

**THE IDEAS  
OF MARXISM-LENINISM  
WILL TRIUMPH  
ON THE REVISIONISM**

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## **THE DECLARATION OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE PARTY OF LABOUR OF ALBANIA**

At the 22nd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union N. Khrushchev publically attacked the Party of Labour of Albania. N. Khrushchev's anti-marxist slanders and attacks serve only the enemies of communism and of the People's Republic of Albania — the various imperialists and Yugoslav revisionists. N. Khrushchev, laying bare the disputes existing long since between the leadership of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Party of Labour of Albania openly in the face of the enemies, brutally violated the 1960 Moscow declaration which points out that the disputes arousing between the fraternal parties should be settled patiently, in the spirit of proletarian internationalism and on the basis of the principles of equality and consultations. Publically attacking the Party of Labour of Albania, N. Khrushchev effectively began the open attack on the unity of the international communist and workers' movement, on the unity of the socialist camp. N. Khrushchev bears full responsibility for this anti-marxist act and for all the consequences following from it.

The Party of Labour of Albania, guided by the interests of the unity of the world communist movement and the socialist camp, with great patience, ever since our disputes arose with the Soviet leadership, has striven to solve them in the correct marxist-leninist way, in the way outlined by the Moscow Declaration. Instead, N. Khrushchev chose the anti-marxist way of their aggravation, the way of the attacks and slanders, of pressure

and threats, the way of the public denunciation of our disputes.

The Party of Labour of Albania welcomed with sympathy the declaration of the leader of the delegation of the Communist Party of China to the 22nd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, comrade Chou En-Lai, in which it is pointed out that unilateral criticisms and the laying bare of disputes between the fraternal parties openly in the face of the enemy, cannot be considered as a serious and marxist-leninist attitude. However, from the rostrum of the 22nd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, even after this principled warning by the representative of the Communist Party of China, the most bitter attacks and slander against the Party of Labour of Albania and the People's Republic of Albania as well by some members of the Soviet leadership as by some leaders of the communist and workers' parties of the other countries, are continuing, thus, they too, taking upon themselves a heavy historic responsibility as splitters of the unity of the international communist and workers' movement.

In such conditions, in the face of the organized anti-marxist attack by N. Khrushchev and those who follow him; in the face of slanders and fabrications which are aimed at discrediting our Party; in the face of a serious danger to the further destinies of the unity of the international communist and workers' movement and the socialist camp, the Party of Labour of Albania cannot remain silent. By facts and documents, it will make known to the entire communist and workers' movement, as well as to the entire world public opinion, how the truth stands about the relations between the Party of Labour of Albania and the leadership of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, on which side the right is, and will expose the anti-marxist and anti-Albanian actions of N. Khrushchev and his group.

The unity of the socialist camp and of the international communist and workers' movement is being seriously endangered by the anti-marxist actions of N.

Khrushchev and his followers. In this situation, in order to defend the supreme interests of our people and Homeland, their socialist victories, to defend the purity of marxism-leninism and the unity of the ranks of the communist movement and the socialist camp, the Party of Labour of Albania with a pure conscience has assumed and will assume every responsibility for any of its actions, as well towards the international communist and workers' movement as towards the Albanian people.

The struggle which is being imposed upon our Party and people will be long and difficult. But the difficulties have never scared our Party and our people. Our Party and our people have been tempered in the struggle against the numerous and continuous slanders, attacks and plots of various imperialists and the Yugoslav revisionists. They will not yield and kneel either to the slanderous attacks, blackmail and pressure by N. Khrushchev and those following him. The Party and people, in iron unity, as always, will firmly go ahead and will win on their correct path, on the path of the triumph of marxism-leninism and the cause of socialism and communism. We shall win, for we are not alone. With us, with the great cause of marxism-leninism, are the communists and the peoples of the Soviet Union with whom we are bound by an unbreakable love and friendship which we shall always, in every storm and tempest, preserve intact in our hearts; with us are the communists and peoples of China, all the communists of the world and the peoples of the other socialist countries. The victorious banner of the Party, the unconquered banner of marxism-leninism, will always proudly fly in new socialist Albania.

**THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE  
OF THE PARTY OF LABOUR OF ALBANIA**

Tirana. October 20th, 1961.

## MARXISM—LENINISM WILL TRIUMPH

The 22nd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union ended its work. It approved the new programme of the Party and outlined the targets for the future. The Soviet people are now faced with the tasks of the up-building of communism, on whose banner it is inscribed: «From everyone according to his abilities, to everyone according to his needs». Communism, the dream of mankind, has now been placed on the order of the day; it is being built up by the soviet men and women, by those who were the first to break the chains of the capitalist slavery, who were the first that established the workers' and peasants' power, who first embarked on the road of socialism.

Great are the victories achieved by the Soviet people during these 44 years since November 7th, 1917, when the «Aurora» guns announced the rising of a new era — the era of socialism and communism. The Soviet Union is today the most powerful socialist State, with a big modern industry and a developed agriculture, with the most advanced science and technique in the world. The day is not far off when Lenin's Homeland will occupy the first place in the total industrial production and in the per capita production. The 22nd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union outlined the ways to fulfil this historical task within the shortest possible period.

The Soviet Union is also the most powerful State that defends the world peace. Heading the socialist camp, it is fighting against the schemes of the imperialists aimed at unleashing a new war. Its foreign policy of peace and friendship between the nations, of peaceful coexistence

between states with differing social systems, of the defense of freedom and independence of the oppressed and the newly liberated peoples from the colonial yoke, enjoys the support and backing of all the peaceloving men and women. The 22nd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, which took place at a time when the international situation has been greatly aggravated, outlined the new tasks also as regards the fight against the fiendish schemes of the imperialists, for the security of the world peace.

The victories of the Soviet Union are of historic importance not only to the soviet peoples, but also to all the peoples of the world. The Albanian people, who are bound by an eternal friendship to the soviet people, rejoice at them as at their own victories. The Party of Labour of Albania and the Albanian people wholeheartedly greet the builders of communism who, under the leadership of the great Party of Lenin, are marching ahead towards new victories.

Our Party and our people, as always, in the future, too, will march hand in hand with the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and with the soviet people on the bright road of communism and peace. There is no and there will be no force in the world to alienate our Party and our people from this road and from the friendship with the Soviet Union. We wish the Soviet communists and the Soviet people fresh achievements in the fulfilment of the tasks outlined by the 22nd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union for the up-building of communism. We tell the Soviet communists and the Soviet peoples that we shall never identify the Party and the Homeland of the great Lenin with the anti-marxist and provocative attacks which N. Khrushchev and his group are making on our Party and our people, on marxism-leninism and the unity of the international communist movement.

N. Khrushchev, at the 22nd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, openly attacked the Party of Labour of Albania. Violating the most element-

ary principles of the relations between the communist and workers' parties, the principles of proletarian internationalism and the 1957 and 1960 Moscow Declarations, he raised his hand and struck with a force and a language which he did not use even against the imperialists or their docile servitors — the Yugoslav revisionists.

The road chosen and the methods used by N. Khrushchev in his attack on the Party of Labour of Albania, on a Party that has always resolutely defended the principles of marxism-leninism and proletarian internationalism, the Party of a people who are friends for ever with the Soviet Union, clerly reveal the aim of N. Khrushchev and his antimarxist group to convert the 22nd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union into a rostrum of his open attack on marxism-leninism, on the unity of the international communist movement and the unity of the socialist camp. The attack on the Party of Labour of Albania discovered also his plot on international communism. N. Khrushchev had longsince begun his attacks on marxism-leninism for the revision of its fundamental theses: he had been for a longtime undermining the relations between the communist and workers' parties and the countries of the socialist camp; he had been plotting for a longtime against the marxist-leninist parties reposing on revisionist elements and now, finally, he openly came out as a splitter of the international communist movement.

No demagogy or intrigue can conceal this great truth; they cannot save N. Khrushchev and his group from being stigmatized as splitters and underminers of international communism. No demagogy or intrigue can save him from his responsibility for the crime he committed by proclaiming war to the Albanian people who are building up socialism in the difficult conditions of the geographical encirclement by capitalist states and the Yugoslav revisionists.

N. Khrushchev sought by all means to obtain the approval of the 22nd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the representatives of the

communist and workers' parties attending this Congress, for the plot undertaken by him against the international communist movement and the socialist camp. What did he and the members of his group say against the Party of Labour of Albania?

The Albanian leaders do not agree with our 20th Congress, with our fight against Stalin, with our leadership, therefore they cannot be included in the community of international communism. This was, in short the content of N. Khrushchev's charges against the Party of Labour of Albania in the report of the first day. A curious logic! It follows from it that the decisions of the congress of a party, even when some of its theses are not right, are obligatory to all the other communist and workers' parties, that if you do not agree with N. Khrushchev's revisionist theses you cease to be a communist. Our Party pointed out at the November 1960 Moscow meeting that some theses of the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union have not served the communist movement, but its enemies; that the fight against Stalin's cult, in that form in which it was carried out, helped the revisionists and the open enemies of socialism; that N. Khrushchev was using impermissible methods of pressure and plots to subdue our Party.

Such are the «faults» of which N. Khrushchev accused our Party at the 22nd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, such were also the «arguments» he adduced to «convince» the delegates to the Congress and the representatives of fraternal parties of the «departure» of the Party of Labour of Albania from the positions of marxism-leninism and proletarian internationalism, of its «falling» into narrow nationalism, adventurism and anti-sovietism, and of its «passage» into the fold of imperialism.

We must say however that he did not succeed in this job. With the exception of the leading group that followed N. Khrushchev in fabricating slanders and vulgar abuses against our Party, the delegates to the 22nd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union did not

pursue the road on which he wanted to embark them. This happened also with many representatives of fraternal communist and workers' parties that attended the Congress — they did not speak against the Party of Labour of Albania. There were also among those, as it was the case of comrade Chou En-lai, who openly went on record against N. Khrushchev's anti-marxist action.

Twenty-five representatives of fraternal parties, out of 71 that took the floor at the Congress, did not attack the Party of Labour of Albania, irrespective of the fact that they might also have reservations towards our Party, for there cannot be excluded the existence of some remarks by one party for another party. The evil does not reside here; this is natural. The evil resides in the methods and means, such as those used by N. Khrushchev to force his will upon our Party, to subdue it and to plot against it. It is logical that after having suffered this defeat, N. Khrushchev made the other step. Determined to carry the issue to the end, in order to attain the aim he set to himself, that is to split the international communist movement, in his speech closing the discussions, he left aside the questions of principle and engaged himself in slanders and groundless accusations against the Party of Labour of Albania, showing the complete lack of arguments in his charges and what kind of pseudo-marxist we have to deal with.

What did he specifically say when he furiously attacked our Party and the Albanian people? A regime of terror has been established in Albania, so that even pregnant women are shot dead. The Party of Labour of Albania is a party of terrorists and criminals, the Party of Labour of Albania and the Albanian State are headed by foreign agents working against the interests of the people, therefore the communists and the people must rise in arms to overthrow this regime — such is the main content of N. Khrushchev's charges contained in the speech he delivered while closing the discussions. What is there marxist here? What is there different from those which the imperialists and the Belgrade revisionists say? All this

is so base that there is no reasonable person, with a spotless conscience, that can trust them or, what is worse, to take them as a «proof» to confirm the breaking off of the Party of Labour of Albania from the positions of marxism-leninism. It is superfluous to say here that such slanders do not stand, that they are false, that they are dirty lies borrowed from the arsenal of the imperialist propaganda against Albania, from the fabrications framed up in Belgrade by the Yugoslav revisionists; they are data collected by the enemies of the Party of Labour of Albania and the international communism.

What was the reply that our people gave to the attacks by N. Khrushchev and his group, to their slanders and open calls to rise in arms against the Party and overthrow the people's power, is now common knowledge. The numerous telegrams that have been published and which are only a small part of thousands of telegrams that the Central Committee has received and continues to receive from all the parts, clearly speak of the indignation and hatred that they have aroused throughout the country. Every word here is superfluous: The people rightfully revolt after they heard from N. Khrushchev's mouth the same slanders that they have heard for 17 years in succession from the enemies of socialism.

For 17 years our people have been hearing the calls of the United States State Department to «overthrow the terrorist regime of Tirana». Similar calls are being made also by the Tito clique. The same thing is being said by the Greek monarcho-fascists with Karamanlis and Venizelos. The Italian neofascists, too, are not lagging behind in this chorus.

For seventeen years running, our people, faithfully and courageously led by their marxist-leninist Party, have resisted and foiled all the plots organized by all of them together or separately.

And what can the Albanian communists and the Albanian people say about N. Khrushchev when they hear that he joined the voice of their sworn enemies, the voice of the enemies of socialism?

What can the Albanian communists and the Albanian people say also when they know that the army support of the imperialists and the Yugoslav revisionists in their fight against our Party and our country have been the traitors to the Albanian people and renegades of the Party, and when they see that even N. Khrushchev's hope in his fight against our Party and our country are also the traitors to the Party and its renegades? But there is nothing surprising. This is the inevitable result of N. Khrushchev's departure from the positions of marxism-leninism and of his embarking on the road of plots, a result which inevitably leads him to defeats.

But at the 22nd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union N. Khrushchev, his attacks on our Party of Labour and on the unity of the international communist movement, were joined also by some leaders of the fraternal communist and workers' parties that attended this congress. We mean to say especially the representatives of the communist and workers' parties in the capitalist countries. They viewed the question unilaterally. They indeed are not aware of the way in which the relations between us and N. Khrushchev's anti-marxist group have been developed. They were offered falsifications by N. Khrushchev's agency. Therefore, we tell these comrades that they did not weigh up rightly the affair; they unjustly attacked our Party.

The reason why N. Khrushchev started his open fight against our Party and our people is, therefore, clear. The aims and the means for their attainment are well known as well. The end is also certain: Marxism-leninism will triumph. Our Party and our people have been imposed upon a fight which they did not like, but which they cannot avoid now. This is a difficult fight; it may be long. The difficulties however have never scared us nor will they scare us. The struggle against N. Khrushchev's plot to split the international communist movement, to revise the fundamental principles of marxism-leninism, to undermine the socialist victories of the Soviet Union and other countries of the socialist camp is the struggle for

marxism-leninism. And this struggle must be carried out to the end, up to the complete victory of marxism-leninism, against its enemies, against the revisionists. This is the struggle of all the marxist-leninists of the world against revisionism. Our Party and people will firmly fight, hand in hand with all the communist and workers' parties of the world, for the triumph of marxism-leninism, for the unity of the international communist movement and the socialist camp. Our Party and people will also firmly fight for the friendship with the Soviet Union and for the up-building of socialism in our country.

In the future, too, our Party and people, will fight against the plans of the imperialists for the unleashing of a new war, against the plots of the imperialists and their servitors — the Yugoslav revisionists, for whom our country is a thorn on their back. As regards the pittances from the imperialists, of which N. Khrushchev speaks, let him not expect this from us, but he should seek it with his revisionist friends. The People's Republic of Albania has never received nor will it receive pittances from anyone, and the less so from the imperialists.

The attacks by N. Khrushchev and his group neither scare nor shake the Party of Labour of Albania. There is no force that can divert our Party from the path of marxism-leninism. In this struggle we are together with all the communists of the world, together also with the Soviet communists and peoples. The Party of Labour of Albania and the Albanian people have been and will be to the end with the Party of the great Lenin and the Soviet people. Even in the present days, when N. Khrushchev has raised his hand and fiercely strikes us just as he strikes the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Soviet people in the first place, as he strikes also the entire international communism, our Party and people are by the side of the Soviet communists and people. We are with you and shall always be with you, dear comrades and friends; our just cause will triumph: this is what all the Albanian communists and the whole Albanian people say.

It is not the first time that the enemies of socialism are attacking marxism-leninism. But this is not the first time, and it will not be the last either, that they will suffer defeat. We are convinced of this. We are fighting for this.

The history of communism teaches us that its enemies dare not face marxism-leninism openly, but through demagogy, through pseudo-marxist phrases and swearing by all their gods for loyalty towards marxism-leninism they are seeking to distract people and deceive them. Therefore vigilance is needed. We are convinced that the soviet communists and people will reflect on the attacks which N. Khrushchev is launching today on the Party of Labour of Albania and on the entire international communist movement; they will reflect and see the big plot which N. Khrushchev has long since begun to put into effect and which is now assuming vast proportions and if it is not unmasked and opposed with all the might will become dangerous and will cause much pain.

Vigilance and courage, not to allow oneself to be deceived by the intrigues of the plotters and to cut off the wicks of the mines they have laid and which they are preparing to explode — this is what is required from all the communists, from all the revolutionaries, from all those who cherish the great cause of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, the cause of communism, democracy, social progress and peace.

## THE NAME AND THE WORK OF J.V. STALIN LIVE AND WILL LIVE IN CENTURIES

In all the glorious history of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, in the struggle for the triumph of the Great October Socialist Revolution and for the creation of the first socialist state in the world, in the war for the safeguarding of the victories of the proletarian revolution and of the soviet state from the assaults of the internal and external enemies, in the strive for the full triumph of socialism and for the creation of the necessary conditions for the upbuilding of communism, J.V. Stalin as a faithful disciple of Lenin, has great merits. Together with the Great Lenin, Stalin has been one of the leaders of the October Socialist Revolution, one of the founders of the first workers' and peasants' state in the world, J.V. Stalin has been and remains a titanic figure in the history of mankind, in the history of the international communist and workers' movement, in the war for the liberation of the peoples from the imperialist oppression. He has been in the first ranks of the fighters for the building up of a revolutionary party of the new type. Together with Lenin, he gave a noted contribution in the working out of the ideologic, organizative, tactic and theoretic basis of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union by tempering it as a revolutionary party.

Present day history recognizes J. V. Stalin as an unyielding revolutionary, great theorist and as an excellent

organizer. After Lenin's death, J. V. Stalin led the party and the soviet people on the road of socialist construction under the conditions of the capitalist encirclement, with ability, courage and loyalty to marxism-leninism. The enemies of socialism, the enemies of the soviet people and of the communist party, the imperialists and opportunists of all colours, did their utmost to have the party and the soviet people depart from the leninist road, to split them from within, to deprive the working class of its confidence in its own forces, of the possibilities for the upbuilding of socialism and of communism. J. V. Stalin, remaining throughout his life loyal to leninism and to the teachings of Great Lenin, led courageously the party and the people in the bitter war against the traitors to the cause of socialism, in the smashing up of the Trotzkyists, Bukharinists, Zinovievists, bourgeois nationalists and of the other rabid enemies that struggled to ideologically disarm the party, to break its unity, to ruin the soviet power and the socialist revolution.

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union, led by its leninist Central Committee headed by J.V. Stalin, following faithfully the teachings of Lenin, worked out the grandiose programme of the socialist industrialization. The soviet people achieving this grandiose programme, within an historically short period, they transformed the technically and economically backward Russia into one of the most progressed industrial forces in the world. During the five-year plans the strong bases for the socialist construction were laid out, gigantic industries were created, the new branches of the heavy machine-building industry, which played a decisive role in the growth of the defensive ability of the soviet state, as well as in the all-round economic and cultural progress. Without this party leninist line of the socialist industrialization carried out unwaveringly by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, led by the strong hand of J. V. Stalin in the struggle against the Trotzkyist, Bukharinist and the other opportunist conspirators, without the organizing force of the state of proletarian dictatorship, the world historic vic-

tory of the Patriotic war would not have been ensured, the present day summits in economic, technical and scientific progress, which led to the occupancy of Cosmos, would not have been reached.

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union headed by J. V. Stalin implemented successfully the leninist policy of agricultural collectivization. The full victory of the kolkhozian order ensured the triumph of socialism in the country-side, it strengthened the alliance between the working class and the peasantry — the supreme principle of proletarian dictatorship.

Under the leadership of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, during the period when at the head of the Party was J. V. Stalin, the Soviet Union became the country of triumphant socialism, the exploitation of man by man disappeared forever, becoming the example and hope of the whole mankind.

During the years of the Patriotic war against fascism, the sworn enemy of mankind, the soviet people and the glorious soviet army, under the leadership of the party and of the supreme Commander in chief J.V. Stalin, achieved legendary acts of heroism. J. V. Stalin was the great military leader and at the head of the party he organized the victory over fascism. He set out as a duty and led the people and the soviet army not only to achieve the liberation of the soviet country, but also that of the other peoples languishing under the fascist yoke. This is why the peoples of Europe and of the whole world recall with deep gratitude the decisive historic role played by the soviet people, the soviet army and by their supreme commander J. V. Stalin in the smashing of the fascist Germany and the liberation of the oppressed peoples.

The present-day grandiose victories of the soviet people and the wonderful prospects in the road of communist construction have their source in the Great October and in the sagacious leadership of the party, that marched forward under the flag of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin.

Therefore, the road pursued during these last forty-four years by the great soviet people and the birth of the world socialist system are closely linked up with the life and the work of J. V. Stalin. These are undeniable historical facts. J. V. Stalin has consumed his whole life for the great cause of the revolution, for the liberation of the exploited people, for the happiness of the peoples, for socialism and communism. This is why the name of J. V. Stalin has occupied a secure and deserving place in the history of mankind, in the hearts of the soviet people and of the whole peoples of the world. And it's exactly for this that he earned also the abhorrence of the enemies of socialism. There is and there will be no force in the world to uproot J. V. Stalin from history and from the hearts of the peoples of the world.

But N. Khrushchev imposed on the 22nd Congress of the C.P. of the S.U. the decision for the removal of J. V. Stalin's embalmed body from the mausoleum in Red Square, where he was side by side with Lenin. With this N. Khrushchev and his group carried out another act in the process of «destalinization», started at the 20th Congress. All the revisionists and opportunists of the world, all the enemies of marxism-leninism, from Tito to Spaak and Brandt, from the ideologists of imperialism and the social-democrat lackeys, use now the flag of «antistalinism» in their rabid war against socialism, against the unity of the socialist camp and of the international communist and workers' movement. Now N. Khrushchev, negating and distorting in a criminal way the historic role of J. V. Stalin in the struggle of the party and of the soviet people for Lenin's cause, raises, too, the banner of «antistalinism», this ragged and discredited flag of the rabid enemies of marxism-leninism and of socialism. Why does N. Khrushchev and his group do this? He does it in order to open up his wide way for the implementation of a revisionist, antimarxist policy. It is exactly this road that the enemies of socialism, the imperialists and their revisionist lackeys, have fought for throughout their life and are fighting for with all their

might. The open war against J. V. Stalin it's a fight against his immortal work, it's a war against marxism-leninism. Thus N. Khrushchev and his group are taking upon themselves a heavy responsibility towards history, towards the soviet people, towards the international communist movement, towards all the peoples of the world, that want peace, democracy, socialism and social progress.

(Published in the daily «Zëri i Popullit»,  
organ of the C.C. of P.L.A., Nov. 2nd, 1961).

## A YEAR OF HISTORIC PROOFS

### On the occasion of the Anniversary of the Moscow Declaration of the 81 Communist and Workers' Parties.

A full year has been rounded off since the day of the publication of the Declaration of the meeting of the 81 communist and workers' parties. The great historic importance of the Declaration resides in the fact that it is a collective document which, from the revolutionary positions of marxism-leninism, generalizes the common experience of all the communist and workers' parties on the fundamental issues of the world development at the present time, such as the definition of our epoch and the analysis of the balance of powers in the world, the problems of war and peace, of the struggle against colonialism, the problems of the struggle of the working class in the capitalist countries, of the ways and forms of transition to socialism, of the struggle against revisionism and dogmatism, the relations between socialist countries and between the fraternal communist and workers' parties; etc. In conjunction with the 1957 Moscow Declaration, the 1960 Declaration of the 81 communist and workers' parties is a banner of struggle and guidance for action for the entire international communist and workers' movement; it is its irreplaceable revolutionary programme in the struggle for socialism, national-liberation, peace and democracy. The historic importance of the 1960 Declaration resides also in the fact that it constitutes the sound marxist-leninist foundation for the preservation and consolidation of the unity of the international communist movement and the socialist camp. Therefore, its

observance and consistent implementation is the great task of all the communist and workers parties of the world.

The year that has elapsed from the time of the coming into being of the Declaration is a year of historic proofs, which confirmed by convincing facts the correctness and vitality of its theses and principles on a series of questions of principle of the present-day world development and the international communist movement.

It was the year of the further change in the correlation of forces in the international arena to the advantage of socialism, of the freedom-loving, peace-loving and democratic forces against imperialism and colonialism, against the forces of war and reaction,

The magnificent successes of the Soviet Union in all the fields of the communist construction, those of the People's China and the other countries of the people's democracy in the up-building of socialism, showing the indisputable superiority of the socialist system to the capitalist one, the further growth of the economic, political and military power of the big socialist camp and the increase of its influence in the international arena most effectively confirm the thesis of the Declaration that the world socialist system is becoming with every passing day the decisive factor of the development of human society, the main force of the present-day international life.

The further development of the powerful wave of the struggle of the broad working masses, headed by the working class, against the capitalist monopolies, for peace, democracy, for better living standards and socialism, the impetus of the national-liberation struggle of the enslaved peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America against the colonial yoke of imperialism, the achieving of national independence by the other peoples during 1961, the shameful failure of the United States aggression against revolutionary Cuba, the failure of the attempts of the imperialist colonialists to oppress by fire and sword the peoples that have risen in their struggle for freedom — all these things clearly testify to the further weakness of

imperialism, they show that it is unable to impose its will on the world, to stop the wheel of history.

During the past year there was manifested with a new force the process of the decline and dissolution of the world capitalist system, of the further sharpening of its economic and class contradictions — national and international. The unbridled militarisation of economy in many capitalist countries, which exceedingly damages the local economy and falls like a heavy weight on the shoulders of the working people; the chronic unemployment in the most developed capitalist countries (in the very bulwark of the present-day world capitalism — the USA — there are about 6 million jobless); the powerful wave of strikes during 1961 in the United States of America, Britain, France, Italy, Japan, in the Latin American countries and in many other capitalist countries; the further sharpening of contradictions between the imperialist powers on the questions of the Congo, of the «European Common Market» and on other questions, as well as a series of other important phenomena — such are the facts that clearly testify to this.

But the year that elapsed most clearly proved also that, although the balance of forces has further changed to the advantage of socialism and the freedom and peace loving peoples, and to the detriment of imperialism, the aggressive and reactionary nature of imperialism has not changed and will never change until its death. The year 1961 brilliantly confirmed the teachings of the Declaration that the United States imperialism is the main force of aggression and war, the main bulwark of the world reaction and an international gendarme, the ferocious enemy of the peoples of the whole world.

What did the advent to power of president Kennedy's administration in the United States of America give the world? Life, facts, the international events during the year 1961 dispelled, more quickly than it was expected, just as the sun dispels the morning fog, the illusion spread by the bourgeois propaganda and the present-day revisionists that with the advent to power of the

new American president, the millionaire John Kennedy, «great hopes arise» and «bright prospects open» for a relaxation of the international tension, for the normalisation of the relations between states, for the security of a lasting peace in the world.

The facts show that imperialism, headed by that of the United States, has not renounced at all its policy of war and aggression. The armed intervention in Cuba, the events in the Congo, Laos, Korea and South Vietnam, the attempts to drown in blood the liberation struggle of the heroic people of Algeria, Angola, Oman, etc., the strengthening of the aggressive blocs, of the military bases and the arms race, the strengthening of the revival of the revenge-seeking militarism in West Germany and Japan, the rejection of the constructive proposals of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, the sabre rattling and the war threat in the West Berlin issue, the United States interference in the domestic affairs of the Latin American countries, the increase of the imperialist penetration of the United States of America into the African and Asian countries through the co-called «peace corpus» and the other means, the intensification and raising to a higher degree of the espionage and subversive activities against the socialist countries, the persecution of the Communist Party in the United States of America and many other actions of this kind, clearly testify to the plans and the real aims of the imperialist powers, headed by the United States of America.

But today the times have changed. Imperialism is no more an omnipotent master in the world. The further change of the balance of forces during the year 1961 in the international arena has, of course, created more favourable conditions and greater possibilities not to allow the unleashing of a new world war and other aggressive wars on the part of imperialism. But this does not mean at all that the danger of war does not exist any more nor that the imperialists, headed by the American ones, have renounced their belligerent and aggressive actions. The war can be prevented if the peoples, in the first place those of

the socialist countries, will be vigilant and morally and militarily prepared not to permit the imperialists to unleash war and in case that the mad imperialists, as it is said in the Declaration, will unleash the war, they will wipe out from the face of the earth and bury capitalism. The danger of war may be increased if the peoples will lose their vigilance, if they will not wage an active struggle against the aggressive plans and actions of imperialism, if they will be morally and militarily disarmed in the face of the armed to teeth imperialism. «Our deep conviction that at the present time a world war and the other aggressive wars unleashed by imperialism can be prevented — comrade Enver Hoxha said in his speech on the occasion of the 20th anniversary of the Party of Labour of Albania and the 44th anniversary of the October Revolution — does not repose at all on the «good aims» of the leaders of imperialism, but on the tremendous economic, political and military strength of the mighty socialist camp, on the unity and struggle of the international working class, on the resolute struggle of the peoples of the whole world against the imperialist war-mongers, on the unity and cohesion of all the peace-loving forces».

The year that elapsed since the publication of the Declaration most effectively confirmed the correctness of its important conclusions that revisionism remains the main danger in the international communist movement. It not only has not been completely routed, but on the contrary, of late, as a result of the weakening of the fight against it, it has been enlivened in many communist and workers' parties, becoming an ever more serious danger. This is clearly shown by the example of some communist and workers' parties, especially that of the Italian Communist Party, in which, after the 22-nd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, there began to appear again the revisionist theses on «polycentrism», on the «degeneration» of the soviet socialist system, etc. Under the mask of the fights against stalinism, dogmatism or nationalism, the revisionists are trying to bury the revolu-

tionary spirit of marxism-leninism, to reject its fundamental principles, to undermine the unity of the socialist camp and the international communist movement. There has been confirmed also the appraisal made in the Declaration, of the Yugoslav revisionism as a concentrated expression of the present-day international opportunism and the leaders of the Communist League of Yugoslavia as traitors to marxism-leninism, as underminers of the socialist camp and the international communist movement, as splitters of the forces for peace.

Taking advantage of the weakening of the fight against it by the leaders of some communist and workers' parties and enjoying the all-round support of imperialism, the Tito clique has intensified its hostile activity. This is attested by its attempts to alienate the uncommitted countries conference from the fight against imperialism headed by the United States of America, and to split the forces of the national-liberation struggle, especially in Africa; its fierce attacks on the People's Republic of China and its direct participation in organizing the plot against the People's Republic of Albania, etc. For its role at the service of imperialism, the Tito clique, in addition to more than 3 billion dollars previously, during the year 1961 it has received from the United States of America and the other imperialist powers another over 197 million dollars. All these things confirm the importance and the actuality of the thesis contained in the Declaration that «the further exposure of the leaders of the Yugoslav revisionists and the active struggle to preserve the communist movement as well as the labour movement, from the anti-leninist ideas of the Yugoslav revisionists continue to remain an indispensable task of the marxist-leninist parties».

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Our Party of Labour has been strictly faithful to the 1960 Declaration of the 81 communist and workers' parties and has placed it at the foundation of its entire ideopolitical work, just as it has remained faithful and has

strictly implemented also the 1957 Declaration of the communist and workers' parties. While those who slander our Party and attack it, accusing it of allegedly thinking and acting in opposition to the Declaration, have trampled and continue to trample on this collective document of the entire international communist movement, which N. Khrushchev, even before its publication, called «a shortlived compromise document». The facts of the year that elapsed most effectively show who has encroached and continues to encroach on the principles of the Declaration.

Let us take the question of the attitude towards imperialism. Was it not perhaps N. Khrushchev and those following him that, before even the ink of their signatures to the Declaration was dried and even before Kennedy had come to power, began to spread on all parts the illusions that he would allegedly pursue a peace policy? They, in full contrast with the Declaration which points out that the United States imperialism is the main force of aggression and war and the ferocious enemy of the peoples of the whole world, trusted Kennedy's fine words «about peace», the words of this worthy representative of the American imperialism. But these illusions were dissolved like salt in water by the facts of the short, but intensive activity of the Kennedy Administration, facts which we mentioned above. And following all these facts, the member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union A. Adjubei, as reported by the news agencies, immediately after the interview granted to him by Kennedy, told the American journalists that «you Americans must be proud» of the president you have! This is by no means fortuitous, but it is a whole opportunist line consistently pursued by N. Khrushchev and his group. Was it not N. Khrushchev the one who once solemnly and «in full sincerity» stated before the whole Soviet people, before the Government and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union that Eisenhower «sincerely desires» peace and the liquidation of «the cold war», the one who has called de Gaulle «the pride of the French people»?

Those who accuse today our Party, going to such lengths as to allege that it is afraid of assuming the responsibility for the settlement of the German problem, are indeed themselves dragging on the solution of this problem, making concessions to the imperialist powers; it is precisely those that, by pursuing their opportunist policy, in open contrast with the Declaration, have ceased almost entirely the struggle for the exposure of the American imperialism, apparently hoping that in this way the imperialist Government of the United States of America will become peaceful!

Our Party of Labour, which is faithfully guiding itself by the teachings of marxism-leninism about the classes and the class struggle and by the two Declarations of the communist and workers' parties, has never entertained any illusions either about Eisenhower and Kennedy, or about MacMillan and de Gaulle, or about Adenauer or any other leader of imperialism, who cannot stand for peace as long as they represent the interests of the most reactionary and belligerent circles of the big capitalist monopolies. Conversely, our Party has faithfully guided itself by the leninist teachings of the Declaration that as long as imperialism exists, there remains also the ground for aggressive wars, therefore it has always kept high our people's vigilance and has resolutely unmasked the warmongering and aggressive actions of imperialism and its stooges. Just because it has adopted and continues to adopt such a vigilant and resolute stand, our Party has been able to discover and liquidate in due time the plot hatched against the People's Republic of Albania by the Yugoslav revisionist leadership and the Greek monarchofascists in cooperation with the United States 6th fleet.

The violation of the Declaration by N. Khrushchev and those following him in his opportunist line and unprincipled attacks on the Party of Labour of Albania is evident also in their attitudes towards the revisionist Tito clique. On December 2, 1960 there was signed and on December 6, 1960 published in the newspaper «Pravda» the Declaration pointing out that «the Yugoslav revisionists

are doing an undermining job against the socialist camp and the international communist movement», that «under the pretext of their uncommitted policy they are carrying out activities which are harmful to the cause of the unity of all the peace-loving forces and states». While on December 23, 1960 the member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and Foreign Minister of the Soviet Union A. Gromyko, concerning Yugoslavia, declared at the USSR supreme soviet: «We must point out with satisfaction that on the basic international questions our positions are identic.» This is not only in open contrast with the Declaration of the 81 communist and workers' parties, but it is also a grave offence to the consistent peaceful policy of the Soviet Union. To place on one and the same plane the Soviet Union's foreign policy which serves the great cause of peace, freedom and the friendship of the peoples, with the disruptive foreign policy of the renegade Tito clique, which serves the repressive and war-mongering aims of the American imperialism, it means to render a bad service to the Soviet Union and the cause of peace. They seek to sell the demagogy and lies of the titoites to the dupes as «a positive aspect» of this agency of imperialism.

In open contrast with the Declaration, N. Khrushchev and those who follow him, under the pretext of putting into effect the policy of peaceful coexistence, ceased their ideological fight against the Yugoslav revisionism and proclaimed Yugoslavia a socialist country. It was precisely N. Khrushchev that in his interview to the observer of the newspaper «New York Times», Sultzberger, published in the «Pravda» on September 10, 1961 said that «We, of course, consider Yugoslavia as a socialist country.» Things went to such an extent as at the plenum of the Central Committee of the Italian Communist Party, devoted to the decisions of the 22nd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, P. Togliati openly outlined the task of drawing as near as possible to the League of Communists of Yugoslavia. While the leaders of some socialist countries of Europe have long since put

this into effect, developing and extending, with every passing day their economic, commercial, cultural, political and even party relations with the Yugoslav revisionists.

At the same time, camouflaging themselves with the mask of the fight against «dogmatism», they are waging an unprincipled struggle, full of slanders and rabid pressure, against the Party of Labour of Albania which has defended and is resolutely defending marxism-leninism and the interests of the great cause of socialism against the attacks and the undermining activities of the Belgrade revisionist gang.

These anti-marxist attitudes and actions of N. Khrushchev and his group have resulted in enlivening the revisionist views and trends in many communist and workers' parties. And these views and trends not only are not unmasked with the due force, but on the contrary they are being covered by all means. But however they are concealed, the truth of marxism-leninism will triumph and then the defenders of revisionism will find themselves in a difficult situation, they will be submitted to the marxist judgement of the masses of their parties and will fail with shame.

In the light of these facts it is by no means fortuitous that alongside with the ferocious attacks and slanders against the Party of Labour of Albania, renegade Tito enthusiastically greeted N. Khrushchev's «new course» at the 22nd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. In a speech delivered at Skoplje on November 13, 1961 Tito said among other things: «We have seen in the proceedings of the Congress also a positive course, which has already begun to effectively mirror itself in the further development, not only in the Soviet Union, but in the other socialist countries as well. Therefore, I think that that Congress is and will be of great importance to the further advance towards a really democratic and progressive development not only in the Soviet Union, but also in general, in the rest of the world. I cannot now deal with problems of an economic nature, I cannot speak of the prospects of the development of communism, that

is of its realisation in this or that year; I do not even want to touch on this question, as this is a question of study. I can only say that we welcome such a course as the one adopted at the 22nd Congress». This is, therefore, what the revisionist Tito is interested in and what gladdens him: not the road and the bright prospects of the up-building of communism in the Soviet Union, but just the ideo-political «positive course» which was manifested at the 22nd Congress, and precisely the ferocious attacks on Stalin and the Party of Labour of Albania! This indeed must make some people ponder why such a renegade of marxism and diehard agent of the American imperialism, as Tito is, praises them in this way.

As to our Party of Labour, it has been and remains true to the important conclusions of the 1960 Declaration of the communist and workers' parties about the danger of revisionism, especially of the Yugoslav one, to the international communist movement and has waged and will wage a firm principled struggle for the defence of the purity of marxism-leninism from the revisionist distortions, for the unmasking of the renegade Tito clique as a sworn enemy of socialism and agency of the American imperialism.

The 1960 Moscow Declaration clearly defines the principles and criteria of the relations between the socialist countries and the communist and workers' parties on the basis of marxism-leninism and proletarian internationalism. Proletarian internationalism demands, on the one hand the resolute defence of the unity of the international communist movement and the socialist camp based on the principles of marxism-leninism, the non-allowance of any actions which might undermine this unity and, on the other hand, the strict observance of the principles of equality, independence and mutual aid in the relations between socialist countries and between the fraternal communist and workers' parties, the settlement of any disputes that might arise between them, by means of social consultations on an equal footing. The

time that has elapsed since the coming into being of the Declaration of the 81 communist and workers' parties has proved by indisputable facts that the violation of these principles causes a great damage to the unity of the international communist movement and the socialist camp. Life and facts have proved also that these principles have been and are being crudely violated by N. Khrushchev and his followers in the relations with the Party of Labour of Albania and the People's Republic of Albania.

