.

4. Finally, we say with absolute conviction that there is another reason why the Central Committee was right when it decided to put forward these questions at the Moscow Meeting. We saw for ourselves, both before the meeting and during its proceedings, that the Soviet leaders, on their part, were determined to continue on the course on which they had embarked against our Party because if we had remained silent, they had prepared themselves to cast the blame on us for everything, and for this reason they brought extreme pressure to bear on our delegation in order to make us shut our mouths.

It is clear that if we had remained silent at the meeting about the wrong actions of the Soviet leaders, this would not only have meant abandoning our whole principled line, but it would also have been fatal to our Party and to the future of socialism in Albania.

On the Attitude of the Soviet Leaders Towards Our Delegation and Our Talks With Them

As is known, our delegation went to the Soviet Union as an official delegation, invited by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union for the celebrations of the 43rd anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution. This being the case, from the formal angle they did us all the honours of the occasion. But their attitude towards us was cold and the talks unfriendly. Thus we talked with Kozlov on our arrival in Moscow, with Kosygin and Polyansky at the dinner of November 7, and their position became clear: in everything they sought to cast the

blame on our Party. The next day, that is on November 8, everything became even more clear.

On November 8, we were handed a copy of the letter which the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union sent to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China in reply to the September letter from the Communist Party of China. This fact in itself did not please us because it was a bad prelude to the holding of the meeting, but we shall speak of this later. What made an impression on us were the following facts: in one paragraph of the letter speaking of the socialist countries of Europe, they were all listed by name with the exception of Albania. This meant that the leadership of the Soviet Union had wiped Albania from the books as a socialist country. Further down, although the letter was addressed to the Communist Party of China, there was an open and tendentious attack against our Party. While claiming that following the criticism of “the cult of the individual” all problems are solved in the Communist Party of the Soviet Union allegedly according to the rules of democratic centralism, the letter said:

“Unfortunately there are other examples. We can bring up such a fresh example as the settlement of such matters by the Albanian comrades. In September this year they expelled Comrade Liri Belishova from the Central Committee and discharged her from the post of the Secretary of the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania, while Comrade Koço Tashko was discharged from the post of the Chairman of the Central Audit Commission of the Party of Labour of Albania and expelled from the Party. And for what? Simply because these comrades expressed their belief that it is impermissible to slander the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

“We express our suspicions that there is a bad end in store for all those people whose only ‘sin’ is that they are friends of the Soviet Union, have a correct understanding of the situation, and express their sympathy for the Soviet people and for the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.”

From this presentation of things it emerges: first, that allegedly the Central Committee of our Party did not carry out the rules of internal democracy of the party when it expelled Liri Belishova from its ranks and Koço Tashko from the Central Audit Commission. It seems to me unnecessary to prove here, in the Central

Committee of the Party, that this is deliberate slander. Second, it emerges that in our Party the friends of the Soviet Union are being condemned and persecuted, that is, the Central Committee of our Party is allegedly in an anti-Soviet position, etc. There is no need to prove that this, too, is another slander. But in these tendentious accusations the aim of the Soviet leadership is clear: to discredit our Party, to present it as though it has gone off the rails of Leninism, as though it has taken the road of Yugoslavia (therefore, in the same document Albania is not mentioned as a socialist country).

This shows that the Soviet leaders were not interested in resolving the disagreements which had arisen between us. On the contrary, they wanted to deepen them, indeed to use them to discredit our Party. On the other hand, in order to have complete success in their actions against our Party they resorted to all means to make us shut our mouths.

The first method was that of threats. To this end, Nikita Khrushchev himself twice spoke to the Chinese comrades about Albania. First, on October 25, 1960, he told Deng Xiaoping, "We shall treat Albania like Yugoslavia," and the second time, he told another representative of the Communist Party of China, "The Albanians behave towards us just like Tito does," "We lost an Albania and you Chinese won an Albania," "The Party of Labour of Albania is our weak link."

What was their aim?

First, the Soviet leaders intended to intimidate us, to make us review our position and to desist from raising all the questions we had in mind. It should be borne in mind that the Soviets were more or less aware of what we would raise at the Moscow Meeting. Koço Tashko had kept them informed about our views.

Second, while speaking against our Party and threatening us, in fact, they were also warning the Chinese, that is, they intend to kill two birds with one stone.

Third, by presenting the case as though we were following the road of Yugoslavia, the Soviet leaders sought to discredit our Party, to distort our stand, to divert the discussion away from the basis of principles to slanders, etc.

Together with the method of indirect threats, the Soviet leaders also used the method of direct pressure of meetings and talks with our delegation.

Before speaking of the meetings we had in Moscow, it is nec-

essary to say a few words concerning our view on the method of talks, meetings and consultations. This is essential because the Soviet leaders tried many times to present the question as though we are against talks, and to illustrate this they brought up these examples: our refusal to meet the Soviet leaders on the basis that they proposed in the well-known letter of August 13, 1960; the fact that Comrade Enver did not go to spend his summer holiday in the Soviet Union, allegedly as if we wanted to avoid any meeting with them, and, finally, our refusal of Khrushchev's invitation to meet him on November 9, of which I will speak later.

The Party and our Central Committee have been and are of the opinion that the method of meetings, talks and consultations among the leaders of sister parties, the exchange of views on various problems of mutual interest, the more so when differences have arisen between two parties or socialist countries, is the most correct and advisable Marxist-Leninist method. Therefore, in the past our Party and its Central Committee have not refused any meeting and will not do so in the future, especially when the aim of these meetings is to strengthen and consolidate the Marxist-Leninist unity of the socialist camp and the international communist movement.

But, at the same time, proceeding from these principled positions, our Party is of the opinion that in these meetings certain other principles of Marxism-Leninism must be respected, among which: first, it is impermissible and contrary to the Leninist norms that a third party should become a subject of conversation at a meeting of two other parties, that the general line of the former should be talked about in the absence of this party, and second, any discussion or meeting between two parties, whichever they may be, should be held on an equal footing, on the basis of consultations and mutual respect, avoiding any manifestation of imposing the will of one side upon the other side, or of any privileged position of one side over the other side, etc. Our Party has respected and will respect these principles. This is the principled position of our Party concerning the question of meetings, talks and consultations. We have maintained such a position in the past and we shall maintain it in the future too.

Now let us see in concrete terms whether the Soviet leaders are right when they accuse us of being against meetings by bringing up the above-mentioned cases. It is true we refused the meeting proposed in the letter of the Central Committee of the Com-

munist Party of the Soviet Union dated August 13, 1960. But we refused to meet them, not because we are against meetings in principle or because we wanted to avoid meeting the Soviet leaders, but because such a meeting would have been contrary to the Leninist norms because, as is known, in their letter the Soviet leaders proposed that we should hold discussions in order to put out “the spark of misunderstanding” which had flared up between us in Bucharest “in time” so that our two parties could go to the meeting next November “with a complete unity of opinion.”

Why did misunderstanding arise at Bucharest? What was the fundamental problem of the Bucharest Meeting? It was the criticism against the Communist Party of China. Therefore, we were supposed to discuss China, to formulate a common view on this issue and all this was to be done behind the back of the Communist Party of China. Is this principled? Isn't this the same as factionalism? We explained this to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in our reply, back in August, stressing that a meeting between us for that purpose was not in order. Again we think we acted very correctly.

Let's take the question of our refusal to meet Nikita Khrushchev on November 9, 1960. We think that our delegation acted correctly when it refused that meeting, and we explained this to the Soviet leaders. The thing is that, on the one hand, on November 8, 1960 the Soviet leadership handed us a letter addressed to the Communist Party of China, in which, as we said above, Albania was not ranked among the socialist countries, and our Party was accused of anti-Sovietism, of having allegedly violated the principles of democratic centralism and so on, and this material was distributed to the representatives of 81 parties, while on the other hand, on the very same day they were inviting us to talks to examine the misunderstanding which had arisen between us. On the one hand, they tell the Chinese comrades, “we shall treat Albania like Yugoslavia” and, on the other hand, they want to meet us. Is this talking on equal footing? Has the basis been created for the comradely spirit indispensable for fruitful talks, is this not a clear expression of the tendency of the Soviet leaders to have a privileged position in talks? It is clear that we could not possibly hold talks under such conditions because this is contrary to the principles of equality and mutual respect, especially so when we had not whispered a single word to the international communist and workers' movement about the concrete disagreements be-

tween us and the Soviet leaders up till that time. This is why we refused that meeting. It is up to the Central Committee of the Party to judge whether our delegation acted correctly or not.

As for the question of "Comrade Enver's failure to go to the Soviet Union for his holiday this year," this is not worth speaking about because there is nothing political in it. I did not go to the Soviet Union for my vacation last year either and no scandal was made of it. The matter is that this year the Soviet leaders "had thought" that when Comrade Enver came there they would talk to him. But neither I nor the Political Bureau had been informed of this. We were supposed to find this out by divination.

In fact, it is not our Party, but the Soviet leaders who have been against talks, against the solution of disagreements through consultations. As is known, at the beginning of August we sent the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union a letter informing it of the anti-Marxist acts of some members of the staff of the Soviet embassy headed by ambassador Ivanov. Why is it that the Soviet leaders, who tell us they are determined that the problem should be solved through discussion, have still not replied to this letter to this day? In Moscow they told us that they had not replied to us because they did not want to worsen relations with us, because their answer might be offensive to us. This clearly shows that it had never crossed their minds that the disagreements should be resolved, that it was necessary to discuss them, but they had decided their attitude: to deny everything. Then why talk at all? Hence, who is against talks in fact? It is clearly not us, not the Party of Labour of Albania, but the leadership of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union that is against talks. Regardless of all this, in spite of the unequal conditions for talks which, as we said above, were created by the Soviet leaders themselves and despite their uncomradely attitude towards our delegation, an attitude which went so far as to resort to such anti-Marxist and police methods as eavesdropping on our conversations by means of various bugging devices both in our residence and in our embassy, our delegation, seeing their insistence on meeting us and upholding our Party's principle on the necessity for talks, consultations and exchanges of opinion before the meeting began and during it, consented to and had three talks with the Soviet leaders.

Our delegation understood the real aim of the Soviet leaders from its talks on November 9, 1960 with Maurice Thorez, who, as the conversation showed clearly, had been charged by them to

meet us. Thorez tried “to convince” us of the correctness of the line pursued by the Soviet Union in all directions, on the question of war and peace, on the policy of peaceful coexistence, calling Khrushchev the Lenin of our time and so on. On the other hand, he spoke against China, presenting the Communist Party of China as dogmatic, factionalist and Trotskyite, as a great danger to the communist movement, a partisan of war, which seeks to discredit the Soviet Union, and so on. Finally, he told us of the love which the Soviet Union has for Albania, of the aid it has given Albania, as well as how we ought to be grateful, and in the end he said that all of us must follow the Soviet Union.

We told him of our views, stressing that we had disagreements with the Soviet leaders, which we would put forward at the meeting (we were aware that everything we said would be eavesdropped by the Soviet leaders or would be transmitted to them by Thorez). Thorez tried to “dissuade” us from raising these matters at the meeting, otherwise the whole meeting would be against us, and would call us provocateurs, that we should resolve these things by sitting down to talk with the Soviet leaders, and here he mentioned that we had been wrong not to meet Khrushchev. The meeting with Thorez lasted three hours and in the end we parted with each side maintaining its own viewpoint. This was the first direct pressure to stop us from speaking openly at the meeting, and the first effort to learn what we would put forward there.

Following this meeting, we held two meetings with the Soviet leaders, on November 10-11 and 12.

At the first meeting the views of each side were put forward and, as you might say, the ground was prepared for the next meeting which in fact was the official meeting.¹ On the first day of this

¹ Comrade Enver Hoxha reported to the Plenum how, at the first and the second meeting, the Soviet leaders blamed the Party of Labour of Albania for the deterioration of Albanian-Soviet relations, while they themselves had allegedly done nothing wrong. They accused the PLA of anti-Sovietism because it had expelled Liri Belishova and Koço Tashko from the CC and the Party, who had sided with the Soviet Union, and because the Albanian officers did not submit to the threats and provocations of the Soviet officers at the Vlora base. With factual arguments our delegation refuted all these slanders and showed that those who were truly responsible for the deterioration of relations were the Soviet leaders, whose aim was to put the PLA under their control, to force it to deviate from its revolutionary road and adopt the revisionist course of the 20th Congress of the CPSU.