As of June 1960, when the Party of Labour of Albania voiced at the Bucharest meeting an opinion contrary to that of N. Khrushchev and did not approve of his anti-marxist actions, and especially after the November 1960 Moscow meeting of the 81 communist and workers' parties, where our Party openly expressed its opinion and courageously criticized N. Khrushchev's opportunist viewpoints and anti-marxist actions at the official meeting of international communism, N. Khrushchev and those following him began to brutally violate, with regard to the People's Republic of Albania, the marxist-leninist principles of relations between the socialist countries. A great economic and political pressure has been and continues to be exercised on the Party of Labour of Albania, the Government of the People's Republic of Albania and the Albanian people, as the numerous documents available to our Party and Government convincingly show, in order to bring them to knees: all the aids and credits provided for by the agreements signed with the governments of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries of Europe, have been suspended; a severe economic and political blockade has been organized towards a fraternal country which is building up socialism in the conditions of the capitalist and revisionist geographical encirclement. Things went to such lengths as a few days ago the Governments of the Soviet Union and the Hungarian People's Republic unilaterally cancelled also the consular agreement which existed for years between our countries and under the terms of which no visas were required for the trips of the citizens of our countries to one another (for sojourn

or transit) from the respective Government. What can these anti-marxist actions have in common with the clear principles of the Declaration on the cooperation and fraternal mutual assistance between the socialist countries?

Now, with a view to justifying themselves before the public opinion for these unheard-of anti-marxist actions, N. Khrushchev and those following him unscrupulously slander our Party and our people, alleging that we deny the aid which the Soviet Union has given to Albania in the up-building of socialism, that we are ungrateful, etc. Where has Maurice Thorez seen this, that he speaks with so much competence? This is only a slander and slanders cannot be arguments. Any honest man seeking to find out where the truth resides, should have a look at our Party's press and so he will see that before as well as after the aggravation of our relations with the present-day Soviet leadership, headed by N. Khrushchev, our Party and the whole of our people have expressed and always express their deep gratitude for the unspared internationalist aid which the Soviet Union has given to our country; they have considered and consider this aid as one of the important factors of the construction of socialism in Albania. As to the pressure and blackmail which N. Khrushchev and his group are exerting on our country, they have nothing in common with the fraternal feelings nourished towards our people by the Soviet people; they have nothing in common with the glorious internationalist traditions of the Soviet Union and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

N. Khrushchev and his group have brutally violated and continue to violate the principles of the Declaration on the relations between the fraternal communist and workers' parties; the principles of equality, independence and social consultations on an equal footing between them.

When the antimarxist attempts to bring the Party of Labour of Albania and the Albanian people to knees, to impose on them by force, pressure, blackmail and impermissible blockades N. Khrushchev's wrong view-

points, completely failed in front of the resoluteness and the principled marxist-leninist attitude of our Party, N. Khrushchev, followed by some others, publically and in a slanderous manner attacked our Party from the rostrum of the 22nd Congress. This antimarxist action, which is a heavy blow to the unity of the socialist camp and the international communist movement, is being greatly propagandized by N. Khrushchev and his followers as the «climax of the leninist rigidity of principles». What a hypocrisy and what a mockery to Lenin! These people who boast today so much of this kind of «rigidity of principles», which immeasurably gladdened the sworn enemies of communism and gave them weapons to fight us, were but recently furiously attacking by the most offensive epithets the Party of Labour of Albania and its leadership because in an honest, open and principled manner, without ruses and diplomatic tricks it voiced its opinion about our disputes not publically, but at the meeting of the fraternal communist and workers' parties.

At the 22nd Congress and after it, N. Khrushchev and his followers accused and continue to accuse our Party of not agreeing with the line of the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and they draw from this the absurd conclusion that it has allegedly betrayed marxism-leninism and has allegedly thrown itself into the fold of imperialism. True our Party has not agreed and does not agree with some opportunist theses of the 20th Congress, but are perhaps the decisions of a party obligatory to all the communist and workers' parties? This is in open contrast with the 1960 Moscow Declaration which clearly points out that «all the marxist-leninist parties are independent, equal; they work out their policies proceeding from the specific conditions in their countries, guiding themselves by the principles of marxism-leninism.»

With a view to justifying himself for his antimarxist action of publically denouncing our disputes, which gave a weapon to the imperialist and revisionist enemies everywhere, N. Khrushchev declared at the 22nd Congress

that he had allegedly made all possible efforts to «bring on the track» the leaders of the Party of Labour of Albania and that now, when all the possible means have been exhausted, nothing else remained to him than to publically condemn the Party of Labour of Albania and its leadership. This formula was reiterated and is being reiterated after the 22nd Congress by Maurice Thorez and some other leaders of the communist and workers' parties of Europe. Yes, many efforts have been and are being made by N. Khrushchev and his group with regard to our Party and our country. Immediately after the illfamed Bucharest meeting, pressure, blackmail and blockades in the economic and military fields were started against them. In October 1960, N. Khrushchev declared that he would treat Albania in the same way as Tito Yugoslavia, while at the end of March 1961 he and A. Novotni stated that they would stop all and every aid to the People's Republic of Albania. This antimarxist pressure was repeated in many documents that have been sent to the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania by the Soviet leadership and by that of some other socialist countries of Europe. Thus, in its letter of April 26, 1961 to the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Albania the Government of the Soviet Union said among other things: «... The Albanian leadership cannot hope any more that the Soviet Union help it on the previous basis, a help to which are entitled only the real friends and brothers.»

What do the counter-revolutionary calls of N. Khrushchev and some of his followers to overthrow the leadership of the PLA and destroy our Party have in common with marxism-leninism and proletarian internationalism, with the principles of the Declaration? Of what talks can one speak and how can our disputes be settled when a pre-condition has been submitted that our Party should renounce its viewpoints, when unexampled actions and pressure are carried out towards a marxist-leninist party and a socialist country, when they demand that it

should submit itself at all costs to N. Khrushchev's anti-marxist opinions and actions?

Such are in reality the «efforts» of which N. Khrushchev spoke at the 22nd Congress and which some leaders of the European communist and workers' parties are trumpeting in their own parties. It is clear to everybody that they have nothing in common with the real efforts for the settlement of the disputes on the basis of the Moscow Declaration principles of equality, independence and consultation to which N. Khrushchev has substituted the principle of dictate and pressure in order to subordinate and bring to the knees the other parties that do not agree with his opportunist and revisionist viewpoints.

Such are the facts. And the facts quite clearly show who has remained true to the Declaration of the 31 communist and workers' parties and who has trampled and continues to trample on it; who is resolutely defending the unity of the international communist movement and the socialist camp and who is destroying it; who has been and remains faithful to the fundamental teachings of marxism-leninism and who has departed and is departing from them towards opportunism and revisionism.

Our Party, on its side, will faithfully carry out in the future, too, this great document of the international communist movement and will resolutely fight any departure from it, guiding itself by the teachings of the great Lenin, for only on a marxist principles basis a sound unity is possible.

Our Party and the whole of our people are deeply convinced that the temporary difficulties the international communist movement is going through will be successfully overcome and that the Party, more compact than ever, will always march ahead, enlightened by the great ideas of the Declaration, towards the complete triumph of our great cause of socialism and communism, of the freedom of the peoples and universal peace.

## ON THE RELATIONS BETWEEN THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF ALBANIA AND THE SOVIET UNION (DOCUMENTS)

The contents of the verbal communication made on November 25th 1961 by the vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs of the USSR, N. Firyubin, to the interim chargé d'affaires of the PR of Albania to the USSR, Gac Mazi, concerning the recall of the soviet ambassador Y. Shikin from Albania.

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the USSR, on instructions from the Soviet Government, is authorized to state the following:

The Albanian Government, following the course towards the further aggravation of the relations with the Soviet Union, especially after the 22nd Congress of the CPSU, has created an unbearable situation for the normal activity of the soviet ambassador in Tirana and the other soviet diplomats. The soviet ambassador is placed in such conditions that he cannot normally carry out the instructions of his Government. Indeed, the USSR embassy is in a situation of isolation, the most elementary rules of international law are violated with its regard. For provocative aims, the Albanian authorities slanderously accuse the collaborators of the USSR embassy of allegedly conducting a hostile activity towards Albania. Moreover, of late the Albanian Government made an approach which is unprecedented in the mutual relations between the socialist countries, demanding without any grounds the reduction of the personnel of the soviet embassy by almost three times.

Taking into account that the Albanian authorities have intentionally created to the Soviet ambassador in Albania such conditions as he is deprived of the possibility to carry out his diplomatic functions, the USSR Government is obliged to decide on the recall from Albania of the Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the USSR, comrade Y.V. Shikin.

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the USSR asks that this decision of the USSR Government be brought without delay to the knowledge of the Albanian Government.

**The note of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the P.R. of Albania addressed to the Embassy of the Soviet Union in Tirana on December 4th 1961.**

**EMBASSY OF THE UNION OF THE SOVIET  
SOCIALIST REPUBLICS — TIRANA**

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the P.R. of Albania, upon order of its Government, concerning the verbal communication made on November 25th to the interim chargé d'affaires of the P.R. of Albania by the vice-Minister Firyubin, has the honour to present the following to the embassy of the USSR in Tirana, asking it to transmit it to the Soviet Government.

I.- The Government of the P.R. of Albania, with surprise and profound regret took cognizance of the Soviet Government's decision, recalling its ambassador to the P.R. of Albania, Shikin, under the groundless and trumped-up pretext that there have been allegedly created to him conditions in which he is deprived of all possibility to fulfil his diplomatic functions.

The Government of the P.R. of Albania most resolutely rejects this false charge which is also another slander in the long series of calumnies and other unfriendly actions continually and systematically undertaken by the soviet leaders against the P.R. of Albania and which pursues one single aim — the further aggravation and

worsening of the fraternal relations between our two friendly peoples and our two socialist countries.

The invented allegations to justify the recall of ambassador Shikin are entirely groundless and tendentious. The Soviet ambassador has never been impeded in his work; on the contrary he has always had all the possibilities to fulfil his mission as ambassador. The truth and the only motive in this question, too, resides in the fact that the authors of this grave and exceptional act have engaged on the road of the unfriendly policy with regard to the P.R. of Albania, and following this road they pass to ever more condemnable anti-Albanian and anti-marxist actions.

It must be pointed out that, among other things, the history of the beginning, continuation and termination of the activity of ambassador Shikin to the P.R. of Albania, makes one to think that ever since it sent him to Albania, the Soviet Government had the intention to recall him after a short period. He stayed only five months in Albania and one cannot help recalling the fact that for the first time in the history of the diplomatic relations between two countries, and precisely at a moment when the sphere of the normal activity of the embassy was greatly reduced by the fault of the soviet side, together with ambassador Shikin there was sent also an embassy counsellor having the rank of a plenipotentiary Minister — an act which cannot be understood otherwise than within the framework of the ambassador's premeditated recall.

II.- It is with the most profound astonishment and indignation that the Government of the P.R. of Albania learned of the decision of the Government of the USSR, considering as impossible the further stay of the ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the P.R. of Albania in the USSR, Nesti Nase, under the entirely trumped-up and unworthy pretext that the embassy of the P.R. of Albania in Moscow has allegedly distributed of late hostile material against the CPSU and the Soviet Union.

The Government of the P.R. of Albania most resolutely rejects this groundless charge and the protest of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the USSR forwarded in this connection. The decision of the Soviet leadership on the departure of ambassador Nesti Nase is a decision which forms a component part of its unfriendly policy towards a socialist State, a friend and brother of the soviet people, such as the P.R. of Albania.

The ambassador of the P.R. of Albania to the Soviet Union, comrade Nesti Nase, has always fulfilled with a high conscience his tasks as a diplomat, as Albanian and as a communist strictly observing the laws and rules in force in the Soviet Union. He has worked with all his energies to further strengthen and temper the eternal friendship between our fraternal people and our two socialist countries.

It must be said that in the accomplishment of his noble mission of a socialist diplomat, not only he has not had the due assistance, but he has also been impeded by the soviet authorities, by all means, including those impermissible, up to the masked and open supervision. In fact it is known that for years the embassy of the P.R. of Albania in the Soviet Union has been subjected to a constant supervision by means of the special technical mechanism installed right from its construction and even today it is subjected to an open police control. Three militia men stand permanently in front of the embassy controlling every person entering it, impeding thereby the normal functioning and the regular fulfilment of the diplomatic tasks by the mission and violating the most elementary rules which must be observed with regard to a foreign representation and especially of a friendly and allied country.

The Government of the P.R. of Albania most energetically protests against this decision of the Soviet Government, on the basis of which, and without any reason, they demand the departure of the ambassador of the P.R. of Albania from the Soviet Union, a profoundly unjust and unjustified decision, in open contrast with the funda-

mental principles of international law, with the relations between socialist countries and which charges the Soviet Government with a heavy responsibility for all the consequences between the P.R. of Albania and the Soviet Union.

Tirana, December 4th, 1961.

**The contents of the verbal communication made on November 25th 1961 by the vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs of the USSR, N. Firyubin, to the interim chargé d'affaires of the PR of Albania to the USSR, Gac Mazi, concerning the departure of the ambassador of the PR of Albania to the USSR, Nesti Nase.**

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the USSR has become aware that the Embassy of the People's Republic of Albania in Moscow, has been trying of late to spread in an intensified manner all sorts of anti-soviet material containing ambitious slanders against the CPSU and the Soviet Union. Among other things, the texts of the hostile declaration of the C.C. of the Party of Labour of Albania of October 20th last and other slanderous anti-soviet materials contrary to the unanimously adopted rules, have begun to be addressed directly to the Central Committees of the Communist Parties of the Federated Republics.

The Albanian embassy in Moscow, some time ago, addressed to the embassies of a number of countries, the embassies of the capitalist states included, the declaration of the CC of the PLA of October 20th, Hoxha's report of November 7th last and other materials containing many base lies and slanders with regard to our Party, to the Soviet Government and the decisions of the 22nd Congress of the CPSU. Thus, things reached such a point as the embassy handed over these slanderous materials to the enemies of the socialist camp.

One cannot help drawing the attention also to the

fact that, for hostile purposes towards the Soviet Union, the Albanian citizens staying in the USSR are being largely utilized. Abusing of the sincere aspiration of the Soviet Union to aid in training highly qualified specialists intended for the people's economy of Albania, the embassy is mobilizing the Albanian students in conducting anti-soviet propaganda. Thus, the candidate of the Moscow Power Institute, Jukniu, the students of the Moscow light industry Technological Institute, Kurakuqi, Gjipali, the students of the Moscow State University, Meçaj, Prillo, of the Chimico-Technological Institute, Hajdar, Haxhimihali, of the Moscow petro-chemical and gas industry Institute, Reshati, of the Leningrad refrigerator industry Technological Institute, Paçma, have attempted to distribute to soviet and foreign students anti-soviet documents and they have slanderously expressed themselves about the questions of the Soviet-Albanian relations.

All these actions against the USSR arouse a lawful indignation among the Soviet men and women, for they are directed only at one purpose — to further aggravate and worsen the relations between our countries and our parties with a view to breaking the unity and cohesion of the countries of the big socialist camp.

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs has drawn more than once the attention of the Embassy of the P.R. of Albania in Moscow to the prohibition of the distribution in the Soviet Union of the anti-soviet materials and the mobilization in this job of the Albanian citizens staying in the USSR. The Albanian side, however, did not take any measures to put an end to the distribution of this kind of materials. Besides, the Albanian Embassy, as indicated by the mentioned facts, is seeking of late to activate the distribution of materials hostile to the CPSU and the Soviet Union, which is incompatible with the fulfilment of the normal functions of every diplomatic representation, the more so of a country calling itself a member of the socialist camp.

In this connection, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the USSR sharply protests to the Albanian Embassy

in Moscow and does not consider any more as possible the further stay in the USSR of the ambassador of the P. R. of Albania, Nesti Nase. At the same time, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the USSR is charged to demand the immediate suspension of the distribution of the anti-soviet materials by the Albanian Embassy in the USSR, and of the carrying out of the hostile propaganda against the CPSU and the Soviet Union.

The contents of the verbal communication made on December 3, 1961 by the vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs of the USSR, N. Firiubin, to the interim chargé d'affaires of the P.R. of Albania to the USSR, Gac Mazi, concerning the recall of the personnel of the USSR Embassy and of the Soviet trade representation in Tirana as well as the demand for the departure of the personnel of the Embassy of the P.R. of Albania and of the Albanian trade counsellor to the Soviet Union.

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the USSR, on instructions of the Government of the USSR, declares the following:

The Albanian Government, following the course towards the further aggravation of the Albanian-Soviet relations, especially after the 22nd Congress of the CPSU, has unleashed in its country a slanderous and hostile campaign against the USSR. It is intentionally carrying out measures aimed at impeding the normal activity of the embassy and trade representation of the USSR in Albania. The soviet diplomats in the P.R. of Albania are isolated, they are even deprived of the possibility to maintain official contacts with the Albanian institutions and organizations. For provocative purposes, the Albanian authorities slanderously accuse the collaborators of the soviet representative institutions of allegedly conducting a hostile activity against Albania. The most elementary rules of international law are being

violated with regard to the soviet embassy and the other soviet institutions in Albania.

The soviet side has drawn more than once the attention of the Albanian Government to the inadmissible actions of the Albanian authorities with regard to the USSR embassy in Tirana. However the Albanian Government not only has not been willing to take any measures, but it is also ever more complicating the conditions of the sojourn of the workers of the soviet institutions in Albania.

An unheard-of step in the relations between States, the more so between the socialist States, is the groundless demand of the Albanian Government to reduce the personnel of the Soviet Embassy almost by three times.

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the USSR has been authorized to firmly reject the entirely inadmissible demand of the Albanian Government to reduce the number of personnel of the USSR Embassy in Tirana. It is known that the international law does not recognize to a country the right to arbitrarily and unilaterally limit the numerical composition of the foreign diplomatic missions accredited to it. In this connection, it must be recalled that Albania, at the respective international conferences, in not a distant past, went on record against the attempts to legalize an erroneous practice, according to which the State accepting in its country a diplomatic mission determines its numerical composition. Whereas at present, the Albanian Government resorts to the methods of the capitalist States which utilize them to make at all costs difficult the diplomatic activity of the countries of the socialist camp.

The soviet side, of course, cannot remain indifferent towards the unbearable situation created by the Albanian authorities to the collaborators of the embassy and trade representation of the USSR in Tirana. The Government of the Soviet Union, taking account of all this and of the shameless claim of the Albanian side, according to which the soviet diplomats would have nothing more to do in Tirana, adopted the decision to evacuate from Albania the entire personnel of the soviet embassy and

trade representation. Three technical collaborators will be left to guard the buildings and the other materials of the embassy and trade representation of the USSR in Tirana.

As to the State which the Soviet Government will charge with defending the interests of the Soviet Union and its citizens in Albania, the Albanian side will be informed later.

The soviet side considers that in conditions in which the Albanian Government is ever more conscientiously aggravating the relations with the Soviet Union, exploiting for purposes of the anti-soviet activity also its diplomatic mission in the USSR, the further stay of the personnel of the embassy and of the trade counsellor of Albania in Moscow is entirely groundless.

In this connection the Soviet Government demands that the entire personnel of the embassy and trade counsellor of Albania in Moscow leave the territory of the Soviet Union.

**The note of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the P.R. of Albania addressed to the Embassy of the Soviet Union in Tirana on December 9th, 1961.**

**THE EMBASSY OF THE UNION OF THE SOVIET  
SOCIALIST REPUBLICS.**

**T i r a n a**

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the P.R. of Albania, on authorization of the Government of the P.R. of Albania, asks the USSR embassy in Tirana to transmit the following to the USSR Government:

The P.R. of Albania, ever since its creation, after the victory of the national-liberation struggle over the nazi-fascist occupants and the traitors to the country and the triumph of the people's revolution, has based its foreign policy on the unbreakable and eternal friendship with the

Soviet Union. This friendship has been tempered during the second world war and cemented after the liberation by the Party of Labour of Albania. It draws its origin from the blood shed together by the glorious liberator Soviet Army and the brave Albanian partisans in the war against the same enemy; it is based on the immortal principles of Marxism-Leninism. The Albanian people, educated by their Party of Labour, have always seen in the Soviet Union their liberator, their dearest friend. The PLA and the Albanian Government have considered as a primordial task to preserve and ever more strengthen this friendship, to increase and ever more consolidate in the hearts of the Albanian people the love and faithfulness to the great Homeland of V.I. Lenin and to the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

In the years after the liberation of Albania, during a long period, the relations between the People's Republic of Albania and the Soviet Union have been extended and developed in all the fields on the basis of the leninist principles of equality, mutual respect, close cooperation and mutual fraternal aid. The Albanian people will be always grateful to the fraternal soviet people for the internationalist aid they have given our country during this period and which was an important factor in the up-building of socialism in Albania.

In the course of these years, at all moment and in every situation, the People's Republic of Albania, a loyal member of the socialist camp and the Warsaw Treaty, has strengthened the unity with the Soviet Union, it has firmly remained on the side of the Soviet Union against all and every attack and slander of the enemies to the land of Soviets, it has resolutely defended the peace policy of the Soviet Union and has made every thing in its power to contribute to its triumph. The close ties of cooperation in the economic, political, cultural and military fields and the fraternal friendship between our two countries have created really internationalist and indestructible links between our two peoples. And as they have always shown it by their attitude and their consistent activity, the Party

of Labour of Albania and the Government of the People's Republic of Albania have been and remain resolute fighters for the defence and further strengthening of the friendship and unity between the two countries and our two parties on the just and inviolable bases of Marxism-Leninism.

Unfortunately, during the recent period and concretely since the second half of 1960, the relations between the People's Republic of Albania and the Soviet Union are no more what they were before; they have been greatly worsened and aggravated by N. Khrushchev and his group, because at the Bucharest meeting of the representatives of a certain number of communist and workers parties, on June 1960 and later, the Party of Labour of Albania did not reconcile itself with N. Khrushchev's anti-marxist views, it did not submit to his dictate on the important ideological questions, it resolutely defended and defends Marxism-Leninism. Not tolerating this principled stand of the PLA, N. Khrushchev and his group brutally violated the principles on which are based the relations between the socialist states as well as the 1957 and 1960 Moscow Declarations, and because of the ideological differences with the PLA, he passed over to unilateral State measures the one more arbitrary and grave than the other, against the People's Republic of Albania, with purpose of pressure and submission.

N. Khrushchev and his group, during this period, have undertaken with full conscience all possible efforts with a view to bringing the Albanian people, the PLA and the Albanian Government to their knees in order to aggravate the Soviet-Albanian relations also on the State plane, trampling under foot on this road the proletarian internationalism and all and every rule of international law and of the relations between states. Suffice it to recall that, in an entirely unilateral way and with the only purpose of impeding the up-building of socialism in Albania, N. Khrushchev cancelled the credits granted on the basis of regular agreements to the P.R. of Albania by the Soviet Union for the third five-year plan (1961-1965), he arbitrarily violated and broke the agreement on trade

exchanges for 1961, he unilaterally withdrew the soviet specialists, he annihilated infact the agreements on cultural cooperation, he expelled under false pretexts a number of Albanian civil and military students from the Soviet Union and cancelled the agreement on stipends for the Albanian civil and military students who were studying in the Soviet Union, he violated the military agreements, he organized a real economic, political and military blockade against the P.R. of Albania.

By publically denouncing at the 22nd Congress of the CPSU the differences existing between the PLA and the present leadership, by distorting the truth and slandering in a bannal manner a fraternal people and a marxist-leninist party such as the Albanian people and the Party of Labour of Albania, N. Khrushchev not only has incited imperialism and its servitors against Albania, but he also dared to launch an appeal to the Albanian people for a counter-revolution. Thus, he has acted like the rabid enemies of the Albanian people, of the PLA, the socialist camp and communism. The Albanian people responded to this unheard-of provocation by further closing their ranks around the Party of Labour of Albania and their Government, by tempering their determination to build up socialism and sharpening their vigilance to defend their victories and their socialist homeland.

On November 25th 1961, under N. Khrushchev's dictate, the Soviet Government recalled its ambassador Y. Shikin from Albania with the fallacious motivation that allegedly «he had been placed in such conditions that he could no more normally carry out his Government's instructions» and that this situation became «unbearable» «especially after the 22nd Congress of the CPSU». This claim is absurd and it is made only with bad intentions: In fact it is well known that right from the beginning and always the Embassy of the USSR in Albania and the whole of its staff, beginning with the ambassador and ending with the most ordinary employee have enjoyed optimum conditions that have been created to them. The USSR representatives in Albania have always been treated

not only like diplomatic representatives of the friendly and allied country, dearest to the Albanian people, as the Soviet Union has been and remains, but like comrades and real brothers for whom not only the offices and work establishments but also the hearts' of the Albanian people were open. And to ambassador Shikin, too, as it has been also previously pointed out by the Albanian Government, all the conditions had been created to carry out his functions; but ambassador Shikin, in the eleven months since he first came to Albania, stayed here only five months in all. Still more astonishing is the claim that his situation became «unbearable after the 22nd Congress of the CPSU» while it is known that Ambassador Shikin had left Albania since August 19th, 1961, that is two months before the 22nd Congress of the CPSU began.

The real motive, therefore, does not reside in the alleged abnormal conditions, but in N. Khrushchev's intention to further worsen the relations between the P.R. of Albania and the USSR. Thus, on the same date, it was demanded also the departure from the USSR of the Ambassador of the P.R. of Albania, Nesti Nase, under the pretext that, according to the soviet side, the Albanian Embassy was trying to distribute anti-soviet material utilizing for this purpose even the Albanian students staying in the USSR and the Soviet leadership would consider as such material the declaration of the CC of the PLA of October 20th 1961 as well as the speech delivered by the First Secretary of the PLA, comrade Enver Hoxha, in Tirana on November 7th 1961. What is more, against the Albanian Embassy in Moscow there were taken also measures of obstruction and discrimination: The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the USSR officially informed the Embassy of the P.R. of Albania that it was forbidden to it and to the Albanian diplomats in the USSR to have direct connection and take contact with the soviet institutions, with the exception of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. On the other hand groups of militia men surrounded the Albanian Embassy in Moscow as if the two countries were in a state of war; they began to control every visitor

of the Embassy and to prevent all and every soviet citizen, including even the technicians sent by the soviet office of diplomatic service, from entering the Albanian Embassy. Surprising is the fact that, while it is precisely the soviet side itself which adopted unexampled isolation and restriction measures towards the Albanian Embassy and the Albanian diplomats in Moscow, the deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Soviet Union, N. Firyubin, in his verbal communication of December 3, 1961, claimed by openly slandering that allegedly «the soviet diplomats in the People's Republic of Albania are isolated and deprived even of the possibility to maintain official contacts with the institutions and organisations of Albania.»

The Embassy of the People's Republic of Albania in Moscow has always observed the rules of the Soviet Government concerning the distribution of the propaganda materials in the Soviet Union and has never encroached on them. The Government of the People's Republic of Albania rejects as a shameless and provocative offense the allegation that the Albanian Embassy has distributed some times anti-soviet material. All the materials it has distributed in compliance with the rules in force have always been inspired by the feelings of the Albanian-Soviet eternal friendship, by the principles of Marxism-Leninism, and based on the 1957 and 1960 Moscow Declarations. It is indeed regrettable that, under such a groundless pretext, they demanded the departure of the Ambassador of a socialist State from the Soviet Union, at a time when the diplomatic representations of the capitalist countries in Moscow freely distribute numerous materials. So much groundless is also the charge made with regard to the Albanian students in the Soviet Union, who are educated by the Party of Labour of Albania in the feelings of boundless love towards the Soviet Union, who have always provided an example by their behaviour and in observing the rules and laws of the country. But, as the facts show, N. Khrushchev's group needs these trumped-up charges in order to expel the Albanian stu-

dents from the Soviet Union, to break all contact between the Soviet men and women and the Albanian citizens.

As is evident, N. Khrushchev's group, in contrast with every internationalist principle and with every norm of international law, unilaterally violated and cancelled all the agreements in force and the cooperation between the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of Albania, severing thereby, with conscience and for definite hostile purposes, all the relations of the Soviet Union with Albania. In this situation in which by N. Khrushchev's fault the relations between the two countries were reduced to the last extremity, it is clear that it was superfluous that the Soviet Embassy in Tirana should have a staff of about 80 members. Therefore the Albanian Government rightfully and on a reciprocity basis proposed that the Soviet Embassy in Tirana should have as many staff members as the Albanian Embassy in Moscow.

Pursuing his anti-Albanian and anti-marxist policy, N. Khrushchev went still further on the road of worsening the relations between the USSR and the P.R. of Albania: On Sunday December 3, 1961, the deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs of the USSR, N. Firyubin, proceeding from vile and provocative slanders concerning the attitude of the Government of the People's Republic of Albania towards the Soviet Union and the Soviet Embassy in Tirana, informed the Chargé d'Affaires of the People's Republic of Albania to the Soviet Union, Gac Mazi, of the Soviet Government's decision to recall the entire staff of the Soviet Embassy and trade representation in Tirana and at the same time he demanded the departure from the soviet territory of the staff of the Embassy and the trade counsellor of the People's Republic of Albania in Moscow, simultaneously declaring that the Soviet Government would inform later the Albanian side of the State to which it would entrust the defense of the interests of the Soviet Union and its citizens in Albania.

The Government of the People's Republic of Albania rejects with contempt and indignation the shocking

and groundless slanders and inventions adduced in N. Khrushchev's verbal communication as arguments to justify his hostile act which is unprecedented in the history of the relations between socialist states. The unilateral decision of N. Khrushchev's group to close down the Soviet Embassy and trade representation in Tirana as well as the Albanian Embassy in Moscow not only expresses his will to break all and every relation between the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of Albania, but also brutally violates the principles, on which the relations between the socialist states are based, as well as the glorious traditions of friendship which the Soviet Union has always pursued towards the other socialist countries, towards all the countries of the world. Indeed, this decision is another pressure which is brought to bear upon the People's Republic of Albania, it is a part and parcel of the anti-Albanian and anti-socialist policy which N. Khrushchev is pursuing with an unheard-of violence against the Albanian people and the People's Republic of Albania, and can gladden only the sworn enemies of the Albanian people and the Soviet people, of socialism and Marxism-Leninism, the imperialists and their servitors, the Yugoslav revisionists. There is no doubt that neither this new hostile action against Albania, nor the threats and pressures of all kinds by N. Khrushchev will be able to spoil the Albanian-Soviet friendship; they will be unable to detach Albania from her friends and will never scare the real defenders of the unity of the socialist camp and of Marxism-Leninism. All the anti-marxist aims and attempts of N. Khrushchev and his group will suffer an utter defeat.

We cannot pass in silence the fact that N. Khrushchev decided to undertake this action for the further worsening of the relations of the Soviet Union with the People's Republic of Albania which is a socialist allied State, a member for life of the socialist camp, a member of the Warsaw Treaty and the mutual aid economic Council and which is led by a marxist-leninist party such as the Party of Labour of Albania, at a time when he is making every

effort to strengthen the relations with the states of the aggressive North Atlantic treaty and with Tito's revisionist group — sworn enemies of the Soviet Union and socialism.

The Albanian Government expresses its deep regret that a time has come when at the leadership of the Soviet Union, of the first socialist State in the world and of the glorious Communist Party founded by V.I. Lenin there are men like N. Khrushchev's group who attack the best friends of the Soviet Union and are doing everything in their power to injure the immortal cause of the socialist camp and communism. This new hostile act of N. Khrushchev not only will not attain his diabolic aims, but will also have an entirely opposite effect. The Albanian people will still better understand how just and wise has been and always is the marxist-leninist line of the Party of Labour of Albania, and they will still more strengthen their unity around their Party and Government, and the sympathy and solidarity with the Albanian people and the People's Republic of Albania will grow among all the honest men and women in the world.

Irrespective of these successive hostile actions of N. Khrushchev and his group, the Albanian people will always preserve intact their love and friendship for the fraternal Soviet people and for Lenin's Homeland and Party, and they are convinced that all the attempts and the anti-Albanian and anti-marxist plans of N. Khrushchev and his group will completely fail, that finally the truth will win, Marxism-Leninism will triumph. The People's Republic of Albania will remain unshakable on its correct path and will successfully build up socialism and communism.

The Government of the People's Republic of Albania, as always, in the future, too, will defend the foreign policy of the Government of the Soviet Union in all the questions which are in the interest of the defense of peace and the struggle for the general and complete disarmament; in the efforts for the settlement of the German issue through the conclusion of a peace treaty with Germany and the transformation of West Berlin into a free

and demilitarized city, and will resolutely fight for the preservation and strengthening of the unity between the countries of the socialist camp on the basis of the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

The Government of the People's Republic of Albania, most sharply protesting against the Soviet Government's unilateral decision on the closing of the Soviet Embassy in Tirana and the Albanian Embassy in Moscow, declares that the entire responsibility for this grave hostile action rests with N. Khrushchev and his group. It expresses its full conviction that, sooner or later, the Soviet people and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union will condemn this criminal deed and the entire hostile activity of N. Khrushchev against a fraternal, friendly and allied country such as the People's Republic of Albania which is building up socialism and resolutely fighting imperialism and modern revisionism, always holding up high the banner of friendship and unity with the Soviet Union and the other fraternal countries of the socialist camp, the banner of Marxism-Leninism.

Tirana, December 9, 1961.

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## AN UNPRECEDENTED ACT IN THE RELATIONS BETWEEN THE SOCIALIST COUNTRIES

At the incitation of N. Khrushchev the Soviet Government decided to recall the entire personnel of the Soviet Embassy from Tirana and to demand the departure of the entire personnel of the Albanian Embassy from Moscow. This unexampled hostile act against socialist Albania and the Albanian people is an unheard-of action in the history of the relations between the socialist countries, a heavy blow against the unity of the socialist camp and the international communist and workers' movement. Such an act offends the feelings of deep fraternal friendship nourished by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the soviet peoples for our Party and people; it justifiably revolts every Albanian and every honest man in the world. N. Khrushchev, undertaking this action gladdens only our common enemies and gives them weapons to discredit the Communist Party, the Soviet State and their traditional policy of friendship among the peoples. This shows to what extent have reached N. Khrushchev's hostile feelings towards the Party of Labour of Albania, the People's Republic of Albania and the Albanian people who have been, are and will remain loyal friends for life of the Soviet Union.

Twenty years of activity of the Party of Labour of Albania and seventeen years of existence of the People's Republic of Albania are the most vivid testimony of the feelings of friendship and boundless love for the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and for the peoples of the Soviet Union. Our people's friendship towards the Soviet Union has been forged by the Party of Labour of

Albania in the crucible of the struggle for freedom, for national independence, for the up-building of socialism. It has been moulded with the blood of the brave sons of the soviet peoples and the Albanian guerrilla fighters who fell in the common struggle against the common enemies. The Party of Labour of Albania has educated its members and all the working people of the country in the spirit of the boundless love and firm loyalty towards the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the soviet peoples. The Party of Labour of Albania and the Albanian people have considered and consider the friendship with the Soviet Union, its internationalist support and aid as the important external factor for the country's liberation, for the edification of socialism and for the defense of freedom and national independence, and for this they have been and are grateful for life. The relations of the People's Republic of Albania with the Soviet Union have always been more than exemplary and there have never been any dark clouds over our two countries. The friendship with the Soviet Union has always underlain the foreign policy of the Government of the People's Republic of Albania. It has supported and backed up with all its forces the foreign policy of the Soviet Union, its proposals and steps for the settlement of the important international questions in the interest of peace and security of the peoples, in the interest of our common cause. The Albanian-Soviet friendship is not a result of some diplomatic combination, but it is a deep friendship of peoples, which draws its origin from the common road of socialism and communism, from the common essence of the social and economic order and the State Power, from the common interests and aims, the struggle against imperialism, the common ideology of Marxism-Leninism and the lofty principles of proletarian internationalism.

The Albanian-Soviet friendship will live in the centuries and there is no force in the world that can touch it. This friendship cannot be spoiled even by the latest hostile action of N. Khrushchev of recalling the personnel of the Soviet Embassy from Tirana and the

departure of the personnel of the Albanian Embassy from Moscow.

It is surprising and unconceivable to every honest man how N. Khrushchev went to such lengths as to sever the relations with a small and fraternal country, loyal to the soviet peoples, a member of the socialist camp, firmly struggling, in the conditions of the capitalist and revisionist geographical encirclement, for our common cause, which holds up high the banner of socialism on the Adriatic coasts, which at every moment and under all circumstances has always shown by deeds its boundless loyalty towards the great Homeland of Lenin. This stand towards socialist Albania cannot but cause amazement at a time when N. Khrushchev is preaching with a great noise the policy of rapprochement and cooperation with all the states, even with the most reactionary ones, which are pursuing a consistently hostile policy towards the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, at a time when N. Khrushchev is stretching his hand and trying to establish close ties even with the most reactionary milliardaires, even with the various princes and kings, without mentioning here the rapprochement and embracement with the Yugoslav revisionists and the cordial greetings and good wishes he conveyed also to the Pope of Rome. These facts will convince not only every communist, but also every honest man in the world, to see how much hostile is N. Khrushchev's action against the People's Republic of Albania, whom does this act serve in fact.

For the recalling of the entire personnel of the Soviet Embassy from Tirana, N. Khrushchev found as a pretext that the Albanian Government is allegedly conducting a hostile campaign against the Soviet Union and is allegedly aggravating the relations between the two countries, it is allegedly impeding the normal activities of the soviet ambassador in Tirana and it is allegedly creating an unbearable situation for diplomats, etc. All these «serious» motives that pushed N. Khrushchev to such an action are entirely groundless, they are slanders and inventions

which are rejected by the real state of affairs. Whoever is somewhat familiar with the press and reality in our country becomes aware that in it there is no word, no expression, not the least spirit of hostility against the Soviet Union and its Government. On the contrary, it is N. Khrushchev and his followers those who create slanders and inventions in order to sow enmity and hatred against our people. Following this road, a few days ago, an article in the newspaper «Pravda» of December 2nd, 1961, written by Y. Andropov, reads that allegedly in an editorial of the newspaper «Zëri i Popullit», published on the threshold of the 22nd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, it was written that the Albanian leaders would «develop from now on their relations with the Soviet Union only on the basis of the principles of peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems». This is a falsification and distortion of the truth. In the «Zëri i Popullit», in no issue, article or editorial of its own or of any other Albanian newspaper has ever been said such a thing. Such are the inventions on which N. Khrushchev bases his «arguments». What hypocrisy! He attacks us by the trumped-up charge of us allegedly standing for relations of peaceful coexistence with the Soviet Union and he revolts for this, while he himself goes in fact farther from his invention and arrives at such an extent as to close down the Soviet Embassy in Tirana and ask for the departure of the personnel of the Albanian Embassy from Moscow, an action which has nothing in common not only with the internationalist principles of the relations between the fraternal socialist countries, but not even with the principles of peaceful coexistence for which he is making so much noise.

As regards the pretext that in Albania there has been allegedly created an unbearable situation for the soviet diplomats and for the normal activities of the ambassador, it is not even worthwhile to reject such a slander. It is clear to N. Khrushchev and his group, just as to the soviet diplomats themselves, that in fact in Albania there were created to the soviet diplomats more

than normal conditions for the carrying out of their activities, that the soviet ambassador, to whom allegedly, and especially of late, as they say, have been created great obstacles in his work, since August 19th, 1961 is in Moscow and not in Albania. It is really surprising that ambassador Shikin has noticed from Moscow, the obstacles that have been raised to him in Albania of late!

N. Khrushchev's pretext that allegedly the Government of the People's Republic of Albania has violated the rules of international law demanding the curtailment of the personnel of Soviet Embassy in Tirana does not stand either. Why did the Government of the People's Republic of Albania demand that the personnel of the two respective embassies should be placed on reciprocity bases? It is known that right after the Bucharest meeting of June 1960 N. Khrushchev has systematically and with premeditation pursued the policy of pressure and blackmail with a view to bringing to knees and subduing the Party of Labour of Albania and the Albanian people. Violating the previously signed agreements, he suspended all the credits which the Soviet Union had granted to our country, he recalled all the Soviet specialists from Albania, he suspended almost entirely the trade relations on clearing basis, he suspended the stipends to all the Albanian civil and military students who were studying in the Soviet Union, he crossed out all the plans of cultural and technico-scientific cooperation between the two countries, he established a strict blockade of silence and political isolation towards the People's Republic of Albania and the Albanian people, he violated the agreements in the fields of military relations, in a word he established the «cordon sanitaire» around the People's Republic of Albania. And after all these things is not fully justified and right the demand of the Government of the People's Republic of Albania to place the personnel of both embassies on reciprocity basis from the numerical viewpoint? What were to do in these conditions about 80 persons of the Soviet Embassy in Tirana while the sphere of their activity was greatly narrowed in view of the unilateral restrictive

economic, cultural and political measures taken by N. Khrushchev with regard to the People's Republic of Albania?

The real cause that pushed N. Khrushchev to this extreme action is not the trumped-up charges which he takes as a pretext. The real cause must be sought in N. Khrushchev's revisionist viewpoints and in his anti-marxist attempts to force them by all means on the other parties. Beginning right from the Bucharest meeting, and especially after the Moscow meeting of the 81 communist and workers' parties, where the Party of Labour of Albania openly expressed its opinion and criticized in a principled manner and with courage N. Khrushchev's opportunist views and anti-marxist actions, as a relations for this and in order to silence our Party, subdue it and give a lesson to everyone that would dare to object to N. Khrushchev, he extended the ideological differences to the field of State relations and began to behave towards the People's Republic of Albania as towards an enemy country. He, after having carried out systematically one after another the economic blockade, the blockade of silence and political isolation, etc., to bring our Party to knees, at the 22nd Congress he went as far as to publically attack by slanders and charges of the basest ones the Party of Labour of Albania and its leaders and to make open counter-revolutionary appeals for the overthrow of the leadership of the Albanian Party of Labour and State, brutally interfering thereby in the internal affairs of a sovereign socialist, friendly and allied country. And as he failed in all these attempts and could not attain his purpose, he committed also the other hostile action against the People's Republic of Albania. The closing down of the Soviet Embassy in Tirana and the demand for the departure of the entire personnel of the Albanian Embassy from Moscow is a logical conclusion of the anti-marxist and anti-Albanian road which N. Khrushchev is pursuing for sometime towards the Party of Labour of Albania, the People's Republic of Albania and the Albanian people. But, through this unexampled hostile action N. Khrushchev

further exposes himself not only before the Albanian people and the Soviet people, but also before the whole international communist and workers' movement, before the world public opinion.

This unprecedented act in the relations between socialist countries sheds light on N. Khrushchev's anti-marxist conceptions on the equality and independence of the communist parties and socialist states, be they small or big, on their inalienable right to have their own views and freely express them. The leninist principles of equality, independence and non-interference in the domestic affairs of one another, are on N. Khrushchev's lips only bluffs because in fact it sufficed for the Party of Labour of Albania to express its viewpoint on some questions of the present-day world development and the international communist movement in contrast with N. Khrushchev's revisionist conceptions to have all the stones rolled on it and all the methods, including even those that have been and are being carried out by the imperialists and the other most reactionary forces, utilized towards it.

Where does N. Khrushchev aim to arrive at by his latest hostile action against the People's Republic of Albania? Pursuing the same course and aims as previously, by this action, too, he means to scare and subdue the Party of Labour of Albania, to alienate it from the revolutionary marxist-leninist positions, to shake our people's faith in the Party of Labour of Albania and its leadership headed by comrade Enver Hoxha, to unsettle the Albanian people's feelings of friendship towards the Soviet Union, to undermine the Soviet people's friendship and love for the Party of Labour of Albania and the Albanian people, to create new difficulties on our road of the up-building of socialism in Albania. Doubtless, N. Khrushchev is making further calculations. In the international arena he aims at threatening and warning every other party and country that would dare to object his viewpoints and actions, which greatly impairs the cause of Marxism-Leninism and socialism.

But N. Khrushchev is trying in vain. He will never succeed in achieving these aims. The Albanian people are united like flesh to bone with their Party, because from the experience of life itself they are convinced of the wise leadership of the Party of Labour of Albania, of its correct line, of its boundless loyalty towards the cause of the people and socialism, of its policy of friendship and of the close relations with the Soviet Union, with the Soviet Communist Party and Government. Under the leadership of the Party of Labour of Albania, the Albanian people during these twenty years have won historical victories — they have liberated the country from the fascist invaders and established the people's power; they have reconstructed the war-ravaged country, they have removed the age-old backwardness and achieved great successes in building up a socialist society, they have frustrated all and every provocation and plot of the imperialists and other enemies of our people, they have defended the freedom and independence of our homeland. The unity of our people and our Party, tempered in struggle and in work, is today stronger than ever. No intrigue or pressure, plot or blackmail can touch this iron unity. In the face of it will shamefully fail, as have failed up to the present, all the efforts of the imperialist and modern revisionist enemies.

N. Khrushchev's attacks, slander and hostile actions, including his latest act will not affect the clean feelings of friendship that our people nourish for the fraternal soviet peoples, for the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Soviet Government. These feelings have been deeply rooted by our Party in the heart of every Albanian. The glorious Soviet Union, the soviet peoples, the great Party of Lenin have been, are and will always remain beloved and dear friends of our people. Our people and Party have loved and love them both in happy and difficult days, they have shared and share with them joys and sorrows, they have been, are and will for ever remain linked with them.

The Albanian people and the Party of Labour of Alba-

nia will firmly march along their correct road of socialist construction and of defending our socialist homeland. The temporary difficulties will not stop us on our road. We are sure of our future. The tasks of the third five-year plan will be fulfilled and overfulfilled, regardless of the obstacles that N. Khrushchev and his followers are trying to raise before us. Socialist Albania will live and flourish ever more with every passing day. A sure guarantee for this is the patriotism and the revolutionary spirit of our people, the correct leadership of the Party of Labour of Albania and the internationalist aid and support of our friends, the international solidarity of the working people.

The Albanian people and the Party of Labour of Albania know no fear. They do not fear the pressure and blackmail of N. Khrushchev and his friends. The People's Republic of Albania, as up to the present, as a socialist country and a member of the socialist camp, will have at the foundation of its entire foreign policy the efforts to strengthen the friendship and the fraternal cooperation with the countries of the world socialist system, on the basis of the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. Regardless of N. Khrushchev's hostile action in recalling the personnel of the Soviet Embassy from Tirana and in demanding the departure of the personnel of the Albanian Embassy from Moscow the Government of the People's Republic of Albania will march alongside the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries in the struggle to safeguard and strengthen peace, will support the proposals and measures of the Soviet Government to settle the international questions in the interest of peoples. In the future, too, our Party and Government will unswervingly continue their resolute and principled struggle to unmask the war-mongering and aggressive plans and activities of imperialism, headed by the United States imperialism, will struggle against modern revisionism and will always keep high their revolutionary vigilance. Our Party and Government will consistently pursue their policy of peaceful coexistence among countries with different political and social

systems, will struggle to relax tension in the relations among the states and will make their contribution to the peaceful settlement of the problems exercising the minds of the peace-loving peoples. As in the past, our Party and people will unreservedly support the sacred struggle of the peoples for their national and social liberation.

The Albanian Party and people, revolted to the utmost, protest with deep indignation against the latest unprecedented hostile act of N. Khrushchev against the People's Republic of Albania. They are deeply convinced that they are on the correct road and that with them, against this fatal act, not for us but for Khrushchev's group themselves, are and will be the soviet peoples and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, which have been tempered with the pure feelings of proletarian internationalism, of love and friendship among the peoples. Our Party is struggling for a great cause, for the truth of Marxism-Leninism, to safeguard and strengthen the sound unity of the socialist camp and the international communist movement against modern revisionism, and the Yugoslav revisionism in particular, against the opportunist and revisionist distortions and the splitting activities of N. Khrushchev, for the triumph of our common cause of socialism, of peace and the freedom of peoples. On this road, marching hand in hand with the fraternal parties and the fraternal peoples of the socialist countries, as well as with all the communist and workers' parties of the world, our Party and people will win full victory over the imperialist enemies and the revisionists. Marxism-Leninism is invincible. Socialism and communism will triumph.

**Published in «Zëri Popullit» Dec. 10th, 1961.**

## Before facts and documents

### SLANDERS AND FABRICATIONS CANNOT STAND

*The soviet propaganda through the press and radio recently, and especially after the 22nd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, with a view to arguing the allegedly hostile attitude taken by the Party of Labour of Albania, the Government of the People's Republic of Albania and the Albanian people against the Soviet Union, is making great efforts slandering and fabricating to distort and falsify the truth about a series of questions among which we mention here only three: the question about the soviet specialists who were working in Albania, the question about the palace of culture and the students' issue. In order to shed light on the truth, hereunder we publish some of the facts and documents which clarify these three questions.*

#### 1. The truth about the question of the specialists.

1. — The anti-marxist and anti-Albanian attacks which N. Khrushchev and his group directed from the rostrum of the 22nd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union against the Party of Labour of Albania, the

People's Republic of Albania and the Albanian people, included also the slanders and fabrications about the question of the soviet specialists who were working in our country.

Thus, O. Kusinen, member of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, slandered by saying that «the soviet specialists in Albania, invited by the Albanian Government itself, were expelled by the latter from Albania.» While P. Poselov, former alternate member of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, went still further. He fabricated the lie that «during the recent Congress of the Party of Labour of Albania we encountered a series of wholly impermissible facts of the openly anti-soviet attacks on the part of the Albanian personalities, facts of a derisive and hostile stand against our specialists, geologists and soviet sailors.» Harping on the same string, that allegedly the soviet specialists have been expelled by the Albanian leaders, are also, now after the 22nd Congress, N. Khrushchev's propagandists, thinking that something will remain from the slanders. For the truth's sake, we are obliged to refer to some facts, in the way the events have followed.

On December 21, 1960, the vice-Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Albania, comrade Abdyl Këllezhi, sent the following letter to the Chairman of the State Committee for economic relations with foreign countries under the USSR Council of Ministers, S. A. Skachkov:

«Very much esteemed comrade Chairman,

On December 14, 1960, a list of the matters for which the Government of the People's Republic of Albania demands the technical aid of the USSR Government for the year 1961 has been handed to the adviser on economic questions to the Embassy of the Union of the Soviet Socialist Republics in Tirana, comrade K. V. Artemiev. We ask you to study this demand of the Government of the

People's Republic of Albania so that it may be carried out by the USSR institutions at the most convenient time.»

The list of the matters for which the Government of the People's Republic of Albania demands technical aid from the Government of the Soviet Union for the year 1961 includes the sectors of the Ministry of Industry, the Ministry of Mining and Geology, the Ministry of Construction, etc. The list specifies the kinds of the technical specialities that are needed and the number of specialists. It specifies the period of their stay in our country, and for some specialists it demands the extension of the term of their stay in Albania.

However, while the Government of the People's Republic of Albania was waiting for a positive reply to its demand, on January 20, 1961, the acting adviser on economic affairs to the Soviet Embassy in Tirana, A. Pika-  
lov, on his own request, established contact with the Mining and Geology Minister of the People's Republic of Albania, comrade Adil Çarçani, and formally informed the latter that «the State Committee for the Economic relations with foreign countries under the USSR Council of Ministers has decided to recall within a period of 7-10 days the soviet specialists working on the oil system in Albania, for the reason that the November 22nd 1957 agreement has expired.»

Of course, the soviet leadership had the right not to accept the extension of the term of the soviet specialists' stay in Albania as demanded by our Government, but they by no means had and have the right to distort the facts in this issue, trying to lay the blame for the departure of the specialists on the Albanian Government.

On February 24, 1961, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of Albania, in relation to the withdrawal of the soviet specialists from Albania, sent the following note to the USSR Government:

«As it is to the knowledge of the Government of the Soviet Union, on December 21, 1960, the vice-Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Alba-

nia, Abdyl Këllezi, addressed to the Chairman of the State Committee for economic relations with foreign countries under the USSR Council of Ministers, S. A. Skachkov, the Albanian Government's demand for technical aid from the Soviet Union for the year 1961 including the extension of the period of the sojourn of the soviet oil specialists.

While our Government was waiting for a positive reply to this demand, on January 20th 1961, the acting adviser on economic questions to the Soviet Embassy in Tirana, A. Pikalov, called on the Mining and Geology Minister of the People's Republic of Albania, Adil Çarçani, and formally informed him that the State Committee for economic relations with foreign countries under the USSR Council of Ministers has decided that within a period of 7-10 days to withdraw the soviet specialists working on the oil system in Albania. And in fact the Soviet oil specialists left Albania.

The withdrawal of the oil specialists by the Soviet Government at a time when the Albanian Government had formally asked for the extension of the term of their stay, damaged an important sector of the Albanian economy such as the oil sector.

The Government of the People's Republic of Albania, pointing out the above, expresses its profound regret at this unilateral action of the Government of the Soviet Union».

With a view to deceiving the public opinion, distorting the truth and laying the responsibility for every thing on the Albanian side, the Soviet leaders, through their representatives in Tirana, after two months, remembered that «guilty» of the departure of the Soviet oil specialists have allegedly not been the Soviet authorities, but the Albanian ones! With regard to this, in its note of April 24th, 1961, the Soviet Embassy in Tirana pointed out that:

«The assertion contained in the note of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of Albania that allegedly the departure of the 26 Soviet oil specialists

from Albania to the USSR on February has taken place as a result of the unilateral actions of the Soviet Government, is entirely a fabrication. The Government of the People's Republic of Albania has been informed in due time that the Soviet Government, despite the expiry of the terms of the Soviet oil specialists' stay in Albania, instructed the Soviet bodies concerned to take into consideration the demand of the Albanian side and leave the Soviet oil specialists in Albania.

«But the Albanian administration of the oil Combine, on instructions of the Mining and Geology Minister of the People's Republic of Albania dismissed the above-mentioned Soviet specialists, proposing to them to leave the Combine within three days».

As is evident, everything is shamelessly reversed. But the facts mentioned above, such as the Albanian Government's demand for the extension of the term of the Soviet oil specialists' stay in Albania addressed to S. A. Skachkov, for which there has been no positive reply, as well as the official statement by A. Pikalov to comrade A. Çarçani since January 20th 1961 concerning the withdrawal of the Soviet oil specialists, reject the «arguments» adduced in the delayed note of the Soviet Embassy in Tirana.

It is clear that the note of the Soviet Embassy pursued also another aim. It had to prepare the ground for the later departure of all the Soviet specialists who were in Tirana. Indeed, in the April 24th 1961 note the issue is presented as if the Albanian authorities of the Central Administration of Geology behave badly with the Soviet specialists and they are impeding them in their work. And to «prove» this it is said that the offices where the Soviet specialists are working have been opened and the documents which were on the desks or cupboards have been checked up. And, finally, that the Albanian Administration of Geology has allegedly obstructed for a certain time the work of the Soviet specialists engaged in the compilation of Albania's general geological map. These «arguments»

have been wholly framed up. In reality, according to the rules which are known in our State Administration concerning the preservation of the State secret, just as in every institution, in the Geology Administration, too, there has been effected the usual control for the preservation of the secret documents, whether in the offices of the Albanian workers or in those of the Soviet specialists. The commission that carried out this control included, besides the Albanian authorities, also three Soviet specialists namely Konstantin Briantsev, Semyon Pogrebinsky and Vladimir Kurochkin, who displayed in this issue a full spirit of cooperation.

As regards the second «argument», that the specialists engaged in the compilation of the geological map had allegedly been left without work, is entirely preposterous and needs no denial. Suffice it to point out that in the earliest possible completion of the map were interested the Albanian authorities who for this purpose were paying also the salaries to the Soviet specialists; therefore they had no reason why they should raise obstacles, as alleged in the note of the Soviet Embassy.

The real aim of the Soviet side concerning the fabrication of the above «arguments» is quite clearly shown by the very note of April 24th 1961 of the Soviet Embassy, the last paragraph of which reads:

«Considering the above, we cannot help reaching the conclusion that in the aide memoire and note of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of Albania attempts are intentionally made to deny the indisputable facts about the unfriendly attitude towards the Soviet specialists and is shown a lack of desire on the part of the Albanian authorities to take the necessary measures with a view to creating normal conditions for the work of our specialists. This can be explained only by the fact that the Albanian side, apparently, not only is not interested in the aid of the Soviet specialists, but also, by its unfriendly actions towards them, is directly seeking to bring pressure to bear upon the Soviet side in

order to oblige us to withdraw the Soviet specialists to the USSR.

In the created conditions, the Soviet side does not deem it possible to send to Albania new Soviet specialists and to extend the terms of the stay for the specialists now working there.

The USSR Embassy to the People's Republic of Albania is availing itself of the occasion to reiterate its respect to the Ministry of the Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of Albania.»

And not even waiting for our Government's reply to this note, which was handed to our Foreign Ministry on April 25th 1961, at once, since April 25th 1961, on orders of the Soviet Embassy in Tirana, some 50 Soviet specialists quitted their jobs and got instructions to leave Albania at once. Some of these specialists had time to inform the establishments where they worked only two hours before their departure. Thus, within the day there were withdrawn almost all the Soviet specialists, including even those whose contracts of stay in Albania had not yet expired. And after a few days the other specialists that had still remained in the People's Republic of Albania left the country, too.

Such is the truth about the departure of the Soviet specialists from Albania. They were withdrawn by the Soviet leadership, calculating the latter, on the one hand, to damage our people's economy, and to undermine the Albanian—Soviet friendship, on the other. The fabrications about the alleged «unbearable atmosphere» and that allegedly «the Albanian side does not like the stay of the Soviet specialists in Albania», etc., which aim at laying on our Government the responsibility for the ugly action committed by the Soviet leaders towards our country are shocking indeed. They are fabrications and grave offenses made to the feelings of fraternal love, deep respect and cordial attitude of the Albanian people towards the Soviet men and women, which are made to

the Soviet men and women themselves, who have lived and worked in Albania.

He who makes such tendentious fabrications does not know the reality of the unbreakable ties uniting the Albanian people with the Soviet people. Just as in the struggle for Albania's liberation from the fascist occupation together with the blood of the Albanian guerrilla fighters was shed and mixed also the blood of the glorious Red Army, so was shed and mixed in the struggle for the up-building of socialism in Albania also the sweat of the Albanian workers and specialists with the sweat of the Soviet workers and specialists.

Whatever attempts are made and whatever «arguments» are framed up, they cannot justify the unjust decision of the Soviet Government to withdraw the Soviet specialists from Albania. The best witnesses of the feelings towards the Soviet men and women, of the stand towards them and their treatment by the Albanian people and their Party and Government, the best witnesses of our just thesis are the Soviet citizens themselves, the Soviet specialists and military who have been in our country, every soviet citizen that has been in contact, anywhere in Albania, in the Soviet Union or in any other country, with any citizen of our People's Republic.

The withdrawal of the Soviet specialists from Albania was decided upon by the Soviet Government itself for definitive aims, alien to the character of the relations between socialist countries, harmful to the Albanian-Soviet friendship and in opposition to the principles of the 1960 Moscow Declaration of the 81 communist and workers' parties, making at the same time a series of fantastic and groundless fabrications against the Soviet Government.

Our Party has continually and on all occasions educated in our people the feeling of love and most profound respect for the Soviet men and women whom they have considered as friends and brothers. Everyone in our country feels a grave personal offense when learning how the Soviet leadership slanders and speculates on the so-

called «unbearable atmosphere» for the Soviet men and women in Albania. Documents may be falsified and speeches may be delivered against our country. We have seen and heard many times such slanders and charges until now and we often have no time to pay any attention to them all. But telling the Albanian that he does not respect or that he offends the Soviet man, he would never pardon you for this and he considers this only as one of the most ordinary and most shameless provocations.

## 2. The truth about the question of the Palace of Culture.

Recently, some soviet propagandists whose aim is to sow hostility between our two friendly and allied countries, between our two fraternal peoples, among the numerous slanders have mentioned also the question of the palace of culture. They present the facts dealing with this question reversely. Shamelessly, they fabricate as if allegedly it has been the Albanian leadership who by «manoeuvres», «trying to discredit the Soviet Government, have onesidedly rejected this present.»

Here is what the documents and facts show about the truth on the palace of culture question.

By a January 1959 decision of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, a palace of culture, as a present from the Soviet Union to the Albanian people was to be built in the city of Tirana. The construction of the palace was to be carried out during the years 1961-1962. In March-April 1959, there came to Albania representatives of the Soviet side with whom the principal conditions of the undertaking of the construction of the palace by the Albanian State Building Enterprise «December 21» were discussed. In April 1960, soviet designers brought in Tirana some variants of the project of the palace. Together with the projects in Tirana arrived the director of the «Mosproject». A. A. Osmer and the author of the project V. A. Butuzov. These va-

riants were broadly discussed by the technical council of the Building Ministry and at last, the variant was approved on which the Soviet designers were also insisting, which had been approved also by Gosstroj (the State Building Committee under the USSR Council of Ministers), by GKES and the Architectural-Townplanning Council of the Mosproject. The protocol of the approval of the project was signed by the Minister of Construction Josif Pashko on April 23, 1960 and was handed over to the director of Mosproject, A. A. Osmer. In May, 1960 the main projects of the carrying out of the building of the Palace of Culture were approved by the Albanian Government. In this protocol, the Albanian side made some remarks, which were considered correct by the Soviet designers. These remarks consisted mainly in the architectural execution of the work, which required a very small increase in the volume of the object in two points; to add five to six rooms to the part of the club and two halls to the theatre part. Besides this, at the end of the above protocol is said: «All the above modifications and additions should be made on the basis of a more rational exploitation of the different parts of the palace of culture.»

On May 29, 1960 started the planting of the stakes for the building, on June 6, 1960 the construction work started and on July 14, 1960 the first concrete was poured at the object.

The Albanian side took all the steps and during the second quarter of 1960 the working pace was very rapid, the graphic table was exceeded. This work was carried out on the basis of the graphic table approved by the representation of the orderer and the «December 21» State Building Enterprise of Tirana.

Beginning with December, the work was slowed down and by January 1961 the Soviet side interrupted entirely the supplies for the construction of the palace, both in projects and materials, although even to that time a very small part of them had been dispatched. The failure to

dispatch the projects and the materials brought about the non-fulfilment of the plan for the first four months of 1961, which was carried out only by 52 per cent, the rational utilization of manpower and machines was greatly hampered and this brought about to the «December 21» State Building Enterprise a loss of 975 thousand leks. The Albanian side, from the beginning of the work up to the end of April 1961 had spent for the building of the palace a sum of about 48 million leks.

In October 1960, the head of the representation of the orderer, engineer T. M. Shtoll, went to the Soviet Union under the pretext that he would take care to bring all the projects of the work, as well as for the dispatch of the materials and equipment. In fact he did not return to Albania and the projects and materials were not dispatched.

In these conditions, the executing State Building Enterprise «December 21» has many times asked the deputy chairman of the soviet representation, engineer N. Kniazev, to intervene in order to ensure the projects and the materials. His reply was that their arrival was expected daily.

In the face of such a situation as regards the work for the building of the palace of culture, the Construction Minister of the Albanian Government Josif Pashko, in a letter addressed to the Soviet Ambassador in Tirana, J.V. Shikin, on April 11th, pointed out:

«In connection with the shortcomings in the building work for the Palace of Culture, I have the honour to bring to your knowledge the following:

Beginning from the end of December 1960 and onward, the pace of the building work at the palace of culture, which is being built up in Tirana with the help of the Soviet Union, has been slowed down and is not being carried out on the basis of the graphic table which had been drawn up. This is due mainly to the lack of the projects and of some materials. At the meetings held time and again at the palace, the Albanian engineers entrusted

with the carrying out of the work, have raised with the representative of the Soviet side at the object, engineer Kniazev Nikolai Stepanovich, the above obstacles and have continually received from him promises for the quick arrival of the projects and materials. Towards the end of the month of January this year, the Albanian engineers who are carrying out the project, considering that the graphic was being encroached upon due to the lack of the designs and some materials, and as the specialist manpower and the installed machinery were not producing the planned labour productivity, reported to this Ministry to intervene so that the Soviet side should speed up the arrival of the designs and materials. For this I personally called the representative of the Soviet side, engineer Kniazev Nikolai Stepanovich, at the project on February 5th 1961, and asked him to intervene for the speeding up of the arrival of the designs and some materials that hampered the work.

During the month of February the front of work, due to the lack of designs and some materials, was still more narrowed, the necessary designs did not arrive. In this situation, on my instruction, the deputy Minister of Construction, engineer Kicho Gliozheni, on February 28th 1961, officially summoned to the Ministry comrade Tukhtinov, GKES representative in Tirana, who is engaged in the construction of the palace of culture, in the presence also of engineer Kniazev, representative of the Soviet side in the construction of the palace, asking them once more to intervene for the arrival of the designs. As we did not receive any reply also after this call, on March 3rd 1961, the representative of the GKES, comrade Bekleshov, was once more officially summoned to the Ministry where the deputy Minister of Construction, comrade Rahman Hanku, after describing to him the serious situation created at the project due to the lack of the designs and of some materials, asked him to intervene for their earliest possible arrival, requesting that he should receive an answer within ten days. Comrade Bekleshov, who presented himself at this meeting as newly employed

in the job and that he was not yet made acquainted by his men of the situation of the palace, promised to comrade Rahman Hanku that he would try to settle the questions raised to him by responding in due time. However, even after this encounter not only the requested designs and materials did not arrive, but we were not given also a reply. On March 23rd 1961, by our letter Nr. 150 addressed to the GKES in Tirana on the part of this Ministry, we repeated once more our demand for intervention in view of the arrival of the designs and materials, but this demand, too, has remained up today without any response.

As I reported above, due to the fact that the designs and materials failed to arrive, and especially due to the lack of a full reply by the Soviet side, the executing enterprise, while awaiting, has kept for a long time manpower and specialists, as well as machinery that have been very little exploited.

In such circumstances, I gave the order for the reduction of the manpower and machinery and if the arrival of the designs will be dragged on further, in order not to entirely suspend the work, in order not to leave this big project in the center of the Capital in the situation in which it is today, I shall take measures that its designing be started by the Albanian engineers, which, in accordance with the agreements approved by the Albanian Government and by the Soviet Government, should have been carried out by the Soviet side in due time.

Reporting the above, I request you take immediate measures for the earliest possible arrival of the designs and materials for the continuation of the work according to the graphic table in the construction of the palace of culture and on this occasion allow me, comrade ambassador, to express to you the assurances of my high consideration.»

The Soviet side, not only did not give any reply to these urgent demands, but also on April 13th 1961, when the Soviet ship «Vostok» arrived at the Durrës port

bringing to Albania, in addition to other commodities, also materials intended for the palace of culture, withdrew again these materials under the pretext that they were allegedly loaded by mistake and that they were not materials intended for Albania. The truth is that these materials were destined for the palace of culture according to the loading bill Nr. 180 and in fact the destination was written on their packing. Besides, on April 26-27, 1961, the Soviet side unilaterally withdrew all the Soviet specialists who were working for the construction of the palace of culture. In the face of such a situation, when the construction work was suspended for the fault of the Soviet side and this big project in the center of the Capital remained with opened foundations heavily hurting the deep feelings of friendship of the Albanian people towards the fraternal peoples of the Soviet Union, the Government of the People's Republic of Albania, on May 5th 1961, rightfully adopted the decision on the financing of the construction of the palace and the preparation of the relative designs by our designing organizations.

Only after three months and three days, on July 14th 1961, following the letter of the Construction Minister of the Government of the People's Republic of Albania, there came as a reply the Soviet Government's aide memoire which carried only the date and the month of the year 1961 and it is not fortuitous that it does not provide any example, any fact from the development of the construction work or from the questions raised in the letter of our Construction Minister concerning the situation at the palace of culture for the year 1961. The Soviet Government's aide memoire said that «In the letter of the Construction Minister of the PR of Albania, J. Pashko, on April 11, 1961 there were put forward a number of demands which showed that the Albanian side did not like to discuss in a sound manner the questions that had arisen in connection with the construction of the palace of culture as it is customary in the relations between socialist countries».

Now that you read the letter of the Construction

Minister you clearly see in what a slanderous manner the Soviet Government raises the question at N. Khrushchev's incitation saying that our letter of April 11th 1961 «put forward demands which showed that the Albanian side did not like to discuss the issues in a sound manner.» The letter of our Minister expresses only one desire: to meet the necessary demands in order to normally continue the work in view of the construction of the palace of culture.

The actions of the Soviet Government, such as the failure to send the materials and designs, the withdrawal of the specialists and the silence for 3 and odd months towards our answer, testify to the lack of desire of the Soviet Government, and moreover to the violation on its part of the agreement on the construction of the palace of culture.

N. Khrushchev's hostile attitude to bring pressure to bear by all means on the People's Republic of Albania and the Albanian people is evident also in this issue. It clearly follows from the Soviet Government's aide memoire in which he slanderously lays the blame and his malicious aims on the others. Here is what it says among other things:

«On May 5th of this year the Government of Albania adopted a decision from which it follows that it has undertaken the completion of all the work for the carrying out of the designing and construction of the palace of culture.

«Naturally, such a step of the Albanian Government cannot but cause a lawful surprise, for it allowed unilateral actions towards the Soviet — Albanian agreement of July 3, 1959 on the construction of the palace of culture.

«Now it has become quite clear that on this occasion the Albanian Government has pursued entirely definite aims, which by no means contribute to the betterment of the relations between our countries. It is no secret that now in Albania the character of the Soviet Union's disinterested aid to the Albanian people is being distorted

in a more irresponsible manner, including also the aid to the construction of the palace of culture».

These base fabrications are not worth any comment. Such is the truth. Such are the facts. This was the confrontation of the facts with the slanders and fabrications. Now the question arises:

Who indeed utilized the humanitarian act, the gift, for «anti-soviet propaganda?» Who is seeking to damage the traditional friendship between our peoples? The Albanian Government which was obliged to take measures in order to avert the shame and black stain which the Soviet Government drew on itself by earmarking the funds for the construction of the palace of culture at a time when these funds were not envisaged by the plan, or the Soviet Government which, at N. Khrushchev's incitation, violated the promise made to the Albanian people, violated the agreement which it had itself signed leaving the foundations of the palace of culture as an uncovered grave in the center of the Capital?

Our people, and especially the people of the Capital, gave a just answer to this question, mobilizing all their forces to build up the palace of culture themselves.

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### 3. The truth about the students' issue.

A. Mikoyan, in his statement at the 22nd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, following the role assigned to him, had the task of adducing «theoretical arguments» to back up N. Khrushchev's calls for counter-revolution in Albania. His main argument was the question of the Albanian students and other Albanian citizens who were following the studies in the Soviet Union. He presented the things as follows:

«Some time ago, the naval students who were studying in our country returned to Albania. In conversations among them they asked themselves with surprise: What is the cause of this sudden aggravation of the relations between Albania and the Soviet Union? For this many of them were thrown into prison.

The Albanian students who were studying in our country returned home to spend their vacations and afterwards many of them were not authorized by the Albanian authorities to continue their studies in the Soviet Union. Naturally, this created dissatisfaction and many discontented suffered reprisals.

The Albanian leaders pursue on the one hand those wishing to preserve the friendship between our parties, between our peoples, and, on the other hand, in order to deceive the people, they organize the Soviet-Albanian friendship month. This happened in September.

They may say that these are their internal affairs

and that we should not interfere with them. But we are here in face of pursuits and reprisals directed against the Albanians who defend the traditional friendship with the Soviet Union. And this concerns us directly. We cannot remain indifferent and we are obliged to express our opinion».

Even after the 22nd Congress certain Soviet propagandists and their supporters have continued to slander with regard to the question of the Albanian students who were studying in the Soviet Union.

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As you see, A. Mikoyan was allegedly alarmed at «the imprisonment» of many naval students; he was allegedly grieved that many Albanian students «were not authorized» by the Albanian authorities to continue their studies in the Soviet Union; he was allegedly terror-stricken «by the reprisals» which many discontented students have suffered; he was allegedly revolted by the persecutions which the Soviet Union's «friends» in Albania are suffering, «affairs» which are not an internal affair of the Party of Labour of Albania, of the People's Republic of Albania and of the Albanian people, but which allegedly directly concerned, we repeat directly, N. Khrushchev's group. We cannot say that such an attitude, that such an opinion, is surprising because in the logic of N. Khrushchev's followers there is nothing surprising, nothing unexpected. To assert that such an attitude, such a viewpoint, is loathsome, that it reposes from beginning to end on slanders, this, too, is not a novelty, for in their activities slander is a usual means. Therefore, better than epithets, let us call on facts and documents to speak, shedding all the light on the truth, on the question of the Albanian students who were studying in the Soviet Union, who show who expelled them, who made provocations and blackmail on them, who closed to them

the doors of the universities on the threshold of the new school-year.

During the 1961-1962 school-year, in accordance with the agreement concluded between the governments of the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of Albania on July 5th 1952, under the terms of which the Soviet Union was paying 60 per cent of the scholarship and the Government of the People's Republic of Albania 40 per cent, 1213 citizens of the PR of Albania were regularly following their studies in the Soviet Union.

During the 1961-1962 school-year, in compliance with the cultural cooperation programme signed in Moscow on February 8th 1961 between the two countries, another 100 young students had been assigned and prepared to follow their studies at the higher schools of the Soviet Union.

On August 1961, after having spent their summer vacations in Albania, the old students returned to the Soviet Union to continue their studies, while the new students were ready to leave for the USSR.

At that moment, however, only 4-5 days before the beginning of the courses for the 1961-1962 school-year, on August 26th, the Soviet Government, at N. Khrushchev's instigation, implementing with regard to the Party of Labour of Albania, the People's Republic of Albania and the Albanian people, the policy of pressure and blackmail, the policy of blockade and isolation in many directions, went to such lengths as to deprive the Albanian citizens of the right to follow their studies at the universities and higher schools of the Soviet Union. Through a note of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Soviet Government served notice on the Government of the PR of Albania that «as of September 1st 1961 there extends to Albania the rule common to all the European socialist countries concerning the accounts resulting from education in the Soviet Union of the students and aspirants under which the students stipends are paid by the country that sends its own citizens to the Soviet Union to follow their studies there».

This unilateral cancellation of the inter-government agreement of July 5th 1952, was aimed at making more difficult the training of cadres of the People's Republic of Albania and, consequently, impairing the edification of socialism in Albania. It was an unjust decision adopted by N. Khrushchev to revenge himself on the Party of Labour of Albania for having expressed correct, marxist-leninist, from party to party, viewpoints on a whole number of ideological and political questions of the present-day world development and in particular of the international communist and workers' movement, viewpoints which did not chime in with his anti-marxist and opportunist theses.

In the face of such a situation, when the Soviet Government arbitrarily changed the study conditions of the Albanian citizens in the Soviet Union, creating great difficulties to our country, suddenly, as we pointed out, only 4 to 5 days before the beginning of the classes, the Albanian students were obliged to return to Albania.

For what reasons, or rather what pretexts did the Soviet Government frame up, under N. Khrushchev's dictate, not to admit any more the Albanian students to follow their studies in the schools of the Soviet Union?

It is known that between the two governments, of the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of Albania, there was concluded on July 1952 the agreement «on the education of the citizens of the People's Republic of Albania at the higher civil schools of the Soviet Union», stipulating (article 5):

«The Government of the Soviet Union covers the expenses concerning the maintenance and study of the citizens of the People's Republic of Albania at the higher schools of the Soviet Union» and (article 6):

«The Government of the People's Republic of Albania pays to the Government of the Soviet Union 40 per cent of the expenses mentioned in article 5 of the present agreement».

This agreement was an expression of the fraternal internationalist aid which the Soviet Union was giving the People's Republic of Albania for the training of cadres needed for the development of our national economy and culture.

Later, on March 16th, 1960, the Soviet Government demanded a modification of the agreement and the conclusion of a new one, on bases and conditions different from those of the 1952 agreement.

The Government of the People's Republic of Albania, taking into account the fraternal relations and close cooperation between the two countries, the specific conditions of the People's Republic of Albania, the urgent needs for the training of cadres and the financial burden which would weigh on it as a result of the change in the study conditions, instructed the ambassador of the People's Republic of Albania in Moscow, Nesti Nase, to demand, through the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the USSR, not to change the study conditions of the Albanian citizens in the Soviet Union. And on June 6th, 1961, in response to the Albanian Government's demand, the deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Soviet Union, N.P. Firyubin verbally informed our ambassador that

«The Soviet Government re-examined its proposal concerning the modification of the agreement on the conditions of the mutual study of the students and aspirants at the civil institutes of higher learning and at the scientific research institutes, took into consideration the request of the Albanian side and decided that the 1952 agreement conditions remain in force».

Thus the problem was considered as settled and the question closed.

The Albanian Government, as always, appraised this just decision of the Soviet Government as a friendly act and precisely for this reason, as usually, during the 1960-1961 academic year there was sent to the higher schools

of the Soviet Union a considerable number of Albanian students and aspirants who by August 1961 accomplished their studies according to the above-mentioned conditions.

The Soviet Government, however, at N. Khrushchev's instigation, in continuation of the repressive measures against the People's Republic of Albania and with a view to creating for our country difficulties also in the direction of the training of cadres, went over the official promise it gave to our Government on June 6th 1960. This is evident from the August 26th 1961 Soviet note, which raising again the question of the study conditions of the Albanian students at the schools of the Soviet Union and completely ignoring the June 6th 1960 official communication, says that

«As a result of the talks which took place between the governments of the USSR and other European socialist countries, with the exception of Albania, new agreements have been concluded on the bases put forth in the March 16th 1960 note of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the USSR. The Albanian Government, although from the time of the handing over of the note of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the USSR to the Albanian embassy in Moscow there have elapsed almost one and a half years, has not thus far sent any written reply to the soviet note».

Carefully note: The whole fault of the Albanian Government allegedly is that «it has not replied in a written form to the soviet note».. Since when the verbal communication of our ambassador to the Soviet Foreign Ministry and the June 6th 1960 verbal communication of the Soviet deputy Foreign Minister would be no more considered as official acts? N. Khrushchev's conception on the official value of the written and verbal communications is really interesting. N. Khrushchev insists on a «reply in written form» from our Government to his March 16th

1960 note, whereas he verbally informs our Government of an affair whose importance has no need to be emphasized, namely the closing by the Soviet Government of the soviet embassy in Tirana and the demand for the closing of the embassy of the People's Republic of Albania in Moscow. When the Chargé d'Affaires of the PR of Albania in Moscow asked N. P. Firiyubin to give him in a written form his communication for the withdrawal of the staff of the soviet embassy in Tirana and the departure of the staff of the Albanian embassy in Moscow, N.P. Firiyubin, on behalf of the Soviet Government he replied to him that all verbal or written communication of an official representative is considered as an official act. Therefore, it is not necessary that we should give it to you in a written form. In other words, this is to say: «Don't do what I do but do what I say».

Therefore, you easily understand the entire falseness of the pretext under which the Soviet Government has encroached on the 1952 inter-governmental agreement on the education of the citizens of the P. R. of Albania in the Soviet Union.

Very significant is also the fact that on the same date of August 26th 1961 when the Soviet Government announced its decision on cutting off the stipends to the Albanian students that were studying in the Soviet Union (at issue is the 60 per cent of the stipend), on the same day of August 26th, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Soviet Union sent to the embassy of the People's Republic of Albania in Moscow a note which said that allegedly:

«The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the USSR continues to receive information that some Albanian students and hearers who are following their studies at the higher schools of the Soviet Union are spreading various fabrications and slanders concerning the Soviet-Albanian relations, and are also seeking to draw the soviet and foreign students to provocative conversations».