At the point when Khrushchev, angry at the refusal of the delegation of the PLA to accept his anti-Marxist and anti-Albanian views, likened these talks to talks with Macmillan, our delegation walked out of the meeting in protest. (See pp.

meeting, Kozlov, Mikoyan, Suslov, Pospelov and Andropov participated from the Soviet side, while on the second day only Kozlov and Mikoyan. From our side, the whole delegation took part in the meeting.

Right from the beginning of the meeting, the Soviet leaders adopted the pose that nothing had occurred from their side, as though the Party of Labour of Albania was to blame for everything, moreover that we ought to state frankly why we were aggravating our relations with the Soviet Union, what had happened and what we were demanding from the Soviet leaders. In fact, this was their stand in the later meetings too. Of course, our delegation refuted any such claim, and with concrete facts proved that it was not us, but the Soviet leaders who, with their erroneous attitudes and actions against our Party and country, had caused the aggravation of our relations. We mentioned the question of the ambassador and the staff of their embassy, the question of bread, the words of Malinovsky and Grechko, the anti-Party work of Kozlov with our delegation on its return from China, the crooked actions of some Soviet officers at the Vlora base, and so on. All these, we stressed, were not isolated facts but closely connected. All these things have happened since the Bucharest Meeting and have a political character. Their aim has been to force our Party to change the attitude which it maintained in Bucharest, to undermine the unity of the Party, to divide it and overthrow its leadership. In order to improve the relations between our parties and countries, which is the desire of our Party and in order to strengthen our friendship, we sought from the Soviet leaders that they should condemn these acts and take measures to avoid repetition of them in the future.

The Soviet leaders did not admit anything sincerely and frankly, but sought to dodge everything. They repeated the thesis that allegedly our Party is to blame for the aggravation of the situation, that allegedly it is not for talks, as we stressed above over and over again. They tried to deny the actions of the Soviet diplomats in Tirana, but in the end they were forced to admit that “some slight mistake” might have been made through the “foolishness” of the ambassador. They said that now they would send another ambassador, and the matter would be closed. They presented the question of bread as though we were not so badly off

because they had sent shiploads of grain to Albania, whereas on the question of buying grain with gold they said that this was the proposal of the Albanian side, which was accepted by the Soviet foreign trade people. They sought to excuse the attitudes of Marshal Malinovsky and Marshal Grechko in the same way, while admitting that even if something excessive had been said, this would have been unintentional and quite accidental. Thus, according to them, there is nothing political in all those actions. Our Party is trying in vain to give them that colour, we are trifling things and so on.

It was evident that they did not want to admit anything at all, and even when they did admit something it was only a partial admission for the sake of appearances so that we would not raise the issue at the meeting. Later developments proved this to the hilt. In its reply to our speech, which it distributed on December 1, 1960 to the delegates at the meeting, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union did not admit anything. On the contrary, it tried to refute our speech and defended both the ambassador as well as Malinovsky, Grechko, and others.

During the talks, they went to great lengths to accuse our men over the grave situation which allegedly has been created at the Vlora base. They used this, as well as the measures which the Plenum of the Central Committee took against Liri Belishova and Koço Tashko, as evidence of a certain anti-Soviet spirit which had allegedly emerged in Albania. They had a great deal to say about the naval base in particular. Now we hear that all that fuss which was made in Moscow about the Vlora base had been carefully coordinated with acts of provocation and very dangerous behaviour by some bad elements among the Soviet personnel at the Vlora base during those days. Evidently, everything was done to a plan. Provocations here, these things there, were employed as arguments to prove that we had changed our stand, that we were aggravating the relations, etc. But neither the provocations here, nor threats or false accusations there, succeeded. Our men here, educated by the Party, knew how to avoid scandals, never falling into the trap of planned provocations and this, in the end, forced the provocateurs to give up their plans; whereas our delegation, convinced that our commanders and officers carry out the directives of our Party had given special instructions concerning the Vlora base, and that we were convinced that nothing had happened, nor would happen there through the fault of our men, and we told

them to have a good look at what their people were doing. And in fact this was how things stood.

As a result of the first talks, in which voices were raised from time to time, each side was acquainted with the other's views, but stuck to its own positions. The only agreement reached was that we would hold another meeting the following day, at which the Soviet delegation would be led by Khrushchev. We stressed to the Soviet leaders that we were willing to hold this meeting also but they, on their part, should think things over better, should see matters from the political angle and not reduce them to trifles or to accidental and technical mistakes as they tried to explain them.

On November 12, the official meeting took place, at which the Soviet side was represented by Khrushchev, Mikoyan, Kozlov and Andropov, while on our side was the entire delegation.

This meeting, too, went the same way as the first. Khrushchev maintained the same stand, presenting the case as though they had done nothing, indeed he could not even imagine what might have aroused the indignation of the Albanian comrades, except the criticism which he had made when he was in Albania concerning the question of poplars. After we put forward the question of the ambassador, as well as the question of what had been written in the letter addressed to the Chinese comrades against our Party, Khrushchev, for the sake of appearances, admitted that it was foolish of the ambassador to have behaved in such a manner towards our armymen, but he defended and described as correct what had been written against our Party in the letter of November 5 addressed to the Chinese comrades. The main item of the talks was the problem of the Vlora naval base. Now it became clear why this question was raised so strongly, and what was the meaning of the military blackmail and provocations which were organized here during those days. Khrushchev raised the question that a grave situation had been created at the base, that our officers were quarrelling with the Soviet officers, that our men were allegedly speaking against Khrushchev, and so on. And, in the end, he raised the issue that the Soviets might remove their base.

This was an open threat, which, on the other hand, proved that everything which had been said earlier against our Party had not been accidental; thus, neither what Marshal Grechko said, "Albania is in the Warsaw Treaty for the time being," nor what Khrushchev told the Chinese comrades, "we shall treat Albania like Yugoslavia," or what Gomulka told the Chinese, "while Albania is a

member of the Warsaw Treaty we shall not allow it to do as it thinks fit, otherwise we shall convene the Warsaw Treaty and examine the question of Albania.”

In his proposal to remove the Vlora base, Khrushchev let out the entire plan that he, obviously, had worked out together with his associates. He wanted to threaten our Party with this, but without success. We rejected his distorted idea and described it as a fatal mistake, which nobody among the Soviet people would accept. We told him that threats do not go down with us and that, if they wished to raise the question of the liquidation of the base, this must be done by the meeting of the Warsaw Treaty. But we declared officially that the Party of Labour of Albania would never agree to such a decision, that we were for the preservation of the base, because it responds to the interests of defence of our country. We posed the question to the Soviet leaders whether, by giving up the Vlora base, perhaps they wanted to leave the U.S. Sixth Fleet in the Mediterranean a free field of action and avoid being committed to war with them in case of imperialist aggression against our country?

Of course, the discussion of this vital question made the going very much rougher in the talks, but what made it impossible to continue them was Khrushchev's unfriendly and despicable comparison when he said our talks were like his talks with Macmillan. At that our delegation broke off the talks and left the room in protest.

As a conclusion, it can be said that the Soviet leaders did not want to talk, or to reach agreement with us on anything. They had made up their minds on their plan and point of view. They had even started to talk with others about this with the sole aim of discrediting our Party. If they asked us to talks, they did this not because they wanted to resolve the disagreements, but to threaten us, to force us to give up the idea of our speech at the meeting. After these meetings it was clear once again who was for talks and who was not. They also showed that the Soviet leaders had no intention of making self-criticism over anything they had done against our Party and against our country. On the contrary, as their threat about the Vlora base indicated, they were determined to go further.

Therefore, we can repeat once more that in those conditions the Central Committee of the Party acted very correctly. It did well when it decided to raise, and when it actually did raise all our

contradictions with the Soviet leaders at the meeting of the representatives of the 81 communist and workers' parties of the world in Moscow.

On the Proceedings of the Moscow Meeting

The Moscow Meeting was organized to discuss the current problems of the international situation and the questions of strategy and tactics of the international communist movement. The basis for the proceedings of the meeting was the draft declaration prepared by the Commission of 26 parties which, as we said, was convened in Moscow in October. In discussing these questions, the meeting, in fact, had to pronounce itself on the disagreements which had appeared in the ranks of the international communist and workers' movement, to condemn the erroneous views and state in the declaration which it would approve, the correct Marxist-Leninist views, the united opinion of the entire communist movement on these questions.

But from the very beginning of the meeting, even prior to it, it was evident that the Soviet leaders and those of some other communist parties of the socialist and capitalist countries of Europe thought differently. The distribution of the letter of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union addressed to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China on the eve of the proceedings of the meeting, and the working on all the delegations with this letter, made the plan of the Soviet leaders even more clear. The tendency was to organize a new Bucharest, to gain approval outside the meeting for all those things that were said in Bucharest against China, to create the opinion among all the parties that the Communist Party of China is "dogmatic and factionalist," that "it has violated the Moscow Declaration and acts in opposition to the entire communist movement, that together with the Communist Party of China, the Party of Labour of Albania, too, is following the same course," opposition to which is expressed in the letter of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

In order to create this opinion, the Soviet leaders organized intensive preparatory work among the various delegations in the first days before the beginning of the meeting. Working especially actively to this end were the delegation of the French Communist Party (with the delegations of the capitalist countries of Europe), the delegations of the Communist Party of Spain and the People's

Party of Cuba (with the delegations of Latin America), the delegation of Syria (with the delegations of the Arab and African countries). On top of this organized work, in which the letter of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union dated November 5 addressed to the Communist Party of China was read and commented on, many bilateral meetings and talks were held with the Soviet delegation and the delegations of the socialist countries of Europe. Of course, such work cannot be considered normal, on the contrary it is incorrect and anti-Marxist. On the other hand, it indicates how weak are the positions of the Soviet leaders, because he who is on the correct course and who abides by the teachings of Marx and Lenin has no need to win allies through improper methods, pressure and working on people in this way.

By doing this preparatory work outside the meeting, the Soviet leaders intended to impart a demonstrative character to the very holding of the meeting, in which the speeches made would be in general terms, with eulogies for the successes achieved, without disclosing the existing contradictions, but casting veiled allusions against the correct Marxist-Leninist positions of the Communist Party of China and the Party of Labour of Albania on the fundamental issues. Such a development of the meeting would have been to the advantage of the Soviet leadership and the parties supporting its view because, on the one hand, they did their work outside the meeting, creating the opinion that the Communist Party of China had allegedly made mistakes, indeed that it is in favour of war, of adventures, against peaceful coexistence and so on, and on the other hand, by not uncovering the contradictions at the meeting, the Soviet leaders presented themselves as allegedly staunch partisans of the defence of the unity of the communist movement and the socialist camp, hence they displayed their "magnanimity" and avoided discussion of their line, of their mistakes, of their deviations from the 1957 Moscow Declaration and from the teachings of Marxism-Leninism.

The Soviet leaders saw clearly that an open discussion of the contradictions at the meeting would discredit them before the movement in many respects: first, because they have trampled on the Moscow Declaration and have adopted a conciliatory policy in the struggle against imperialism and revisionism; second, because they have breached the Leninist norms regulating the relations among socialist states and communist and workers' parties,

as is the case with China and Albania; third, because in the eyes of the entire communist movement, of the representatives of 81 communist and workers' parties of the world, the existing opinion of the infallibility of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and its leaders would vanish, together with the opinion that the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and its leaders are beyond criticism, that everything they say "is law, is correct, is the last word in Marxism and therefore must be implemented by all," etc., etc.

In keeping with this tactic Nikita Khrushchev spoke on behalf of the Soviet delegation on the first day of the Moscow Meeting. In fact, his speech was an attempt to set the tone in which matters should be discussed at this meeting.