And it further continues:

«Reporting on the facts of the unworthy behaviour of the Albanian students studying in the Soviet Union, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the USSR draws the attention to the fact that their anti-soviet views are, undoubtedly, of a premeditated nature».

The note concludes:

«The Ministry has been authorized to declare that, in case of anti-soviet attacks on the part of the Albanian students, the latter will be asked to leave the Soviet Union».

The authors of the note, N. Khrushchev's group, need the slanders and trumped-up facts in order to attain their bad aim, to deprive our country of the possibilities to train cadres at the schools of the Soviet Union. How low have fallen those who slander the Albanian students in such a way! For it is well known that their love and respect for the Soviet Union and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union have become one of the loftiest qualities of the character of the citizens of new Albania and the Soviet teachers and students have witnessed the noble feelings of their Albanian comrades and students. Therefore, the claim that allegedly there have been anti-soviet expressions on the part of the Albanian students is a slander and an offence intentionally committed by the Soviet side to discredit the Albanian students and to back up its unjust measures towards them.

If we consider the soviet note, the question arises: Which one is lying, the note of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs that presents the Albanian students as «anti-soviet», or A. Mikoyan, who at the 22nd Congress called the Albanian students «the friends» of the Soviet Union, who «suffered reprisals in Albania»? It is clear that in both cases we have to do with fabrications in order to

justify two evil aims against the People's Republic of Albania and the Party of Labour of Albania. In the first case, through the note of the Foreign Ministry of the Soviet Union, the slander was needed to justify the departure of the Albanian students from the soviet schools. In the second case, through Mikoyan's declaration, the slander was needed to «argue» the situation of «terror and uncertainty» allegedly existing in Albania, with a view to implementing N. Khrushchev's call for counter-revolution and, on the other side, to deceiving the world public opinion about the real situation in our country.

According to A. Mikoyan and some other soviet propagandists in Albania there allegedly reigns «terror» «imprisonments», «murders and assassinations»; in Albania they have allegedly imprisoned the sailors, they have imprisoned the students, they have allegedly imprisoned «all the honest men and women who stand for the friendship with the Soviet Union». In a word, they have imprisoned the whole people! These monstrous calumnies which rightfully arouse a feeling of revolt and lawful hatred against their authors have revolted our people and before their eyes the slanderers have become ridiculous and have appeared like enemies, on the same dock with the imperialists and the Yugoslav revisionists, for they do not cause less evil, and they do not pose less danger with their calls for counter-revolution.

Their intention to create difficult situations, to create troubles, cannot be dissimulated by the veil of their «creative marxism» which smells pure revisionism. The Albanian people, led by their Party, have gone through numerous tempests, they have foiled many traps and intrigues, they are tempered and stronger than ever to frustrate the plans of their enemies whatever be the slogan under which they present themselves.

The Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania, the Government of the People's Republic of Albania, the entire Albanian people have appraised and continue to appraise the great international aid which the Soviet Union, the CPSU and the Soviet Government have

rendered to the P. R. of Albania in the training of Albanian cadres in the Soviet Union. Our sons and daughters who have studied at the higher schools of the Soviet Union, who have familiarized themselves with the soviet science and culture which are the most advanced in the world, have brought to their country knowledge and very precious experience of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, of the builders of communism in the Soviet Union. Educated by the Party of Labour of Albania, they have made and are making a large contribution to the strengthening of the Albanian-Soviet friendship.

As to the question of the «imprisonment of many students» which has so much troubled N. Khrushchev and his followers who have lost their sleep, these students are in good health on the forms of the State University of Tirana and of other institutes of higher learning at home or in the universities of the fraternal socialist countries.

**From «Zëri i Popullit»,  
the organ of the C C of P.L.A.  
December 19th, 20th and 30th 1961.**

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## **J.V. STALIN'S NAME AND WORK ARE IMMORTAL JUST AS IMMORTAL IS MARXISM-LENINISM**

Eighty-two years ago to-day there was born J.V. Stalin, one of the most prominent revolutionary figures who the great October Socialist Revolution took out, a loyal disciple and close cooperator of Lenin, glorious leader of the Soviet Party and State, a theoretician and educator of the whole world proletariat, a great friend of the oppressed peoples and a resolute fighter against imperialism.

J. V. Stalin traversed a glorious path as a militant revolutionary, beginning with the small marxist circles and ending with the leadership of the Party Central Committee and the Government of the Soviet Union. His life is closely connected with the history of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, of the triumph of the October Revolution, the up-building of socialism in the USSR and the victory of the Soviet peoples over fascism, with the liberation of the peoples of the world from fascism.

As a loyal disciple of Lenin and as a bolshevik of the early days, he took an active part in the formation of the Communist Party and in working out its theoretical and organisational foundations. By his ardent and principled writings, permeated with the leninist spirit and boundless faithfulness towards the proletarian ideology, through his tireless organisational work among the masses, he made an outstanding contribution to the setting up of the Party organisations in Transcaucasia and throughout Russia. Stalin became very soon one of the distinguished bolshevik fighters for the overthrow of the Tsarist regime. He was alongside of Lenin in the main group of the bolshevik leadership which directed the great October Socialist Re-

volution. At the time of the foreign intervention, when the very existence of the Soviet State which had just come out of the revolution was put in danger, Stalin was sent to various sectors of the front, where he showed his rare military capacities, the great force of his will, his capacity to find his bearings in the most difficult situation, his political maturity and unwavering faith in the victory. It was precisely this long revolutionary path, his talent of a wise political leader, his great organisational capacities, his high ideological training and his boundless loyalty to the cause of the revolution and marxism-leninism, that made Stalin enjoy the confidence of the Party which elected him to the post of the secretary-general of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

After Lenin's death, when Stalin was brought to the top of the leadership of the Soviet Party and State, his rare talent as organizer and leader manifested itself with a still greater splendour; he knew not only how to defend leninism from its many foes, but also to develop it further. At this time the Party was attacked by all sorts of enemies and traitors — trozkyists, zinovievists, bukhartists and other renegades. All of them sought to arouse distrusts towards the Party's general line, which reposed on the possibility of the up-building and the triumph of socialism in the Soviet Union, which at that time was completely encircled by capitalist states. Defending leninism, J.V. Stalin developed this theory still further and armed the Party with the unwavering faith in the possibility of the victory of socialism in one single country. This was a great historic merit of his, playing a very important part in the development of the USSR and of the entire communist movement in the later years.

Reposing on the teachings and instructions given by Lenin, Stalin outlined the main theses and practical ways of the socialist industrialisation of the Soviet Union, due to the successful accomplishment of which there was solved also the other big problem of the socialist construction — the collectivisation of agriculture. Stalin perfectly ar-

gued the necessity of consolidating the Soviet State under the proletarian dictatorship and completed with new teachings the marxist theory about the state.

A great merit of Stalin it is that he, by defending and further developing Lenin's teachings on the upbuilding of a Party of a new type, correctly described and outlined the place and role of the Communist Party during the period of transition from capitalism to socialism, and especially the leading role of the Party in great issues such as the socialist industrialisation and the collectivisation of agriculture, the accomplishment of the cultural revolution and the defense of the socialist Homeland. Stalin correctly defined the relations and interdependence between the Party's general line and its organisational work.

Stalin's name is inseparable from the history of the glorious Soviet Army and its victories. It is especially connected with the epoch-making magnificent victory of the Soviet Union over fascist Germany, achieved by the Soviet peoples under the leadership of the Communist Party and Stalin's supreme command.

Just as while he was alive, at present after his death, too, Stalin's theoretical work is of a very great importance to the development and victory of the international communist movement and the cause of socialism throughout the world. It has armed and continues to arm all the communists with the sound marxist-leninist principles with regard to such great problems as the proletarian revolution, the proletarian dictatorship, the socialist industrialisation and the collectivisation of agriculture, the solution of the national questions and the victory of the oppressed peoples in the struggle against colonialism and imperialism. J.V. Stalin devoted a very great attention to the creation of a whole system of relations of a new type between the socialist countries, based on the principles of marxism-leninism and proletarian internationalism, relations of fraternal cooperation and mutual assistance.

J.V. Stalin was irreconcilable with all the enemies of leninism, not only within the Soviet Union, but wherever

they would be. When the Tito group betrayed the cause of socialism, J.V. Stalin did not hesitate to openly expose them and show the true features of this group of renegades as agents of the United States imperialism.

The Albanian communists and the whole of our people, just as the communists and all the progressive men and women of the world, preserve always intact the great respect and veneration towards Stalin, towards his immortal work. His life in the service of the proletarian revolution and for the defense and creative development of leninism, his relentless struggle for the construction of socialism in the Soviet Union and the triumph of the cause of socialism and peace throughout the world, provide an excellent example to all the communists, inspiring them in the decisive battles for peace and democracy, for the great cause of communism.

J. V. Stalin and his work, many times after Lenin's death, have been object of fierce attacks both on the part of the imperialistic reaction and its ideologists and on the part of the different renegades of marxism-leninism. The glorious history of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union shows that Trotzky, Zinoviev, Kameniev, Bukharin and many other enemies of communism began their fight against the Communist Party, against leninism and socialism, in the first place by attacking Stalin and his work. Why was Stalin's discrowning the first aim of their hostile activities? This is explained by the fact that Stalin was a loyal follower of Lenin's work, that he was a resolute defender of leninism, that he was a sworn enemy of the renegades and imperialism. Formely, after Marx's and Engels' death, the enemies of marxism, in order to fight the revolutionary doctrine of the proletariat, in order to revise it, directed their main attacks on Lenin, who was an ardent and determined defender of revolutionary marxism. And what did they not say about Lenin! They described him also as an agent of the German militarism. This notwithstanding history covered the renegades with shame, whereas Lenin won. Lenin, as a faithful leader of proletariat, as a great educator of the oppressed people, is

recalled with respect and glory by all the communists and working people in the world and his teachings are studied with a great thirst. Following Lenin's death, Stalin objectively became the great defender of marxism, of leninism. Therefore, the enemies of the Party and communism could not fight marxism, could not dethrone leninism, without «getting rid» of Stalin and his work. The enemies, however, were again covered with shame, whereas Stalin, as the defender of communism, is being studied and recalled with respect and veneration by all and every communist.

In this aspect, not only the communists, but also every honest man in the world have met with deep contempt and misgivings N. Khrushchev's attacks on J. V. Stalin personally and his work. N. Khrushchev and his group are seeking to convince the world that Stalin has allegedly «forgotten Lenin's memory», whereas Stalin's entire life, his whole theoretical and practical activities, show the direct opposite. J.V. Stalin is known as a defender of leninism, as an executor of Lenin's teachings, as a determined enemy of the enemies of leninism. Whole pleiads of revolutionaries among the ranks of the communist and workers' parties in the world have been tempered and educated for years in succession, through Stalin's teachings and example, as real leninists. N. Khrushchev is seeking to describe Stalin as a «despot» and «terrorist», who has allegedly «damaged the defensive might of the Soviet Union», and who has allegedly been «a simpleton and has had confidence in the German fascists», whereas Stalin's entire life, his whole theoretical and practical activities show the opposite. J. V. Stalin is known as the outstanding leader of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Soviet State. Under his leadership, the first land of socialism, notwithstanding the countless difficulties resulting from both the great backwardness inherited from the czarist regime, and from the total capitalist encirclement and the obstacles raised by the struggle of the domestic and foreign enemies, within a short period of time was converted into a powerful socialist country. The might of this State found its magnificent expression in the Great

Patriotic War. J. V. Stalin is known by the whole world not as a «simpleton» with regard to imperialism and fascism, but as a consistent and determined fighter against imperialism and fascism, as the man who always called for vigilance and discovered the aggressive schemes and aims of various imperialists against the peoples in general and against the Soviet Union in particular. Even today also, everybody may be convinced of this; suffice it to read Stalin's works.

Just because he was such, J. V. Stalin enjoyed the great love and respect of the various communists and revolutionaries in the world; he enjoyed the love of all the oppressed men and women. With Stalin's name on their lips they were on the front-ranks of the demonstrations and barricades, their love for and faith in Stalin were not shaken either by the prisons and concentration camps or by the fiercest court trials framed up by the capitalist bourgeoisie and fascism. Stalin had become a symbol of force, bravery and resistance for the ordinary people, fear and terror for the class enemies. How many communists and various patriots from all the countries, how many comrades of ours when they were going before the firing squads or to the gallows were proudly declaring that they were Stalin's «sons» and facing their death shouted «Long live Stalin»? And the enemies were shivering from fear.

These feelings were not artificially created in the different men and women, in the conscience of every communist or real patriot and revolutionary. These feelings of love and respect were a result of J. V. Stalin's revolutionary activity, of the enthusiasm aroused in the ordinary people of the world by the magnificent successes of the Soviet Union which was led by J. V. Stalin and his comrades. The peoples of the Soviet Union, under the leadership of the Communist Party headed by Stalin, accomplished miracles and unprecedented heroic feats, converting backward Russia within a short period of time, into a big world socialist power. There were unleashed the compressed energies of the free men and women who, inspired by the communists whom Stalin headed, led the

soviet economy from victory to victory, won the admiration of the working people throughout the world and aroused the rage of the imperialists. They built up the huge Dneprogers of Magnitogorsk, opened the White Canal and set up Kuzbas, transformed the backward and scattered agriculture into a collective and modern one. The Soviet Union was converted with rapid strides from a backward country into an advanced one where whole armies of scientists came into being and grew up and which later, reposing on the economic potential whose foundations were laid under the first five-year plans, took the Soviet man to the space, gave to the world the rockets, or the first in the world paved the way to the use of atomic energy for peaceful purposes. Under the leadership of the Communist Party headed by Stalin, the Soviet Union, this country which prior to the revolution was called as a prison of nations, was transformed into a socialist multinational State where every nation was freely breathing, developed its own national culture, its economy and life, providing an excellent example to all the countries that have suffered or are still suffering under the hoof of colonialism.

The people cannot forget all these things, irrespective of the fierce and slanderous attacks of N. Khrushchev and his group under the mask of the fight against J. V. Stalin's «personality cult». They cannot forget them, for even if there have been committed some errors, these do not represent Stalin's main feature. Anyone may commit errors; therefore, Stalin, too, may have committed taking into account also the complicated conditions in which the socialist construction has been carried out in the Soviet Union, the difficult moments and the constant hostile acts of imperialism and its agents. But the men and women of spotless conscience cannot help arriving at the conclusion that J. V. Stalin has not bequeathed to history any eventual mistake of his own, but he has bequeathed to it that which has represented the content of his life. And the content of Stalin's life is his struggle for the defense of marxism-leninism, his tremendous work for the

construction of socialism in the Soviet Union, his boundless loyalty towards the cause of the working class, his large contribution to the development and consolidation of the international communist and workers' movement, his struggle for the triumph of peace and communism, and not «the crimes», «tortures», «murders» and other dirty fabrications framed up and offered by N. Khrushchev for consumption to the simpletons.

This content of Stalin's life, this legacy which he has left to history, the remembrance and respect which the working people in the world nourish for Stalin, cannot be tarnished by any black colour with which Khrushchev is seeking in vain to stain the figure of Stalin. It is in vain to accuse Stalin of having supported «massive terror», «arbitrariness» or «unlawfulness»; it is in vain to call him also a «murderer», a «despot». The imperialists have done and are doing this every day. But the conscience of the honest people has not accepted and will not accept such charges, at times overt and at times covert for they are convinced that the working class, the collective farm peasantry or the Soviet intelligentsia, the Party of Lenin's bolsheviks of the three revolutions and the international proletariat would not have followed Stalin and made of his name the banner of their victories had he pursued a policy in contrast with their will, desires and fundamental interests.

Hundreds of thousands and millions of men and women not only in the Soviet Union, but also in all the countries occupied by fascism went to the war fronts with confidence in the final victory because they were convinced that the famous Soviet Army, under J. V. Stalin's command, would rout nazi Germany. And the feelings and confidence of the peoples were not deceived. The Soviet Army and its commander-in-chief, J. V. Stalin, destroyed fascism and brought freedom to the peoples, our people included. Let N. Khrushchev and his group attempt to persuade the world that the man who worked for the creation and consolidation of the Soviet Army, who mapped out its strategy and tactics and who finally led it

in the biggest war known to history, was a man who allegedly «had no idea of the military art», that «had not prepared the country to defend itself from the Hitlerite attack», that he was a «coward» so that «during the war he had rather impeded than helped». The men and women who fought with Stalin's name on their lips, who saw for themselves their comrades rushing towards the enemy and falling while acclaiming Stalin, all those who have listened to or read his speeches during the Patriotic War, think quite differently. In the conscience of the honest men and women, irrespective of every thing, J.V. Stalin remains the legendary commander-in-chief of the Soviet Army, under whose leadership fascism was routed and the peoples gained their freedom. The attempts to deny Stalin's role, presenting a «new hero and strategist», another «architect of the Patriotic War», as it was proceeded during the ceremonies on the occasion of the 20th anniversary of fascist Germany's attack on the Soviet Union, not only run counter to history, but are also very much ridiculous; therefore they cannot be successful.

J. V. Stalin's name and memory and his work will live in centuries, as long as marxism-leninism itself lives and will live. And there is no and there will be no force in the world to tarnish it, to unroot from the hearts of the people their respect for and memory of him. N. Khrushchev and his followers can demolish monuments and busts to Stalin and keep up standing monuments to the czars and kings; they can change the names of the cities and revenge themselves even in the most inhuman way by removing also Stalin's corpse from the mausoleum; they can launch «destalinisation» campaigns and curse other people calling them «stalinists». By this they only unmask themselves and show their antimarxist aims. They will never be able to take Stalin's name and work out of the hearts of the honest men and women in the world, to whom Stalin and Stalingrad represent an inseparable symbol which, as always, call on the peoples and, first and foremost, on the communists, to courageously and resolutely struggle for the cause of communism, for the cause of the

triumph of marxism-leninism, for the cause of peace and against the imperialist enemies and all their allies.

The Albanian communists, just as the whole of our people, led by their Party of Labour, will be grateful for ever to J.V. Stalin, who had always loved and resolutely defended our country, our Party. Stalin's memory will live for ever in our hearts and his work will always be a source of inspiration in our sacred struggle for socialism and communism, for peace and the prosperity of our homeland.

**From «Zëri i Popullit» the organ of the  
Central Committee of P.L.A. December, 21st, 1961.**

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## EVER DEEPER IN THE DREGS OF ANTI - MARXISM.

After the 22nd congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union N. Khrushchev's group is furiously continuing the campaign of attacks on the Party of Labour of Albania and the People's Republic of Albania. Significant is the fact that this campaign is becoming ever tougher and more offensive at a time when the soviet press is not only publishing with noise Kennedy's profoundly reactionary and belligerent interview, but suprisingly there is also room to say good words about it, at a time when N. Khrushchev's group and their followers are undertaking one step after another to approach as much as possible the Belgrade traitorous revisionist clique.

What strikes your eyes, it is that the authors of this campaign fear the facts like the fire, therefore they avoid them and replace them with general bombastic phrases, often in contrast with one another, with base vituperations and offenses which N. Khrushchev and his like have never used against the furious imperialists and colonialists.

You are struck also by the fact that N. Khrushchev and his supporters are seeking to avoid by all means a discussion in essence of the principled ideological differences underlying the disagreement between our Party and N. Khrushchev's group. They are shifting the problem to another field and they degrade themselves up to the basest and most vulgar slanders against our Party and our country. Or if they sometimes feel themselves obliged to touch on the questions of our ideological divergencies, they distort the position of our Party, they slander it, they attribute alien viewpoints to it and then,

the very authors of these fabrications begin «with an irreconcilable principiality» to fight them and reject them.

Why all this noise about the alleged Albanian «dogmatism»? Why is N. Khrushchev's group with such an irresistible zeal seeking to distort the position of the Party of Labour of Albania and discredit it before the world public opinion? It is clear to every reasonable person that the main thing in this is not the question of unmasking the alleged Albanian «dogmatism» nor to warn against the «great danger» allegedly posed by it to the international communist movement. In fact, the deafening noise against the Party of Labour of Albania is needed by N. Khrushchev and his group for something else. It is needed to them, among other things, firstly, to attack some fundamental theses of the revolutionary doctrine of marxism-leninism defended by the Party of Labour of Albania and the real marxist-leninists in all the countries and, secondly, to draw the attention of the world public opinion towards the Albanian «dogmatism» so that, using this as a smokescreen, they may more easily and more quickly spread their own revisionist viewpoints in the international communist and workers movement.

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The authors of the anti-marxist articles and speeches against our Party, with a view to concealing their departure from the positions of marxism-leninism, say that the leadership of the Party of Labour of Albania has allegedly radically changed its political course on the main questions of the present-day international development and its stand towards the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, or, as somebody has expressed himself, it has allegedly made a political «mortal somersault». It is really surprising that the political line of our Party «has allegedly radically changed» while those who say this call us «dogmatists», that is people who do not depart from the former viewpoints. Moreover, the same people but recently had welcomed and called as marxist-leninist this line of

our Party which is now being described as «dogmatic» and despite this it has allegedly «radically changed». No, the policy of the Party of Labour of Albania and the Government of the People's Republic of Albania is just what it has been. Our stand has not changed at all, either towards imperialism and revisionism, or towards the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, or towards the national-liberation movement, or towards the cause of peace, peaceful coexistence, etc. Conversely, there has changed only the stand of N. Khrushchev and of those following him, towards our Party and our country, towards the fundamental teachings of marxism-leninism. They have revised the fundamental teachings of marxism-leninism about the reactionary and aggressive nature of imperialism and on this basis they treat in an opportunist manner the issues of peace and peaceful coexistence, of the national-liberation struggle of the enslaved peoples, the question of the forms of transition from capitalism to socialism etc.; they seriously encroached on the principles of proletarian internationalism in the relations between the fraternal communist and workers' parties and between the socialist countries.

### **The Communist Movement and the 20th Congress of C.P.S.U.**

N. Khrushchev presented his opportunist viewpoints about these questions at the 20th and the 22nd congresses of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, some theses of which make up the ideo-political platform of his entire anti-marxist activity. Therefore, he is seeking to force these theses upon all the fraternal parties, to make them obligatory norms of all the international communist movement. Presenting the decisions of the 20th and 22nd congresses as the quintessence of marxism-leninism and the stand towards them as the basic criterion to judge whether this or that party holds or not on the positions of marxism-leninism, N. Khrushchev declares as «anti-marxist», «nationalist», «dogmatic» etc. any party or person

opposing his opportunist theses expressed in the decisions of these congresses. This is the way he acted, for instance, towards the Party of Labour of Albania which, as is known, has not agreed and does not agree **with some** opportunist theses and **some anti-marxist attitudes** which were manifested at the 20th and 22nd congresses. But why should the marxist-leninist communist and workers' parties in all the countries be obliged to see the truth of marxism-leninism through N. Khrushchev's revisionist prescriptions? Fortunately, there exist the fundamental principles of marxism-leninism, clearly argued in the works of the classics and confirmed by life and the experience of the entire international communist movement. These principles cannot be replaced either by the decisions of the 20th and 22nd congresses or by N. Khrushchev's reports and speeches. They, and not the 20th or the 22nd congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, are the reliable criterion to judge about this or that fraternal party whether it holds or not on the revolutionary positions of marxism-leninism. While N. Khrushchev is seeking to replace the works of the classics of marxism-leninism, as well as the marxist principles that have been formulated in the two 1957 and 1960 Declarations of the communist and workers' parties with his revisionist platform, the revolutionary marxism-leninism — with opportunism and revisionism. This becomes clear even from the «Pravda» article of December 14th 1961 headlined «On dangerous road» saying among other things that «while dealing with the line of the 20th congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union it is not merely a question of the decisions of one party, but of a new era of the international communist movement». Thus N. Khrushchev is seeking to make the decisions of one party obligatory to all the fraternal parties, while the international meetings of the communist and workers' parties and their joint documents — vain and formal. Such an attitude is in open contrast with the known thesis of the 1960 Declaration that the fraternal communist and workers' parties are «independent and equal, they work out their policies proceed-

ing from the specific conditions of their own countries, guiding themselves by the principles of marxism-leninism».

Seeking to justify their position, the authors of the «Pravda» article refer to the formulation contained in the 1960 Declaration about the international importance of the 20th Congress. But it is known how this thesis was introduced in the Declaration. The soviet leaders, in opposition to the spirit of the Declaration on the independence and equality of the fraternal parties, are using this thesis to impose upon them the decisions of the 20th Congress, although at the November 1960 Moscow meeting they solemnly declared that they would never interpret and use it for such aims. Now, the aims of N. Khrushchev and his kind are coming to the fore with every passing day.

After all this, it is clearly seen how much hypocrite and formal has been N. Khrushchev's proposal which is proudly mentioned also by the authors of the article published in «Pravda», that there should not be included in the 1960 Declaration the thesis «the socialist camp headed by the Soviet Union».

The Party of Labour of Albania, as shown also by the protocols of the November 1960 Moscow meeting, has been and continues to be of the opinion that the thesis «headed by the Soviet Union» is a just and useful thesis. When we say that the socialist camp is headed by the Soviet Union, we do not mean at all that the Soviet Union and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union are the «supreme instance» which leads and directs, while the other socialist countries and the other communist and workers' parties — «the low instances» obeying and submitting to the former. By no means. By such a thesis we mean that the Soviet Union, as the first country which opened and is opening the road towards socialism and communism, and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, as the great Party of Lenin and Stalin, as the most experienced party in the international communist movement, by their historical experience illumine to the other socialist countries and the other communist and workers' parties the general marxist-leninist road for the victory of the socialist

revolution and the construction of the socialist and communist society (this glorious experience by no means begins with the 20th Congress, but it is the reflection of the more than 50-year struggle and efforts of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union). Moreover, the opportunist theses submitted to the 20th and 22nd congresses by N. Khrushchev are in contrast with the entire road and historical experience of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union as well as with the present-day facts of the international life. For these reasons, the experience of the Soviet Union and its Communist Party is of world historic importance, including here also a considerable number of theses of the 20th, 21st and 22nd congresses and of the new programme of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

In reality, by proposing to remove the thesis «headed by the Soviet Union», N. Khrushchev made an impermissible concession to the revisionist elements and encouraged them in their efforts for the split of the international communist movement, for the spreading of their anti-marxist viewpoints, to alienate the communist and workers' parties from the historic experience of the Soviet Union and its Communist Party. Thus, in some communist parties, as for instance in the Italian one, they are greatly propagandizing «polycentrism» which in reality means to renounce the international solidarity principle of the communist and workers' parties and the general laws of the socialist revolution and the socialist construction, discovered by marxism-leninism and confirmed in practice, first of all, by the historic experience of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union; it means a sliding into the positions of revisionism (preaching of the so-called «national, specific ways» to socialism, etc). There has been created a really curious picture: when we were defending the thesis «headed by the Soviet Union», N. Khrushchev and some others attacked us and severely opposed this thesis; whereas at present the same people are attacking our Party alleging that it is pursuing an «anti-soviet» line, that it is «splitting the communist movement and it has departed from

marxism-leninism», exclusively because it does not agree with some theses of the 20th and 22nd congresses of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union!

Alongside with the efforts to impose on the other parties the decisions of the 20th Congress, N. Khrushchev has organized a whole campaign to force upon them also the new programme of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Without denying at all the historic importance of this document as a programme of the construction of the communist society in the Soviet Union, it always remains the programme of a single party, therefore it cannot be forced upon the other parties nor can it replace the joint documents of the communist movement — the 1957 and 1960 Declarations. Our Party does not agree with some opportunist theses contained in the new programme of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, especially as regards the issues of the present-day world development, which are in contrast with the two Declarations of the communist and workers' parties. But our Party greatly appraises those parts of the programme in which the valuable historic experience of the Soviet Union in the socialist revolution and in the upbuilding of socialism and communism has been correctly presented. This experience, as previously, will be studied with a great attention by our Party and will be utilized by it in the struggle for the construction of the socialist and communist society in our homeland. Such is the unchanged line of our Party. And in vain will they attempt to accuse us of making any turning point.

Entirely absurd and groundless is the charge which is being reiterated all along by N. Khrushchev and his supporters that the Party of Labour of Albania did not fully publish the draft-programme of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. An article published against our Party in «The Communist», issue Nr. 17, 1961 points out that even some bourgeois newspapers were obliged to publish the full text of the programme. We are not concerned with what the bourgeois newspapers have done. If they have published the programme, they apparently have had their

own reasons to do it. As to our Party, it is known that it published in its press, in a summarized form, the **draft** programme of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and when it was approved after the relative modifications, at the 22nd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and became its programme, it fully published it into a special pamphlet together with the new rules of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, so that all the working men and women of our country could buy and read them. The slanderous charges that the Party of Labour of Albania is allegedly afraid of the Albanian people to publish these documents and that it distorts the viewpoints and positions of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and is slandering it, have dropped by themselves. It is a matter of common knowledge that our press completely published also the charges raised at the 22nd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union against the Party of Labour of Albania. Why then do N. Khrushchev and his group not publish, they too, in the soviet press the materials of our Party when they say that they do not fear the truth?

The authors of the articles in «Pravda», «The Communist» and in the other organs writing against our Party and our country, shamelessly distort the positions of our Party for a series of issues of principle of the present-day world development, so that, fighting against the alleged «anti-marxist», «dogmatic» theses of the Party of Labour of Albania (which they themselves have distorted in this way) they may justify and spread N. Khrushchev's opportunist theses. The whole matter is that his revisionist pill should become more acceptable, being covered with the gloss of the fight against the «Albanian anti-marxism».

### **For the Leninist policy of peaceful coexistence.**

Let us take the issue of peaceful coexistence, which is dealt with at length in the articles of «Pravda» and «The Communist». The Party of Labour of Albania, true to the teachings of marxism-leninism and the Moscow Declara-

tions of the communist and workers parties, in the foreign policy questions has held and always resolutely holds on the leninist thesis that in the conditions of the division of the world in two systems, the only correct and reasonable policy in the relations between states with different social systems is the policy of peaceful coexistence, according to the known principles of complete equality, respect of territorial integrity, the state independence and sovereignty, non-interference in the internal affairs of one another and cooperation on the basis of mutual advantage.

In the world, however, there does not exist only the problem of the relations between states with different social and political systems. There exists also the problem of the relations between the socialist states, as there exists the problem of the struggle of the peoples against imperialism and colonialism and of the struggle of the working people for the defeat of the capitalist slavery. Consequently, the foreign policy of the socialist countries, besides the peaceful coexistence between the countries with different social systems, which is one of its fundamental fronts, includes two more aspects: the relations between the socialist countries, which are based on the principles of friendship, cooperation and the fraternal aid and support, on the principles of socialist internationalism; and the support of the national-liberation struggle for national independence, which is being waged by the peoples enslaved by imperialism, and the revolutionary struggle of the working class in the capitalist countries for the overthrow of the capital and the passage of power into the hands of the people.

Such is the clear marxist-leninist position, defined also in the Moscow Declarations, to which the Party of Labour of Albania also adheres in the foreign policy matters. However, the above mentioned article in «Pravda» alleges that the Party of Labour of Albania is opposed to the leninist principle of peaceful coexistence as it is against N. Khrushchev's anti-marxist thesis, according to which the peaceful coexistence between states with different social and political systems is the general line of

the foreign policy of the socialist countries. This is indeed a surprising and a without logic conclusion placing its very authors in an awkward position.

It is known that N. Khrushchev himself has publically declared more than once that the principles of peaceful coexistence are insufficient for the relations between the socialist countries, that the essence of the relations between them is constituted by the principles of cooperation, the fraternal mutual aid and support in the spirit of socialist internationalism. This is clearly emphasized also in the 1957 Declaration of the communist and workers' parties. Well, how does this comply with the thesis that peaceful coexistence is the general line of the foreign policy of the socialist countries? Or do N. Khrushchev and his supporters perhaps mean that for the sake of peaceful coexistence with these or other capitalist states, we should side with them against the fraternal socialist countries?

N. Khrushchev's article writers refer to V.I. Lenin to find arguments in favour of their wrong thesis. But it is known that V.I. Lenin had never confined the foreign policy of the Soviet State only to the questions of the struggle for peaceful coexistence, although the Soviet Union was at that time the only socialist country, surrounded on all the sides by the merciless waves of the capitalist world. The authors of the «Pravda» article have apparently forgotten that the great Lenin had more than once emphatically stressed that the Soviet socialist State, alongside with the efforts for peaceful coexistence with the capitalist countries, should by all means and powerfully support the liberation struggle of the peoples enslaved by imperialism and the revolutionary struggle of the working people against the capitalist order. This is the lofty internationalist task of every socialist country. Or do they perhaps think that, for the sake of peaceful coexistence with these or other capitalist states, the socialist countries must renounce such a support?

The absurdity of the position of the authors of the attacks on the Party of Labour of Albania becomes still more evident when they, falsifying in an entirely clumsy

way an editorial of the newspaper «Zëri i Popullit», accuse our Party of allegedly standing for relations of peaceful coexistence with the Soviet Union (!). Which one should we trust — the charge that the Party of Labour of Albania is opposed to the leninist principle of peaceful coexistence, or the charge that the PLA stands for relations of peaceful coexistence, even with the Soviet Union?

It is indeed ridiculous to think that the Party of Labour of Albania, the party of a small socialist country, surrounded on all sides by capitalist states, is allegedly opposed to peace and peaceful coexistence. But recently, N. Khrushchev and those following him today in his attacks on the Party of Labour of Albania, welcomed and fully supported the foreign policy of our Party and Government, which, as everybody knows, has not changed at all also with regard to our relations with the neighbouring countries. Whereas now, according to the authors of the «Pravda» article, it follows that the responsibility for the aggravated situation of the Greek-Albanian relations rests with our Party and Government which are allegedly opposed to peaceful coexistence with Greece. This is a mean falsification of the position of our Party and a support for the reactionary circles of Greece which, as is known, is a member of the aggressive NATO bloc. The Party of Labour of Albania has never declared that it is opposed to peaceful coexistence with Greece, but it has emphasized and emphasizes now that the normalisation of the relations between Greece and the People's Republic of Albania is being obstructed by the absurd claims of the Greek government that it is in a state of war with Albania, as well as by its territorial claims to Albania's southern regions, such an attitude being in open contrast with the known principles of peaceful coexistence. Or should we perhaps, for the sake of «peaceful coexistence», make concessions to the Greek chauvinists in their territorial claims to South Albania, as N. Khrushchev did in his talk with Venizelos? The Party of Labour of Albania and the Government of the People's Republic of Albania, faithfully pursuing the principles

of peaceful coexistence, have been and are, at present too, prepared for the establishment of diplomatic relations with Greece, if the Greek Government renounces its groundless claims which are hampering the good neighbourly relations between our two countries. We wish to establish diplomatic relations and maintain good commercial, cultural and other ties with all the capitalist countries, that like such a thing, especially with our neighbours, on the basis of strict respect of the known principles of peaceful coexistence. N. Khrushchev's group, pursuing their anti-marxist aims of the political and economic isolation of the People's Republic of Albania, are seeking in vain to accuse our Party and Government of allegedly being opposed to peaceful coexistence; they are seeking in vain to stain our Party and slander it alleging that «it is drawing nearer to imperialism», while the Government of the People's Republic of Albania is seeking to translate into reality the principles of peaceful coexistence in its relations with the neighbours.

### **Disarmament and the struggle against imperialism.**

Or let us take the disarmament issue. The struggle to ensure the relations of peaceful coexistence and for disarmament to force them upon the imperialists, is one of the great problems of our days. The Party of Labour of Albania and the Government of the People's Republic of Albania have supported and are resolutely supporting the efforts of the Soviet Union in this respect, including also the known proposal of the Soviet Government for general and complete disarmament.

The position of our Party and Government in this question is quite clear and leaves no room for any doubt at all. However, N. Khrushchev and his group are making a great noise accusing the Party of Labour of Albania of allegedly being opposed to a general and complete disarmament. This is nothing else but a smoke bomb to conceal the wrong pacifist bourgeois viewpoints of

N. Khrushchev himself about a general and complete disarmament.

What are in reality the dangerous viewpoints which N. Khrushchev is seeking to force upon the international communist and workers' movement relating to a general and complete disarmament?

In the first place, that a general and complete disarmament is the only real way for the security of peace, that it is the basic and most urgent task of the times, to which must be subordinated all the other tasks and problems of the international communist movement and the present-day world development. According to N. Khrushchev and his followers, all the fundamental issues which are exercising today the minds of the peoples, such as the national liberation, etc., would be settled only as a result of the general and complete disarmament, of the creation of a world free of weapons, armies and wars: the enslaved peoples will be automatically freed from imperialism because the imperialists will have no more weapons to keep them under their yoke, whereas the working people in every capitalist country will be able to seize power in a peaceful way because the bourgeoisie will not have arms to defend its rule. Hence, the inevitable conclusion that the national-liberation struggle of the enslaved peoples, the struggle against the different forms of colonialism and neocolonialism, as well as the revolutionary struggle of the working people for the overthrow of the capitalist slavery are second rate problems which do not deserve any special attention, which are entirely dependent on the achievement of a general and complete disarmament. And this logical conclusion has been and is being confirmed with every passing day by the traitorous practical actions of N. Khrushchev and his group. But to the marxist-leninists it is clear that, as pointed out in the 1960 Moscow Declaration, the general and complete disarmament is a difficult problem, that its realisation takes a long period because of the fierce opposition it encounters on the part of the imperialist powers headed by the United States of America. There-

ore, it is quite wrong and very much dangerous to bridle the struggle of the enslaved peoples and the working people in the capitalist countries, to doom them to live in countless sufferings and miseries awaiting the achievement of a general and complete disarmament. The colonial peoples do not want to wait until a general and complete disarmament is realised: they want to free themselves as soon as possible and the safe road for their liberation is a determined struggle against imperialism. The people who have just won their freedom and who are exposed every day to the danger of the imperialist aggression can ensure the gained freedom and independence not by appealing to disarm themselves at a time when the imperialists are ready at any moment to devour them, but by sharpening their vigilance and increasing their defensive might. The working people in the capitalist countries want to throw off as soon as possible the heavy yoke of capital; for this they do not need to wait until a general and complete disarmament is achieved because the road of their liberation is that of the carrying out of the socialist revolution and the establishment of proletarian dictatorship through peaceful or non-peaceful means. The historic experience has proved that the peoples that have so far liberated themselves from the colonial yoke and the working people who have overthrown thus far the capitalist order and have embarked on the road of socialism, have achieved this even without a general and complete disarmament, owing to their resolute struggle.

In the second place, N. Khrushchev is seeking to achieve a general and complete disarmament only by making general appeals for disarmament and has intentionally thrown into oblivion the indispensability of the struggle of the unmasking of the war-mongering activity of imperialism, especially of the United States imperialism, which not only obstructs disarmament by all the means and ways, but it is also intensifying with every day the frantic armaments race. But experience has shown that the fine words of Kennedy and the other

leaders of imperialism «about peace» and «about the desire for talks» are quite false and demagogic, therefore it is entirely inadmissible and dangerous to deceive oneself and the others, to lull the vigilance of the peoples for «the good aims and desires» of the imperialists, as N. Khrushchev and his group are doing. The disarmament, either general and complete, or local and partial, can be achieved only if the socialist countries and all the peoples, all the fighters for peace, will wage a determined struggle to force it upon the imperialist forces of aggression and war, and, first and foremost, on the United States imperialists.

It is clear that it is not the peoples that profit by N. Khrushchev's pacifist and bourgeois conceptions, but imperialism and colonialism. This finds expression also in the fact that while N. Khrushchev and his group do not say a single word against the United States imperialism, but they are seeking to carefully «preserve» it, they do not spare even the most vulgar slanders of most reactionary style to accuse our Party of allegedly being opposed to peace, peaceful coexistence and a general and complete disarmament. What is the purpose of the spreading of such a slander against a socialist country? Do they perhaps mean to say by this that the danger of war comes from the side of some socialist countries, and specifically from Albania?(!) If such is the case, we must remark that these allegations are by no means original, for such a thesis, aimed to come to the assistance of the American imperialism, is being propagandized for some time by the reactionary bourgeois press and by the revisionist renegade Kardel.

In no document or material of our Party, in no speech and in no article of our press can anyone find even a small pretext to accuse the Party of Labour of Albania and the People's Republic of Albania of being opposed to the soviet proposal for a general and complete disarmament. Here we are faced only with a clumsy falsification made for evil purposes to heap mud on our Party and to discredit it before the world public opinion. It is

true that our Party rightfully condemned and condemns severely the unilateral and profoundly anti-marxist actions undertaken by N. Khrushchev and his followers to the detriment of the defensive might of the People's Republic of Albania and of the whole socialist camp in the Mediterranean area. But what has this to do with the soviet proposals for disarmament? Do they perhaps want to convince us that N. Khrushchev undertook his hostile actions which damage the defensive might of our socialist homeland, within the framework of a general and complete disarmament? (!)

It is also slanderous and of evil purpose the accusation that the Party of Labour of Albania is now allegedly opposed to the proposal for the transformation of the Balkans and the Adriatic area into a zone of peace, free of atomic weapons and rockets, a proposal jointly submitted by the Governments of the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of Albania in 1959. The position of our Party and Government on this question has not changed at all. But our Party and people do not and cannot agree with some other proposals which have been put forward in 1960 for the creation of a zone free of atomic weapons and rockets and for the complete disarmament up to the level of border units in the Balkans alone. Do these people perhaps not know that the United States 6th Fleet, armed to teeth, is cruising for some time in the Mediterranean? That it is by no means roaming there for touristic purposes, but it is a dangerous arm of aggression against the socialist countries? Have they perhaps forgotten that the Italian imperialism, which is now arming itself with American weapons and rockets and which is a member of the NATO aggressive bloc, has several times in succession, within a few decades, undertaken aggressions against our homeland and the other Balkan countries? We have to refresh the memory of some people about the fact that it was precisely N. Khrushchev, and nobody else, that during his visit to Albania in the spring of 1959, before the whole world seriously drew the attention of the Italian Government, several times in succession, to

the dangerous actions it was undertaking by making the Italian territory available for the establishment of the American rocket bases, which are directed in the first place against the socialist countries of the Balkans. We, on our part, have by no means changed our opinion. But N. Khrushchev has now perhaps changed opinion and has renounced the 1959 proposal. If such is the case, let them openly say it. We only want to emphasize that this is a short-sighted policy towards the aggressive plans and actions of the United States imperialism and the other imperialists.

### **Against the revisionist distortion of the marxist-leninist theory of revolution.**

The author of the article published in the review «Communist», issue Nr. 17, 1961, F. Konstantinov complains that the Party of Labour of Albania has allegedly distorted the theses of the 20th Congress by charging the leadership of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union of standing only for the peaceful way of transition to socialism. We must point out that F. Konstantinov has simplified and vulgarized the problems to the utmost (he has done this perhaps for «economy of thought»!). Our Party has expressed its critical opinion about the way in which the problem of the roads of transition to socialism was raised at the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

In the first place, as well at the 20th Congress as in the entire propaganda of the soviet leadership after this congress, the emphasis has been laid mainly on the peaceful way, there have been exceedingly swollen the possibilities of such a way at the present time, which does not correspond at all to reality. F. Konstantinov quotes the resolution of the 20th Congress (we reproduce here the relative part) which reads in part: «There is no doubt that for a number of capitalist countries, where

capitalism is still powerful, where it has in its hands a huge military and police apparatus, the great intensification of the class struggle is inevitable» (the underscoring is ours). We ask the question: In the present conditions of the frenzied armaments race, of the feverish efforts for the establishment of the fascist dictatorship, of the unheard of swelling of the military and police apparatuses, in such conditions in what capitalist countries are being created ever more favourable conditions for the seizure of power in a peaceful way? Is it perhaps in the United States of America, in France, Spain, West Germany, Greece?

In the second place, at the 20th Congress N. Khrushchev orientated in fact the communist and workers' parties in the capitalist countries to prepare themselves either for the peaceful way or for the non-peaceful way, but he did not orientate them that they should be prepared **equally, at the same time**, for both possibilities, so that they should be prepared **at any moment to exploit all the possibilities** to seize power in a peaceful or non-peaceful way. Our Party is of the opinion that if you prepare yourself well for the armed uprising, favourable possibilities are created also for the seizure of power in peaceful way. Now, in order to argue the thesis that allegedly on this question the 20th Congress (the year 1956) stood on correct positions, F. Konstantinov quotes the materials of the 22nd Congress (the year 1961), containing Lenin's words that the working class should «master without exception **all the forms or aspects of the social activity...**», it must be prepared «for the quickest and most sudden replacement of one form by the other.» Such an interpretation gladdens us and we consider it as a forward stride. But why was it necessary to wait for more than five years to recall these teachings of great Lenin and why do they attack the Party of Labour of Albania which has remained and remains loyal to these teachings?

In the third place, N. Khrushchev in an opportunist manner identified at the 20th Congress the seizure of power in the peaceful way by the working class with the

gain of the majority of seats in the bourgeois parliament, thoroughly brushing aside the fundamental teachings of marxism-leninism about the indispensability of the destruction of the bourgeois state machinery and its replacement with the state of proletarian dictatorship (Let them read at least V.I. Lenin's classical work «State and Revolution»).

F. Konstantinov further writes that the Party of Labour of Albania allegedly views the socialist revolution not as a result of the internal development of the capitalist countries, but as something imposed from outside. In other words, he accuses our Party of allegedly adhering to the anti-marxist viewpoint of the exportation of revolution and rushes to destroy this wrong theory. We want to tell him that, perhaps due to philosophic distraction, he has mistaken address and is in vain breaking open an open door. In no material of our Party and in no article of our press, either F. Konstantinov or anybody else can find, be it one single word, that may raise the slightest doubt about the clear position of our Party in this question (indeed, F. Konstantinov confines himself to a general phrase and mentions nothing concrete). The Party of Labour of Albania has condemned and firmly condemns both the anti-marxist theory of the exportation of revolution and the attempts of the imperialists and their revisionist tools for the exportation of the counter-revolution; it has always considered and considers the socialist revolutions as a result of the internal contradictions of the capitalist countries, of the struggle of the working class in these countries. At the same time, consistently guiding itself by Lenin's teachings, the Party of Labour of Albania forcefully points out the indispensability of the resolute support by the socialist countries for the revolutionary struggle of the working class and of all the working people in the capitalist countries for the overthrow of the capitalist slavery and the triumph of socialism. But is it perhaps precisely these teachings of Lenin that F. Konstantinov calls «export of revolution»?!

On the contrary, the position of N. Khrushchev and his group in this question is unclear and contradictory. Considering peaceful coexistence as the general line of the foreign policy of the socialist countries, N. Khrushchev and his propagandists, on the one hand cross out the support for revolution on the part of the socialist countries and, on the other hand, over-estimate the role of the external factor, they have almost made an absolute of its importance and have presented the case in such a way as if the victory of socialism on a world-scale will come as a result of almost only the policy of peaceful coexistence which is pursued by the socialist countries, of the economic competition between the socialist system and the capitalist one, of the successes which are being achieved by the countries of the socialist camp in the up-building of socialism and communism.

It is known that our Party has always emphasized and continues to emphasize the great internationalist support and aid which the Soviet Union has given to the Albanian people, it has considered and considers it as the very important external factor for the liberation of our homeland from the fascist slavery and for the construction of socialism in Albania. But the soviet leaders headed by N. Khrushchev in their materials about Albania, recently, do not mention, even by a single word, the part played by the Albanian people, under the leadership of the Party of Labour of Albania, in the struggle for the liberation of the country and the victory of the people's revolution in Albania, as well as in the up-building of socialism in our country, unilaterally pointing out only the external factor — only the assistance of the Soviet Union. How could we term such an attitude? Does it not lead to the positions of the anti-marxist theory of the export of revolution? Let «theoretician» F. Konstantinov explain it to us.

## N. Khrushchev — supporter of the traitorous Tito clique

In order to escape from the awkward position in which they have landed because of their policy of reconciliation and cooperation with the Tito clique, N. Khrushchev and his supporters shamelessly distort the attitude of our Party relating to the evaluation of the 1956 counter-revolutionary events in Hungary.

The Party of Labour of Albania has clearly expressed its stand concerning the 1956 counter-revolution in Hungary. It has pointed and continues to point out that it was organized by the imperialists, especially the United States imperialists, in close cooperation with the internal reactionary forces and the revisionist Tito clique and the Hungarian revisionist and traitorous elements of the type of Imre Nagy and his like, within the framework of the frontal attacks launched by the imperialists and revisionists on the socialist camp and the international communist movement after the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. For their own purposes they took advantage also of some mistakes of the former Hungarian leaders. This is quite clear and understandable; therefore it is needless to dwell at length.

Our Party has expressed at the same time its critical attitude towards N. Khrushchev and his group concerning their position towards and evaluation of the counter-revolutionary events in Hungary. Our criticism about this question consists in the following three principal moments:

Firstly, the counter-revolution in Hungary was prepared and carried out by the imperialists and the other counter-revolutionary elements under the slogans of «antistalinism», borrowed from N. Khrushchev's «secret» report to the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Indeed, the unprincipled attacks on Stalin at the 20th Congress, his «destalinisation» line, provided food to the reactionary and revisionist elements and facilitated the conditions for them to conduct their hostile

activities. They exceedingly swelled the alleged «stalinist» mistakes of the former Hungarian leaders, which provided the possibility to the traitorous and revisionist elements, such as Imre Nagy and his kind, to freely carry out and mask their counter-revolutionary activity presenting it as a «popular revolution».

Secondly, at the time when the Tito group and Imre Nagy, together with the imperialists, were feverishly preparing the counter-revolutionary coup in Hungary, N. Khrushchev, A. Mikoyan, M. Suslov and other soviet leaders had closed their eyes before the hostile activity of these traitors, they were trusting them and supporting them. By no means can be justified the fact that the soviet leaders had believed in a «hypocrite selfcriticism» of Imre Nagy and held it in their drawers to convince the others that Imre Nagy was a good man (!). Likewise, it is entirely unjustifiable that N. Khrushchev should so much trust the Yugoslav revisionist renegade clique, that he went from time to time to Brioni for secret talks with Tito and, together with him, he even decided on who should be appointed first secretary of the Central Committee of the Hungarian Workers' Party (!) (This, in addition, was also an impermissible interference with the internal affairs of a fraternal party). Such a surprising activity, to say the least, of the first secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union is testified to by many documents available to our Party, such as the letter which N. Khrushchev sent on November 9th, 1956 to J.B. Tito, and which was quoted in the speech delivered by comrade Enver Hoxha on November 7th 1961. In order not to leave room for doubts, we are quoting from this letter the passage in which N. Khrushchev addresses himself to Tito in the following terms: «You were fully satisfied with the fact that the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, as early as in the summer of this year, concerning Rakoshi's departure, was seeking to have comrade Kadar become first secretary of the Central Committee of the Hungarian Workers' Party». This needs no comments.

Thirdly, even after the counter-revolutionary coup in Hungary had failed owing to the blood of thousands of heroic soviet soldiers and of the Hungarian patriotic communists which was shed in streams in the streets of Budapest, N. Khrushchev instead of unmasking, in addition to the imperialists, also the traitorous Tito clique which was one of the main organizers of the Hungarian counter-revolution, «considered it possible» to cover its activity. Thus, in the above-mentioned letter of November 9th 1956, N. Khrushchev wrote to Tito: «We consider it possible to agree with your viewpoints not to attach now any special importance to the question whether the Yugoslav embassy in Budapest acted correctly or not by providing asylum to Imre Nagy and his like».

Now, N. Khrushchev and his group are circumventing these facts, they pass them in silence and, in order to distract the attention from them, they are distorting the position of our Party, alleging that it defends the imperialist reaction, that it is seeking to belittle its responsibility for the counter-revolutionary coup in Hungary and that it is presenting it as a mere consequence of the criticism against Stalin at the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. We do not intend to polemize with certain J. Andropov who precisely at the time of the 1956 counter-revolutionary events was soviet ambassador to Hungary. But we want to point out that by such clumsy and vulgar charges it is difficult to convince people. It is not the Party of Labour of Albania, but N. Khrushchev and his group that, by exceedingly swelling the role of the «stalinist» mistakes of the former Hungarian leaders presenting them as the main cause of the counter-revolutionary events in Hungary, in reality underestimate the part of the imperialists in these events and entirely conceal the hostile activity and the responsibility of the agents of imperialism — the revisionist Tito clique. And if N. Khrushchev's anti-stalinist campaign and his opportunist attitudes towards the Tito clique and Imre Nagy and his like facilitated the job to the imperialists, the revisionists and the reactionary forces

for the organisation of the counterrevolutionary uprising in Hungary, the responsibility for this by no means rests with the Party of Labour of Albania and its leadership.

### **The unprincipled attacks of N. Khrushchev against Stalin serve only the imperialists.**

N. Khrushchev and his supporters furiously assail the Party of Labour of Albania and its leadership and accuse it of allegedly being opposed to the teachings of marxism-leninism about the indispensability of not allowing any manifestation of the personality cult. To make these fabrications more credible, they continue to make a great noise about the «ugliest manifestations of the personality cult», which is allegedly thriving in Albania.

The Party of Labour of Albania and its leadership have been and remain true to the teachings of marxism-leninism about the masses, the classes, the party and the leaders, they have never been and are not opposed to the fight for the eradication of any manifestation of the personality cult and they have not hesitated in due time to criticize the manifestations of this kind among its ranks. But our Party has not agreed and does not agree with the way this criticism has been and it is being effected against the person of J. Stalin by N. Khrushchev's group beginning with the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union; it has not agreed and it does not agree with the anti-marxist aims for which he is using criticism against Stalin, to impose his revisionist viewpoints on the communist and workers' parties of the other countries.

N. Khrushchev's unprincipled attacks on J. V. Stalin and the presentation of the entire period of the latter's leadership as a period in which allegedly murders, terror, persecutions and injustice reigned in the Soviet Union, are unacceptable to our Party and to all the marxist-leninists. Such a wholly unprincipled «criticism» has immeasurably gladdened the imperialist enemies and the revisionists and has provided food to them to heap mud

on the soviet socialist system, on communism. At the same time, this «criticism» has placed the communist and workers' parties of the capitalist countries in difficult positions in the face of the rabid attacks of the bourgeois reactionary propaganda which, in order to spread its slanders, refers exactly to what N. Khrushchev has said against J. V. Stalin at the 20th and 22nd congresses of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. N. Khrushchev and his propagandists are now seeking in vain, through a foggy logic, to accuse our Party of allegedly having connected the personality cult with the soviet system. It is a matter of common knowledge that the Party of Labour of Albania, alongside with the other marxist-leninist parties, has waged and continues to wage a resolute and principled struggle against the bourgeois propaganda and the modern revisionists who are seeking to discredit the soviet order and communism. This poisonous weapon has not been given to the imperialists and revisionists by our Party, but by N. Khrushchev and his group; they should also bear the responsibility before the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the soviet people for these hideous actions.

Our Party resolutely rejects also the attempts of N. Khrushchev's group to dethrone Stalin, to deny his great merits as a distinguished theoretician of marxism-leninism, who has resolutely defended leninism from the attacks and distortions of the trotskyists, bukharinists and other enemies, and has developed it further in the new historical conditions. Presenting J. V. Stalin as a «dogmatist», detached from life, N. Khrushchev and his supporters are seeking to mask their revisionist viewpoints and present them as the quintessence of the «creative development» of marxism.

And now, every one who does not agree with such an attitude towards J.V. Stalin and his work is declared by N. Khrushchev and his group as a «dogmatist», «an enemy of marxism-leninism», a «terrorist», an «agent of imperialism», etc. (!)

For our Party there is no doubt that N. Khrushchev

and his group made their criticism against J. V. Stalin with evil purposes and by no means from principled positions, to fight the manifestations of the personality cult. Otherwise, there can be no explanation of the fact that the present-day soviet leadership itself is frantically developing N. Khrushchev's personality cult, for which everybody may become convinced, be it even by the exalting propaganda which is being conducted about his person.

Things have gone to such lengths as also some follies which discredit the prestige of the Soviet Union and which N. Khrushchev allowed to himself as was the case of taking off his shoe at the United Nations Organisation, are being raised with servilism to a theory and presented as an «excellent model of marxist attitude». (However incredible it may seem, it is a fact that A. Adzhubei, in his discussion at the 22nd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, published in the soviet press, characterized this gesture as something which «was really wonderful» (!). Is perhaps this, too, being done within the framework of the fight against the personality cult?!

### **N. Khrushchev — enemy of P.L.A. and of the Albanian people.**

After they attempted to dethrone by anti-marxist methods J.V. Stalin and his work, N. Khrushchev and his supporters have now launched base attacks and slanders against the Party of Labour of Albania and its leadership which they accuse of serious encroachments on the leninist norms of the party life and socialist legality, of establishing a regime of terror and of many other things. What are the «facts» and «documents» which they adduce?

The «Pravda» article of December 14th, 1961, reads among other things: «As early as in 1948, the 1st Congress of the Party of Labour of Albania raised a resolute criticism of the serious mistakes in the political activity of the Party of Labour of Albania, pointing out that four years after the liberation of the country and the establishment of the people's power, the party had no rules,

no programme, no press organ of its own and that «the military and police methods» were thriving in it. The most hideous manifestation of the «military and police» regime in the party was that it was «under the control of the State security organs», «police information» was thriving in it.

Yes, the 1st Congress of our Party seriously condemned these negative manifestations in the party life, which have drawn their origin from the brutal interference of the Tito clique in the internal affairs of our Party and from the dangerous hostile activity of the agent of this clique — Koçi Xoxe. Koçi Xoxe and his like were severely condemned by our Party at its 1st Congress for marked hostile activity at the service of the Tito clique, for serious encroachment on the party democracy, for having placed the Party under the control of the State security organs (Koçi Xoxe was Minister of Interior and at the same time the Party secretary for cadres), for serious violations of socialist legality, for the preparation of the physical liquidation of the general secretary of the Party, comrade Enver Hoxha, of comrade Mehmet Shehu and the other healthy cadres of the Party, who in reality, in one way or another, had been isolated or eliminated from the party leadership. And if the Party successfully coped with this serious situation within a short period of time, liquidated the alien manifestations and established the leninist norms of the party life, a special merit for this belongs precisely to the general secretary of the Party, comrade Enver Hoxha. All these things are documented in the decisions of our Party.

Such are the facts. Whereas the authors of the above mentioned article in «Pravda» write otherwise. They say: «**We do not mean to enumerate the culprits** of this terror against the honest Albanian communists. We shall mention that right from that time **Hoxha** was the general secretary of the party» (the underscoring is ours). Why is it that N. Khrushchev's article writers «do not mean to enumerate the culprits», but they slanderously attack comrade Enver Hoxha? Why are they so zealously seeking

to conceal the hostile activities of the traitorous Tito clique and its agents Koçi Xoxe and his kind. Why do they take under protection a traitor to and rabid enemy of the Party and people such as Koçi Xoxe was? In order not to leave room for doubts, we shall mention that as early as in 1956, N. Khrushchev, through M. Suslov and P. Pospelov and through the medium of Liri Belishova, brought pressure to bear for the rehabilitation of Koçi Xoxe but our Party resolutely rejected it.

«Pravda» further says that at the Party conferences before the 3rd Congress of the Party of Labour of Albania there was allegedly made a «severe principled criticism to the Albanian leadership for violation of the Leninist norms of the internal Party life», for «pressure» on the Party cadres, etc» Here, in a distorted manner, the question is for the attempts of some revisionist elements of the Tito clique, who, being encouraged by the revisionist theses of the 20th Congress, unsuccessfully sought at the April 1956 Party conference for the Tirana town to split the Party and overthrow its leadership, to create in Albania a situation similar to that which was created in Hungary later, which was afterwards declared also by the deputy foreign Minister, former Yugoslav ambassador to the Soviet Union — Vidich. It is quite clear to all the Albanian communists that the organizers of the revisionist attack on our Party and its leadership at the Party conference for the Tirana town were such traitors as Panayot Plaku, Tuk Yakova, Bedri Spahiu, Liri Gega, Pajo Islami, Vehip Demi, Dhora Leka and other degenerated elements, unmasked as agents of the Titoite UDB (The Central Committee of our Party is in possession of documents proving by indisputable facts that these traitors had been linked with the Tito clique and on its orders they were plotting for the overthrow of the people's power in Albania). Why do Khrushchev's propagandists speak so much ardently and safely about the activities of these anti-party elements? The connection of the Khrushchev group with the Tito clique and its agents at the Tirana conference becomes evident here.

The court trial which took place in Tirana against the Greek and American intelligence agents Teme Sejko, Tahir Demi and their kind, who were given the deserved penalty as traitors to the Homeland, proved by facts that they, too, were organizers of the anti-party activity which raised its head at the Tirana town Party conference. And it is precisely these dirty dregs of our society that N. Khrushchev and his supporters take under their protection. While the correct actions of our Party and our law suits against the spies and agents of imperialism and its tools are presented by N. Khrushchev and his group as terror, as violations of socialist legality, as consequences of the existence of the personality cult, etc., etc.

F. Konstantinov writes in the «Communist» that: «The leaders of the Party of Labour of Albania are arresting and persecuting the Albanian specialists — military and civil — that have studied in the Soviet Union». We leave aside the fact that this is an abhorred slander, rightfully revolting every citizen of the People's Republic of Albania. We shall only say that this is an exceptionally absurd charge because according to it, the major part of the Albanian intelligentsia (which is mostly composed of persons having studied in the Soviet Union) is allegedly imprisoned and deported (!) And after this, with a surprising manoeuvre F. Konstantinov writes that: «The violation of legality and the arbitrary acts are committed by Hoxha and Shehu in greatest secrecy» (!) Whereas the «Pravda» article, published during the same days, says the opposite: «Now in Albania they are openly using the police methods of violation against those defending the friendship with the Soviet Union». (They have apparently forgotten to consult one another!)

According to the authors of articles and speeches against the Party of Labour of Albania, the violation of the leninist norms of the party life and socialist legality, the persecution of the honest communists, etc. are allegedly continuing in Albania for a long time. It is really surprising that N. Khrushchev and his like, who are making a great noise about their adherence to the «lofty le-

ninist principles», have not said these things in due time, but on the contrary, until 1960, they were showering praises on our Party and its leadership (!).

We do not want here to begin rejecting one by one these slanders and fabrications, for they are so mean and vulgar that they do not deserve such a thing. We are only surprised by the fact that such people as F. Konstantinov — a philosopher and former member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union relieved of this job at the 22nd Congress — have changed profession and from the philosophical studies have entered in the field of mean fabrications. Does Konstantinov think of somewhat strengthening in this way his position and make a career?

One thing is quite clear to our Party, to every Albanian communist and to every citizen of the People's Republic of Albania — the clumsy fabrications about the «stalinist terror» in Albania have been calculated by N. Khrushchev and his propagandists not so much for the Albanian communists and our people as for discrediting our Party and its leadership before the public opinion of the other countries. He cannot deceive our people by such consenses. Albania is a small country where you cannot conceal anything; there are no distant regions here such as New Lands and Siberia, therefore you may learn at once of any arrest. And if N. Khrushchev hopes that by taking under protection some despised traitors, enemies to the Party and people and agents of the Tito clique and the imperialist intelligence service, will be able to disorientate and shake our Party and our people, he is gravely mistaken. The taking under protection of the Tito clique and the Albanian traitors shows only more openly N. Khrushchev's features as a traitor to marxism-leninism, as an enemy of our Party and people, slandering and brutally interfering in our internal affairs; it unmasks him as a man grossly violating the principles of the Declarations of the communist and workers' parties.

Seeking arguments to make more credible their absurd attacks on the Party of Labour of Albania and the

People's Republic of Albania, N. Khrushchev and his group have been unable to find a better road than to address themselves for help to the bourgeois reactionary newspapers whose writings they apparently consider as the highest criterion of truth! We would not like to respond to them by the same method and begin to quote articles from the bourgeois newspapers which, taking advantage of the fact that N. Khrushchev made public our disputes at the 22nd Congress, began swelling them and using them to split the communist movement and the socialist camp (although many reactionary newspapers have just expressed themselves in the support of «Khrushchev's line»). Our Party does not intend to fall on the positions of the bourgeois reactionary newspapers and to play into their hands for the splitting of the communist and workers parties and the socialist countries, as N. Khrushchev and his supporters are acting indeed. We want however to point out that N. Khrushchev's group has become a workshop of elaborating information to the advantage of the imperialist reaction against the People's Republic of Albania. Things have gone to such an extent as to make use of the basest methods of provocation. N. Khrushchev's group prepare and give for publication in the western bourgeois newspapers articles full of slanders against the Party of Labour of Albania and its leaders and then they reproduce them on the pages of their own official press with the tendentious aim of discrediting the Albanian leaders «by facts from trustworthy sources» (!) Let the readers judge by themselves how «marxist» these actions are.

This is how things stand. The furious attacks by N. Khrushchev and his supporters on the Party of Labour of Albania and the People's Republic of Albania are another testimony showing that N. Khrushchev's group is submerging ever deeper into the lees of the antimarxist campaign. Unscrupulously exploiting the authority of the Soviet Union and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, N. Khrushchev has managed to influence some personalities of the international communist movement

to follow him in his unprincipled fight against the Party of Labour of Albania. He is seeking to create the impression that allegedly the whole international communist movement is following him in «condemning» our Party and its leadership and, on the other hand, to arouse enmity between the communist and workers' parties of the other countries and our party. But he will never succeed in drawing our Party and people to a trap by such provocations. Our Party will firmly continue its principled struggle against N. Khrushchev's group, being deeply convinced that even the most authorized firms attacking us today from among the communist and workers' parties of the other countries, sooner or later will stop to think and will see on what a dangerous impasse they are being thrown by N. Khrushchev through his antimarxist actions. And how could we blame for example, the general secretary of the Communist Party of Martinique, comrade C. Silvestri, who wrote in «Pravda», on December 17th, 1961 about «the brutal violations of socialist legality and the merciless criminal repressive measures against the Albanian workers and activists»? It is clear that being in Martinique, on the other side of the Atlantic Ocean, he can know nothing about the situation in Albania, but he has written a priori trusting N. Khrushchev's slanders, or he has written only for the sake of the authority of the Soviet Union, even not being convinced that he was right. However surprising it may seem, it is a fact that someone has declared that «we are with N. Khrushchev even if he is wrong» (!)

There is no doubt for our Party and people that N. Khrushchev's latest hostile and antimarxist action towards our country — the closing of the Soviet Union's embassy to Albania and the expulsion of the embassy of the People's Republic of Albania from the Soviet Union — has not been approved even by N. Khrushchev's close friends in the communist and workers' parties of other countries. And this is not because of any special sympathy for the Party of Labour of Albania and its leadership, but because such an act, unprecedented in the

relations between the socialist countries constitutes an open violation of the principles of the 1957 and 1960 Moscow Declarations; it discredits the Soviet Union before the eyes of the world public opinion and places in a difficult position the communist and workers' parties, especially those in the capitalist countries; it provides weapons to the imperialist reaction to fight us and our common cause of socialism and communism.

By his fierce attacks on the Party of Labour of Albania and the People's Republic of Albania, N. Khrushchev is preparing for still more hideous actions and aims to the detriment of the unity of the socialist camp and the international communist movement, to the detriment of our great cause. But he may rest assured that any such action will be fatal to him. The healthy organism of the world communist movement will heal the revisionist wounds inflicted on it by N. Khrushchev. The revisionist elements among the ranks of the communist and workers' parties, who have been animated as a result of the antimarxist activities of N. Khrushchev and his group, will be isolated and defeated by the resolute struggle of the real communists, true to the great revolutionary doctrine of marxism-leninism. This is a clear and inevitable process. The truth of marxism will triumph.

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

The most representative meeting in the history of the international communist and workers' movement which was held in Moscow in November 1960, condemned by its declaration the Yugoslav revisionism as the concentrated expression of the «theories» of the present-day revisionists, and the Yugoslav revisionist leaders as traitors to marxism-leninism. The international communist and workers' movement unanimously condemned them as underminers of the camp of socialism and of the whole communist movement and as injurers of the cause of the unity of all the peace-loving forces and states. Therefore, in the judgement of the activity of the Yugoslav revisionists, the communist and workers' parties of 81 countries of the world proved themselves to be compact and of the same opinion. Their most authorized representatives, who signed the historic Declaration, outlined as an important task for all the communists of the world the further unmasking of the Yugoslav revisionist leaders.

Reposing on these correct conclusions of the Declaration, as well as on their very important thesis that the modern revisionism poses the main danger to the international communist and workers movement, the working class parties, during the past year, translated into reality the instructions of the Declaration and worked for the unmasking of the hostile activity of the Yugoslav revisionists. It must be said, however, that in the practical implementation of the Declaration some people did not display the same compactness as when the Declaration was approved. The Soviet leaders, headed by N. Khrushchev, for example, not only «forgot» the Declaration and

its instructions concerning the need of the further unmasking of the Yugoslav revisionists, but they also openly rejected it adopting a new course, in contrast with the Declaration, the course of rapprochement, of reconciliation and cooperation with the Yugoslav revisionist leaders.

Have perhaps the Yugoslav revisionists, following the 1960 Moscow Declaration, changed their revisionist attitude and viewpoints? Have they perhaps suspended their undermining and splitting activities against the camp of socialism, against the unity of the communist and workers' movement, and returned to the positions of marxism-leninism? The truth remains unchanged: the Yugoslav revisionists are the same renegades of marxism-leninism, servitors of imperialism and of the reactionary bourgeoisie, whom they have served and continue to serve with zeal and faithfulness, changing only the forms and ways, the paths and methods according to given situations.

### **The Yugoslav revisionists remain enemies of socialism**

Let us throw a glance at the 1961 events and we shall see that the Yugoslav revisionists have proceeded deeper with every passing day in their hostile activities against the forces of socialism and peace, to the advantage of the forces of imperialism and reaction.

During the year 1961, too, the press and the propaganda of the Yugoslav revisionists were full of slogans about the integration of capitalism into socialism, about the radical changes which imperialism and the present-day capitalism have allegedly undergone contending that they are no more exploiters, either aggressors or a source of wars. The danger of war, according to the revisionists, comes no more from imperialism, but from the socialist states, such as, for instance, from China and Albania. The problems of the struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, between socialism and capitalism, between the enslaved peoples and the colonialist oppressors, between the forces of democracy and reaction, between the

forces for peace and those for war, have disappeared from the pages of the press and the propaganda of the Yugoslav leaders as a result of their revisionist attitude in service of the American imperialism.

The Yugoslav revisionists have continued to spread their anti-marxist viewpoints about important questions of the present-day world development and of the communist and workers' movement, such as the question of the peaceful coexistence which they are propagandising as a policy of reconciliation with the imperialists and for the sake of which we must renounce any class struggle, as coexistence between the oppressed and the oppressors, between the slaves and the colonialists, as a coexistence between the slaves in the capitalist countries, and the question of the teachings of marxism-leninism about the socialist revolution and the proletarian dictatorship which they reject as obsolete, on the grounds that today the capitalist state is allegedly losing its class character and is becoming a state of the whole people, serving bourgeoisie and proletariat alike.

The Yugoslav revisionists, denying the fundamental laws of the up-building of socialism and the universal experience of the Soviet Union, continue to preach their own specific socialism. Thus Tito, in his October 23, 1961 interview to the Japanese newspaper «Asahi Shimboon», under the slogan that there allegedly exist «almost as many roads to socialism as there are states and that every state will build up socialism in different way, in its own specific way», is trying to spread the Yugoslav specific road to socialism. The danger which the preaching of this road poses also to other countries is easily understood, and in the interest of what classes will such a socialism of the Yugoslav type be and whom it will serve, is also easily understood.

The Yugoslav revisionist leaders, pursuing the policy of diversion and plots, as members of the Balkan military bloc which nourishes aggressive aims against the socialist countries and which is linked with the NATO and CENTO blocs, have continued also during 1961 to carry

out their tasks as its loyal members. The coordinated participation of the Yugoslav revisionists, with their Greek and American allies, in the subversive activity against the socialist countries was shown by concrete evidence at the court trial held in Tirana against plot hatched by the ruling circles of Belgrade and Athens, in collaboration with some Albanian traitors and in coordination with the Mediterranean United States 6th fleet. The plotters, as documented by the people's justice intended to liquidate the freedom, independence and sovereignty of our homeland, they intended to liquidate the People's Republic of Albania.

The Yugoslav revisionists, pursuing their policy of supporting the United States imperialism, of cushioning and masking its aggressive and belligerent activity, went to such lengths that at the conference of the non-committed countries, held in Belgrade in September 1961, they put on the same plane, considered as equally dangerous to peace and the security of the peoples both the aggressive NATO bloc and the Warsaw Treaty, both the bourgeois policy and ideology and the socialist policy and ideology. Tito, currying favour with the imperialists, openly attacked the Soviet Union for the just decision it adopted on the resumption of the nuclear weapon tests, a decision which was aimed at strengthening the defensive might of the country, at strengthening the defensive might of the whole camp of socialism, at curbing the aggressors and defending peace. Tito termed the Soviet Government's decision as «something which has alarmed the whole world on a very broad scale». Proceeding further, he placed the Mutual Aid Economic Council in the same category with the «common markets» of the capitalist countries, which serve the strengthening of the aggressive alliances, and considered them equally as «serious obstacles» in the close economic cooperation.

The attitudes of the Yugoslav revisionist leaders towards the many events during the year 1961, once more showed that they, under the mask of the out of blocs policy, are feverishly continuing their hostile activity against

the socialist camp and the international communist and workers' movement, against the unity of the peace-loving forces. The role which the United States imperialism has assigned to the Yugoslav revisionist leadership has been well defined by Tito himself as early as in the year 1956, in his Pula speech, when he stated that «Yugoslavia must not withdraw into herself. She must work in every direction... in the ideological field, so that the new spirit may triumph».

The Yugoslav revisionist have sought to discredit, through their press and propaganda, the life and work of the peoples of the socialist countries, attacking in fact the very socialist system in these countries. Thus, for example, during the months of November and December 1961 alone, the official Yugoslav news agency, Tanjug, through their special correspondents in the socialist countries, has published a series of provocative dispatches about these countries. What do the Yugoslav correspondents deal with? How do they describe the life and work in the socialist countries? According to them, in the socialist countries, the deceivers and falsifiers have a free scope to act, and dictators and bureaucrats, robbers and speculators, the little kings of dogmatism and the ruthless oppressors are ruling there. Dogmatism is reigning in the art or literature, in science and culture, and freedom and personality are smothered. It would be sufficient to mention only some of these subjects and the way in which the issues are raised to understand their aim of discrediting the socialist countries.

A dispatch from Moscow entitled «The little dictators», transmitted by Tanjug in December 1961, said that in the Soviet Union, following the campaign against deceivers and falsifiers, there had begun a new campaign against little dictators. These little dictators are allegedly the local leaders who, in the enterprises, collective farms and other institutions, allegedly behave as lords knowing only how to command, completely detached from the masses. The Yugoslav correspondent divides the dictators in four variants; the first variant includes the bureaucrats, the se-

cond variant — the speculators, the third variant — the people doubting of everything and who if they look askance at you they frame up everything against you, as it was the case of the director of a technicum in the Ukraine, a certain Burkovski (who is also a member of the regional committee), who has allegedly hit with his fist the woman worker Nina Ostapenko for the only reason that she had refused to pick up cucumbers from the State property and carry them to his home; the fourth variant includes the trade-union dictators, the chairmen of the trade-union committees who allegedly behave as real masters towards the workers.

A dispatch from Warsaw transmitted by Tanjug in November 1961 under the heading «After the rest to the psychiatrist», described a Polish citizen who was sick and departed to spend a month of rest. Through this trip life in Poland was presented in the darkest colours. The citizen was scolded by the ticket collectors because he had no money to pay for the ticket, he was attacked by sellers because he refused to buy decayed apples, he went to get his overcoat which he had sent for a cleaning and he found out that the workshop was being «refitted», he went to get petrol and he found out that the shopkeepers were drawing an «inventory», he went to the restaurant to eat fish and he was told that there was none, because the fish had been sent to Warsaw, he went to a store to buy a thermos and he found out that the store «was being stocked», etc. Thus, according to the Tanjug correspondent, people in Poland run up and down and nobody meets their requirements, nobody cares for them.

A dispatch from Budapest transmitted by Tanjug in December 1961 under the heading «The little kings» of dogmatism, gives many examples of abuse of the State power allegedly being committed in Hungary by the so-called «Little kings». Thus, for instance, a woman worker was dismissed only because she did not believe that Yuri Gagarin had flown into the outer space. But the store manager did not confine himself to that much. Convinced that there was «something» in this, he made

another inquiry into the question, he drew up detailed proceedings and out of this «something» he developed a certain political backstage. There are still many such instances about the inclinations of the «little kings» to abuse their position and the State power, Tanjug concluded. It is superfluous to mention their malicious slanders and onslaughts against China and our country.

All this activity, all these facts testify only to one thing: that the Yugoslav revisionists remain enemies of socialism.

### **The Yugoslav revisionists — underminers and splitters of the national-liberation movements of the peoples.**

During the year 1961 the national-liberation movement of the Latin American, Asian and African peoples, in the first place against the United States imperialism, assumed an upsurge and was growing with every passing day. In this respect too, the United States imperialism made use of the Yugoslav revisionists as a good weapon, concealed under the mask of «neutrality» and of the «uncommitted country», to smother the peoples' movement for freedom, national independence and socialism. In his speeches, during his visit to some African countries, Tito sought to undermine their confidence in the countries of the camp of socialism, to soften their lawful hatred against the Washington neo-colonialists, against the United States imperialism which is the fiercest enemy of the national-liberation movements.

At the conference of the non-committed countries Tito was among the very few partisans, otherwise isolated at the conference, who sought to disorientate the peoples of Latin America, Asia and Africa and lead them astray from their correct path of the struggle against colonialism and imperialism, to gain freedom and independence raising as their main issue not the struggle against imperialism and colonialism for freedom and independence, but the banning of the nuclear war. How much absurd and ridi-

culous sounds such an attempt in front of the words of the Indonesian delegate R. Abdulgani who stated that the main task of the oppressed peoples is the liberation from the yoke of colonialism, that «imperialism and colonialism — as he pointed out — are killing us just the same also with conventional bombs»! At the conference of the non-committed countries the voice of the representatives of the African, Asian and Latin American countries rose forcefully against the United States imperialism. Only Tito and some of his kind dared not unmask the United States aggressive circles.

The Tito clique adopted a hostile attitude towards the issue of the Congolese people. They supported the United States intervention and considered it as a factor that «contributed to the stabilisation of the situation», as a «very important and valuable» factor. They dispersed through police and the army, with clubs and tear gas and cavalry, the Belgrade workers who protested in the streets against the murder of the great Congolese patriot Patrice Lumumba by the American imperialists.