Khrushchev's speech was cunningly prepared and differed greatly from the letter which the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union addressed to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China on November 5, which was distributed to all the delegations prior to the meeting, in which the Chinese comrades were openly accused of having violated the Moscow Declaration and the principles of Marxism-Leninism. The speech delivered at the meeting was written in such a tone as though no disagreements whatsoever existed between the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Communist Party of China. Moreover, throughout that speech of 80 pages, the Communist Party of China was never mentioned by name.

Khrushchev's speech gave the main "arguments" in defence of the theses of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union concerning the main questions about which there are disagreements, such as the question of war and peace, the theoretical problems of the 20th Congress, the question of the struggle against "factionalism" in the international communist movement etc. The speakers who followed in support of Khrushchev, such as Zhivkov and others, described Khrushchev's speech as "the creative development of Marxism," and repeated his arguments in other forms.

Although efforts were made to avoid mentioning the disagreements in Khrushchev's speech, to maintain a moderate tone, nevertheless, in a hidden manner it contained venomous allusions, which were directed first of all against the Chinese comrades, on a series of important problems.

Khrushchev strongly insisted on condemnation of the so-called factionalist activity in the international communist and

workers' movement, hypocritically declaring that this thesis was not directed against any party in particular, and he put great stress on the fact that the decisive condition for the achievement of unity in the international communist movement is allegedly respect for and the implementation of the decisions taken by the majority on the part of the minority. With this he set the line for all his supporters at the meeting on the key problem and his main aim: the condemnation and subjugation of the Communist Party of China and the Party of Labour of Albania.

Immediately after Khrushchev's speech the meeting began its "tranquil" course, as the tactic and purpose of the Soviet leaders required, according to the principle, "roast your meat but don't burn the spit." Thus, during the first three days of the meeting, 18 representatives of various parties took the floor, among them the representatives of the parties of Bulgaria, Hungary, Canada, Greece, Argentina, Iraq, the Union of South Africa and others, which while supporting the stand of the Soviet delegation on all matters raised in Khrushchev's speech and eulogizing him, levelled masked criticism against the correct views of the Communist Party of China. All of them, on Khrushchev's example, insisted that the declaration which has been prepared should remain unchanged on the questions about which the delegation of China, our delegation and those of some other parties had expressed opposition since the meeting of the October Commission. As is known, these questions had to do with the evaluation of the 20th and the 21st Congresses of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the questions of the "cult of the individual," the question of "factions" and that of "national communism."

This is how the meeting began, and this is the "tranquil" appearance it had in the first stage of the proceedings. But if formally its appearance was tranquil, in essence the atmosphere was tense, because they all had an uneasy feeling, all had something on their chests from which they could not get away unless they brought it out. They were all worried about the question of unity, but the course the meeting had taken was not leading towards unity. It covered up the contradictions without eliminating them, therefore, sooner or later, they were bound to burst out, would come to the surface, and the later this happened, the worse it would be for the fate of our movement. Marxism-Leninism teaches us to look the truth straight in the eye and not to be afraid of it no matter how unpleasant it may be. The contradictions existed, therefore

they had to be discussed courageously, who was right and who was wrong had to be found out through criticism and self-criticism, through frank and comradely consultation and discussion, and then purged of the filth, united in genuine Marxist-Leninist unity, we had to march ahead towards fresh victories. This is how we and the Chinese comrades conceived the proceedings of the Moscow Meeting of the representatives of the communist and workers' parties.

Therefore it was essential to change the spirit of the proceedings and the discussion at the meeting. It was necessary to put an end to the stage of the relative "tranquility" which was in the interests of the Soviet leaders, but did not serve the genuine strengthening of our unity.

The spirit of the proceedings of the meeting changed after the speech by the Chinese delegate, Deng Xiaoping, and the speech I delivered on behalf of the delegation of the Party of Labour of Albania. The meeting entered its second phase which is characterized by the open discussion of the disagreements existing in the international communist and workers' movement over the fundamental questions. This discussion forced the representatives of every party to take a stand toward these major issues, and thus the real views of every party came out clearly.

The speech of the delegation of the CP of China was a speech of high ideological content, a principled, very well-argued speech, which unmasked the erroneous views and the distortions and deviations of the Soviet leaders concerning the fundamental questions of the strategy and the tactics of the international communist movement. Right from the start of his speech the delegate of the CP of China exposed the method and aim of the Soviet leaders in not opening up the problems at the meeting. He described the November 5 letter of 125 pages, which was full of savage attacks against the CP of China and its leader, Mao Zedong, as in fact the main speech of the CC of the CPSU. The difference, he stressed, consists only in the fact that, taking advantage of the favourable conditions created for them because the meeting was being held in Moscow, the CC of the CPSU had distributed that speech outside the meeting, while delivering another in the meeting.

The Chinese delegation rebutted the distortion made of the position of the CC of the CP of China concerning the principal content of the present epoch. He said that the CP of China has never characterized the present epoch as the epoch of imperialism,

of war and revolution, but as the epoch of revolutions, of the overthrow of imperialism, of the triumph of socialism and communism.

This slander was first uttered at the Bucharest Meeting by the head of the Soviet delegation and was accompanied by other distortions that allegedly the Chinese overestimate the strength of imperialism while underestimating our strength. Speaking of the content of the present epoch, the Chinese delegation expressed its opposition to replacing the activity of the masses in the struggle for peace with the activity of state leaders, explained the meaning of the expressions, “the east wind prevails over the west wind” and “imperialism is a paper tiger,” and stressed the need to educate the masses in the spirit of determination to fight the class enemy.

Speaking of the problems of war and peace, of peaceful coexistence, the delegate of the CP of China pointed out the sources of wars, refuting the charge brought against the CP of China that it allegedly wants war, that allegedly it is in favour of the Cold War and that allegedly it seeks to establish socialism throughout the world by means of war. This, he said, amounts to saying that the threat of war comes from China and not from imperialism. Deng Xiaoping said that we must speak of both possibilities, that of the prevention of war and that of the outbreak of war, and that we must carefully prepare ourselves for both possibilities. “Overestimation of the strength of the people and the underestimation of the strength of the enemies,” he said, “is one tendency. If this tendency is not combatted, it might lead to adventurist leftist and sectarian errors. Overestimation of the strength of the enemies and the underestimation of the strength of the people is another tendency. If this tendency is not combatted it might lead to revisionist and right opportunist errors. It is important to combat both these tendencies.” “We think,” he said, “that in the present conditions the main danger in the ranks of the international communist movement is the second tendency, not the first.”

He demanded the inclusion of the following phrase in the draft declaration. “We can be sure that there will be no war only when socialism has triumphed in at least the principal countries of the world.” He explained the difference between the possibility of avoiding world war and the possibility of excluding any kind of war. The oppressed peoples will inevitably rise in war against their reactionary governments and we must support these wars. The

representative of the CP of China pointed out that the policy of the Soviet Union on talks has been supported by the People's Republic of China. But we must not base all our hopes or our main hopes on talks. Everything depends on the active struggle of the masses all over the world for peace.

Deng Xiaoping said that the main danger in the international communist movement is revisionism. It has never happened, he said, that revisionism has developed because there has been so much struggle against it as the Soviet leaders claim. He demanded that the chapter of the draft declaration speaking of this question should be more complete and said that there are also dogmatic tendencies which under particular conditions might become the main danger. But dogmatism is not manifested in the CP of China and even less on the questions over which it is being slandered.

He devoted a special place to the relations among the sister communist and workers' parties. He laid stress on the principle of the equality and independence of the various parties and on proletarian internationalism. He attached particular importance to the principle of the consultations among parties and the achievement of unanimity. He said that criticism among parties is a sound basis for unity among them. The Chinese delegation refuted the charge that allegedly the CC of the CP of China intends to reject everything the Communist Party of the Soviet Union has done. It is wrong to think that criticism harms unity; if the criticism has been in a harsh tone, the CC of the CP of China is not to be blamed for this. The principle of the majority and minority in the relations among parties should not and cannot be applied. This is a principle applied within the parties themselves and not at international meetings, at which each party preserves its own independence. The delegate of the CP of China criticized the Bucharest Meeting at which the Marxist-Leninist principles were breached, pointed out the positive and negative aspects of the 20th and the 21st Congresses of the CPSU, criticized the stand of the CC of the CPSU towards the Party of Labour of Albania and rejected the proposal that "factionalist activity" should be condemned in the declaration, a move which was directed against the CP of China.

Finally he dwelt in detail on the disagreements between the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China and the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. After an outline of the history of the disagreements and showing how the CC of the CPSU is extending them to state relations, Deng

Xiaoping said that the disagreements had been aggravated as a result of the violation of the principle of equality among the parties on the part of the Soviet leadership and that the Moscow Declaration had not been respected.

The Central Committee knows the content of the speech of our delegation, therefore it is unnecessary to dwell on it here. However, we can say that it was listened to with great attention by the participants at the meeting, and despite the attacks heaped upon us later, of which we shall have more to say below, no one, not even the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in its written declaration of December 1, could produce convincing arguments to refute a single one of our theses. On the contrary, its principled character, the correct analysis of the questions and the courageous criticism addressed to the Soviet leaders which our speech contained, were welcomed by many delegations of sister parties.

As I said above, following our speeches, the meeting took another course. This stage of the meeting also can be divided into two parts: the first 2-3 days after our speeches were dominated by the contributions of the representatives of the communist and workers' parties who defended the theses of the Soviet leaders, and consequently attacked the Communist Party of China and our Party of Labour. Whereas, during the last 2-3 days of the meeting there was a predominance of speeches of the delegations of the communist and workers' parties who defended the correct Marxist-Leninist positions, that is the parties which were of the same opinion as the Chinese comrades and us. Why did this happen? Because even in this direction the Soviet leaders pursued an incorrect procedure: wanting to create the impression that the entire movement is against us they gave the floor one after another to those delegations which they were sure would defend the view of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union while refusing it to others. Thus, for example, they postponed the right of the Indonesian delegation to take the floor for three days on end. But, in this manner, by putting off the demands of all those delegations, it came about that the last speeches delivered were by the parties maintaining a correct Marxist-Leninist stand.

What is characteristic of the speeches of the second stage of the meeting?

First, the attacks against the Communist Party of China and against our Party in particular were organized (to such an extent

that they were even furnished with quotations from the documents of our Party which are only at the disposal of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union), and another characteristic is their lack of arguments, the replacement of arguments with offensive language.

Second, at first, following the speech of the Chinese delegate the attacks were spearheaded only against the Communist Party of China, after our speech the attacks were directed mainly against our Party, and by the end of the meeting, especially during the second contributions, criticism was concentrated against our two parties at the same time — against the Communist Party of China and the Party of Labour of Albania.

Third, their discussions were tendentious, they condemned everything Chinese or Albanian passing over in silence, that means supporting even the most extreme manifestations of right opportunism which tried to take advantage of this situation in order to spread its ideas. For example, in his speech, which gave the impression of being more of the speech of a social-democrat than of a communist, the representative of the Communist Party of Sweden, Hagberg, raised these opportunist theses:

1. He said that in the framework of its collaboration with the social-democratic party the Communist Party of Sweden has achieved successes precisely thanks to the fact that it is in favour of a broad collaboration with all the social-democrats, that they speak of what unites them and not of what divides them. He declared that the leadership of the Communist Party of Sweden is against the creation of a left wing within the social democratic party because the communists should collaborate with all the detachments of the working class.

2. He defended the Yugoslav revisionists and criticized those who speak in harsh language against them. He declared that the main thing for us is to isolate the principal enemy and not the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, that we must not maintain a sterner stand towards the Yugoslav leaders than towards the heads of the social-democrats because this hurts the national feelings of the Yugoslav peoples. We should not aggravate our relations with the Yugoslav leadership so that we can have it a fellow-traveller, be it even temporary and not very reliable, in our common struggle for peace, etc.

3. He declared that the term “dictatorship of the proletariat” which may cause only harm should not figure in the declaration

which the meeting would adopt. The term “dictatorship of the proletariat” is an old term of the 19th century which has become outdated and frightens the masses. Although we communists understand the content of this term we don’t use it because from both the logical and the philological aspects “dictatorship” means the opposite of democracy, its negation. The Swedish workers take offence if you speak to them about the “dictatorship of the proletariat.” This term is not included in the program of the Communist Party of Sweden, and when we speak to the workers about the socialist state, we stress that this is the most democratic power, etc.

Likewise, the representatives of the Communist Party of the United States of America and of the Communist Party of Great Britain, under various pretexts, also demanded that the formulation on the dictatorship of the proletariat should be omitted from the draft declaration.

The representative of the Communist Party of the United States of America also demanded the omission from the draft declaration of the phrase which said: “if the crazy imperialists launch their war the peoples will wipe out and bury capitalism.” Whereas the delegate of the Italian Communist Party declared in his speech that not a single Italian worker would consent to pay for the victory of socialism in blood, that is, they are for “peace at any price.” The representative of the Italian Communist Party proposed a new formulation of the part of the draft declaration which speaks about Yugoslav revisionism. This new formulation left out the theses that the Yugoslav revisionists have betrayed Marxism-Leninism and have engaged in undermining activity against the socialist camp and the international communist movement.

However, none of the delegates to the meeting, including even the Soviet delegation, stood up to oppose these anti-Marxist and blatantly revisionist theses. Only the delegation of the Communist Party of China and our delegation, as well as those of some parties which stand on Marxist-Leninist positions, fought against and refuted these incorrect and opportunist views in the editing commission.

Immediately after the speech delivered by our delegation at the meeting, the representatives of a number of communist and workers’ parties launched heavy attacks, full of offensive epithets against the Party of Labour of Albania. Regardless of the facts, or without knowing them at all, they labelled as slanders all the crit-

icisms contained in our speech aimed at the leaders of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

The attack was opened by Dolores Ibarruri who said, among other things: "This morning I heard the most disgraceful speech I have ever heard in my many years in the communist movement; we have not heard such a speech since the time of Trotsky. It was a provocative speech. How can anyone speak such falsehoods against the Soviet Union... We protest against the slanders directed at Khrushchev. We believe that the entire movement will condemn your speech..." etc.

The most offensive adjectives were employed by Gomulka against our speech and our Party. He called our speech "an irresponsible attack against the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, an act of hooliganism which no one who has any sense of responsibility could permit himself." Further on Gomulka said: "If anyone does not believe that the Chinese are factionalists let him look at their factionalism with the Albanians..."

Attacking the speech of our delegation Longo and the representatives of some other parties declared that "It sounds like an insult and vilification, not only of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, but also of the entire international communist movement'."

The representative of the Moroccan Communist Party, Ali Yata, also made base attacks against the leadership of our Party.

Gheorghiu-Dej pronounced himself in this manner against our speech: "We listened with indignation to the speech by the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania. We controlled ourselves, putting our patience to the test, for it seemed as if 'The Voice of America' or 'Free Europe' was speaking from this tribune. No difference whatsoever from the Yugoslav revisionists. With their adventurist policy the Albanians are creating a difficult situation in the Balkans... our meeting should resolutely condemn the disruptive speech and action of the Albanian delegate."

The delegations of some parties which had pronounced themselves before I spoke hurried to issue written declarations to condemn the speech of the delegation of the Party of Labour of Albania and its leadership. This is what the delegations of the Bulgarian Communist Party, the French Communist Party, the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and others did.

The declaration distributed by the delegation of the Bulgarian

Communist Party, among other things, says: "...what the representatives of the Party of Labour of Albania did was an expression of the blackest ingratitude and cynicism. In return for fraternal help they have brought up the basest falsification and slanders against the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Soviet Union. The Belgrade revisionists have no reason to be dissatisfied with the struggle waged by the leaders of the Party of Labour of Albania against them. Through this struggle they have simply become more valuable on the American market, receive more generous aid and loans from the United States of America."

The declaration of the delegation of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, in connection with the speech by the delegation of the Party of Labour of Albania, says, among other things: "What are the aims of the monstrous slanders of the Albanian delegation which dared to describe the Communist Party of the Soviet Union as almost to blame for the Hungarian counter-revolution? The present words of the Albanian delegation, which makes grave accusations against the Soviet Union of resorting to almost colonial methods and great-power chauvinism, arouse even greater indignation. These insults can only be grist to the mill of the bourgeois and revisionist propaganda about the so-called Soviet 'colonialism' and Soviet hegemonism, etc."

A large number of the delegations that spoke after us in connection with our speech expressed themselves only with a few phrases, such as, "this was not the place to open these discussions," or "the speeches by the Chinese and Albanian comrades were inappropriate and harmful and contained slanders against the Communist Party of the Soviet Union," or "we agree with the assessment of the speech of the Albanian delegate made by the preceding speakers," etc.

Generally speaking the stand taken by the various delegations towards the views expressed in our speech may be divided into three groups:

1. The first group includes those parties that defended us openly or supported our theses without mentioning us at all or saying the odd word simply for the sake of appearances against our speech.

In this group mention should be made first of all of the Chinese delegation that resolutely defended our Party.

Besides the Chinese delegation many delegations of the communist and workers' parties of Asia came out openly in defence of

our Party. Some of them, such as those of Burma, Malaya and Indonesia criticized the un-communist methods and the offensive language used against those parties that speak openly and courageously, whereas some other delegations did not declare themselves openly but told us aside that they agreed with us.

2. The second group is made up of the delegations which spoke against us but, as said above, in very mild terms such as “improper speech,” etc. Most of the delegations from Latin America, the Scandinavian countries, some delegations from Africa and others may be included in this group.

3. The third group is made up of the delegations that rose against us with great heat and unreservedly defended the position of the Soviet leaders. But even among them there are some shades of difference:

— The most aggressive were: Gomulka, Ibarri, Ali Yata of Morocco, Zhivkov and the Czechs (the latter two came out with written declarations), Dej, Longo of Italy and others who used the most abusive language against us.

— The less aggressive were: the French who issued written declarations, the Tunisians and others who spoke against us, not in the above-mentioned terms, but such as “disgraceful speech,” “impermissible and unacceptable speech,” “aimed at discrediting the Soviet Union,” etc.

— Lastly, the moderates, among whom the Hungarians may be included, for they were very measured in their written declaration.

The fierce attacks against the Chinese delegation and ours came as no surprise. They were an organized outburst of unprincipled passions, an unsuccessful attempt to stifle our principled views and criticism through base attacks and offensive language, to divert the discussion, by means of sentimental phrases, away from the questions of principle on the agenda, etc. But they did not achieve their aims. In fact most delegations began to waver, and the more passions cooled down and logic prevailed, the more objectively the correct and principled Marxist-Leninist views upheld by the Chinese delegation, our delegation and some other delegations were assessed by a series of delegations.

This is clearly expressed in the shift of the ratio of forces and in the conclusion of the proceedings of the meeting. As we said at the start of this report, apart from the Chinese delegation and our delegation, the representatives of many other parties, too, took a

resolute Marxist-Leninist stand at the November meeting. All stood for the unity of the communist movement and frankly admitted that without China and its Communist Party there can be no talk of unity either in the communist movement or in the socialist camp. This stand was in open opposition to the proposals and theses of the Soviets and their ardent supporters who wanted to condemn the Communist Party of China and the PLA as factionalists, etc.

At the end of the plenary session of the meeting, after 79 representatives of the various parties had made their contribution to the discussion, N.S. Khrushchev took the floor for the second time, and so did Deng Xiaoping and twenty-three other persons. A characteristic of the last speeches of Khrushchev and his supporters was that they showed themselves more moderated, their expressions were more controlled, they were engaged more in defending their viewpoints than in attacking those of others.

Nikita Khrushchev's second speech was a reflection of the situation up to then at the meeting: on the one hand, the speech of the Chinese delegation and that of our delegation had dealt heavy blows at the arguments of the Soviet leaders concerning the accusations against the CP of China, and on the other hand, it was a fact that besides the parties openly supporting the stand taken by the Soviet delegation against the CP of China and the PLA, although without convincing arguments, there was also another group of parties, and not a small one, that supported our viewpoints and another in the centre who were against the split.

In conformity with this, Khrushchev's second speech has two characteristic aspects:

1. Although in its external form it was fiercer than his first speech and directly attacked both the Chinese comrades and us, in essence, it was a speech from defensive positions. Defending himself against the criticisms by the Chinese comrades and us, Khrushchev tried to justify the viewpoints of the Soviet leadership on a series of questions: war and peace, the stand to be taken towards imperialism, the thesis of the 20th Congress on the roads of transition to socialism, the attitude towards the national liberation movements, the criticism of "Stalin's cult of the individual," etc. Concerning all these questions he did not dare to enter into an analysis of the facts but said only that all 'the slanders and attacks against the Communist Party of the Soviet Union would be answered by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the

Soviet Union in a special letter. Apart from this, in Khrushchev's second speech the first signs of a retreat were apparent when he declared that facing the enemy the meeting must, without fail, be concluded with a joint document and the elimination of disagreements.

2. Relying on the support of the majority in his second speech, Khrushchev continued his pressure on the CP of China to have it condemned and force it to its knees. In this respect he was very insistent that allegedly the disagreements were between the CP of China and the Party of Labour of Albania on the one hand and all the communist and workers' parties on the other, that the minority should submit to the majority and respect its opinion that "factional activity" in the international communist movement should be condemned, etc. He went on with his attack against the Chinese comrades accusing them of being unwilling to acknowledge their mistakes simply for the reason that they put their pride above the interests of the international communist movement, etc. Without any arguments and on false evidence he also attacked the leadership of the Party of Labour of Albania.

Khrushchev's second speech showed that the leadership of the CPSU with Khrushchev at the head had not renounced its erroneous views and methods in its relations with the fraternal parties.

After Khrushchev's speech and in reply to it, Deng Xiaoping took the floor for the second time.

His speech was centered on two main questions: First, did the leadership of the Communist Party of China defend the Moscow Declaration of 1957, or did it violate it? Second, is the stand taken by the CP of China aimed at defending the compactness of the international communist movement, or has it endangered it?

Concerning the first question the Chinese delegate pointed out that the leadership of the CP of China consistently stood on the positions of the Moscow Declaration of 1957 and has defended it with determination. He once more refuted the accusations brought by many preceding speakers to the effect that the Chinese comrades, especially in the articles included in the pamphlet, "Long Live Leninism," have allegedly departed from the declaration of 1957, that they have allegedly negated the importance of the world socialist system on the international arena, negate the principle of peaceful coexistence, are left adventurists, dogmaticians, etc. He proved that on the contrary it was the Soviet leaders and the leaders of some other fraternal parties who began to de-

clare that some important theses of Leninism are obsolete, to act according to the supposition that imperialism has allegedly changed its nature, to spread harmful illusions about the summit meetings, etc. The articles included in the pamphlet "Long Live Leninism" were directed against imperialism, against revisionism and the harmful illusions fostered by the Soviet leaders in connection with imperialism. So it was they who departed from the positions of the Moscow Declaration of 1957 and not the Chinese comrades; as a result they should have consulted the other parties about their viewpoints which changed from those of the Moscow Declaration and not the Chinese comrades over their articles which have defended the theses of the declaration in question.

Concerning the second question the delegate of the CP of China rejected the accusation brought by many speakers that allegedly the first speech of the delegation of the Communist Party of China endangered the compactness of the international communist movement. On the contrary that speech was meant as an answer to the letter of the Central Committee of the CPSU dated November 5 which in fact had deepened the contradictions. The delegate of the CP of China also resolutely rejected the accusations that many speakers during the meeting brought against the Communist Party of China, as well as the accusation brought by Khrushchev in his second speech to the effect that the Chinese comrades allegedly put their dignity above the interests of the international communist movement.

He clearly showed that an unhealthy and impermissible situation has been created in which any criticism in the address of the leadership of the CPSU is labelled as "factionalist activity," whereas the Soviet comrades are permitted to decide everything on their own, without asking the others and the other parties have only to follow them. This violates the principle of equality and consultation in the relations among the fraternal parties. In this respect, the Chinese delegate exposed the manoeuvre of Khrushchev who, intending to justify his arbitrary actions in his second speech, said that the question of the condemnation of "Stalin's cult of the individual" could not have been made an object of discussion among the fraternal parties before the 20th Congress of the CPSU without previously soliciting the opinion of the Party, while after the decision of the Congress this decision could not be violated (in this way, in fact, the possibility of consultation among the fraternal parties is totally denied).