The Belgrade revisionist press condemned the nationalisation policy carried out by Fidel Castro's revolutionary Government, considering it as a «very great swallowing up done all at once», and made noise about «the great difficulties» which the Cuban revolution is allegedly running against with every day. The Yugoslav revisionist leaders, regretting the losses which the imperialists are suffering in Cuba, advised them to make use of more refined tactics in their interventions in order «not to risk also those United States interests which still remain in Cuba».

The Belgrade revisionist clique had the barefacedness to support such an enslaving plan also with regard to the Latin American peoples as «the alliance for progress» proclaimed by Kennedy as a path of salvation, propagandizing that the United States imperialism «has begun to realize that the times are changing, that the real unity and solidarity of America can be established only on the basis of mutual equality» and that imperialism has alle-

gedly «shown its readiness to settle and correct its mistakes».

The Yugoslav revisionist leaders sought to conceal from the public opinion the intervention of the United States imperialists in Laos, propagandizing that «Washington has made a big stride in detaching itself from Dulles' past policy, that Washington desires a «compromise settlement» of the Laotian issue «because it is really concerned with peace and the neutrality of Laos». Moreover, in this issue the revisionists threw off the mask almost completely and, from the position of the support for imperialism they passed over to positions of attack on the peaceloving policy of the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China, claiming that a peaceful settlement of the Laotian issue «depends on the Soviet Government» and that the Soviet Union and China should not «take the change in the United States policy as a proof of weakness».

In the recent days, as the Indonesian newspaper «Harian Rakyat» writes, the spokesman of the Yugoslav Ministry of Foreign Affairs unilaterally pointed out that the West Irian question should be settled by «peaceful means». But do the imperialists renounce their positions by peaceful means? This question is answered positively only by the revisionists, these devoted servitors of imperialism. As to the marxist-leninists, as to the peoples suffering under the yoke of the old and new colonialists, they have already outlined their path, their methods for the settlement of the national liberation problem, and this is the path of resolute struggle to throw off the abhorred yoke. «People may adopt two attitudes towards imperialism — as the Indonesian newspaper writes indeed — and namely: either to resist it or clap it on the shoulders», as the Yugoslav revisionists are doing.

This confrontation of the attitude of the Yugoslav revisionists with the attitude of the peoples who are fighting against the colonialists, clearly shows whom the Yugoslav revisionists are serving, what dangerous enemies of the national liberation movement they are.

## Billions of dollars for the services to the advantage of imperialism

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

The Belgrade revisionists are with a great zeal equipping their army with American armaments and are having their officers trained in United States military schools. Thus, as the White House press secretary Pierre Salinger said on October 17, 1961, the Kennedy Administration, continuing the policy consistently pursued by the Truman and Eisenhower Administrations, gave the Yugoslav Government also 130 jet fighters of the F-86 type. According to the American data, not denied by Tito, the United States has given Yugoslavia, from 1952 until 1959, a total number of more than 540 military aircraft.

During 1961, according to the Associated Press agency, many Yugoslav military pilots underwent training at the United States airforce Perin base in Sherman. As stated by the Perin information officer four Yugoslav pilots are undergoing training at the same course with West German and Chiang Kai Shek pilots. Of course, the Tito clique will make haste to deny these truths, for they greatly unmask them. But what is the use of denials in the face of facts?

It is known that after the conference of the uncommitted countries, which was held in Belgrade, the United States imperialists were disappointed by its results and «got angry» with Tito because he did not succeed in discharging his mission to convert the conference into an anti-communist rostrum. They expressed this «anger» by spreading stories that the Kennedy Administration would

allegedly reconsider the question of aids to Yugoslavia. These rumours were aimed only at giving the Tito clique a stronger push for a still brisker activity and no means at suspending the aids to Yugoslavia.

In reality, on November 25-th, the United States Government made a «self-criticism» and officially proclaimed that «it is prepared to conclude an agreement on selling to Yugoslavia the American agricultural produce surplus».

If we take only some of the considerations and appraisals which the United States imperialism has made to the Tito clique during 1961 for the rendered services, it would be sufficient to see that the Yugoslav revisionists discharge well their duties, that they fill their ill famed role as splitters of the socialist camp, of the communist and workers' movement, of the national-liberation and democratic movements everywhere in the world.

On October 18, 1961, the United States secretary of State, Dean Rusk stated at a press conference that «the American military aid not only had contributed to the defense of Yugoslav's independence in the face of the Soviet bloc, but as early as 1948 Yugoslavia has also been a source of split in the fold of international communism».

The newspaper «Reinolds News» writes that «half a million tons of American wheat is not a very high price to pay for the spreading of the bright thought of the Yugoslav communists». (It is known that by bright thought of the Yugoslav communists the imperialists mean to say the viewpoints of the Tito clique about the revision of marxism-leninism for the benefit of the United States imperialism).

The United States news agency UPI, on December 26, 1961, greatly praised the activity of Tito and his clique who have used every dollar they have received to the advantage of the American imperialism. The agency said: «During these years changes have occurred in Yugoslavia, which have satisfied the West. The forcible collectivization of agriculture has been practically eliminated by the Tito regime. The Yugoslav economy has been ever more adapted to the Western commerce. There

have begun to appear some aspects of free trade in the industrial branch».

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

As a conclusion, the Belgrade revisionist clique, during 1961 too, acted just as the Moscow Declaration rightfully characterised them — as traitors to marxism-leninism, as underminers of the camp of socialism and of the communist movement, as injurers of the cause of the unity of all the peace-loving forces and states, in service of the United States imperialism. Therefore, nothing has changed on the part of the Yugoslav revisionists.

**«Yugoslavia is building up socialism, we must become acquainted with the Yugoslav experience, we must study it and meditate upon it».**

But in contrast with all these facts, in open contrast with the 1960 Moscow Declaration, N. Khrushchev and his followers have continued during 1961 to advance on the road of the rapprochement, reconciliation and all-round cooperation with the Yugoslav revisionists, waging at the same time an unprincipled struggle against the marxist-leninist parties which remain true to the Moscow Declaration, such as the Party of Labour of Albania, under the pretext of the fight against the so-called «Albanian dogmatism».

Let us cite only a few facts from the events after the publication of the Declaration, and especially during the year 1961, which testify to a rapprochement which is being noticed and which is unsparingly being given publicity also by means of the press and propaganda.

December 23, 1960. The member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and Minister of Foreign Affairs, A. Gromyko, made haste to state at the Supreme Soviet that «it must be pointed

out with satisfaction that on the fundamental international questions, our positions are identical».

As we briefly saw above some of the anti-marxist and anti-socialist attitudes and positions of the Yugoslav leaders towards different international problems, it is superfluous to point out that such an appraisal of the Yugoslav foreign policy and its comparison with the policy of the Soviet Union, is only a bad service rendered to the leninist policy of peace pursued by the Soviet State and a good service rendered to the «independent policy» of «comrade» Tito.

December 30, 1960. The Yugoslav acting secretary of the State Secretariat for foreign affairs, in reply to A. Gromyko's statement, said at a press conference that «Gromyko's words comply with our viewpoints and aspirations. On this basis, it is possible to develop our mutual relations, as well as a broad international cooperation in the interests of peace and progress in the world». So, there had hardly elapsed a month from the publication of the Moscow Declaration, and the identity of views and aspirations of the N. Khrushchev group with those of the Yugoslav revisionist leaders began to come to the front.

September 10, 1961. N. Khrushchev himself, in order to mitigate the anger of the Yugoslav «comrades», lest they had taken seriously those two wretched words which were uttered against them in the draft programme of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, was quick to tell to the correspondent of the American newspaper «New York Times» that «We, of course, consider Yugoslavia a socialist country». Is there a more shameful violation of the Moscow Declaration than this? When did N. Khrushchev tell the truth about the Yugoslav revisionism, when he signed the Moscow Declaration or when he spoke to the American correspondent?

October 3, 1961. L. Brezhnev, member of the presidium, of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, at a meeting with the Yugoslav ambassador solemnly told him that «we have all the conditions for the development of a further all-round coope-

ration». He pointed out with satisfaction and repeated the Yugoslav ambassador's words about «Yugoslavia's determination to comprehensively develop the relations with the Soviet Union». Time will show also the «secret» about what is hidden behind the emphasis laid on the «allround» development of the relations.

November 10, 1961. P. Togliatti said at the plenary session of the Central Committee of the Italian Communist Party that: «With the Yugoslav communists too, we have had contacts and we maintain mutual friendly relations. This is not only a necessity resulting from our geographical position. It is something more. Relating to the regime existing at present in Yugoslavia, we are obliged to ask what this regime is. It is not something identical with the one existing in the Soviet Union, or in the people's democracies, but it is neither a feudal regime nor a capitalist one, and it even seems to us that it is neither a regime which, after having advanced towards socialism, is going backwards, towards forms that have been overcome. Hence the necessity of becoming acquainted with it, studying it and meditating upon it. It clearly follows from this how wrong it is to treat Yugoslavia and her regime as enemies are treated».

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

And so on, we might quote many other facts and official statements testifying to the tendency of rapprochement and reconciliation with the Yugoslav revisionists which is noticed in a marked way after the 22nd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

The rapprochement and reconciliation with the Yugoslav revisionists is not achieved only through statements and articles in the press and by radio. This rapprochement appears in many directions. The exchange of delegations is one of these directions. Let us take only some of the exchanges of delegations:

January 31, 1961. The former member of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, E. Furtseva, and the deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Soviet Union, Firyubin, offered a luncheon in honour of the soloists of the Belgrade opera, A. Marinkovich and R. Filak. It was attended also by the deputy Minister of Culture, Kuznetsov. Toasts were exchanged.

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

May 31, 1961. A delegation of the Yugoslav metal workers Union arrived in the Soviet Union.

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

June 16, 1961. There was shown in Moscow the première of the Yugoslav film «A part of the grey sky», under the cultural cooperation programme. In the evening party, the deputy Minister of Culture, N. Danilov, spoke of the popularity of the Yugoslav cinema workers in the Soviet Union. In this evening party the floor was taken also by the Yugoslav ambassador.

October, 1, 1961. In Belgrade, the representative of the Soviet publishing houses held a press conference on the occasion of the opening of the exhibition of the Soviet book in Yugoslavia. At the exhibition, he said, there will be displayed also the translations of the Yugoslav publications printed in 15 languages of the peoples of the Soviet Union in a total edition of 6 million copies.

As we are dealing with books, we would like to mention here another fact about the relations in the field

of the ideological and political publications. As announced by the Yugoslav newspaper «Politika» of September 15-th, 1961, the Yugoslav chargé d'affaires handed over at a ceremony on September 14, 1961 to the USSR deputy Minister of Culture Tito's selected works. The report did not say for whom this gift was. Likewise, it did not point out the contribution of these selected works to the field of the development of marxism-leninism. . .

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

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

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

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

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

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

January 4, 1962. A photo exhibition, showing the most important events in Yugoslavia, opened in the House of friendship with the peoples of foreign countries in Moscow.

January 5, 1962. The first vice-Chairman of the Coun-

cil of Ministers of the Soviet Union, A. Kosigin, received the Yugoslav ambassador and had a talk with him. . .

January 8, 1962. The Minister of foreign trade of the Soviet Union, N. Patolichev, received the vice-Chairman of the Yugoslav foreign trade Committee, V. Gainovich, with whom he examined some issues of the Soviet-Yugoslav trade.

There have been exchanged also many other delegations of cinema workers, artists, composers, writers, etc., which have been given a great publicity.

And the chronicle of the exchange of delegations continues, without mentioning here all the agreements on economic cooperation. And all these, in the given case, are masked with the slogan of the policy of peaceful co-existence, while in reality they testify to an ever greater rapprochement of N. Khrushchev and his group with the Yugoslav revisionists, they testify to a renunciation of the ideological fight against them. This is clearly shown also by the fact that all these things are taking place precisely at a time when pressure has been brought to bear on a small socialist country which is resolutely struggling against imperialism and revisionism, such as the People's Republic of Albania, against which unprecedented blockades have been put up in all the fields, the basest slanders and attacks have been and continue to be made on it, going on this road up to the open calls for counter-revolution and the closing of the Soviet Embassy in Tirana and the expulsion of the Albanian Embassy from Moscow.

The tendency of N. Khrushchev and his followers for a rapprochement with the Yugoslav revisionists, as well as their attacks and slanders against the Party of Labour of Albania and the People's Republic of Albania at the 22nd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, have been acclaimed by the Yugoslav revisionists as well as by their masters — the imperialists, who have multiplied their activities thinking that the day has come for them to lay the mines to the socialist camp, to the communist and workers' movement

and to any other anti-imperialist and anti-colonialist movement. They are picking up everywhere with a great zeal the monstrous slanders and inventions against the Party of Labour of Albania, the People's Republic of Albania and the Albanian people and they give them a wide publicity. Tito's enthusiastic greetings to the 22nd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union were by no means fortuitous. Here is the question, in the first place, of N. Khrushchev's anti-marxist attacks on J. V. Stalin's work and on the Party of Labour of Albania. Tito declared: «We have seen in the work of the Congress also a positive course which is now being effectively mirrored in the further development not only in the Soviet Union, but also in the other socialist countries. We welcome such a course». There is no need here for any explanation at all, for it is clear that Tito is greeting and «praying god» that N. Khrushchev's revisionist views may become ruling views in the Soviet Union and in the other socialist countries, and that his anti-marxist and splitting actions may extend ever more, so that the unity of the socialist countries and of the international communist movement be spoiled and revisionism may triumph.

But the Party of Labour of Albania, just as the other marxist-leninist parties, will not move from the line of the struggle against modern revisionism to defend marxism-leninism because by this struggle, in these battles, we defend the cause of revolution, the cause of communism and of the world peace. Today the clouds are very dark. They may darken for some time also the sky. The clouds may darken the sun, but only temporarily. The sun will not be covered, it will shine; the truth of marxism-leninism will triumph.

## Modern revisionism — main danger to the international communist and workers' movement

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

The rapprochement between the N. Khrushchev group and the Yugoslav revisionists has not been achieved and cannot be achieved overnight. For this purpose many factors have contributed and continue to contribute, the principal among them being the fear of the N. Khrushchev group lest they should be openly exposed in the eyes of the entire international communist and workers' movement as supporters of the Yugoslav revisionists, as comrades in the same viewpoints with them. Herein lies also the source of the constant wavering, of the often contradictory attitudes of N. Khrushchev towards the activities of the Yugoslav revisionists right from 1955 and until now. The fundamental line of his attitude, which draws its origin from the revisionist ideological viewpoints, has always been a line of rehabilitation of the Tito clique, a line of rapprochement and close cooperation with them. This has found a clear expression in N. Khrushchev's initiative to normalize the relations with the Yugoslav revisionists as early as May 1955. But later on, in different periods, as a result of some «unwise» action, openly hostile and subsversive, on the part of the Tito clique (as it was the case during the Hungarian events, or of the publication of the programme of the YCL, etc.), which

rightfully shocked the communists throughout the world, N. Khrushchev, in order not to compromise himself, was obliged as a matter of tact to adopt some «attitudes» against the Yugoslav revisionists. Experience, however, has shown that all this was a bluff and that it was done ostensibly, for even in such occasions N. Khrushchev made haste at once to orientate the communists that they should be «cautious» allegedly «not to gratify the vanity» of the Yugoslav revisionist clique, etc. Typical in this respect is his speech at the 5th Congress of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, in July 1958, in which he said among other things: «In our struggle for the common cause we must not devote to the Yugoslav revisionists a greater attention than they deserve. They want their value raised, that people should think they are the center of the world. . . We shall not contribute to the fanning of passions, to the aggravation of relations. Even in the situation that has arisen in our relations with the Yugoslav Communist League it will be useful to preserve a spark of hope, to seek acceptable forms for some questions».

The N. Khrushchev group have always tried to explain this «indulgence» and «cautiousness» as well as the need for «contacts» with the Yugoslav revisionists by the fact that Yugoslavia's foreign policy, on the fundamental questions, allegedly complies with the foreign policy of the Soviet Union and that all and every rapprochement with it had no ideological, but only a State character. It has even been said that «we maintain contacts and are seeking for normal relations also with the United States of America or with West Germany, let alone with Yugoslavia». Such arguments are false and they serve N. Khrushchev to conceal his true features, as an ally of Tito, as a supporter of revisionism. Their falsity is clearly shown by the following facts:

In the first place, Yugoslavia's foreign policy has nothing in common with the peaceful policy of the Soviet Union which clearly follows also from the characterisation which the 1960 Moscow Declaration makes of the activities of the Yugoslav revisionists as underminers of

the socialist camp and as splitters of the national-liberation movement and of the forces for peace under the label of the out of blocks policy.

In the second place, the rapprochement of the N. Khrushchev group with the Tito clique is mainly of an ideological nature. This is shown by the declarations that «Yugoslavia is a socialist State», that we must become acquainted with her experience, that we must study it, meditate upon it, etc. This is testified also by the character of the contacts that have been and are being established. In reality, however, under the mask of exchanges in the State field, the Yugoslav revisionists are seeking to deeply penetrate there where the doors are open to them, with a view to spreading their revisionist viewpoints, and all this is being done with full knowledge of the facts on the part of N. Khrushchev and under his direct incitation. Experience has shown what a danger the Yugoslav revisionists pose when doors are opened to them, how they make use of all and every means to conduct their subversive activities against socialism and communism. If in the future we do not bar the road to their activities, no doubt this will result in very harmful consequences for the parties and peoples with whom they will find a loophole to interfere, a ground to act. Those who ignore this fact, effectively ignore the 1960 Moscow Declaration.

In the third place, the falseness of N. Khrushchev's statements is evident also if we compare his attitude towards the Yugoslav revisionists with the attitude he has adopted and continues to adopt towards the People's Republic of Albania, a socialist country, a member of the socialist camp and of the Warsaw Treaty, towards the Party of Labour of Albania, a signatory to the Moscow Declaration. With regard to the People's Republic of Albania and the Party of Labour of Albania, N. Khrushchev violated all and every norm, both of party and state. In fighting our Party of Labour he did not take account of the fact that «he might gratify the vanity of the «Albanian dogmatists» either of the fact that he «maintains rela-

tions also with the United States of America and West Germany, or even with the Tito clique», or of the fact that little Albania, not by words but by deeds, always hand in hand with the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, has resolutely struggled and continues to struggle for the triumph of the peaceful policy of the socialist camp, for the triumph of the cause of the liberation movement of the peoples against imperialism and revisionism, for the victory of socialism and communism.

From this it also clearly follows that N. Khrushchev and his group «like the contacts» with the Tito clique, that they are working for a rapprochement with them, that they close their eyes before the splitting activities of that clique, because Tito's revisionist viewpoints coincide with those of N. Khrushchev on many questions, for N. Khrushchev and Tito are united by a common revisionist platform against socialism and communism. While as regards the Party of Labour of Albania, the other parties and all the true marxist-leninist, who stand on right marxist-leninist positions and are consistently fighting against modern revisionism, both the N. Khrushchev group and the Tito clique have directed against them all the fire of their traitorous fight.

The year that elapsed showed that the impetuous rapprochement of the N. Khrushchev group with the Yugoslav revisionists has been coupled with the fiercest attacks on the Party of Labour of Albania or, as they now say, on the Albanian «dogmatism». This is not accidental. N. Khrushchev, from 1955 onwards, in his stand towards the Yugoslav revisionists, has had various tactical waverings. He has been unable to attain at once his purpose for a final rapprochement with the Tito clique. The main obstacle on this road has been the resistance of the communist and workers' parties in various countries, the resistance of the communists who are true to marxism-leninism, who, irrespective of N. Khrushchev «advices», have always considered revisionism as the main danger to the communist movement, as it has been appraised by the 1957 and 1960 Moscow Declarations, and the Yugoslav re-

visionism as its most concentrated and aggressive manifestation.

The Party of Labour of Albania, waging an irreconcilable ideological struggle against the Yugoslav revisionism, is one of the parties that have obstructed N. Khrushchev's rapprochement with the Yugoslav revisionists. This has been noticed from the very outset both by the N. Khrushchev group and the Tito clique. And to reduce our Party to silence, they have resorted to all kinds of forms and pressure. N. Khrushchev and his group were telling us «you are raising the value of the Yugoslav revisionists to the eyes of imperialism», «you are quarrelsome and hot-blooded», «you are not waging a principled struggle, you need tact and skill», «you want to wrest the banner of the struggle against revisionism», and so on and so forth. But our Party, convinced of its correct path, did not stop in its activity for the defense of the party of marxism-leninism.

N. Khrushchev's waverings and the obstacles raised on his road towards a rapprochement were understood also by Tito who more than once warned N. Khrushchev and even clumsily suggested to him the way in which to act. Let us recall here Tito's speech of November 1956, just after the liquidation of the counter-revolutionary coup in Hungary. Tito said among other things: «We have said that it was not only a question of the personality cult, but of a system which had made it possible to pursue a personality cult, that herein lay the roots of the issue, that this was the thing to be fought, and that it was the most difficult thing to do». Tito added that «these roots lie in the bureaucratic apparatus, in the methods and attitude, in ignoring the role and aspirations of the working masses, in Enver Hoxhas, Shehus and other various leaders of some western and eastern parties, who resist the democratisation and the decisions of the 20th congress and who have greatly contributed to the consolidation of Stalin's system and are seeking at present to revive it and make it prevail. Herein lie the roots and this is what must be mended». This call was reiterated later. Tito said this also

after the 22nd Congress, in his Skoplje speech, apparently to advise N. Khrushchev not to stop, but to carry to the end his hostile activity against the Party of Labour of Albania. In this speech Tito said that the Albanian leaders Hoxha and Shehu pose a great danger to the peace in this part of the world, that they want to raise troubles and create a new focal point of war danger. . . fighting against the progressive course which is being pursued in the Soviet Union, that there can be no better fate for the Albanian people as long as such leaders as Hoxha, Shehu and others will remain in power.

It must be said that the advices of «comrade» Tito have met with a positive repercussion in N. Khrushchev's anti-marxist activity.

The course of the up today events has shown that the contact with the Tito clique has become an interesting and attractive object as well for the United States imperialists as for the N. Khrushchev group. It serves as a point of self-control to know what is acceptable and what not to the one or the other side. And this is explained by the fact that the Tito clique maintains good relations as well with the United States imperialists, whom they faithfully serve, as with the N. Khrushchev group with whom they are bound by the same ideals.

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These were some facts and proofs witnessed by the year 1961 and which most effectively show two main things: Firstly, that the Yugoslav revisionism has not changed at all, it remains what it has been, that is the evaluation made by the 1960 Moscow Declaration with regard to the Yugoslav revisionism as well as the task of its further unmasking remain fully valid; secondly, that N. Khrushchev and his group are consciously seeking to draw nearer with every passing day to the Yugoslav revisionists and, as close friends, to work in order to split the camp of socialism, to destroy the international communist and workers' movement.

As to our Party of Labour, it has stood and resolutely stands on the position of the 1960 Declaration of the 81 communist and workers' parties. It considers that a resolute and uncompromised struggle must be waged against revisionism, up to its complete destruction. Any slackening of the revolutionary vigilance against it, any weakening of the principled fight against it, as N. Khrushchev and his followers are intentionally doing, under whatever pretext, inevitably leads to the revival and activation of the revisionist trends which heavily damage our great cause. Without ruthlessly unmasking revisionism, and in the first place the Belgrade revisionist clique, we cannot properly unmask imperialism either.

**(From «Zëri i Popullit» — Jan, 17, 1962).**

## RUDOLF BARAK — AN EXPOSED CONSPIRATOR

Our press published some days ago the news of the newspaper «Rude Pravo» which made public that, on decision of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, Rudolf Barak, member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Czechoslovak Communist Party, ex-minister of interior and first deputy-chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Socialist Czechoslovak Republic, has been expelled of the Party and brought under arrest.

In this way, by detecting the hostile activity of Barak, the Communist Party and the brotherly Czechoslovak people saved themselves from a dangerous enemy, who, undoubtedly, has not been solely an ordinary thief of foreign exchange paper-money. It is selfunderstood that such a man, who held such high posts in the party and in the state, not only has not been a lonely person to carry out his hostile activity, but when he arrives to such a degrading position as to «rob the monetary values of the country» he may as well do every other thing, he may even become a spy in the service of the imperialists, he may, in order to secure supplementary sources of income, sell out even the state secrets and betray the interests of the people and of the country. This, undoubtedly, will be proved out.

Rudolf Barak, as enemy and instigator, is not an unknown person for us. The delegates to the IVth Congress of our Party of Labour, recall with disgust this Barak, who headed to our Congress the delegation of the Czechoslovak Communist Party. The delegates to this Congress recall the provocative activity of Rudolf Barak, which had no-

thing in common with marxism-leninism, an activity congruous with an enemy and traitor of socialism, such as was and proved to be Barak himself. His comportment in the Congress Hall and outside, his conduct in his relations with the Albanian comrades and the foreigners demonstrated that he had come with premeditated intentions, to split and damage the Labour Party of Albania. In fact, every delegate to the Fourth Party Congress has a clear picture of the feverish activity carried out by R. Barak against our Party, and by his collaborator and inseparable friend of his, the soviet professional provoker J. Andropov, the faithful mouthpiece of N. Khrushchev. The comrade delegates recall also how these instigators organized and supported the openly provocative acts of the representative of the Greek Communist Party, Dimitris Panayotis, instigator of the Greek chauvinistic secret service of Athens; they recall the inciter Barak, who did not even mind to respect the most elementary exterior forms of behaviour towards the Congress of a sister party. His hostile stand, his brutal interventions and his unbecoming and ridiculous gestures rightly revolted during those days all the delegates to the Congress, who with their maturity, their vigilance, sagacity and decidedness, were able to give the appropriate answer to Barak, Andropov and their like, they put them shoulders to the wall and left them dumbstricken and helpless the provokers as Barak and Andropov.

The brutal and unprincipled intervention of Barak in the Congress of a sister party was incompatible and in open contrast with the rules and principles on which the relations between parties are based. No one and no congress would have bear such an intervention and plot carried out so openly. Nevertheless, the delegates to the Fourth Party Congress, underwent a strong test of restraining their nerves, inhibited their disgust and abhorrence: they showed their endurance and coldbloodedness in regard to Barak and his comrades. They perceived that they had to do with a dangerous plotter, but they withheld themselves considering that Barak was represen-

ting the sister Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, towards which our Party nourishes an international sympathy and respect.

The hostile activity of R. Barak has been unmasked and will be further unmasked by the Czechoslovak Communist Party, and there is no doubt that the judicial organs will pursue the case up to the end and thus give a good lesson to all those persons, too, who, when the question is to slander, act promptly and without hesitation, whereas, when the question is to bring to light the whole truth on the activity of a traitor or plotter, they intentionally keep silent, but Marxism-leninism and time itself will not let anything in darkness, the inevitable unmasking awaits all the traitors and renegates.

The Albanian Communists rejoice at the fact that the sister Communist Party of Czechoslovakia unmasked a provoker and dangerous enemy such as Barak is, a thing this which undoubtedly will favour the cause of socialism and communism in the Socialist Republic of Czechoslovakia and of the socialist camp.

The national hero of Czechoslovakia and noted communist Julius Fuchik has ended his wellknown book «With the rope around the throat» with these words: «People, be vigilant». These words of Fuchik are a call for all communists to ever sharpen their vigilance against the open and hidden enemies.

— (Published in the daily «ZËRI I POPULLIT», organ of the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania, Feb. 16th, 1962).

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## WHOM DO N. KHRUSHCHEV'S VIEWPOINTS AND ACTIONS SERVE

«... In politics, — V. I. Lenin has said, — it does not matter so much **who** defends directly these or those viewpoints. What matters is to **whose advantage** these viewpoints, these proposals, these measures.. **are**. Do not trust the phrases, you better see to **whose advantage they are**». (Vol. 19, p. 33, Russian edition). Every passing day shows ever more clearly and by numerous facts whom do the viewpoints and actions of N. Khrushchev and his group really serve, confirms the serious danger they pose and the great damage they bring to the world revolutionary movement, to the cause of socialism, of the freedom of the peoples and of the world peace.

Every one who attentively follows N. Khrushchev's activity does not find it difficult to convince himself that these viewpoints and actions are not detached, isolated, occasional mistakes. On the contrary, they testify to a whole consistent opportunistic line, they show that N. Khrushchev is ever more departing from the revolutionary positions of marxism-leninism, that he is ever more deeply sliding into the dregs of antimarxism.

**The spreading of the pacifist illusions about the United States imperialism seriously damages the cause of peace.**

The basic criterion to determine whether a party or a leader stands on revolutionary marxist-leninist positions is the attitude towards the class enemy. Consequently, the only correct policy is the policy based on class conceptions. In our times the principal enemy of the international working class and of all the peoples is imperialism,

and in the first place its head, the center of the world reaction — the United States imperialism.

But what is the attitude of N. Khrushchev and his group on this fundamental question? The facts indicate that his attitude is by no means a determined and principled attitude, but a quite contradictory, wavering and opportunistic one.

Now it is no secret to anyone that N. Khrushchev and his group have been accustomed to propagate harmful illusions about the leaders of imperialism, especially of the United States imperialism. At the beginning such illusions were spread about the former president of the United States of America, Dwight Eisenhower, presenting him as a man «who enjoys the absolute confidence of his people» and who «sincerely loves the peace.» But ere long, after the provocation by the «U-2» spy aircraft, N. Khrushchev made a 180 degree-turn and called Eisenhower by his real name — a warmonger. This great turn was followed by a rise of illusions about Eisenhower's successor, John Kennedy. His advent to power was advertised by N. Khrushchev and his propagandists as an event of great importance which would bring about fundamental changes in the policy of the United States of America for the consolidation of peace. But this legend, too, about president Kennedy was smothered by the rifle firings on the Giron beach of Cuba and the gun roaring in the Laotian jungles; it was covered by the sable-rattling in West Berlin and the astronomical figures of the United States military budget. Following these and many other facts, N. Khrushchev, in a speech delivered on May 6th 1961 in Erevan, reprimanded those who cherished illusions about the Kennedy Administration. This was but a demagogical manoeuvre to hide the traces. But what N. Khrushchev sought to conceal was laid bare by his authorized messenger, the diplomatic journalist A. Adjubei, who, during the interview granted to him by Kennedy on November 25th 1961, told the president «in a quite sincere manner» that «...your election to the high post of the president of the United States of America was welcomed by

the public opinion of our country (read: by N. Khrushchev's group — Editor) with great hopes.» He, moreover, immediately after this interview, told the American journalists that the Americans must be proud of the president they have (!) And he said this precisely a few days after the Kennedy Administration had begun its persecution acts against the Communist Party of the United States of America.

The two historic documents of the present-day international communist and workers' movement — the 1957 and 1960 Moscow Declarations — point out that the United States imperialism is the main force of aggression and war, an international gendarme and the fiercest enemy of the peoples throughout the world. While N. Khrushchev's spokesman, A. Adjubei, apparently does not agree with such an appraisal. After his second «cordial» meeting with president Kennedy, Adjubei told the American journalists on January 31, 1962: «We do not believe that the United States of America wants war.» We would like to ask N. Khrushchev and his spokesman: Since when has the United States imperialism renounced the policy of war and has allegedly become peace-loving? And what about Lenin's thesis that imperialism is a source of wars and aggression? Has it perhaps become obsolete and outlived its days? If such is the case, where then does the danger of war come from? Who is threatening peace? Does perhaps such a danger exist no more at present and the peoples may sleep carelessly?

N. Khrushchev and the propagandists of his theses meaning to pursue a «flexible policy», for the sake of talks or of some diplomatic combination, are seeking very carefully to avoid a resolute unmasking of the United States imperialism. Many basic articles of the Soviet press on international issues do not even mention anywhere the United States imperialism. Even in the articles written for such an occasion as the WFTU Congress — the Congress of the working class international organisation, — or the meeting of the World Peace Council, which is a body aimed at organizing and raising the peoples in the struggle for

the defense of peace against the warmongers, it was not considered proper to mention even the name of the main bulwark of aggression and war in the world, such as the monopoly imperialism of the United States of America is. What are the conceptions by which N. Khrushchev and his supporters are guiding themselves in their attitude towards the United States imperialism: Does the U.S. imperialism perhaps become better, wiser and peace-loving, by not mentioning it, by not unmasking it? What does this have in common with the marxist-leninist class conception about imperialism? How do N. Khrushchev's attitudes comply with the task set by the Moscow Declarations of the communist and workers' parties about the indispensability of exposing the policy of war and aggression of the United States imperialism, about enhancing the vigilance of the peoples towards the plan and the dangerous actions of the imperialist warmongers?

Now N. Khrushchev and the propagandists of his theses are seeking to create the impression as if the main danger to peace in our days is no more the United States imperialism, but it is the West German vindicators. This is to put the cart before the horse. The revengeful militarism of West Germany is undoubtedly a great danger to peace, a dangerous hotbed of war in the center of Europe; it is the main striking force of the aggressive NATO bloc against the socialist countries. But is this a reason to conceal or belittle the danger of the United States imperialism as the head and the main force of the world reaction, as the greatest and fiercest enemy of peace and of the peoples of all the countries? It is a matter of common knowledge that the United States imperialists are the main support of the West German vindicators; at their incitation and by their direct aid, militarism has been revived there, the Wehrmacht is being armed with mass annihilation weapons and rockets and is being incited against the German Democratic Republic, the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries.

They want to convince us that all this is done for the consolidation of peaceful coexistence, for the relaxation of

the international tension, for the preservation of peace; that these attitudes and actions allegedly meet the interests of all the peace-loving peoples. A futile effort. It is difficult to convince people that peace can be preserved and strengthened by concealing from the peoples the real warmongers, the more so by spreading pacifist illusions about imperialism and its leaders. Contrarywise, the spreading of such illusions is very dangerous to the cause of peace, for it lulls the vigilance of the peoples and gives a free hand to the imperialists, in the first place to the American imperialists, feverishly to continue the armaments race and the preparations for a new world war.

But according to the logic of N. Khrushchev and his followers, there is nothing bad in this, for in reality, if we leave aside their formal statements and rely on the facts of their practical activity, they do not attach any great importance to the struggle of the peoples for peace and they consider the talks and meetings (especially the personal, and often even the «family» ones) with the governments of the imperialist powers and their leaders as a principal means for the security of peace. Yes, the meeting and talks are necessary. But they can yield positive results only if they repose on the resolute struggle of the peoples for the settlement of the international questions, to stay the hand of the imperialist warmongers, to oblige them to enter serious negotiations.

Today in the world there have occurred great changes in the balance of power. The positions of imperialism have been greatly narrowed and weakened. The world socialist system is becoming with every passing day the decisive force of the development of the human society. As a result of these changes, more favourable conditions have been created for the struggle against imperialism, there has arisen the real possibility to prevent a new world war and the other aggressive wars undertaken by imperialism. The correctness of this conclusion, put down also in the Moscow Declaration, has been confirmed by life. But for the marxist-leninists there is no doubt also about the fact that as long as imperialism exists, there remains

also the ground for aggressive wars. To emphasize this, does not mean at all to deny the possibility of preventing war, to scare the peoples by war. On the contrary, to deny this or completely throw it into oblivion, to speak in a unilateral, antidialectic way only of the possibility of preventing war, as N. Khrushchev and the propagandists of his theses are doing, this is dangerous, for it lulls the vigilance of the peoples, weakens their active struggle against the imperialist warmongers, increasing thereby the danger of war. The Declaration of the 81 communist and workers parties rightfully points out that the communists must not allow either the underestimation of the possibility of preventing a world war or the underestimation of the danger of war. Only the victory of socialism throughout the world will definitively remove the social and national causes of the unleashing of wars of any kind.

While the member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, A. Romyantsev, falsifying the 1960 Moscow Declaration, in one of his recent articles has expressed the opinion that to exclude the wars\* from the life of the society (that is all sorts of wars,\* for he makes no difference between them) it is by no means indispensable to destroy capitalism definitively and that socialism triumph on a world-scale, or at least in the main imperialist countries (he says nothing about this), but it would be sufficient only: «Firstly, to increase in all directions the might of the socialist camp,... secondly, to strengthen further the independence of the countries that have liberated themselves from the colonial yoke... and, finally, to promote further the compactness of the peace-loving forces.» Likewise, in the article «Peaceful coexistence and revolution», published in the review «Communist», issue Nr. 2, 1962, there has been expressed the opinion that in the present-day conditions it is possible to exclude wars\* from the life of the society and that the implementation of the principle of the peaceful coexistence of the states is the real method for

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\*) Underscored by the editor.

this. The same article quotes further one of the messages of the Soviet Government addressed to the government of the United States of America, pointing out that peaceful coexistence «is possible only if the states with different social orders will submit to the international laws, if they will recognize the security of the world peace as their loftiest aim.» \* What follows from all this? Either imperialism has changed its nature and is no more aggressive and belligerent, it has renounced its plans of war and is prepared to accept the security of the world peace as its loftiest aim, or it has weakened so much that it is unable to undertake any aggressive action. Neither the one nor the other responds to reality, which is confirmed by indisputable facts of the whole development of the present-day international life. But the greatest evil is that these viewpoints seriously damage the peoples' struggle against imperialism, for the defense of peace.

**Opposing the revisionist conception about peaceful coexistence as a «magic stick» for the settlement of all the problems of the society.**

In his article A. Rumyantsev says also that, as it was pointed out at the 22nd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, «peaceful coexistence — and only this — is the best road and the only road acceptable for the settlement of vitally important problems facing the society» \*. How should we understand this. Let us take such fundamental and vital problems of the present-day society as the liberation of the enslaved peoples from the imperialistic yoke, or the liberation of the working class and all the working people from the capitalist exploitation. What is, in the final analysis, the real road to the settlement of these vital problems?

Of course, peaceful coexistence, correctly understood and implemented, in the spirit of the 1960 Moscow Declaration, is by no means in contrast with the national-libe-

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\*) Underscored by the editor.

ration movement of the oppressed peoples and with the revolutionary struggle of the working class. On the contrary, as it is pointed out also in the Declaration, in the conditions of peaceful coexistence, favourable possibilities are created for the development of the class struggle in the capitalist countries, for the development of the national-liberation movements of the peoples of the colonial and dependent countries, while the successes of the latter contribute on their part to the consolidation of peaceful coexistence. The communists are not and can never be of the opinion that to achieve the national liberation of the enslaved peoples and for the victory of socialism in all the countries, a third world war is indispensable, they are most determined fighters against a world war and for the defense and consolidation of the world peace.

But does this mean that peaceful coexistence will automatically settle the problem of the liberation of the oppressed peoples and of the triumph of socialism throughout the entire world? As marxism-leninism teaches us, as it has been and is being confirmed every day by life and facts and as it has been pointed out also in the two 1957 and 1960 Declarations of the communist and workers' parties, the only right and possible path to the liberation of the enslaved peoples is their own resolute national-liberation struggle against the imperialist colonialists, while the path of the overthrow of the capitalist order and of the transition to socialism is the class struggle and the carrying out of the socialist revolution in this or that form. While according to Romyantsev, the only correct and acceptable road for the settlement of the vital problems of the society is allegedly peaceful coexistence. If such is the case, then should perhaps the enslaved peoples renounce their national-liberation struggle, while the working class and all the working people in the capitalist countries must renounce their class struggle and revolution and wait for their liberation as a gift from peaceful coexistence?

We are by no means faced here with any wrong formulation that has accidentally slipped from A. Romyantsev,

but with a clear expression of the opportunistic line insistently pursued by N. Khrushchev and his group in the issue of peaceful coexistence. That which N. Khrushchev himself dares not loudly say, is openly said by his zealous propagandists. In fact A. Rummyantsev's formulation is the dissolution of the essence of N. Khrushchev's known revisionist conception about peaceful coexistence as the general line of the foreign policy of the socialist countries, which our party has also previously criticised.