The Chinese delegate emphasized that the principle of consultation does not mean in the least the imposition of the will of the minority on that of the majority, that the unity of the communist movement was not threatened by the principle of equality and consultation but on the contrary, by the fact that this principle is being violated. He expressed himself resolutely against the inclusion in the draft declaration of such theses as that on the so-called "factional activity" in the international communist movement, on "national communism," etc. which are directed against the CP of China and he stressed that no unity could be reached on this basis. He also expressed his opposition to the thesis on the importance of the 20th Congress of the CPSU, the inclusion of which in the draft declaration would be considered as an imposition of the views of one Party on the other parties. He said that the common struggle of all the communist and workers' parties constitutes a broad basis for the overcoming of all the existing divergencies.

The speech by the delegate of the Communist Party of China showed that the CP of China stands firm on its correct Marxist-Leninist position that this is the only right road for the achievement of unity.

Our delegation decided not to contribute to the discussion for the second time, therefore it did not ask for the floor but we issued a brief written declaration which was distributed to all the delegations. In this declaration we emphasized that we stood firm on the positions expressed in our speech and pointed out that the insulting criticism levelled at us was hasty and did not serve the strengthening of the unity in our movement. In this connection we stressed:

"Typical in this respect was the speech of the delegate of the Polish United Workers' Party, Wladislaw Gomulka, who went so far in his unworthy attempts to distort the truth about the Party of Labour of Albania as to use against it epithets, descriptions and insinuations which are altogether impermissible in the relations among Marxist parties, and which only the imperialists and the Yugoslav revisionists fling at us day after day. From the content and tone of the Polish delegate's speech it is clear that he is not in the least interested in the elimination of disagreements among parties and the strengthening of the unity of the communist and workers' movement, but on the contrary is striving with great zeal to deepen them, which is only to the benefit of our enemies. His intention was to lead our meeting into a blind alley and to dis-

credit the Party of Labour of Albania in the eyes of the international communist and workers' movement. However, this attempt to isolate the Party of Labour of Albania ended in failure and disgrace as it was bound to do.

“We reject all the slanders and provocations made at this meeting against our delegation, against our Party and people.

“The Party of Labour of Albania regrets that a number of delegates of some other fraternal parties hastened to use incorrect and uncomradely language towards the Party of Labour of Albania in their speeches or written declarations distributed at this meeting, without going thoroughly into the real facts and without being aware of the truth. However, the Party of Labour of Albania hopes that those comrades will reflect more deeply and will understand the truth about the content of the speech made by the delegation of the Party of Labour of Albania.”

As you see, apart from Gomulka, we did not name anyone else, and did not respond to the personal attacks so that we would not deviate from our principled position. Our brief written declaration was well received by the delegations, and none of the 23 second-time speakers, even including Gomulka, said anything against it.

In this manner, the first and more important part of the Moscow Meeting came to an end and the commission for the final editing of the declaration started its work. The commission met 5 days in succession. The Chinese delegation, our delegation and other delegations with the same viewpoints as ours waged a stern and determined struggle there. The change in the situation was apparent in the commission. Not only the shift in the ratio of forces, but also the result of the resolute struggle and the courageous and unflinching stand taken particularly by the Chinese delegation and ours at the plenary session was even more evident there. Many delegations of parties in a centrist position behaved with respect towards the proposals made by our delegations.

In conclusion, some amendments were made for the improvement of the draft declaration, whereas all the proposals intended to weaken the declaration, to give it an opportunist character, like those of the Italians who wanted to water down the paragraph on Yugoslav revisionism or the proposals of the Swedes, etc. were rejected. The commission also rejected the thesis about “national communism” but in the end 4 questions remained unresolved: the assessment of the 20th and 21st congresses, the question of the

cult of the individual, the question of factions and the inclusion in the declaration of the principle of consultation for the achievement of unity as proposed by the Chinese delegation.

A break of one day was taken for consultation with the heads of delegations about finding a way out. However, our delegations expressed their determination not to accept the inclusion in the declaration of the first three of the above-mentioned four questions. Indeed, through some delegations that had taken a central position we let it be understood that if the above-mentioned questions remained in the declaration we would not put our signature to it.

Only at midday of the last day, as a result of our struggle and clear-cut stand, was complete unanimity reached after the delegation of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union was obliged to back down. In fact the questions under discussion were resolved as follows: the Chinese proposal about consultations was included, the assessment of the 21st Congress was removed completely and only the characterization of the 20th Congress according to the 1957 Declaration remained with the addition of a phrase on the contribution made by other parties to the enrichment of Marxism-Leninism; the formula about the cult of the individual remained but no longer as a phenomenon connected with the whole international communist movement. After these amendments the declaration was unanimously approved by all the delegations.

The fundamental questions about which there were different opinions are presented correctly and interpreted from the Marxist point of view in the declaration. The characterization of the epoch, the problems of war and peace, the question of peaceful coexistence, the problems of the national liberation movement, of the communist movement in the capitalist countries, of the unity of the socialist camp and of the communist parties, find their correct reflection in the declaration. The only fundamental question about which we disagreed but on which, for the sake of unity, we were obliged to make a concession was the mentioning of the 20th Congress.

But one thing should always be kept in mind. There exists the possibility that each will try to give his own interpretation to the theses of the declaration. The 1957 Moscow Declaration, too, was correct but many disagreements arose concerning its interpretation. Distortions could be made, not by revising the theses of the

declaration and replacing them with new theses but by stressing its theses in a one-sided manner, by mentioning only one side of the question and leaving out the other. For example there exists the danger that in the characterization of our epoch only our forces may be emphasized or overestimated; there is danger that, in connection with the problem of war, the danger of war may not be properly stressed and imperialism not exposed; there is the danger that only the policy of the alliance with the social-democrats and the national bourgeoisie may be emphasized and the struggle against and the criticism of their reactionary viewpoints and actions may be left aside. There is the danger that the peaceful road of transition to socialism will be stressed most, and the non-peaceful way not mentioned as it should be; there is the danger that revisionism may be acknowledged as the main danger only in words and more stress laid on the struggle against dogmatism and sectarianism.

Similar distortions can be made over the other problems taken up in the declaration too.

Hence the question arises: how will this declaration be implemented? Will it be honoured by everyone?

We can answer this question with certainty only as far as our Party is concerned. Not only will our Party of Labour fight with might and main to implement the declaration approved, but at the same time we feel ourselves duty-bound to fight against anyone who may violate it, who may attempt to distort its content.

As far as the other parties are concerned, we hope that for the sake of unity of the common struggle against imperialism and revisionism, for the sake of the camp of socialism and communism, they all will implement the declaration approved. The implementation of this declaration to the letter will mark a decisive step towards the liquidation of all disagreements in the ranks of the communist movement, will make a valuable contribution to the tempering of the unity of the socialist camp and the international communist movement which is indispensable for the victory over the enemy. The declaration itself and its content represent a real basis on which this unity can be built.

But we cannot fail to inform the Central Committee of the Party about some reservations that are even now becoming apparent in the attitude of the Soviet leaders towards the implementation of the declaration.

The reservations they have expressed, which in our opinion

are unjustified, are these: in a speech he delivered in October at a banquet in honour of the participants in the editing commission of the declaration, Nikita Khrushchev himself called the declaration a "compromise document." "As you know," he went on, "such documents are not long-lived." Later, at the farewell banquet given in honour of the participants of the Moscow Meeting on December 2, 1960, that is to say, after the declaration was signed, speaking about Yugoslavia, Nikita Khrushchev stressed that it is not a socialist country, but that its economy is developing along socialist lines, and that "we¹ would not fight Yugoslav revisionism as the Albanians are doing, for we keep in mind that in case of war Yugoslav could muster a number of divisions and we do not want them lined up against us."

On what is hidden behind these declarations, what is their purpose, we shall not attempt to comment. Let us wait and see. We only observed these facts, and now we are informing the Central Committee of the Party about them. Of course in our opinion such statements cannot give rise to optimism. They make you think that the Soviet leadership will not fight as every party should to implement the pledges stemming from the unanimous approval of the declaration which was signed.

The Tasks of the Party for the Future

The activity of our delegation, its determined and principled stand, the courageous speech and all the work carried out at the Moscow Meeting have been very good and as we said have given good results. We must emphasize that as a result the personality of our party has been raised, admiration and respect for its courage, its principled stand, its determination to defend Marxism-Leninism have increased immeasurably. This makes us rejoice but it does not go into our heads and make us boastful. We did nothing but our duty to Marxism-Leninism, proletarian internationalism, to our Party and our people.

But, at the same time, there are a number of new problems facing us which we must solve with the wisdom characterizing our Party, with cool-headedness and intelligence.

We should be aware that our courageous and principled stand was not to the liking either of the Soviet leadership or the representatives of some parties of the socialist and capitalist countries,

¹ The Russians

and this is evident from the attacks they directed against our Party. On the other hand, as a result of the work done by the Soviet leaders with the various delegations, especially after our speech, and the slanderous lies they told the meeting against us, among many delegations there is the impression that we attacked the Soviet Union and its Communist Party.

On Relations with the Communist Party of China

In recent times our ties and relations with the Chinese comrades have become still closer. And this is explained by the fact that our two parties are following the same course, the same aim, because the principled struggle for the defence of Marxism-Leninism united the two of us and linked us closely. Some representatives of various parties in Moscow, like Zhivkov and others, tried to present the matter as if the Party of Labour of Albania acted and acts according to the instructions of the Communist Party of China. It is not necessary to stress here that our Party has its own opinion, has its own views, its own personality. It has fought for many years resolutely in defence of Marxism-Leninism and it continues to do so. In this struggle we found ourselves shoulder to shoulder with the Chinese comrades who are also fighting with courage and determination in defence of our triumphant ideas. On this basis, on the basis of the struggle for Marxism-Leninism, our two parties became united and firmly linked together.

It must be said that at the Bucharest Meeting we defended the Chinese comrades proceeding from the positions of Marxism-Leninism. Likewise, from these same positions we defended them also at the Moscow Meeting. But for their part, the Chinese comrades, too, at the Moscow Meeting resolutely defended our Party and its principled positions. Allow me to put forward here what the delegate of the Communist Party of China said in his two speeches with regard to our Party.

In the first speech he said, among other things, that the position adopted by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in these recent times towards the Party of Labour of Albania has caused great concern among us. The Soviet Union has given aid to Albania and nobody denies this. "But," he stressed, "can one consider as entirely insignificant the internationalist aid which the heroic and industrious Albanian people give the Soviet Union, the whole socialist camp, the international communist movement, the cause of peace throughout the world

and the revolution of the peoples of various countries? In any case, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union cannot, because it has given aid to Albania, consider it permissible to use this as a privilege to interfere in the internal affairs of Albania and neither have the Albanian comrades in any way lost the right to solve their internal questions independently for this reason.

“In these recent times the leaders of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union have more than once made attacks on the Party of Labour of Albania before the Chinese comrades stating that they will adopt towards the Marxist-Leninist Party of Labour of Albania and towards the People’s Republic of Albania the same stand they adopted towards Yugoslavia, that they want to condemn the Party of Labour of Albania while cutting off any kind of aid to it simply because the Albanian comrades defend their own views on a series of questions that, especially at the Bucharest Meeting and after that meeting, they did not follow the Soviet comrades in the actions directed against the Communist Party of China. In its letter of November 5, addressed to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union even expressed its open support for anti-Party elements in Albania calling them friends of the Soviet Union. We hope that the Soviet comrades will quietly ponder over whether by adopting such a stand towards the Party of Labour of Albania they are guided by the principles of proletarian internationalism or by patriarchal principles which are impermissible in the ranks of the communists? If things reach the point that all the sister parties and all the fraternal countries interfere in one another’s internal affairs and provoke disruption of one another without hesitating to use any means whatsoever then the question arises: what will become of our great communist family? There is no doubt that such acts are absolutely incompatible with the interests of the socialist camp and of the international communist movement...”