N. Khrushchev's revisionist conception about peaceful coexistence as a magic stick for the settlement of all the problems of the present-day world has been expressed on many occasions and has been embodied in N. Khrushchev's attitudes and practical activity in a series of important problems and events in the international life. Let us take even the attitude of the Soviet delegation to the meeting of the World Peace Council in Stockholm. In an article published in the review «Za Rubezhom» in connection with this meeting, it severely attacks those delegates who demanded that the future World Peace Congress should be a «congress of peace, national independence and disarmament». This article says: «These speakers, using base methods, alleged that there are some people who consider the general and complete disarmament as the only duty of the movement for the defence of the peace and that they are allegedly leaning on the weakening of the support for the national-liberation struggle of the peoples.» But however hard N. Khrushchev's propagandists may try from the editorial office of the «Za Rubezhom» review to justify the antimarxist attitude of the soviet delegation in Stockholm, the fact remains that it was precisely the soviet delegation that refused with a great obstination to place on the agenda of the future congress of the peace partisans the problem of the struggle of the enslaved peoples against colonialism, for national independence, insisting that the agenda should include only the disarmament and the peace issues. What does then the «Za Rubezhom» review call «base methods»? Is it perhaps a base thing to demand a discussion at the peace congress of the problem of the

peoples' struggle for their national liberation, to demand that the struggle for peace should not be divorced from the peoples' struggle for freedom and national independence? This is a quite just and lawful demand which the true marxist-leninists can but unreservedly support. The attitude of the soviet delegation towards this question rightfully shocked not only the communist revolutionaries, but also many non-communist delegates who represented the peoples of the Asian, African and Latin American countries, who are waging a struggle full of sacrifices against the imperialistic oppression, for freedom and independence.

How can one explain such an attitude of the N. Khrushchev group in such a vital question as that of the national-liberation of the enslaved peoples? Do they perhaps think that a general and complete disarmament would automatically settle also the problem of the national liberation, that the enslaved peoples must remain with folded arms waiting for the achievement of disarmament? or do they perhaps think that the national-liberation movement of the peoples is a danger to peace and might lead to the unleashing of a world war, and that therefore the enslaved peoples must be quiet lest they might «provoke» imperialism? Or perhaps both things? In fact, the communist movement already knows N. Khrushchev's wrong viewpoint that every «small war» is a danger to the world peace, that «every spark may be transformed into a world conflagration». It follows from this logic that any national-liberation struggle also is undesirable, for it might lead to the unleashing of a third world war. The attitude of the soviet delegation at the meeting of the World Peace Council in Stockholm was nothing but a practical implementation of this antimarxist thesis of N. Khrushchev.

In any way, such an attitude is only to the advantage of the imperialist colonialists and to the disadvantage of the peoples oppressed and enslaved by imperialism, to the disadvantage of the cause of peace and socialism, it is in open contrast with the Declaration of the 81 com-

munist and workers' parties, which points out that the national-liberation movement of the peoples is one of the great forces of our times for the defense of peace and that its successes strengthen the cause of peace and peaceful coexistence.

N. Khrushchev and his followers pay lip service to both ways of transition to socialism: with arms and without arms, peaceful and non-peaceful; while in reality they overestimate and render almost completely absolute the peaceful way, they interpret it in a reformist and opportunist way, and they pin all their hopes for the transition to socialism on a general and complete disarmament and the economic competition between the two systems. This is testified by many facts. Is this not testified even by A. Rumyantsev's article, in which he says that peaceful coexistence is the only correct and acceptable road for the settlement of all the vital problems facing the society?

The N. Khrushchev group have badly confused also the problem of revolution and counter-revolution. At a press conference held in Brazilon February 8th 1962, A. Adjubei stated that «revolution, just as counter-revolution, are **no more**\* at present an export article.» It is evident that Adjubei places revolution and counter-revolution on one and the same plane: On the one hand he says that revolution **only in the present time**\* is not an export article, while up to now, apparently it has been such; on the other hand, counter-revolution **only recently**\* has allegedly been an export article, whereas at present is no more as such, therefore, the danger of the export of counter-revolution by imperialism allegedly exists no more. This serves the imperialist reaction as a weapon to discredit the socialist camp and the communist movement and to lull the vigilance of the peoples. But what were the 1956 Hungarian events, the intervention of the United States imperialists and their mercenaries in Cuba in 1961, or the plot of the Yugoslav revisionists and the

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\*) Underscored by the editor.

Greek monarcho-fascists, in cooperation with the United States imperialists, against the People's Republic of Albania? The 1960 Moscow Declaration, in full contradiction with Adjubei's statements, clearly points out that: «The communist parties, guided by the marxist-leninist doctrine, **have always been** \* opposed to the export of revolution. At the same time **they resolutely fight** \* against the imperialist exportation of counter-revolution. They consider it as their internationalist duty to appeal to the peoples of all the countries to unite, to mobilise all their potencial forces, to **work actively and,** \* reposing on the strength of the world socialist system, to **prevent or deal a decisive blow to the interference of the imperialists in the affairs of the people of any country, who have risen to revolution**» \*

It is known that one of the fundamental theses of marxism-leninism, which has been stressed also in the two 1957 and 1960 Declarations of the communist and workers' parties, is the principle that the transition from capitalism to socialism can be achieved only under the leadership of the working class and its revolutionary party and by establishing the proletarian dictatorship. Whereas in the propaganda of the N. Khrushchev group, in the pages of the soviet press and in the recent documents of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union this thesis of principle is being thrown into oblivion and it is being carefully circumvented, especially with regard to the prospects of the development of the countries which have won their national independence and have liberated themselves from the colonial yoke of imperialism. Thus, for example, the new programme of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, approved by the 22nd Congress, which deals with the non-capitalist way of development in the former colonial countries, nowhere points out that in view of the development of these countries on this way the leadership of the working class headed by its marxist-leninist party and the establishment of the proletarian

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\*) Underscored by the editor.

dictatorship in this or that form are indispensable. On the contrary, it is hinted that the development of these countries in the non-capitalist way can be achieved also under the leadership of other classes and parties, that in these countries the transition to socialism can be effected also without overthrowing the capitalist State power and without replacing it with the State of the proletarian dictatorship.

The profoundly opportunistic viewpoints of N. Khrushchev and his group about the question of revolution, as well as their attitudes and actions in the questions of imperialism, war and peace, peaceful coexistence and disarmament, by no means serve the working class, the labouring masses, the peoples, but on the contrary, they do great harm to the cause of the victory of socialism. In fact, they paralyse the revolutionary energy of the working people, they move off the victory of the socialist revolution, they lengthen the life-span of capitalist countries to further sufferings for a long time under the heavy yoke of capital. Rightfully do the heroic Cuban people point out in the second Havana Declaration that «to bring Latin America's liberation nearer, be it only one year, means to save the lives of millions of children, to save millions of minds for the development of culture, to save the peoples from the countless great sufferings.» This is how the peoples and true revolutionaries view the question.

**N. Khrushchev — discrediter of the socialist order  
and splitter of the unity of the socialist camp and  
the communist movement**

N. Khrushchev has damaged and is damaging very greatly the cause of socialism, the unity of the socialist camp and the international communist movement by his unprincipled attacks on J.V. Stalin and his deed, by his policy of rapprochement and reconciliation with the revisionist Tito clique, as well as by his hostile actions against

the Party of Labour of Albania and the Albanian people.

N. Khrushchev and his group are demagogically speculating on the slogan of the fight «against the personality cult and its consequences», intending to discrown Stalin's ideas, — leninism, to revise some fundamental teachings of marxism-leninism and to spread their own opportunistic viewpoints, striking and liquidating the sound marxist-leninist elements in the leaderships of the communist and workers' parties of the different countries, activating and supporting for this purpose his confidential agents in these parties, to rehabilitate the traitors and enemies of marxism-leninism and socialism — living and dead. N. Khrushchev and his supporters, especially at the 22nd Congress and after it, publically launched and are furiously conducting a whole drive of attacks on and slanders against J.V. Stalin, presenting him as a fierce dictator, as a terrorist, murderer and criminal, characterizing the period of Stalin's leadership as a period of great errors, crimes and serious violations of the socialist laws. In this way they provided weapons to the imperialist reaction and joined it in its efforts to discredit the Soviet Union, the proletarian dictatorship and the socialist order in general, to stain the ideas of socialism and communism.

Under the mask of the fight against «dogmatism» and «sectarianism» and claiming that revisionism has already been unmasked and defeated, N. Khrushchev and his group have renounced the fight against revisionism, which remains the main danger to the international communist and workers' movement, and they are ever more approaching the Yugoslav revisionist clique. It is needless to dwell again here on the question of N. Khrushchev's scandalous attitude towards the traitorous Tito group in relation to the 1956 Hungarian counter-revolutionary coup, as well as on the other facts of the past concerning his rapprochement with the Yugoslav revisionists. Suffice it to mention that after the 22nd Congress the meetings and talks, the exchange of delegations and the all-

round connections with Yugoslavia have been extended and are increasing with every passing day. N. Khrushchev and his followers are ever more often making statements alleging that Yugoslavia is a socialist country, that her foreign policy complies with that of the Soviet Union, etc. In this spirit of reconciliation and rapprochement, there was even sent a Komsomol delegation to Yugoslavia of late for an «exchange of experience» (!). Facts show that such a policy of reconciliation with the revisionists is reviving the revisionist elements and viewpoints among the ranks of the communist and workers' parties, it gives a free hand to the Yugoslav revisionists and encourages them to attack marxism-leninism, to hit the unity of the communist movement, to carry out an undermining hostile activity against the socialist countries.

Have N. Khrushchev's hostile attitudes and actions towards the Party of Labour of Albania and the People's Republic of Albania served the communist movement and the cause of socialism as N. Khrushchev and his spokesmen are seeking to present the case? On the contrary, such antimarxist actions of N. Khrushchev and his group, as the extension of the ideological differences to the field of the State relations, the organisation of pressure and economic and political blockades, going as far as to the de facto break off of the diplomatic relations with the P.R. of Albania, the unilateral public denunciation at the 22nd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, of our differences, the brutal interference in the internal affairs of our Party and our country, the slanders that the personality cult is allegedly thriving in our country and, that a regime of terror is reigning here, the taking under protection of the traitors to and enemies of our Party and our people and the open calls for a counter-revolution, for the overthrow of the leadership of our Party and our people's power — all these things do not serve, but greatly damage our cause of socialism and communism. It is quite evident to every honest and reasonable person that they have damaged and are seriously damaging the unity of the socialist camp and of the inter-

national communist movement, that they discredit the prestige and the foreign policy of the Soviet Union, the relations between the socialist countries and the communist and workers' parties, and that they provide weapons to the imperialists to fight us.

However hard N. Khrushchev and his group may try to justify these antimarxist and hostile actions against our Party and our people, and to deceive the public opinion, alleging that they have made all the efforts to normalise the relations with the PLA and the People's Republic of Albania, the facts remain facts. We shall come back to this problem to prove by documents that N. Khrushchev not only has done nothing to improve the relations between our two parties and our two countries, but on the contrary, he has done everything in his power to aggravate them. Not Khrushchev, but the Party of Labour of Albania has in fact made sincere efforts for the settlement of the differences and the improvement of the Soviet-Albanian relations on the basis of marxism-leninism and proletarian internationalism.

### **N. Khrushchev's slanders and the truth about the peaceful policy of the PLA**

The N. Khrushchev group, aiming to conceal their departure from the line of marxism-leninism and the violation of the 1960 Moscow Declaration, to justify their opportunistic and capitulatory positions, are furiously rushing upon the correct and principled attitude of the Party of Labour of Albania, both as regards the meaning and implementation of the policy of peaceful coexistence and disarmament or even other issues of war and peace, of the ways of transition to socialism, etc. In fact, the truth is quite different. The Party of Labour of Albania is faithfully implementing the teachings of marxism-leninism and the Moscow Declaration concerning the above questions. And this can be confirmed even by a rapid comparison of the slanders of the N. Khrushchev group

and their official declaration with the attitudes and the activity of our Party.

Let us take the question of peaceful coexistence. The propagandists of the N. Khrushchev group, slandering the Party of Labour of Albania, write:

«The leadership of the Party of Labour of Albania, especially Enver Hoxha and Mehmet Shehu, declare that the policy of peaceful coexistence cannot be the general political line of the socialist countries. In connection with this, they refer to what they allege that the principle of peaceful coexistence means refusal to support the national-liberation movement. In its outside aspect such a posing of the question is prompted, so to speak, by the concern for the destinies of the peoples of the colonial countries, but in reality they ignore the fact that the peoples of the colonial countries wish to achieve freedom in the peaceful way, without bloodshed. These aspirations are met precisely by the policy of peaceful coexistence which implies especially the non-interference in the internal affairs of the other countries, the acceptance for every people to settle independently all the questions of their own life.» (Moscow radio, February 15th 1962). Let us briefly analyse this.

Firstly, according to N. Khrushchev's propagandists, the Party of Labour of Albania, going on record against peaceful coexistence as the general political line of the socialist countries, is allegedly generally opposed to peaceful coexistence. But N. Khrushchev's propagandists forget that the principle of peaceful coexistence is not described in the Moscow Declaration as a general political line of the socialist countries and is neither construed as a magic stick by which «every people could settle all the issues of their own life», but as the only correct and reasonable principle of the relations between countries with different social systems. It follows also from the Moscow Declaration that the foreign policy of the socialist countries is guided by some other principles, too: in the relations between the socialist countries — by the principle of proletarian internationalism, of the mutual

fraternal aid; towards the national-liberation movement and the revolutionary struggle of the working class and the labouring masses — by the principle of solidarity with them, of the aid and support for the peoples' rights to freedom and independence, to national and social liberation.

The slander of N. Khrushchev's propagandists that the Party of Labour of Albania is allegedly opposed to peaceful coexistence is rejected by the official documents of our Party and Government and by their whole practical activity. In comrade Enver Hoxha's speech delivered at the meeting devoted to the 20th anniversary of the founding of the Party of Labour of Albania and the 44th anniversary of the great October Socialist Revolution, it is said: «The foundation of the foreign policy of the Party of Labour of Albania has always been and remains the constant strengthening of the relations of friendship, fraternal cooperation and mutual aid and support with the countries of the socialist camp, headed by the Soviet Union, the support of the anti-imperialist and anticolonial national-liberation struggle of the oppressed peoples and nations, as well as of the revolutionary struggle of the working people in the capitalist countries, the efforts for the security of the relations of peaceful coexistence of the People's Republic of Albania with the capitalist countries, especially with the neighbour countries.»

Our Party and Government have consistently translated into reality the principles of the policy of peaceful coexistence. Needless to dwell at length on the diplomatic relations which our country is maintaining with 17 independent capitalist countries or on the efforts made and the readiness always expressed by the Government of the People's Republic of Albania to improve the relations with the neighbour countries. We shall only mention the trade relations of our country with the capitalist countries, for in this direction the N. Khrushchev group have now begun to slander our Party contradicting even their own revisionist conception about peaceful coexistence. The People's Republic of Albania had maintained even

before trade relations with 12 non-socialist countries. But recently, Khrushchev has been accusing us of not making efforts to develop trade on the basis of mutual advantage, on the basis of the principles of peaceful coexistence with the capitalist countries. As previously, this year too the People's Republic of Albania, faithfully pursuing her correct policy, is developing trade relations with non-socialist countries, such as Italy, Ghana, Egypt, Iraq, etc. But N. Khrushchev has now begun to slander alleging that the Albanian leaders are «orientating themselves towards West», that they are «intensively establishing political, economic and other sorts of relations with some NATO countries», in other words his invention of «genius» is allegedly coming true, that is that the PLA and the PRA are selling themselves to imperialism for 30 coins. Waking dreams in broad day-light! N. Khrushchev is becoming furious because the Party of Labour of Albania and the Albanian Government, by pursuing a resolute and consistent policy, in the spirit of marxism-leninism and the Moscow Declarations, in their relations with the capitalist countries, are frustrating his efforts to isolate the People's Republic of Albania and to put up a blockade against her.

Secondly, according to the propagandists of the N. Khrushchev group, the Party of Labour of Albania, being opposed to the thesis that peaceful coexistence is the general line of the foreign policy of the socialist countries, is accused of contradicting the desire of the oppressed peoples to achieve freedom through the peaceful way, without bloodshed; therefore, it is opposed to the vital interests of these peoples.

We are faced here with an open distortion of the position of our Party and Government which, in all their policy and activity, have supported and backed up the just struggle of the peoples to achieve and strengthen their freedom and national independence. Thus, the report of the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania, delivered at the 4th Congress of the Party, reads:

«Our Party and our people who have themselves ex-

perienced exploitation and colonial oppression, have supported and will always and unreservedly support the national-liberation struggle of the oppressed peoples. We consider this as our internationalist duty.»

In their great zeal to slander the Party of Labour of Albania, the propagandists of N. Khrushchev's theses inadvertently reveal his quite antimarxist and opportunist position relating to the question of the ways of the liberation of the oppressed peoples. It follows from their logic that the only right way for the liberation of the peoples from the colonial yoke is the peaceful way, that if you accept and support alongside with it also the other way, that of the armed national-liberation struggle, it means that you are opposed to peaceful coexistence. Therefore, it follows from this logic that the Algerian, Angolan, Omani, Congolese, Laotian and other peoples must renounce their armed struggle and pursue the peaceful way, for only this way allegedly complies with the policy of peaceful coexistence. Thus, all those peoples who are struggling, arms in hand, for their national liberation may be accused of being belligerent and opposed to peace. Then, we come once more to N. Khrushchev's known thesis that to preserve peace and peaceful coexistence we must prohibit all kinds of wars without exception because any spark may result in a world conflagration. It is clear to everybody to whose advantage these viewpoints of N. Khrushchev are and whom they serve.

Precisely in this spirit N. Khrushchev's propagandists are handling also the problem of the ways of transition to socialism. In an effort to justify in some way the opportunist viewpoints of N. Khrushchev and his group relating to this question and by distorting the position of the Party of Labour of Albania and slandering it, Khrushchev's spokesmen, in one of their recent commentaries, alleged that «the Albanian leaders, denying the peaceful forms of the victory on the part of the working class, are joining thereby the bourgeois propaganda which claims that war is allegedly the means of achieving the world victory of socialism.» This, of course, is only a slander which does not

deserve a halt to reject it. Our Party has never denied the possibility of the peaceful transition to socialism, the more so it has never thought of the world war being indispensable for the triumph of socialism in all the countries. In his speech of November 7th 1961 comrade Enver Hoxha clearly pointed out that: «We, the Albanian communists, have not been and never are a priori opposed to the peaceful way. But the teachings of marxism-leninism, the historic experience and the reality of the present days teach us that to achieve the victory of the cause of socialism, the working class and its party must prepare themselves at the same time for both possibilities — of the peaceful and non-peaceful ways. To orientate yourself only towards the one possibility it means to embark on a wrong path. Only by getting well prepared, especially for the non-peaceful way, the changes grow also for the peaceful way.»

But the «logic» of N. Khrushchev's spokesmen is interesting. In their opinion, if you accept, alongside with the peaceful way, also the non-peaceful way of revolution, as V.I. Lenin teaches us and as required by the marxist dialectics, it means that you stand for the world war. Therefore, to stand for peace it is allegedly necessary to renounce the acceptance of the non-peaceful way and accept only the peaceful way to the victory of socialism (!) On this basis the bourgeoisie and its servitors may accuse of being belligerent and opposed to peace the working class and communist party in every country where they forecast the transition from capitalism to socialism also by non-peaceful means. Let the readers themselves judge who joins the bourgeois propaganda on this question.

As much absurd as the above accusations and inventions against the policy pursued by the PLA and the PRA, are also N. Khrushchev's accusations and slanders against the policy of our Party and Government concerning the problems of war and peace. In a quite irresponsible manner, turning the facts upside down, N. Khrushchev's propagandists slanderously allege that «...the Albanian lead-

ers do not believe in the forces of the socialist camp, they overestimate the possibilities of imperialism, they capitulate before it with fear, leaving in its hands the settlement of the question: should there be war or not. Such a position leads in fact to a lack of faith, of prospect, deprives the peoples of their confidence in the consolidation of peace. By such assertions the Albanian leaders allow that the cause of the struggle for peace develop spontaneously, they disarm the peoples and in this way they weaken their efforts in the struggle for the defense of peace.» (Moscow Radio, February 7th, 1962).

The line of our Party on the questions of war and peace has been and is more than clear. Therefore, we consider it quite superfluous to dwell at length on this problem and reject by numerous facts and documents this so much clumsy slander of the N. Khrushchev group. We only quote a part from the report of the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania to the 4th Congress of the Party, which, in the spirit of the 1960 Moscow Declaration, expresses the right attitude of our Party: «The marxist-leninist dialectic method and the materialistic conception of history give us the right answer that the overestimation of our forces and the underestimation of the forces of the enemies, on the one side. just as the underestimation of our forces and the overestimation of the forces of the enemies, on the other side, lead to grave errors. The first case brings about the weakening vigilance and pushes to adventures, while the second case leads to errors and opportunist attitudes. Therefore our Party has always pointed out that the balance of power in the world has changed to the advantage of socialism, that the forces of socialism are greater than those of imperialism, that the forces of peace are greater than those of war, but at the same time it has not underestimated the forces of imperialism... Our Party has spoken of and always struggles for the possibility of preventing a world war, that the world war is not today fatally inevitable, and at the same time it has spoken of the danger of war, for as long as

imperialism exists, there exists also the ground for aggressive wars.»

What is, then, the fault and error of the Party of Labour of Albania? Is it because, alongside with the right evaluation of the forces of socialism and the world peace, it does not underestimate also the forces of imperialism and war; is it because alongside with the admission of the possibility of avoiding a world war and the other aggressive wars undertaken by imperialism it points out at the same time also the danger of war, and the possibility of the unleashing of aggressive wars on the part of imperialism? What do the N. Khrushchev group want? Do they perhaps want us to follow the traces of their illusions about the change of the nature of imperialism, that allegedly imperialism does not constitute at present any serious danger to peace, that it allegedly has its hands and feet tied up and is unable to do anything? And what would the imperialists wish better than the spreading of such illusions?

Life itself has rejected these illusions of N. Khrushchev. What do the imperialist aggressions against Korea, Viet Nam, Egypt, the Congo, Cuba and other countries speak about? No doubt that the fact that these hotbeds of war were liquidated and not allowed to be transformed into a world conflict, clearly speaks of the real possibility existing at present to stop the aggressive wars of imperialism. But they show also that imperialism has by no means renounced its aggressive actions and that it is still in a position to undertake such actions, the more so when all sorts of pacifist illusions are cherished with regard to it, when the vigilance of the peoples is relaxed and when they do not mobilize themselves with the proper strength and determination to stay the hand of the imperialist aggressors.

To point out only the possibility of the prevention of war and not to speak of its danger, not to unmask the policy of war and aggression pursued by imperialism, as N. Khrushchev does, it means to trample with both feet on the Moscow Declaration, to lull the vigilance of the

working people, to weaken their struggle for peace, to disarm the peoples and give free hand to the imperialists to implement their aggressive plans.

**The facts and documents reject the lies about the attitude of the Party of Labour of Albania towards the disarmament issue.**

Another field of the slanderous activities of N. Khrushchev and his group against our country are also the trumped-up charges about the policy and attitude of the PLA and the PRA concerning the problem of disarmament. They present the case as if the PLA and the PRA «show a profound distrust in the possibility of achieving a disarmament in our era and basely falsify the soviet proposals». To justify this slander, the N. Khrushchev group adduce as the sole arguments «the facts» that allegedly «the leaders of the PLA have provided no example and have made no practical contribution to the implementation of the disarmament programme», that they allegedly «have gone on record against the proposals for the creation of an atom free zone in the Balkans and in the Adriatic Sea area», that they have allegedly «risen against the Rumanian Government's proposal for the relaxation of tension in the Balkans and the creation of premises of peaceful coexistence in this area.»

Our Party and Government have always considered the disarmament problem as one of the biggest problems of our times for the security of peace and have held and continue to hold that, through the joint efforts of the socialist forces in the world, disarmament can be imposed upon imperialism and concrete results can be achieved in this respect. During its whole existence, the Government of the People's Republic of Albania has fought hand in hand with the other socialist and peace-loving countries for the settlement of the disarmament problem, making its contribution to this question. It has resolutely supported the numerous proposals of the Soviet Union, in the first place, and of the other socialist states, beginning from

the partial settlement of the issues and ending with a general and complete disarmament. This is clearly shown by the many documents of our Party and Government and by all their practical activity in the international arena.

N. Khrushchev charges that the PLA and the PRA have gone on record against the proposal for the transformation of the Balkans and the Adriatic area into an atom and rocket free zone. How does the truth stand? For the first time this proposal was put forward by the USSR government and the government of the PRA in their joint official statement of May 30th, 1959. This statement said: «The Government of Albania and the Soviet Government hold that the interests of the peoples of the Balkan peninsula and the Adriatic area would be met by the creation of an atom free zone in this area. The renunciation by the countries of this area to the establishment of atomic bases and rockets on their territories would be a large contribution to the issue of the Balkans into a zone of peace and tranquillity.»

The slander and falsification rush led N. Khrushchev to such absurdities as to accuse the PLA and the PRA of having gone on record against their own proposal. Have perhaps the PLA and the PRA changed their attitude towards this proposal? Not at all. They have been and remain determined for the implementation of this proposal. N. Khrushchev and his group cannot adduce a single fact to prove their slanders because such facts are inexistent.

If it is a question of T. Zhivkov's known proposal of 1960 that the Balkan countries (without including, then, Italy where the NATO rocket bases are established) should disarm down to the borderguards level, such a proposal has been and is rejected by our Party and Government as a dangerous and worthless diplomatic step.

As to the attitude of the PLA and the PRA towards the Rumanian Government's proposal for a meeting of the heads of government of the Balkan countries for an improvement and the development of the relations between them, in this question, too, the truth rejects the slan-

ders of N. Khrushchev's propagandists who accuse the leaders of the PLA and the PRA of having allegedly expressed themselves against this proposal.

As early as September 19th 1957, only one week after the Rumanian proposal, the newspaper «Zëri i Popullit» carried the reply of the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the PRA, comrade Mehmet Shehu, sent to the then Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Rumania Chivu Stoica, by which the Albanian Government expressed its readiness to contribute to the improvement and development of the relations among the Balkan countries. The letter said: «The Albanian Government, appraising the conclusion reached by the Rumanian Government that the radical interests of the Balkan peoples require a broad collective cooperation among the Balkan countries and considering the actual importance of this question, approves the Rumanian Government's proposal that during 1957 there should be held a consultation of the heads of government of Albania, Bulgaria, Greece, Turkey, Yugoslavia and Rumania in the Rumanian Capital or in any of the Capitals of the other countries participating in this consultation.» The Government of the PRA has expressed this attitude even later. On June 16th 1959, the same newspaper «Zëri i Popullit» published the declaration of the Government of the PRA in support of the Rumanian Government's Declaration calling for a meeting of the heads of governments of the Balkan states for the security of peace in the Balkans. «The Government of the PRA — the declaration says — unreservedly supports this proposal of the Government of the Rumanian People's Republic and expresses its readiness to attend such a meeting.»

It is obvious, therefore, that we are faced here with a clumsy lie. But this does not surprise us at all because falsification and slanders have become the principal method of the N. Khrushchev group in their unprincipled fight against the Party of Labour of Albania and the People's Republic of Albania.

Whom do they serve all these slanders, trumped-

up charges against the policy of the PLA and the PRA, against a socialist country such as the PRA and against the Albanian people who are heroically struggling for the cause of socialism and peace? They cannot but be to the advantage of the enemies of the Albanian people, of the common enemies of all the socialist countries. Through these attacks and slanders against the PLA and the PRA N. Khrushchev zealously serves the imperialist and the reactionary forces in the world, he seriously damages the cause of the unity of the socialist camp and the international communist movement, the cause of socialism and peace.

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Such are the true features of N. Khrushchev and his group. N. Khrushchev's consistently antimarxist viewpoints, attitudes and actions cannot be described otherwise than a betrayal towards the socialist camp and the international communist and workers' movement, towards the great cause of socialism and communism, of the liberation of the peoples and of the universal peace. Forty-two years ago the great Lenin wrote: «The man who «sincerely» declares himself a communist and who in reality, instead of pursuing a clearcut and constantly resolute policy, a bold up to selfdenial and heroic policy — (only such a policy complies with the recognition of the proletarian dictatorship), wavers and proves to be timid, — such a man, by his lack of character, by his waverings, by his indetermination, commits the same treachery as a direct traitor. From the personal viewpoint, the difference between the traitor who betrays for weakness and the traitor acting with premeditation and calculation is very great; from the political viewpoint, such a difference **does not exist** because politics in reality is the destiny of millions of people and this destiny is not changed by the way in which the millions of poor workers and peasants are betrayed — whether by the traitors who betray for weakness or by the traitors who betray for interest» (V.I. Lenin, Works, vol. 30 p. 404, Albanian edition).

Our Party, remaining loyal to the vital interests of our people and of the working people throughout the world, to marxism-leninism and the cause of socialism and communism, will resolutely continue its just and principled struggle against the anti-marxist, revisionist and traitorous viewpoints and actions of N. Khrushchev and his group, being fully confident that the right will triumph.

**Article published in the newspaper «Zëri  
i Popullit» organ of the C.C. of the Party  
of Labour of Albania, March 2, 1962.**

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## **DECLARATION OF THE ALBANIAN COMMITTEE FOR BALKAN UNDERSTANDING**

Press agencies report that «the representatives of the Committees for Balkan Mutual Understanding and Collaboration of the Balkan countries» held their meeting in Sofia on March 10, 1962.

The Albanian Committee for Balkan Mutual Understanding expresses grave concern over this meeting of which it was not notified and to which it was not invited, although it is among the first Committees to be created and it has worked actively to realize the aims of the movement for Balkan mutual understanding and collaboration.

The Albanian Committee for Balkan Understanding has striven right from the start to promote the policy of peace and good neighborhood which the People's Republic of Albania has consistently pursued towards the neighboring countries. It has had regular and active relations with the Committees of Balkan Good Understanding of Bulgaria, Rumania and Greece; it has shown its readiness to participate in all the meetings organized within the framework of this movement as well as in all the activities which have to do with inter-Balkan questions like common exhibitions, publications and so forth.

The first meeting of the representatives of the Committees for Balkan Understanding was held in Athens in April 1961 which was attended also by a Yugoslav delegation, although no Committee for Balkan Understanding has yet been established in Jugoslavia. Representatives from the Albanian Committee for Balkan Understanding were unable to attend the Athens meeting because the

Greek Government refused them visas to enter Greek territory. It is characteristic that the Yugoslav delegation to this meeting did not hesitate to launch unscrupulous attacks on the People's Republic of Albania in the absence of the Albanian representatives, thus revealing their real aims and designs.

The Second Meeting was decided to be held in Sofia on September 28, 1961 and the President of the Bulgarian Committee for Balkan Understanding, Sava Ganovsky, sent the President of the Albanian Committee a regular invitation to this meeting in due time. The invitation was acknowledged with pleasure by the Albanian Committee but the meeting was postponed to be held in October, and later in November and finally it was postponed sine die because, as Sava Ganovsky informed the Ambassador of the People's Republic of Albania to Sofia, the Greek Government was creating some difficulties for the Greek representatives and, moreover, because the Yugoslavs refused to take part in the meeting if the Albanians would be taking part in it.

Obstacles were thus laid in the way of the movement for Balkan Understanding and Mutual Collaboration to carry on its work both by the Greek Government and Tito's revisionist group whose main objective has been to dissociate the Bulgarian and Greek Committees from the Albanian Committee and to succeed in refusing the latter the opportunity to take part in the common and coordinated work of the movement for Balkan good understanding. It is therefore plain that those in charge of the Bulgarian and Rumanian Committees consented to part company with the Albanian Committee in order to secure the participation of the Yugoslav revisionists, complying in this way with the attitude of Tito's revisionist group against the People's Republic of Albania in opposition to all moral and political norms and principles.

In fact, although Sava Ganovsky had said, on November 10, 1961, when he notified the Albanian Embassy of the postponement of the meeting, that he would keep the Albanian Committee in touch about the date of

the meeting, the meeting was held in Sofia and the Albanian Committee was neither informed of nor invited to it.

Acts of this kind can not but create bewilderment and suspicion. A justifiable question props up: how can these backstage acts be explained and whom do they serve? What kind of Balkan entente can it be when the Albanian Committee for Balkan Mutual Understanding is not invited to the Sofia meeting? The movement for Balkan good understanding will be effective if it makes earnest efforts to bring the Balkan peoples closer together on a sound and correct basis not by turning itself into a limited and discrimination movement, as it did in the Sofia meeting. If it proceeds along the wrong road carved out for it by the Yugoslav revisionists, then our movement will cease to serve the noble aims for which it was created and for which the Balkan peoples are striving.

The Albanian Committee for Balkan Understanding cannot help point out with regret that the wellknown hostile attitude of the Greek monarchical-fascists and the Yugoslav revisionists against the People's Republic of Albania is looked upon with favor by those in charge of the Bulgarian, Rumanian and Greek Committees. Evidently the representatives of these Committees proceed along the unprincipled road of Nikita Khrushchev's anti-Albanian assaults and slanders which conform to the charges launched long since in Athens and Belgrade pretending that the People's Republic of Albania is opposed to peace and Balkan collaboration, attacks which are neither new nor original but which expose their authors themselves.

The Albanian Committee for Balkan Understanding stresses that the Sofia meeting held without its knowledge and without the presence of its representatives is out of order and contrary to the spirit of the movement for Balkan good understanding. It stresses at the same time that the responsibility for this rests with all the participants who have seemingly agreed among themselves not

to invite the Albanian Committee, and especially on the Bulgarian Committee which was both its organizer and its host.

The Albanian Committee for Balkan good understanding, loyal to the highest interests of the Albanian people and their homeland as well as to the ideal of friendship and fraternal collaboration between Balkan peoples, condemning the discriminatory acts of the organizers of the Sofia meeting, expresses its deep conviction that good understanding, friendship and collaboration between Balkan peoples will be established and flourish as a result of the active struggle of the Balkan peoples towards this ideal, on the basis of the policy of peaceful coexistence among the States of this region regardless of their social systems, and of turning the Balkan and Adriatic zone into a region free of atomic rockets, a policy which the People's Republic of Albania has and will always uphold, a policy which enjoys the enthusiastic support of all the Balkan peoples.

## THE ALBANIAN COMMITTEE FOR BALKAN UNDERSTANDING

Tirana, March 15, 1962.

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## **BALKAN ENTENTE CANNOT BE ATTAINED BY MAKING CONCESSIONS TO THE JUGOSLAV REVISIONISTS**

As reported in our press «a meeting of the representatives of the committees for Balkan mutual understanding and collaboration» held its sessions in Sofia from March 10 to 13 of this year. The Albanian Committee for Balkan Understanding was neither informed of nor invited to this meeting.

The Albanian people and their Government have shown lively interest in establishing relations of mutual understanding and friendly collaboration in the Balkan and Adriatic region and have given their active contribution towards creating a sound environment of peace and stability in this region. Therefore the PR of Albania, upholding all earnest initiatives to safeguard and consolidate peace and friendship among peoples, has welcomed the idea of establishing a movement for Balkan mutual understanding and collaboration and supports this movement.

This is the second meeting which the representatives of the Albanian Committee have not taken part in. And this is due to no faults of theirs. The Greek Government refused visas to the representatives of our Committee to attend the first meeting of the representatives of the Committees of Mutual Understanding which was held in Athens last April, although the representatives of the Greek Committee had sent regular invitation to the Albanian Committee to participate. This gave rise to legitimate resentment in Albanian public opinion which saw in this act of the Greek ruling circles not only their wellknown hostile attitude towards our country but also their lack of courage to face the truth that the Albanian delegate

would be expressing at this meeting as well as the contribution they would render to the cause of bringing peoples closer together and promoting good understanding among them. On the other hand, the Yugoslav representatives used the Athens meeting as a free platform to vomit gall against the PR of Albania describing our country as a «disturber and enemy of peace» in the Balkans.

And now no opportunity was given to the representatives of the Albanian Committee to take part in the second meeting of the Committees of Good Understanding held in Sofia. This time the organizers of the meeting, especially the Bulgarian Committee for Balkan Understanding as well as the Rumanian and Greek representatives, yielding to pressure from the enemies of our country and of Balkan collaboration and good understanding, yielding to the «veto» of the Yugoslav revisionists, failed to notify our delegation as to the date of the meeting and extended no invitation to it to attend. Expressing the will of our people, the Albanian Committee for Balkan Understanding made a justifiable protest against this discriminating attitude of the organizers of the Sofia meeting. Our people are convinced that such disruptive and discriminating attitude has nothing in common with the cause of peace and good neighborliness, is not at all in line with the aim and spirit of the movement for Balkan mutual understanding and collaboration. On the contrary an attitude of this kind can only be hailed by those who are eager to split the forces of peace, democracy and progress, by those who are eager to keep the Balkan region as a hotbed of tension and perpetual squabbles and first and foremost by the American imperialists in whose interest the ruling circles of Belgrade and Athens act.

We have often exposed the disruptive activity of the Yugoslav revisionists, especially their hostile intentions and designs against the PR of Albania. This hostile attitude towards our country is also evident in the case of the Sofia meeting. Right at the start, when preparations for the meeting were under way, the Yugoslav revisionists carried on feverish activity: they went so far, that the

President of the Bulgarian Committee for Balkan understanding, Sava Ganovsky, told the Albanian Ambassador at Sofia, as to lay à priori conditions for their participation in the meeting. The Yugoslav revisionists threatened they would refuse to participate in the meeting if the Albanians were invited to it. Thus the Yugoslav revisionists exposed themselves again as frantic enemies of our country and determined opponents to good understanding and friendship among Balkan peoples.

The enemies of peace and friendship between peoples, the splitters and plotters — the American imperialists and their hirelings, the Yugoslav revisionists and the Greek monarchical fascists — have tried by ally methods and means and continue to do so in order to waylay world public opinion by spreading all kinds of slander and trumped up charges against the PR of Albania.

They lie pretending that the PR of Albania is opposed to peaceful coexistence, that it is a «trouble maker» in the Balkans, that it is a «warmonger». The Albanian people have become inure to this provocative style of propaganda of our enemies. They have also derived their lesson from it: back of these slanderous assaults, behind these blatant campaigns against the PR of Albania, they detect the definite schemes and plots of the Yugoslav revisionists and their allies against the freedom and independence of our people. Calumnies, provocations, sham trials to discredit the peaceful policy of the Albanian Government are all made for the purpose of justifying their real intentions and criminal designs on the People's Republic of Albania. That is why our people strengthen their revolutionary vigilance and are ever on the alert to confront any provocations on the part of the enemies of the freedom and independence of their homeland.

It is not at all fortuitous that the Yugoslavs assigned Dobrivoye Vidich to head their delegation to the Sofia Meeting. At the time of the bloody events during the counter-revolution in Hungary, we heard a certain Vidich, then Deputy Secretary of the Secretariat for Foreign Affairs of the People's Federated Republic of Jugoslavia say:

«Wait and see that this thing (he was referring to the Hungarian counter-revolution —ed.) will also happen in Albania and Bulgaria». It is not hard to guess how futile the ideas and acts of these exporters of counter-revolutions, of these dangerous revisionist plotters can be to Balkan understanding.