And in the second speech he stressed:

“The delegation of the Communist Party of China is of the opinion that the questions presented by Comrade Enver Hoxha in connection with the relations between the parties and states of the Soviet Union and Albania are serious and deserve serious attention and study on the part of the comrades. The comrades may not agree with this or that point of his critical remarks but in any case

they must base themselves only on facts and they must not, without having examined the facts, describe as calumny everything which has been said, as though the serious disagreements that have arisen between the sister parties and fraternal countries can be solved in that way. The Communist Party of China sincerely desires that the disagreements between the parties and states of the Soviet Union and Albania should be solved by means of friendly consultations and that the good fraternal relations that have been created between them in the course of many years will be maintained in the future too. The interests of the socialist camp and the international communist movement require this. Some comrades insulted the delegation of the Party of Labour of Albania, a thing which is contrary to the spirit of equality between sister parties. We were astonished by the fact that even Comrade Gomulka allowed himself to use offensive terms saying that the speech of the Albanian comrades is a 'dirty attack by hooligans.' Can it be said that Albania is not a socialist country and the Party of Labour of Albania not an internationalist and communist party? Are the Albanian comrades not waging a determined struggle against imperialism and Yugoslav revisionism? If we reflect calmly that Albania is a small country in our socialist camp and is surrounded by enemies, it would be difficult to believe that the Albanian comrades treat others with contempt. Offensive words addressed to the Albanian comrades are no contribution either to the solidarity of the international communist movement or to the improvement of the relations between the Soviet Union and Albania.

“Some comrades allowed themselves to declare that the speech of the Albanian comrades is allegedly a result of the factional activity that the Chinese comrades are carrying out. Indeed, they declared that this is a ‘distribution of roles’ between the Albanian and Chinese comrades. It is very difficult for us to understand how these comrades could invent such tales. If the fact that the Albanian and Chinese comrades express identical views on a series of questions is to be called factional activity or the result of the factional activity the question arises what can we call this when the comrades of the other sister parties express identical views? Comrades, in our ranks, in the ranks of the sister parties, such an atmosphere of irresponsibility and injustice has been manifested. This can not fail to cause us serious concern...”

Our Party of Labour is grateful to the sister Party of China for

this internationalist and Marxist-Leninist support.

In the future our Party will strengthen its ties and friendship with the Communist Party of China and the great Chinese people, always upholding the teachings of Marxism-Leninism and the correct line always pursued by the Central Committee of our Party.

On the Discussion in the Party and at the Party's Congress of These Questions

So far, the Central Committee of the Party has informed the Party, through a special letter, only about the Bucharest Meeting. We think that now, with another letter, we must inform the Party organizations of the Moscow Meeting and the contradictions which exist between our Party and the leadership of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. We think this letter of the Central Committee should be analysed and discussed at district Party conferences or among activists, and then in the Party branches. It would be good if all this work can be completed before the Congress so that the delegates who come to the Congress will be aware of these problems beforehand.

The Party organizations must see to it that our people and, in the first place, the communists, further enhance their revolutionary political vigilance and devote more attention to the problems of production, the realization of the economic plans in industry, construction, the mines, trade, agriculture, etc. In the present conditions total mobilization is needed, indeed, a ten-fold increase of the enthusiasm and determination of the masses to cope with the difficulties and obstacles¹ ahead of us so that both the Party and the people emerge successfully.

As to the Party Congress we think that it is better to postpone it, to hold it towards the beginning of February, so that we shall

¹ Time confirmed the predictions of the PLA. The Soviet leadership launched an all-out open attack against the PLA and the PRA. It unilaterally broke off all the agreements, stopped all the credits which were due to be provided for the PRA in the years 1961-1965 on the basis of agreements, broke off all trade, technical-scientific and cultural relations, used the withdrawal of all the Soviet specialists from Albania as a means of pressure, withdrew all the warships from the Vlora naval base before the eyes of the whole world, robbing Albania also of eight submarines and all the Albanian warships that were under repair at Sevastopol in the USSR, cancelled the scholarships of all the Albanian students studying in the Soviet Union and expelled them, and finally, carried out an absolutely unprecedented act in the relations among socialist countries — broke off diplomatic relations. Subsequently, a total economic blockade was organized against the PRA.

have time to put the questions of which we spoke before the Party and also to prepare ourselves better for the Congress.

Comrades,

These were the questions we wanted to report to the Plenum. Our Party, as always, will march towards new victories under the banner of Marxism-Leninism. We will achieve ever greater successes for we are on a correct road, we are fighting for a noble cause, therefore there is no obstacle or difficulty that can stop our triumphant advance.¹

¹ The Plenum fully and unanimously endorsed the activity of the delegation of the CC of the PLA at the Moscow Meeting.

THE PRINCIPLED AND CONSISTENT STRUGGLE AGAINST IMPERIALISM AND REVISIONISM HAS BEEN AND REMAINS THE ROAD OF OUR PARTY

(Closing Speech at the 21st Plenum of the CC of the PLA)

December 20, 1960

On December 20, 1960, Comrade Enver Hoxha delivered his concluding remarks to the 21st Plenum of the CC of the PLA. In these remarks, he stressed that in the Soviet Khrushchev group, the genuine communists the world over were not dealing with well-wishers who had gone astray, but enemy plotters, more dangerous than the Titoite revisionists, who had been scheming even during Stalin's lifetime, making arrangements for after his death and laying the groundwork to usurp power into their new bureaucratic apparatus. This involved, necessarily, digging up the remains of all the old traitors and enemies of the Soviet people and portraying them as victims of "Stalin's cult" and so on. This signalled a new phase of struggle against Soviet revisionism and against opportunism more broadly in the international communist and workers' movement. The speech is as follows:

I shall try to be brief, since the contributions of the comrades of the Plenum to this great problem, so decisive for the defence of Marxism-Leninism and the line of our Party, were at the proper level and supplemented the report submitted to the Plenum on behalf of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee very well.

First of all I want to emphasize that what we did in Moscow, where we put forward the line of our Party, is not a personal merit of mine or of our delegation only, but it is the merit of our entire Party and, in particular, of its leadership, the Central Committee, which has always led our Party correctly, has always analysed the situations in the light of Marxism-Leninism, has always remained loyal to our glorious theory, has carried out to the letter all the correct decisions that have been adopted, and has also known how to transmit these decisions properly to the Party and to arm it powerfully. For these reasons the whole general line of our Party has achieved great successes. Hence we should be clear that the credit for this belongs to the Central Committee and our entire heroic Party.

The revisionists may think and say that if our Party were to learn about the stand our delegation maintained at the international Meeting in Moscow, it would not tolerate its Central Committee. But none of us has the slightest doubt about the steel-like unity that exists in our leadership, the steel-like unity of our Party around the Central Committee and the Political Bureau. This constitutes the great strength of our Party, and this unity has made it possible for our Party to contribute to the defence of Marxism-Leninism on the international level. In this regard, of course, we have done nothing but our duty as a Marxist party, as internationalists. With this correct concept of its duty which is characteristic of our Party, we are firmly convinced that all of us, in solid unity, will pour out all our strength to apply Marxism-Leninism precisely, through to the end, unwaveringly and in all circumstances.

As the comrades said, we are confronted with a great and difficult struggle. We all are aware of the struggle which awaits us, but we are not afraid. We do not say this out of the desire to give one another courage; the whole life of our Party has demonstrated this, and the recent events have especially proven this. In its principled, consistent stand, in defending its correct line, i.e., Marxism-Leninism, our Party did not flinch in the face of either the current difficulties or of those of the future. Thus, difficulties and the struggle do not frighten us. This is a Marxist characteristic. We have not been, nor will we ever be, pessimistic about the future. On the contrary, we will be optimistic for we are convinced that Marxism will always triumph over opportunism and revisionism, as well as over imperialism.

Why is this struggle difficult? Because when we say that we are confronted with modern revisionism, we mean that we are confronted not only with Yugoslav revisionism, which the Moscow Declaration describes as the essence of modern revisionism, but that we are facing even more dangerous revisionists. For the sake of appearances, everyone — even the other revisionists, even Khrushchev and company who are such themselves — admitted this. They did this to camouflage themselves, choosing the lesser of two evils. Otherwise, it would have looked a bit fishy, and what they sought to conceal would have been exposed. They put up a fight and will continue to do so in future, too, resorting to all sorts of tricks to camouflage themselves.

These people proposed that nothing should be said about Yugoslav revisionism in the declaration, and only after a prolonged

struggle did they agree to the inclusion of this issue. But revisionism is not concentrated in Yugoslavia alone. It is a dangerous trend in the whole international communist movement. It has become dangerous especially because of the efforts of the opportunists to tranquilize the people by spreading the idea that revisionism exists in Yugoslavia alone; hence they fight to confine the struggle just to Yugoslavia. In this way international revisionism is causing great confusion, which will become even greater in the future; it will try to conceal this serious danger which is threatening the international communist movement, and will continue to confuse and deceive other people in the future. Faced with this danger, one of the Marxist-Leninist parties which must, and will, wage a stern and consistent struggle against revisionism, is our Party.

It is a fact that we are not alone in this struggle. When Khrushchev said to the representatives of the Communist Party of China, "We shall treat Albania the same as Yugoslavia," or "The Albanians behave toward us just like Tito," he was bluffing and could deceive nobody. It is not Tito who is Khrushchev's enemy, but us. But since the Yugoslav revisionists have been condemned, against Khrushchev's will, by the international communist movement as traitors and renegades to Marxism-Leninism, Khrushchev and company, while not defending them directly, strive to smear the positions of the genuine Marxists and to put the "dogmatists" — in reality, those who defend the principles of Marxism-Leninism — on a par with the revisionists, with whom, as Marxism teaches us, one fine day Khrushchev and those who follow him will completely agree on the road they should follow. So Khrushchev says that we Albanians are not revisionists but "dogmatists," and that allegedly we fight the Soviets the same as the Titoites; that is to say, according to him, he and his cronies are allegedly Marxists, while we constitute the "left" wing of Marxism. "Therefore," he says, "both Tito from the right and the Albanians from the left are fighting against us, the Marxists."

But it is not the revisionists who are the enemies of Khrushchev and his entire group. Life is demonstrating that only the Marxists are the enemies of this group. The Political Bureau emphasizes that, following his advent to power, Khrushchev and his revisionist group had worked out a complete plan: Marxism-Leninism would be negated and all those trends and people that had been unmasked, attacked and defeated as anti-Marxists, or who

had been liquidated by Marxist-Leninism in action, were to be rehabilitated; the entire struggle of the Soviet Union and of the CPSU against renegades from Marxism-Leninism, a struggle which was personified in the CPSU(B) led by Lenin and Stalin, was to be negated.

This meant that both Lenin and Stalin had to be attacked. But to attack Lenin was impossible for them; it would have been a great catastrophe for the revisionists, so they confined themselves to Stalin and they dragged out a thousand and one things against him. Today it has become even more apparent that these intriguers, liars, opportunists and revisionists are doing all these things openly, devising all these villainies in the international communist movement, organizing disgraceful behind-the-scenes plots within the fraternal parties.

Seeing all these despicable methods which the revisionists use, our Party is fully convinced that all the monstrous accusations and slanders brought against Stalin were aimed at discrediting both him as a person as well as the work of this great Marxist-Leninist. The revisionist, career-seeking, non-Marxist elements in the Soviet Union have accepted these concoctions. They have accepted the theses of Khrushchev and his group concerning "Stalin's mistakes" and so on.

The Political Bureau emphasizes that the Soviet leadership headed by Khrushchev tried to rehabilitate the Tito clique, and this is a fact.

No great weight should be given to the variations and zigzags of Khrushchev, because he has not been able to avoid them, since he was not in a position to change the situation in a single day; there were sound Marxist-Leninist forces in the party who did not allow him to follow his course at the speed he would have desired, so that he and his group could carry out their plans immediately. But it is fact that he has made every effort to completely rehabilitate all the enemies of Marxism-Leninism who had until then been condemned in the Soviet Union. He dug up old accusations against Stalin, such as whether or not Kamenev and Zinoviev, who had betrayed Lenin, should have been executed. Whether or not it was Stalin who shot these traitors, they were shot for the treason they had committed against the Soviet Union and against communism. Now Khrushchev is dragging out all these things and striving to rehabilitate these people. Therefore, in order to rehabilitate the Yugoslav revisionists, too, he had to fabricate all sorts

of lies against Stalin. We should have no illusions at all that the line of Khrushchev and his group will change. This line will not change in the least as far as his international policy and his defence of revisionism are concerned. Khrushchev and his group are on a revisionist course. This stand of his has had, and will continue to have, grave repercussions in the international arena.

But will Khrushchev and his group succeed in their plans? We are fully convinced that they will not be successful, although we shall encounter many difficulties in our course. We should keep his policy in mind and deal with it very carefully, for he is no ordinary revisionist, but a wily devil and a skilful acrobat to boot. If we carefully analyse his activity since he came to power, we shall see that he has captured key positions everywhere, has used all sorts of methods to disguise himself, and is continuing to do dangerous work. In the beginning, through his tricks, he managed to create a situation which prevented the emergence of any opposition; he took up a few slogans about international political life and the development of the economy, and publicized them far and wide with enough clamour to confuse people for a while.

He followed this tactic in the USSR as well, by preaching a sort of change, right down to the way people live. He trumpeted that in Stalin's time the life of the Soviet working people was hell, whereas now Khrushchev has become "the promoter of a new life, democratic and rich from the economic aspect." Then he raised the question of peace in the world, which he was going to "impose" on the imperialists, etc.

This policy was loudly propagated right from the start of his career, when his instructions had not yet yielded their fruit. Words there were aplenty, but nothing came of them. All this was done in order to prepare the ground and create a favourable situation. Khrushchev continues to follow this road.

His course has had grave repercussions in international policy. He has lulled people to sleep and made them shut their eyes to the imperialist danger, the revisionist danger, and all the other opportunist trends menacing international communism.

By means of his views and his opportunist and revisionist policy, Khrushchev has aroused and activated all the revisionist elements, and has therefore become very dangerous. In the other countries the revisionists did not make their presence felt — not because they were terrified of Stalin, not because he would have shot them, for in Bulgaria, Albania and elsewhere, even if Stalin

had wanted to, or had really been as Khrushchev is presenting him now, they were out of his reach; they did not make their presence felt because at that time, in all the parties, there was a correct Marxist-Leninist line which did not allow revisionism to become active.

Yugoslav revisionism was exposed and condemned by the CPSU and by Stalin. This line was embraced by all the other parties. When Khrushchev and company came to power, all the revisionists saw that in them they had powerful support, because these people are at the head of the Soviet Union. Therefore, now it can be seen that within many Marxist-Leninist parties which have had a consistent stand, people of opportunist-revisionist trends have raised their heads and even managed to have themselves elected to the leading organs. For a while Khrushchev thought that he would push through his line smoothly, therefore he was reckless in the propagation of his views, both in the internal economic and organizational measures which were taken in the Soviet Union and in its international policy. Thus, in pursuing his opportunist and revisionist line, he would say whatever came into his head, and he made repeated concessions to imperialism. In words, you may threaten the imperialists as much as you like, but they are no fools; they make their calculations well, they take into account not only your declarations and tactics but also your means and forces. The imperialists also have the assistance of the revisionists who know the concrete reality in our countries.

It is a fact that ever since Nikita Khrushchev and his group came to power, imperialism has made no concessions at all. On the contrary, it has armed itself more powerfully and is preparing for war. We are absolutely right when we say that the camp of socialism and the forces of peace are much more powerful than those of imperialism. But these forces can be weakened if we slacken our vigilance, if we do not defend Marxism-Leninism resolutely, if we do not put a stop to these actions of the revisionists and fail to ceaselessly expose imperialism and revisionism, if we do not educate the people politically and fail to arm them so that they are always ready to cope with any possible danger.

It is clear that the methods used by Nikita Khrushchev and those who assist him result in reduced vigilance toward this danger. Therefore, as the report of the Political Bureau points out, the time came when we could wait no longer, we could go no further by these methods. When the Soviet revisionists say, "You started

the fight," etc., they are telling lies, trying to cover their tracks. The thing is that they began to follow an opportunist line which has become more and more pronounced since the time they seized power.

Their defence consists only of, "You say this, you say that." But it doesn't hold water. We see that ever since they came to power, they have been following a revisionist line and working to weaken the struggle against imperialism, the vigilance of the peoples and to help revisionism gain control of the international communist movement.

Now, however, we have said "Stop!" to this whole business. Thus the whole opportunist line headed by Khrushchev was endangered. As an opportunist, he wanted to defeat the Marxist-Leninist resistance to his line. He thought that this resistance in the Soviet Union would be smashed by bringing up the question of Stalin, by condemning the "cult" of the individual around Stalin. He thought, too, that, in the international communist movement, there were enough forces available to strike a decisive blow at the Marxist-Leninist attack on his opportunist line. This was clearly evident at the Bucharest Meeting where efforts were made to condemn the Marxist-Leninists and liquidate the situation which was hindering him; but, as we know, they failed.

Our Party played an important role at the Bucharest Meeting. It was the only party to oppose what was being done there. And from then on the hostility against us, until then covert, came out in the open. From this we can judge how grave and damaging to them was the stand of our Party.

We should have complete confidence that the situation Khrushchev has created in many communist parties of Europe, which he has tried to win over to his side, is a temporary one. We base this conviction on the strength of Marxism-Leninism. However, for the time being, he has created this unhealthy situation by bringing people with opportunist-revisionist views into the leadership of a number of parties by one means or another. In the face of these favourable conditions which he had created for himself, apart from the great Communist Party of China, there was a small Party too which also realized the danger of this line and stood up to say resolutely: "Stop! I am not with you at this point. I do not support the course you are pursuing!"

Up till now, in the interests of the international communist movement, we too have used tactics, but now that Khrushchev

seeks to deal blows at the sound part of the international communist movement and compel it to follow his opportunist line, we say to him: "Stop!" Of course, to them, this is a great loss.

But the situation became more complicated for them at the Moscow Meeting. The Moscow Meeting did not proceed as they had envisaged. The proof of this is the Moscow Declaration, which is a good document, approved by all. Naturally, had there been a healthy situation, a more fiery, more militant declaration would have come out of it. However, this document is acceptable and it must be understood correctly, just as it is.

Now the question arises: Can it be said that these people who signed such a document will change? We must say to the Central Committee that they will not change their line. This is implied from the words of Khrushchev, which were mentioned in the report and which should not be forgotten. In connection with the declaration he said, "It is a compromise document." To Khrushchev this is a compromise because he is entering another phase; but our tactics, too, are entering another phase.

All the Marxist-Leninist communist and workers' parties ardently loved the Soviet Union, the CPSU, and the leadership of the CPSU, with Stalin at the head, and had unshakable confidence in it. This was a well-deserved, correct, Marxist-Leninist confidence. When the Khrushchev group came to power, it no longer found that warmth in the hearts of the Albanian communists and those of the other countries as before. We continued to nurture the same feelings of love and confidence as before, with the difference that, basing ourselves on the events taking place there, we said that injustice is being done in the CPSU, that the line is being distorted there. In the beginning there were a number of ill-defined things, but later they were concretized.

Even in this phase, we preserve our love for the Soviet Union, but during this time we saw and understood that the leadership of the CPSU was moving to the right, toward an opportunist, revisionist course. Under these conditions, we adopted the tactic of keeping silent in public, especially before world public opinion. This was a correct tactic of our leadership and was not adopted by accident. Its aim was to defend Marxism-Leninism, to defend the line of our Party.

But what is our line? The struggle against revisionism and any opportunist or dogmatic trend which attacks and aims at the destruction of Marxism-Leninism, the ideological and political ex-

posure of imperialism and Yugoslav revisionism and of every kind of revisionism, the sharpening of vigilance, the arming and permanent readiness to deal with any eventual danger, and unbreakable friendship with all the communist and workers' parties and with the countries of the camp of socialism, regardless of whether Khrushchev, Zhivkov, Gomulka and others like or dislike our line. It means that we have not made political or ideological concessions in our line; it was they who made concessions. We have tried hard to defend our line and our love for the CPSU and the Soviet Union, but with Khrushchev and company we have not been and are not now in agreement. This they have understood and know.

Now a new stage is approaching, one which the Bucharest and Moscow Meetings opened. In this stage, too, their tactics have taken and will take new forms. But our tactics will not mark time either; they will be adapted to the development of events, but we shall always continue our resolute defence of Marxism-Leninism, we shall expose all the enemies of Marxism-Leninism.

After the Bucharest Meeting and especially after the Moscow Meeting, the positions of those who thought they had won have been shaken. No one doubts this. Nikita Khrushchev can no longer cut a great figure on the throne he had occupied in the international communist movement because of the principled struggle waged by our Party, the Communist Party of China and by many other parties which maintained a Marxist-Leninist stand.

These stands are of great historic importance, for they said "Stop!" to Khrushchev. They shook the very foundations of his positions among the various parties, although he had thought them impregnable.

But we should bear in mind that Khrushchev will try to keep all those who followed him at the Bucharest Meeting on his side, because they are heavily compromised. The Soviet revisionists and their flatterers who were present at the Moscow Meeting were greatly concerned that we should not criticize them; therefore they strove to throw dust in our eyes by cajolery. This was what Mikoyan tried to do before we spoke at the Meeting. "We agree with you," was more or less what he said. "We are for Stalin, too, for the 'condemnation' of Yugoslav revisionism, so tell us, what do you want?"

If we look at the problem from the ideological viewpoint, we shall be convinced of what was of greater importance: whether to

speak about those major problems of principle of the communist movement or about something else — about what Malinovsky said, for example. Of course, the defence of questions of principle of the communist movement, first and foremost, was of greater importance than the things the Soviet leaders had done to us, but these too were extremely discrediting to them, therefore they tried to induce us not to mention them in our speech, for this would expose not only their opportunist line but also the underhand, fiendish and dirty methods which the revisionists and the Soviet leadership have used against us and many others, which now they want to cover up. But they have left scars and have not been forgotten, and have had their influence on the mistakes made on many major questions of international communism.

Maurice Thorez, for example, may have had other reasons to maintain the stand he took against us at the Moscow Meeting, though, when he was on holiday in Albania, he was in full agreement with as much as I told him. But the speech of our Party in Moscow did not leave him unscathed because as the representative and leader of the French Communist Party he bears great responsibility since he permitted such a very important matter, as that of the stand toward the Yugoslav revisionists, whom the Information Bureau had condemned, to be settled by N. Khrushchev and his followers, not in the Marxist-Leninist way but simply by means of a telegram.

For a number of reasons Gomulka got up at the meeting and demanded that the question of Albania should be considered within the Warsaw Treaty, but he said this also because the representative of our Party had opposed his policy and had not agreed with Gomulka's proposals in the UNO. This is a question of great importance, because his proposals amounted to saying to the imperialists: "Keep all the numerous military bases you have set up, keep the atomic bomb and don't let others have it." It is easily understood that, according to Gomulka, China must not have this weapon, and the imperialists are very interested in this. The stand of our delegation, therefore, was a telling blow to their adventurous and opportunist policy which aims at leading the socialist camp toward the abyss. That is why Gomulka said that Albania should be expelled from the Warsaw Treaty.

The raising of these major questions had very great importance for the fate of socialism. The Soviet leadership would not have been much concerned if we had only pointed out what Ivanov

had done in Albania, etc. The raising of problems in the way we did upset them because this would expose their policy. But by also raising the question of their interference in the internal affairs of our country, the question of their attempts to split our leadership, we touched Zhivkov on a sensitive spot, since it is known that it was Khrushchev who interfered to bring him to power in Bulgaria.

Thus, our speech at the Moscow Meeting was exceptionally harmful to Khrushchev. It is understandable that this exposure would open up very great troubles for him. This is what impelled them to heap unprincipled insults on us, because if the others were to go thoroughly into these things, it would lead to a lot of troubles, not only for those who aimed their insults against us but also for those directing them.

It is known that, subsequent to the 20th Congress of the CPSU, there were changes in the leaderships of many communist and workers' parties. Khrushchev understood that the parties in which the leadership was not changed constituted a great danger to his line, because his efforts and his views could not find a foothold among them. So he was obliged to grin and bear it, and for the sake of appearances, he maintained friendly relations with our Party. But he saw that he was failing to achieve his ends, and if not today, he planned to have another try in the future. This is what he intended for our Party, for the Communist Party of China and for some other parties. In these parties, he was quite unable to undermine the leadership; therefore, seeing a danger in them, he went about achieving his plans in other ways.

At first he tried to strengthen his positions, to create an atmosphere of trust — because he was allegedly the “Lenin” of today — to eliminate all doubts about himself, and in the course of this activity to prepare his loyal cadres who would support him. He saw that good propaganda work about the Soviet Union was being done in Albania and he hoped that the time would come when we too would follow his course. But it did not turn out that way.

Although they signed the declaration, it does not mean that they have changed their course. This is only one of their tactics. No one knows how long this will go on, but it is a dangerous tactic. We shall keep our eyes on it, we shall follow it closely. The international situations will become more complicated, despite the propaganda of Khrushchev and his followers about peaceful development. Wherever we look, we see strikes, uprisings, national liberation movements on the part of the peoples, and terror on the

part of the imperialists. This refutes the view that Khrushchev has propagated so widely about the peaceful development of events.

Nothing can stop these people in their course except the great force of international communism and the strength of the parties that fight consistently for the defence of Marxism-Leninism.

We must be optimistic. The issues are becoming clearer day by day and the international situation will undoubtedly confirm our theses. But we face a protracted struggle. It should in no way be thought that they will lay down their arms. On the contrary, they will try to manoeuvre in the most brutal and sophisticated ways. The contradictions of the policy they follow toward the imperialists will emerge ever more clearly; whoever is a Marxist will understand them, because the imperialists are preparing for war, and the revisionists want to restrain them with words alone. With the policy they are pursuing they are leaving imperialism a free field of action; therefore, day by day, it is becoming a grave danger to the camp of socialism, the entire communist movement and peace in the world.

We have had faith in the Soviet Union because when we experienced difficulties before both she and the countries of people's democracy have helped us. But at no time have we gone to sleep basing our hopes on the aid of friends alone. Khrushchev used to say demagogically, "Why do you need weapons? We are defending you!" Fine, but what are all these things that are happening? Why have we not met even once to talk over those problems that are so important for the fate of the socialist camp and international communism, to look into these great problems together? Why was our Minister of Defence appointed Deputy Commander of the united forces of the Warsaw Treaty? Similarly, why have his colleagues in Poland, Czechoslovakia and others been appointed? Their appointment is entirely formal because nobody invites them to talks; all the measures on behalf of the socialist camp are taken by Khrushchev and company. "You can put your trust in us," says Khrushchev, "we are well armed." But somebody might launch a surprise attack on us, and we may not have the weapons to retaliate. "We shall attack them from Siberia," says he.

But as events are developing, all of us together should be well prepared. We shall go to war together; therefore how we shall defend ourselves should be decided together. We do not seek to know the military secrets of the Soviet Union, but Khrushchev in the Kremlin continues to lay down his grand strategy for all the

countries of the camp and doesn't call us even once to tell us at least: "We have these kinds of weapons and in safe places." The representatives of the Warsaw Treaty countries do not meet from time to time to check on armaments, to take joint measures, so that our armies get to know and fraternize with one another. These situations are known only to Khrushchev's friends. I am sure that the others, too, even Gomulka who is keeping quiet now, certainly have reservations about these questions, but now he sees eye to eye with Khrushchev, and, over a criticism that we made, in addition to other threats he demanded our immediate expulsion from the Warsaw Treaty.

Hence, the struggle ahead of us in the existing situation is not an easy one. On the contrary, it will be very difficult. But we should fight with determination, we should follow the situation step by step, being clear in our minds about what these people are and what they want to do. If they put themselves on the right road, we shall change our attitude toward them and we shall march together with them as before, but we should not allow ourselves to be lulled to sleep. After all these things which are occurring, we shall not have blind trust, because the views and actions of this man are blatantly anti-Marxist. Khrushchev is committing a great crime against the Soviet people and international communism.

We should take the threats he is making against us seriously. If they do not manage to throw us out of the Warsaw Treaty, if they do not withdraw their men from the Vlora naval base, if they do not cut off their credits, this will not be because they love us, but because their impetus was checked in Moscow, as well as because of international political circumstances. What they did to us in connection with the naval base was not only blackmail, but an entire line mapped out not by Khrushchev alone.

Why did they take a stand against us when we had not yet expressed our viewpoint? They had consulted one another, and the Bucharest Meeting was the alarm signal for them to do this. Later they called on us to march on their road, and since we did not follow them, they had already decided the stand to be adopted toward us.

If their course had not been stopped at the Moscow Meeting, they would have tried to drag us on to their anti-Marxist road, or if they failed to achieve this, to discard us, and if they were unable to expel us, to take the stand they are adopting now.

They could achieve neither the first nor the second objective,

and so it came to the situation we know. Of course, they had a different plan for us, but it would not have been easy for them to achieve because they would have been exposed in the international communist movement, especially in the eyes of the peoples of the Soviet Union. Although their plan toward our Party failed, they will never forget the courageous and correct Marxist-Leninist stand our Party has maintained and continues to maintain, and they will cook up fresh plans in order to take revenge, if not today, then tomorrow. But we shall not give them weapons to fight us. We are not going to make mistakes, we do not violate the line, nor kowtow to anyone, we shall stand as always, vigilant on the positions of Marxism-Leninism.

The Marxist-Leninist stand we maintain, as well as the stand of the Communist Party of China, is of decisive importance for the life of the socialist countries, for peace and socialism throughout the world. The Communist Party of China remains undeviatingly on the Marxist-Leninist road and has become an extraordinarily serious obstacle to them. One of the main causes of their retreat at the Moscow Meeting is the correct and principled stand of the Communist Party of China.

We think that if Khrushchev and company had not retreated, it would have been a great disaster for them and for all their minions because their parties would not have allowed such a crime to be committed against international communism. But even if their parties had accepted this temporarily, after a time it would certainly have become clear that they are revisionists and traitors, whereas China and Albania are on the Marxist-Leninist road, fighting against revisionism and building socialism.

That is why they preferred to retreat, in order to gain new strength from the new positions they would withdraw to. For this reason we think that we shall be facing a difficult struggle of great responsibility for the defence of socialism in Albania, the general line of our Party, and the correct principles of the Moscow Declaration.

But the grave situation that has been created in the international communist movement and in our relations with the leadership of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and with the leaderships of some other parties sets before us very important tasks, which we must always carry out correctly, with Marxist-Leninist wisdom and courage, as we have done up till now.

First of all, day by day, we must consolidate the unity of the

Party. This is a steel-like unity, but we should work continuously to temper it, since these moments are important turning points, and at these turning points there are people who waver. Therefore the Party should be close not only to its members but to each individual, close to all the masses of the people, so that the unity of the ranks of the Party and the party-people unity is tempered in a Marxist-Leninist way.

We are of the opinion that the Party should know the hostile and revisionist activities of these traitors, should see who are the individuals who want to dig the grave for our Party as well as for international communism. There are written documents about this, but we should also work by word of mouth in order to make it clear to the Party that a stern struggle must be waged against revisionism, not only theoretically but also in practice and with concrete examples. The Party members should be vigilant, should defend its line and safeguard the interests of our people, the Party and Marxism-Leninism.

Thus, it is important that we educate the Party well, for in this way it will understand correctly the tactics we have to use in such complicated situations.

Our Party will use tactics; this is necessary, among other things, so that the Soviet people and the other peoples of the countries of people's democracy understand that we are on the Marxist-Leninist road and in friendship with them, but in opposition to those who are their enemies and enemies of Marxism-Leninism.

If the leaderships of these countries continue to act against us, they will receive the proper reply; but we shall try to maintain friendly relations with all the socialist countries, without making concessions on principles, without distorting the line and always maintaining correct attitudes on the basis of Marxism-Leninism.

We should keep in mind that we shall have contacts with Soviet people or people of the countries of people's democracy. We shall not change our attitudes, but of course the relations with them will not be as they used to be, and it is not us who have brought this about, but they themselves. Mikoyan said to us: "Now it is not necessary to have close Party relations, but only trade relations." We said that we did not agree with such a view, but since that is what they want, that is how we must act too.

When Ivanov or Novikov came to meet us, we were the ones who gave them the information they wanted with the greatest goodwill. We did this not because we had to render account to

them, but because this stand was connected with the question of the close and unreserved friendship we nurtured for the Soviet Union. Now that the situation has changed, and this only because of them, when they come again we shall receive them, we shall ask what they want, but we shall give them only what we consider it reasonable for them to know, and nothing more.

With the technicians and specialists who work in our enterprises, our relations should be warm, cordial and friendly. Of course, there may be evil people among them, but even if they are not so some will be instructed to become so. Therefore, we should be careful and vigilant, we must clearly distinguish between those who are honest and sincere toward us, and those who have been sent to carry out the hostile instructions of Khrushchev and company. We should defend our Marxist-Leninist line all the time and with anybody. We should have no hesitation at all in giving them the proper answer when they attack our Party, our leadership and our unity in an improper way. We should be on guard against provocations because there are people who commit provocations, but there are also provocations to which we should reply on the spot and deal the deserved blows at those who hatch them.

We should be careful and vigilant to orient ourselves correctly on the basis of the line of the Party at every instant. Here the capability and intelligence of the communists should show itself. It is easy to say to the other: "Get out!" or "I don't want to talk to you!", but such a stand would be neither politic nor Marxist. Therefore we should act with maturity and flexibility.

We should talk to the foreigners residing in Albania about the line of our Party, about our stand. We should try to explain it to them so that they may understand these things correctly, because many of them may be unclear.

The press organs in particular should be very vigilant and mature. Our press must present the line and tactics of our Party properly. This work should be done carefully by the Department for Agitation and Propaganda. It is important to steer a correct course in the press, because a mistake made by us there may be exploited by the foreign imperialist and revisionist enemies, or it may confuse the broad masses of the Party and people.

Therefore we should work carefully to guide the Party correctly through the press. Everything that is on the correct Marxist-Leninist road, in the interests of the Party, the people and socialism should be reflected there, whereas the manoeuvres of the re-

visionists, which may even seem fine, but which actually are harmful, should not be published in the press, and we shall render account to nobody over this.

We must consider everything deeply, we must carefully weigh both its good and its bad aspects, and choose the best, that which serves our work and our cause.

We shall certainly overcome these difficulties. Therefore, in the first place, the Party should be mobilized, it should be clear about everything and in complete unity, its political and ideological level should be enhanced, its Marxist-Leninist line should be applied consistently, and we should be totally mobilized to realize our plans.

The comrades working in the Party and state organs should keep these situations in mind and pay great attention to the work of convincing and educating the masses, to make them conscious of the need to carry out all the tasks, especially the utilization of internal resources. Thus, while working to open up new land, we should not base all our hopes on tractors alone. If possible, we shall bring in tractors too, but we must strengthen our economic potential with all the possibilities we have, in order to keep up regular supplies for the people, to avoid being caught in a crisis, and we must create reserves in all fields through economical use of our resources.

With regard to this, a program of work should be worked out by all the Party and state organs. Many tasks face us in practice in relation to this question.

Our Party and people have been hardened to difficulties; therefore our plans have always been realized. So we shall overcome these new difficulties as well, better days will come for our Party and our people, because right is on our side and because we have many friends in the world — not only great China, but all the peoples and the true communists, to whom the cause of freedom, independence and socialism is sacred.

This is what I had to say. Now let us approve the communique. Besides this, we have the 4th Congress of the Party ahead, which, as we decided, will be held in February next year. During this time, the Party should mobilize all its forces, carry out all-round political, ideological and economic work, in order to go to the Congress in steel-like Marxist-Leninist unity, with tasks realized in all fields, well prepared to discuss problems in a lofty Party spirit, and to shoulder the difficult but glorious tasks we shall be

charged with.



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