Therefore, to succumb to the conditions of the revisionist clique of Belgrade, as was unfortunately done by those in charge of the Bulgarian, Rumanian and Greek Committees for Balkan Understanding when they failed to invite the Albanian delegates to the Sofia Meeting, means to back up the disruptive acts of the Yugoslav revisionists, to be at cross-purposes with the very aims and principles of the movement for Balkan understanding, to turn that movement into a limited and discriminating one.

The People's Republic of Albania, a Balkan country, has always striven and continues to strive to strengthen and broaden relations of mutual beneficial collaboration and good neighborliness, to put into practice and carry into execution the principles of peaceful coexistence between countries of different social and economic systems. History is a witness of the will for peace and friendly relations of the Albanian people with their neighbors all along centuries. The history of international relations of Albania cites no case when the Albanian people have harassed or assailed other peoples. They have always struggled in defense of their peace and freedom, against aggression and foreign domination. On the contrary, they have always been the victims of the plundering designs of the Great Powers or of the chauvinistic ruling circles of the neighboring countries. Due to the geographic position and natural resources of our country, our people have had to endure endless periods of adversity under most ruthless foreign invaders, who have often threatened their very existence. They have always suffered and have often fallen victims to the arbitrary aggressiveness of the chauvinistic cliques of the neighboring countries, and especially of the Serbo-manians and of the Greek

reactionary expansionists. But our people have always overcome these ordeals by hacking their path in history with fire and sword regardless of the aid their enemies had received from the Big Powers of that time.

On the other hand, the Albanian people have enjoyed the sympathy and support of the Balkan peoples. Their traditional ties of friendship with the fraternal peoples of Bulgaria and Rumania, where many distinguished men of the Albanian National Revival such as Naum Veqilharxhi, Jani Vreto, Shahin Kolonja, Nikolla Naço, Mi-hal Grameno, Josif Bageri and others have striven for the liberty of our Fatherland are familiar to every body. This friendship with the peoples of these Balkan countries has acquired new significance and meaning since our people overthrew once and for all capitalist domination and became masters of their own destiny. It has been strengthened, especially now, in the period of socialist construction and of the struggle to safeguard peace. This friendship is immortal, for it is a friendship of peoples inspired by the same aims and ideals, for our peoples are friends and brothers, members of the powerful socialist camp, inseparable allies in the common struggle to safeguard the socialist victories, against imperialist plots and aggression and ominous intrigues of our common foes. As a member of the great family of the socialist camp, the PR of Albania has carried out and continues to carry out its internationalist duty in safeguarding the victories of socialism in its country and in consolidating its friendship with the Balkan socialist countries.

We hope that the Bulgarian Comrades who organized the Sofia meeting will admit the grave b'under they have committed towards socialist Albania. Balkan entente can not be attained by making concessions to the Yugoslav revisionists or to the rulers of Greece to the loss of the PR of Albania but by exposing their evil designs and ominous intentions.

The foreign policy of the PLA and of the Government of PRA has been and continues to be based on principles of good understanding and good neighborliness.

Every body is familiar with the Albanian-Soviet Declaration signed in Tirana on May 30, 1959, in which it is proposed that the Balkan and Adriatic region be proclaimed a zone free of atomic weapons and rockets. Moreover, our Government has actively supported the proposal of the Rumanian Government to call a meeting of the Heads of Governments of the Balkan countries in order to improve and develop relations between them and to maintain peace in the Balkans. It is a fact that our Government has often taken initiatives and has expressed its readiness to stabilize, strengthen and broaden its relations with the neighboring countries. An eloquent proof of this are the agreements with Greece to repatriate Greek refugees, to improve the Corfû Channel by common action, to carry on trade relations. The People's Republic of Albania has always been and is willing to stabilize and further promote these relations on the basis of the principles of peaceful coexistence and to even establish diplomatic relations with the Kingdom of Greece. But the stabilization of these relations is seriously hampered by the absurd pretension of the Greek Government that it is alleged'y in a state of war with Albania as well as by their territorial pretensions of the southern regions of Albania. As a result of the creation of a practical environment of mutual understanding regardless of the irreconcilable ideological differences between us and the leaders of the Yugoslav Communist League whose anti-marxist and anti-socialist line of action we have unmasked and will continue to unmask, the Government of the PR of Albania has shown readiness to develop normal inter-state relations with the Yugoslav Government as well. But a normal development of this kind is hampered by the attitude and hostile activity of the Yugoslav Government which does not renounce its undermining activity towards our socialist state, does not give up organizing provocations, plots and sham trials, does not put a stop to preparations for an attack on the People's Republic of Albania, acts which have nothing in common with the

spirit of good understanding and good neighborliness, with the principles of peaceful coexistence.

The hostile designs of the Yugoslav revisionist clique against the PRA and their unbridled campaign to misrepresent the peaceful policy of the Albanian Government has been re-echoed and backed up by N. Khrushchev's group too. In fact, N. Khrushchev propagandists have relied and continue to rely actively for materials against the PLA on the slanders which the Yugoslav revisionist had since long ago fabricated against our country. We are not surprised that N. Khrushchev and his group should approve the slanders of the Yugoslav revisionists against our country. But what should be stressed here is the fact that it is precisely the slanders which N. Khrushchev launched against the PLA from the rostrum of the 22nd Congress and his wellknown «wise» tactics of leniency, which, on one hand, encourage the Yugoslav revisionists in their hostile activities against the PRA and on the other, spur the Committees for Balkan Understanding of Bulgaria, Rumania and Greece on to make concessions openly detrimental to the PRA. It is not superfluous to recall on this occasion that a typical example of concessions to attain «Balkan understanding» was set by N. Khrushchev himself in his talks with S. Venizelos with regard to the so-called «autonomy for southern Albania». Thus concessions follow concessions. But regardless of the slanders and «tactics» of modern revisionists, regardless of the «anxieties» of the propagandists of the TASS news agency, the PLA and the Government of the PRA will always fight in defense of the vital interests of their people, in defense of the freedom and independence of the Fatherland, in defense of peace and good understanding in the Balkans, for putting into application the principles of peaceful coexistence. The PLA and the Government of the PRA will never proceed contrary to these interests nor follow in the footsteps of N. Khrushchev or the evil designs of Venizelos or of the Yugoslav revisionists. The correct policy of principle of our Party and our Government responds fully to the highest inte-

rests of our homeland, complies fully with the victorious teachings of Marxism-Leninism. That is why the Albanian people fully approves it and stands by it with determination and enthusiasm.

Expressing the sentiments and wishes of our people the Albanian Committee for Balkan Mutual Understanding has rightfully condemned the disruptive acts of the organizers of Sofia meeting and emphasizes in its declaration that good understanding, friendship and collaboration between Balkan peoples will be established and will flourish as a result of the active struggle of the Balkan people for this ideal, on the foundations of the policy of peace and friendship, of peaceful coexistence between the States of this region regardless of their social systems.

Sincere understanding and friendly collaboration between the Balkan peoples is the foundation of peace and creative work of our peoples. Our peoples should not tolerate that the Balkans be turned again into a «powder keg», that it be a hotbed of perpetual tension and squabbles, that it be used as a base for aggression, occupations and wars. Therefore in order to safeguard peace and security in our region, the liberty and independence of our peoples, we should strive together to frustrate all schemes and attempts of aggression of the imperialist powers headed by American imperialists, we should forcefully and publicly expose the aims and actions of the real opponents of good understanding and friendship among the Balkan peoples.

The People's Republic of Albania will continue as ever to fight for peace, friendship and good understanding with the Balkan countries and with all other countries as well and will render its full contribution to develop and consolidate the normal relations of good neighborliness.

(Article of the newspaper «Zëri i Popullit» issued on March 18th 1962).

## **NIKITA KHRUSHCHEV HAS MADE EFFORTS NOT TO SETTLE BUT TO AGGRAVATE THE DISCORDS WITH OUR PARTY AND STATE**

Nearly six months have passed since Nikita Khrushchev publicly assaulted the Party of Labour of Albania. It has already become clear that this attack was actually directed against Marxism-Leninism and against the unity of the socialist camp and of the international Communist and labour movement. This was precisely the reason that, since the 22nd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the Communists and peoples of the different countries and the Soviet people posed the question: «why was the Party of Labour of Albania attacked, why were the disputes existing within the international Communist and labour movement revealed and why were not these disputes patiently settled in the Marxist-Leninist way and in whose interest was it?» Despite the resolutions taken, the speeches made and the many articles that have been and are being written to justify the attitude of the Soviet leadership towards the Party of Labour of Albania, neither at the 22nd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union nor following it did the Nikita Khrushchev group succeed to exculpate themselves and give an answer to this legitimate question which is being asked by the people from all corners of the earth even to-day.

Notwithstanding, Nikita Khrushchev and his followers have endeavoured to find a way out in order to justify their anti-marxist attitude towards the Party of Labour of Albania. To this end they invented the story that allegedly the Soviet leaders were compelled to do this (namely, to publicly attack the Party of Labour of Albania \*) their reason being that all the efforts to normalize

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\*) The annotation is ours.

the relations with the Party of Labour of Albania had failed to yield any results whatsoever, and this being the case, the open war against it was the only possible course to pursue. Hence every effort had been made without yielding a single result and they proceeded to the open war, this having been their only course. It is these two 'arguments' that the Nikita Khrushchev group and those following them were able to advance and it is by such 'arguments' which, as we shall see further on, are utterly false and without foundation, that they want 'to fully justify' the unprincipled war based on the basest calumnies, multifarious blockades and fierce acts of pressure of the leaders of a big State against the Marxist Party of a numerically small people. It is by such fabricated «arguments» that they are trying to justify such acts as the appeals for the counter-revolution or the rupture of diplomatic relations with a Socialist country as the People's Republic of Albania.

By acting in such a savage way against the Party of Labour of Albania and by advancing relative «arguments» to justify their action, Nikita Khrushchev and his group, no doubt, have reckoned that people will believe them because the right of the Party of Labour of Albania will be eclipsed in the face of the indisputable authority of the glorious Soviet Union and of their great Party of Lenin. Such a concept is anti-Marxist, of course, but one cannot expect anything else from a revisionist of Marxism-Leninism. Nikita Khrushchev mocks and speculates with the prestige and authority of the Soviet Union. The peoples and communists of the world are recognizing better and better the true physiognomy of Nikita Khrushchev and of his group and they are becoming more and more convinced that Nikita Khrushchev's attack against the Party of Labour of Albania, his appeals for a counter-revolution in Albania and the rupture of diplomatic relations with the People's Republic of Albania are such acts that cannot be justified with any fabricated 'argument' whatsoever; these acts cannot be covered even by the authority of the Soviet Union and of its Communist Par-

ty. Such anti-Marxist actions are suitable only to those that have betrayed the cause of Socialism and of Communism. The peoples and Communists in the world, by the time, are getting to understand and will understand more clearly that Nikita Khrushchev and his group are acting as splitters of the international Communist and labour movement, as unamended opportunists and revisionists and by their actions are helping only the foes of Socialism and of Communism.

**Prior to the Bucharest meeting, our differences on some ideological questions, did never dim the fraternal relations among our two parties.**

Because the Nikita Khrushchev group are speculating much with the so called «efforts» which have allegedly been made by them of normalizing relations with the Party of Labour of Albania we are dwelling on this question: The «efforts» on the part of Nikita Khrushchev of normalizing relations with the Party of Labour of Albania or to state more clearly, the methods chosen by him of settling the ideological disputes that arose between the Party of Labour of Albania and the Soviet leaders, the method of extending these disputes also to the field of State relations by acts of economic, political and military pressure, by threats and blockades, by imposing his own views on the Party of Labour of Albania and on the Albanian State, led to the aggravation of relations and their sharpening, reaching the apex with the public attacks levelled against the Party of Labour of Albania from the forum of the 22nd Congress and to the actual breaking off of the diplomatic relations with the People's Republic of Albania by the Soviet Union.

The starting point in the attitude of the Nikita Khrushchev group towards the Party of Labour of Albania and the People's Republic of Albania that led to the aggravation of Soviet-Albanian relations, was the meeting held

in Bucharest in June, 1960. Prior to the Bucharest Conference, between our two parties and countries existed cordial fraternal relations which may rightly be characterized as exemplary in relationships of proletarian internationalism. Up to that time the leadership of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Government of the Soviet Union had assumed a friendly and internationalist attitude towards our country and extended to Albania great assistance in all the fields of Socialist construction for which help the Party of Labour and the entire Albanian people have been and will eternally be grateful to the glorious Communist Party of the Soviet Union and to the brotherly Soviet people. The Party of Labour has always appreciated and rightly assesses the importance of that internationalist assistance. «The experience of Socialist construction in the Soviet Union as well as its extraordinary assistance», Comrade Enver Hoxha said in the speech of 28th of November, 1959, at the solemn gathering held on the occasion of the 15th Anniversary of the Liberation Day, «have been and are for us two important sources which have helped us to carry out so far the tasks of the great transformations in the fields of economy and of culture». That is why our people have always strengthened and will strengthen more and more their affection and their great and sincere friendship for the great fatherland of the October Revolution and for the country of the Soviets. . . Our friendship is a friendship of peoples, a friendship based on the immortal teachings of Marxism-Leninism and on proletarian internationalism, on the lofty and noble ideals of the triumph of Socialism and of the defense of world peace and that is why this friendship will live throughout the centuries.

And it should be made emphatic that our fraternal ties had at no time at all been rendered obscure despite the fact that between our Party and the Soviet leadership, headed by Nikita Khrushchev, discords on certain important issues had existed for a long time. It is a known fact, for example, that our Party is not compatible with

the criticism about Joseph Visaricnovitch Stalin, with the manner in which it was made, and with the aims which Nikita Khrushchev and his group pursued at the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and later; the Party of Labour of Albania was not in agreement with the attitude of appeasement and of opportunism that was being assumed by Nikita Khrushchev and by his group towards the revisionistic Tito clique; it did not reconcile itself to the course he introduced and to the opportunistic aims which Nikita Khrushchev pursued in regard to the questions of peace and war, it did not reconcile itself to his revisionistic conception in connection with the peaceful and non-peaceful transition to Socialism and in regard to other issues. On the other hand, it is known that Nikita Khrushchev, on more than one occasion and at different times, has directly or indirectly pronounced himself against the line of our Party on account of its attitude of principle towards the Yugoslav revisionists and on other issues. He has tried to exert pressure on our Party so that it might stop its just criticism of principle against the Belgrade revisionists and rehabilitate such traitors and enemies of the Party and of the Albanian People as Koçi Xoxe, Panajot Plaku and others like them. All these facts are borne out by documentary evidence. Notwithstanding this, the Party of Labour has constantly striven so that these disputes might be settled in the just Marxist-Leninist way, by means of comradely discussions and criticism, by repudiating at the same time Nikita Khrushchev's proposals in regard to the question of the Yugoslav revisionists and the rehabilitation of the Albanian traitors in the service of the Tito clique. It is a fact that despite the existence of the forementioned discords, up to the middle of the year 1960 the relations of the Party of Labour with the Soviet leadership and, the more so, State relationships between our two countries, had not been rendered acute, but on the contrary they were proceeding in the normal course of friendly, fraternal and internationalist collaboration.

But during that period Nikita Khrushchev was find-

ing out that the Party of Labour of Albania was strongly standing by its positions of principle and was not making any concessions; he was ascertaining that our Party was unwilling to proceed in his revisionistic course. He became still more convinced about this at the meeting in Bucharest in which our Party strongly opposed the anti-marxist methods employed by him of striking suddenly at the Marxist-Leninist parties. That is why Nikita Khrushchev in Bucharest decided and was the first to strike at the Party of Labour of Albania and its leadership.

As it is known, at the meeting of Bucharest in June, 1960, and later at the Moscow Conference of the 81 Communist and Workers Parties in November 1960, the Party of Labour of Albania expressed its own view on certain problems of present day world development and of the tactics and strategy of the international Communist and labour movement, and it criticized certain opportunistic views on the part of Nikita Khrushchev and certain of his anti-marxist stands regarding the relations between the sister Communist and Workers parties to uphold the relations of equality and reach unanimity of views and actions through comradely criticism and consultations between them in a Marxist-Leninist way and in the spirit of proletarian internationalism. While the Party of Labour of Albania displayed calmness and spoke about the right course that should have been pursued for the settling of disputes, which, as it was revealed at the Bucharest Conference, existed not only with the Albanian Party of Labour, but also with other parties, Nikita Khrushchev, on the contrary, since that time, proceeded in the erroneous anti-marxist path. Towards the just criticism of the Party of Labour of Albania he adopted the method which is alien to Communists and to Marxist-Leninist parties, namely, the method of counter-attack, by replacing comradely criticism with brutal interference in the domestic affairs of other countries, by openly and brutally violating the principle of consultation, of equality and of proletarian internationalism that should govern

relationships between the Communist parties of the Socialist countries.

Immediately after the meeting at Bucharest, particularly following the Moscow Conference of November, 1960, the so called «efforts» on the part of Nikita Khrushchev of normalizing the relations with the Party of Labour of Albania became still clearer; the credits that had been granted to the People's Republic of Albania for its five-year plan, were suspended, the Soviet specialists that were working in Albania were recalled and all the Albanian students attending schools in the Soviet Union were chased off. Nikita Khrushchev's «efforts» which are being so widely popularized by his propaganda agents bear resemblance to actions of that «host» who after closing the hosedoor tightly, unleashes his dogs and tells the guest: «come right in and be welcome». This «effort» and «sincere desire» is made clear in the article of the editorial-board of the newspaper «Pravda» of the 21st of February, 1962, under the heading «The Banner of Our Epoch» in which among others one reads: «This criticism (reference is here made to Nikita Khrushchev's attack against the Party of Labour of Albania from the forum of the 22nd Congress) \* appealed to the judgement of the Albanian leaders and was intended to bring them back to the positions of proletarian internationalism». How hypocritical this sentence sounds! According to the editorial board of Pravda, Nikita Khrushchev's attack was allegedly comradely «criticism» which appealed to the judgement of the Albanian leaders! The appeals for counter-revolution, for the overthrow of the leaders of a Marxist party of a socialist country had as an object to restore the Albanian leaders to the positions of proletarian internationalism (!) (This is what Khrushchev said at the 22nd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union: «Nevertheless we are convinced that the time will come when the Albanian Communists and when the Albanian people will have their own say and then the Albanian

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\*) The annotation is ours.

leaders will be held to account for the damage they have caused to their country, to their people and to the cause of the construction of Socialism in Albania»). Here is how far has gone the cynism of the Nikita Khrushchev group who by shedding crocodile tears over the «destinies» of the Albanian people, remind one of the man who kills you in the darkness of night and weeps for you in full daylight.

In order to dispell any illusion about the «efforts» which Nikita Khrushchev has allegedly made of normalizing the relations with the Party of Labour of Albania we refer you to the correspondence exchanged between our two parties and to the chief events following the Bucharest meeting. The numerous facts and documents in the possession of our Party, part of which we are going to utilize in this article, most convincingly demonstrate that Nikita Khrushchev, in his efforts of allegedly settling the disputes with the Party of Labour of Albania, has always aimed at bringing our Party to submission, to dictate to it from a priori unacceptable anti-marxist terms and to place it in positions of inequality and of discrimination.

It is known that at the meeting in Bucharest Nikita Khrushchev, in an unexpected but premeditated way, attacked the unity of the international Communist and labour movement. By encroaching on the Leninist principles of consultation, of equality and of proletarian internationalism in the relations between sister parties, by arrogant methods and by proceeding from patriarchal positions, he tried to compell the different parties to submit to his erroneous anti-Marxist views and actions. Nikita Khrushchev endeavoured in every way that the delegation of the Party of Labour of Albania at the Bucharest meeting also endorse his actions, and his opportunistic and splitting views. The Party of Labour, however assumed an unwavering attitude of principle. It condemned the anti-Marxist declarations and attitude of Nikita Khrushchev and made known its own views on the just course that should have been pursued for settling the disputes that had arisen within the Socialist camp and the international

Communist movement. At that meeting the Head of the delegation of the Party of Labour of Albania, Comrade Hysni Kapo, among others said:

«... This most important question which Comrade Nikita Khrushchev suddenly and without making a study of is submitting to us, must be thoroughly studied and discussed most carefully calmly and in a comradely spirit, according to Leninist rules and in the Marxist-Leninist way, as is the practice of our parties.»

This was the attitude of the delegation of the Party of Labour of Albania at Bucharest. The Central Committee, through its representative, condemned the putschist method of Nikita Khrushchev and upheld the view of settling disputes according to Leninist rules at the meeting of November, 1960. Nikita Khrushchev was displeased with the attitude of principle of the delegation of our Party which attitude was contrary to his anti-marxist views and course of undermining the unity of the Socialist Camp. He was so greatly irritated by the just criticism in a Party way, made by a small Party that he did not hesitate to characterize it as «an insult» to the leadership of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and for this «insult» he started a campaign of acts of vengeance against our Party and country which had with Marxist courage dared to bar the way of splitting the Socialist Camp, undertaken most consciously by Nikita Khrushchev.

### **Pressure and efforts to draw the PLA into N. Khrushchev's plot against the unity of the Socialist camp and the Communist movement**

A radical change was noted in the attitude of the Soviet leaders headed by N. Khrushchev towards the Party of Labour of Albania and our country immediately after the Bucharest Meeting. They built their stand and policy

towards the Party of Labour of Albania proceeding not from their desire to settle the dispute that had arisen but from their desire to subdue it by all methods and means and to revenge against its leaders for their stubborn stand. Words beget acts. N. Khrushchev responded negatively and even delayed his negative reply to the urgent request of the Albanian Government to buy from the Soviet Union a quantity of wheat at a time when our country was hard up for bread on account of the drought of 1960. This compelled our Party and Government to secure the required grain from other socialist countries. This was an open pressure towards the PLA.

On the other hand, the functionaries of the Soviet Embassy in Tirana, carrying out N. Khrushchev's instructions with regard to their radical change of policy towards Albania, launched a feverish attack on the marxist-leninist line of the Party of Labour of Albania, tried to split our Party and create panic and confusion among its ranks, tried to separate the leaders from the Party and to incite against them the army cadres and other cadres that had studied in the Soviet Union. All these «efforts», this pressure, these brutal interventions aimed at making the Party of Labour of Albania back down from the stand of principle which it maintained at the Bucharest Meeting and compel it to back up N. Khrushchev's opportunistic and splitting views in the November meeting and join him in his assaults against the unity of the Socialist Camp and the International Communist and Workers' Movement, against the revolutionary teachings of Marxism-Leninism.

In pursuance of this aim N. Khrushchev sent on August 13, 1960, a letter to the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania which demanded that talks be held, not for the purpose of settling the existing differences between the PLA and the Soviet leaders, but for the purpose of aligning the Party of Labour of Albania with N. Khrushchev's group against a third party, in order to split the Socialist Camp. The letter suggested:

«We consider it important that the Party of Labour of Albania and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union should go to the coming November Meeting with complete unity of viewpoints.

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union is of the opinion that it is advisable that a meeting should be called of the representatives of our Parties for this purpose prior to the November Meeting.»

And in a sort of casual way a threatening warning is dropped:

«So that the sparkle of misunderstanding which has arisen may be extinguished in a manner that it may not flare up».

This meant that the Party of Labour of Albania should go to the 1960 November Meeting in Moscow «at one» with N. Khrushchev's anti-marxist views, that the Party of Labour of Albania should renounce its correct stand of principle which it had maintained at the Bucharest Meeting but which did not please N. Khrushchev. The proposed meeting should serve this end. This was, so to speak, N. Khrushchev's «first earnest «effort» to settle the existing differences, to place the relations with the Party of Labour of Albania on a normal basis. And if the Party of Labour of Albania would not comply with this solution (that is if it would refuse to submit), then the «sparkle» lit in Bucharest would «flare up and turn to fire». Is it not clear, therefore, that the «fire» which flared up at the 22nd Congress had been foreseen and deliberately prepared as far back as August 1960? Does it not follow that what N. Khrushchev's group meant by the word «efforts» to settle the dispute with the PLA was: either submit or «fire»?

In its letter dated August 27, 1960 the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania gave the appro-

priate reply to this ill-boding attempt. After pointing out that the misunderstandings arisen at the Bucharest Meeting were a result of N. Khrushchev's unwarranted attacks against a third party and, as a consequence «to go to the coming Meeting with a full unity of viewpoints» means that our two Parties coordinate their attitudes towards a third marxist-leninist Party, the letter emphasizes:

«Marxism-Leninism teaches us, likewise, that it would be a gross violation of the rudimentary marxist-leninist norms which govern the relations between Communist and Workers' Parties if it came about that two parties carried on talks whose object would be to criticise the general line of another Marxist Party... It goes without saying that an act of this kind would be unjust, would not help the cause but it would injure it».

It was natural for the Party of Labour of Albania to refuse to take part in a meeting of the kind which was contrary to the most elementary rules of Marxism-Leninism and which would yield no results, inspite of N. Khrushchev's threats.

Let us dwell a little longer on N. Khrushchev's «efforts» to talk with the leaders of the Party of Labour of Albania for the purpose of settling the dispute of turning the Soviet-Albanian relations back to their normal state: On November 9, 1960, at the time of the Moscow Meeting of the 81 Parties, the Soviet leaders proposed that Comrade Enver Hoxha, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania heading the Delegation of the Party of Labour of Albania at the Meeting of the 81 Parties in Moscow, meet the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, N. Khrushchev, for bilateral talks concerning the relations between our two Parties. Comrade Enver Hoxha accepted this invitation with pleasure and was getting ready to meet N. Khrushchev. But just as he was about to go to this appointment our delegation was

handed an important official document of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, distributed to all the Parties participating in the Moscow Meeting, in which the existence of the People's Republic of Albania as a socialist country was totally ignored, the Party of Labour of Albania was slandered, the anti-Party elements in our country were taken under patronage and the leaders of the Party of Labour of Albania were accused of solving party problems contrary to the rules of democratic centralization and that they carried on anti-Soviet policies and activities. The Soviet leaders made these slanderous statements against the Party of Labour of Albania public to the entire world communist movement without at first telling them to our Party. This does not leave room for doubts: The Soviet leaders, on one hand, invite the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the PLA for discussions and on the other, they distribute at the same time materials filled with slanders against our Party for the obvious purpose of discrediting our Party. Under such circumstances, can it be said that the Soviet leaders are «eager» to settle the dispute? Can it be said that N. Khrushchev is «eager» to carry on discussions? N. Khrushchev pretends he wants to discuss but in reality he forestalls them, he limits them with *a priori* conditions. «Admit the slanders that I have made public to the entire communist movement and then come and let us come to terms!» such are indeed N. Khrushchev's and his group's earnest «efforts» to come to terms with the Party of Labour of Albania. Is this not an insidious, arrogant, derogatory and discriminating stand? Is this anything short of an ultimatum: either submit or face «fire»? A stand of this kind has nothing in common with marxist-leninist methods of approach to discussions, with relations of equality, of brotherhood, of internationalist solidarity which should exist between fraternal parties. It is the foolhardy attitude of a boss, of a chauvinist of a big State bullying a small Party. It is logical that under these humiliating conditions we should rightfully reject with disdain this proposition for a meeting.

Yet, inspite of all that, proceeding as always from the desire to settle the dispute and harmonize the relations between our two Parties and our two countries, and in the interests of the socialist camp and the international communist movement, on receiving new proposals from the Soviet leaders, the Delegation of the PLA participating in the Moscow Meeting, accepted to hold discussions with leaders of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union on November 10 and 11, 1960 and on November 12, 1960, the entire Delegation headed by Comrade Enver Hoxha met N. Khrushchev and a group of Soviet leaders. Right at the start and throughout these meetings it became clear that the aim of the Soviet leaders was not to find means and methods of settling our differences but that of subjugating the PLA, of compelling it by force to adopt the views of N. Khrushchev's group, of making it give up its marxist-leninist principles. The Soviet leaders did not retract the slanders contained in the official document they distributed to the representatives of the 81 Parties, they considered the pressure towards our Party and the diversionist activity of the officials of the Soviet Embassy in Tirana as trivial and finally N. Khrushchev went so far as to declare that he could come to terms with Macmillan easier than with the leaders of the PLA. That he can come to terms with Macmillan, Eisenhower, Kennedy and their lackey, Tito, by making compromises, concessions and flattery is a personal credit of his for which no one envies him. But to compel the Party of Labour of Albania to adopt his revisionist ways, that has never happened and it can never happen. Therefore nothing came out of the «talks» and N. Khrushchev and his companions are to blame for it. This was N. Khrushchev's «second earnest «effort» to settle the dispute and harmonize the relations between our Parties, but which in reality was his second earnest effort to alienate our Party from Marxism-Leninism and to subjugate it to his chauvinist dictates.

N. Khrushchev followed this failure with threats. This was, of course to be expected. He stated cynically

that from now on he would build his relations with Albania on another basis. No sooner said than done. He followed his words with deeds. Ideological differences were hurriedly conveyed into the field of relations between States. All credits were suspended, all Soviet experts working in Albania were unexpectedly and one-sidedly withdrawn, commercial and military agreements were declared null and void.

The Central Committee of the PLA tried its best to preserve the good state relations between our two countries but N. Khrushchev and his group tried their uttermost to undermine everything. Facts and documents are not lacking to prove this. Thus our Economic Delegation headed by Xhafer Spahiu, the Minister of Industry, which had been sent to Moscow to conclude a clearing agreement for the 1961-1965 period and to sign the agreement on the credits which the Soviet Union had granted to Albania to mechanize agriculture, was obliged to extend its sojourn in vain for 64 days. At the time when the meeting of the 81 Parties was holding its sessions and our two Parties were holding meetings, the Soviet organs of the Ministry for Foreign Trade and of the GKES (State Committee for Economic Relations) following N. Khrushchev's example and instigation, laid all kinds of obstacles in the way of our Economic Delegation, delayed their encounters «waiting for instructions from above» etc. till I. Semichastny Deputy Minister for Foreign Trade of the USSR, in conference with members of our Delegation finally informed:

«The Ministry of Foreign Trade is authorized to state to the Albanian Delegation that it is advisable to return later to the question of signing the long-term 1961-1965 Trade Agreement and the Agreement of credits accorded to Albania since it is necessary to discuss these matters on a higher level.»

And when the People's Republic of Albania was about

to send to Moscow Comrade Koço Theodhosi, Deputy Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Albania and Candidate Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania, to head the Economic Delegation to conclude the Agreements, the Soviet Government notified through the Soviet Embassy in Tirana on January 6, 1961 that it did not concur with the proposal of the Albanian Government and stated that economic questions «could be discussed only on top-level conferences of our two Parties and Governments». Practically this meant that the Soviet Government made a direct connection of discussions on economic questions and signing of agreements with the attempts to impose on our Party the views of N. Khrushchev's group.

This becomes even clearer if we take into account the fact that these matters had been already discussed in Moscow on December 1958 between the representatives of the Parties and Governments of both our countries and on top-level talks and the respective agreements had been signed on April 3 and July 3, 1959 respectively. Thus, it is clear that the Soviet leaders are making use of the question of economic assistance as a means of pressure on the Party of Labour of Albania on the eve of its fourth Congress which was held in February 1961, to compel it to give up its Marxist-Leninist views. This apparently is N. Khrushchev's third earnest «effort» to settle differences and to set the relations with the Party of Labour of Albania and with the People's Republic of Albania back to their normal state.

In its letter dated January 14, 1961, the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania explained once again, with sound judgement and patience, how things stood in reality and expressed its readiness to solve the misunderstandings in a just, marxist-leninist way. The Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania stressed, among others:

«We are rightfully astounded by the recent

decisions taken by the Soviet Government on these matters and we cannot understand on what grounds it can onesidedly request to re-examine the above mentioned matters, discussed and settled and duly concluded on top-level conferences of the Parties and Governments of the two countries. . . The Party of Labour of Albania and the Albanian Government have considered and will always consider it a pleasure that top-level or any other level delegations of our two Parties and our two Governments should meet, for our Party, our people and our country are bound by ties of friendship for life with the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, with the Soviet people and with the Soviet Union, but under such conditions as set forth by the Soviet Government, the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania does not deem it advisable and proper to send a top-level delegation: firstly, because, as stated above, the matters in question have been discussed and settled definitively by both parties in complete agreement between them and on highest level; and secondly because the Soviet Government raises these matters in a wrong manner, contrary to the spirit of relations between socialist countries, therefore unacceptable to us.»

It became eventually clear that the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania had made a correct assessment of N. Khrushchev's aims, of his plans to subjugate our Party through economic pressure, to make economic assistance incumbent on approval of N. Khrushchev's opportunistic line. It was clear that the group of Soviet leaders had no intention of carrying on talks to settle the economic problems under discussion but they intended to dictate the conditions of surrender to our Party. This is well understood by the letter of the Soviet Government dated April 26, 1961, and signed by First Deputy Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Soviet

Union, A. Kosigin, addressed to the Albanian Government, which writes among others:

«Having weighed all the circumstances, the Soviet Government is compelled to reexamine the question of further relations with the People's Republic of Albania. The Soviet people as well as the peoples of the other socialist countries would not understand us if, by depriving our country of its material resources, we would continue to fulfill the requests of the Albanian leaders who, contrary to the interests of the Albanian people, trample upon the elementary norms in their relations with the Soviet Union and its Government... It is evident that the Albanian leaders cannot hope any further that the Soviet Union will assist them on the former basis, an aid which only real friends and brothers are entitled to. Henceforth the Soviet Union considers it necessary to build its relations with Albania on a new basis, considering the unfriendly policy, which its leaders pursue towards the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries... As far as the future relations between our two countries and the aid of the Soviet Union for Albania are concerned, they will fully depend on what attitude the Albanian side will maintain...»

**The Party of Labour of Albania has made earnest efforts to settle the differences with the Soviet leaders in a Marxist-Leninist way.**

Whoever has followed with interest the development of Albanian-Soviet relations, even through the fragmentary quotations of the correspondence exchanged between our two parties published here, will note that since the June 1960 Bucharest Meeting, N. Khrushchev's group have merely tried to subjugate the Party of Labour of Al-

bania, to impose their ideas upon it. The Soviet leaders have laid à priori conditions, have made threats to our Party in every letter and in every «earnest effort» to improve their relations with the PLA. This is clearly seen in the quotation from their letter dated April 26, 1961 which we just cited.

Whereas the Central Committee of the PLA and the Albanian Government have, on the contrary, shown patience and coolness in order to forestall any premeditated measures which N. Khrushchev and his followers may be up to. This is also evident in the letter of reply which the Central Committee of the PLA sent the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Soviet Government on July 6, 1961. In this letter the Central Committee of our Party propounds its views on the ways to be pursued in order to settle the differences existing between our two parties in conformity with the actual objective situation that had been created at the time.

«Of course», the letter of reply of the Central Committee of the PLA writes, «we know that the settlement of these misunderstandings require time and mutual patience, major efforts; so that the necessary conditions may be created in order to do away with the negative phenomena which have appeared in the friendly, fraternal and, we can most undoubtedly say, more than exemplary relations which have formerly existed between our two Parties, our two countries and our two fraternal peoples. The first thing to do in this direction is to discontinue the practice of extending the ideological misunderstandings existing between our two parties into the field of state relations both economic, political and military.

Our Party and our Government have never refused to carry on bilateral talks on any questions. But we have insisted and insist that the necessary conditions, conditions of equality for both parties, should be created for such talks». But the Soviet leaders, with N. Khrushchev at the head, pursued its dangerous practice of placing the Party of Labour of Albania in a position of inequality, of

humiliation and discrimination until they finally closed all paths for talks and settlement of differences by their letter of August 24, 1961, to the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania. In their letter of August 24, 1961 N. Khrushchev and his group embarked on the road to mean provocations and diversion. N. Khrushchev and his group diverted the issue of the differences between our two parties into another level, to that of police-agency, going so far as to call the leaders of the Party of Labour of Albania «agents of foreign intelligence». This letter in fact, is a prelude of that which took place at the 22nd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union where N. Khrushchev made public to all our common foes the divergences in the socialist camp and in the international communist and workers' movement.

This was N. Khrushchev's «fourth earnest effort» to settle the differences with the PLA, efforts which were later substantiated in the 22nd Congress by his call for a counter-revolution in Albania. Thus, N. Khrushchev deliberately aggravated the relations to the utmost, leaving no leeway for discussions. Despite that, the Central Committee of the PLA, turning a deaf ear to N. Khrushchev's provocations and monstrous slanders, conscious of the great damage which N. Khrushchev's doings were causing to the communist movement in general and to the socialist camp and to the friendship between the Albanian and Soviet peoples in particular, appealed to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union again to «examine the situation created with coolness». In the letter of reply approved on October 12, 1961, by the Plenum of the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania which was sent to the Central Committee which the Communist Party of the Soviet Union would elect at its 22nd Congress (the letter was handed to the Soviet Embassy in Tirana on November 11, 1961) it is written:

«Greatly disturbed by the undesirable and very critical situation of the present Albanian-Soviet relations originating in the brutal anti-

marxist acts of N. Khrushchev and his group, the Party of Labour of Albania appeals to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union to examine the situation created with coolness and to take the necessary measures to put them back to their normal state. . . . The Plenum of the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania are of the opinion that the remedying of this perilous malady requires the urgent intercession of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union on which the Party of Labour of Albania has had and continues to have abiding confidence».

In his speech on November 7, 1961 Comrade Enver Hoxha emphasized in the same spirit:

«With full serenity and with a clear conscience the Party of Labour of Albania appeals to the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, appeals to its newly-elected Central Committee, to consider with Leninist justice, objectively and serenely and pass unbiased judgement on the situation created between our two parties and our two countries. For the sake of the unity of the communist movement and the socialist camp, for the sake of the interests of our countries, our Party has always been willing to settle the existing differences. But it has always held and continues to hold the view that these matters should be settled right and only in a Marxist-Leninist way under conditions of equality and not those of imposition and dictation. We hope and trust in the justice of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.»

If the cause of the unity of the international communist movement and of the socialist camp is dear to N. Khrushchev and his group, if they were guided by the

desire to settle these differences and not to aggravate relations beyond repair, if logic and not the unbridled whim of one who insists on having his way exists, then reason would prevail. They say that the dumbest deaf-mute is the one who is unwilling to listen. And so it actually happened: they not only ignored the wise and earnest appeal which the Party of Labour of Albania made regardless of what was said at the 22nd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, but they went further and very far indeed, as far as to the unparalleled act of breaking diplomatic relations, an act which can be worthy only of one who says: «I am the boss, I do what I please, I care for nobody else's opinion». The unfortunate thing about this is that this «I» is today at the head of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and at the head of the Soviet Government, and that his revisionistic views and his acts cause great damage to the Communist Movement as a whole, to the socialist camp and to humanity at large.

The numerous facts of N. Khrushchev's anti-marxist attitude towards our Party and our country show clearly that his acts are deliberately directed against the PLA and the Albanian people, against Albanian-Soviet amity. But inspite of their relentless assaults and anti-marxist acts N. Khrushchev and his group have been unable to shake the solid basis of the sacred friendship of our country with the glorious Soviet Union. In spite of his unbridled assaults our Party has always maintained a just stand of principle towards our friendship with the Soviet Union. Whereas until recently the columns of the Soviet press maintained complete silence about the achievements of our people in socialist construction — as if the People's Republic of Albania and the Albanian people ceased to exist on the face of the globe and now they are filled with assaults and common place slanders towards our Party and our country (about 150 different articles assailing the Party of Labour of Albania have been published in the principal organs of Soviet propaganda since after the 22nd Congress) the PLA press writes continuously

about the achievements of the fraternal Soviet people in their construction of communism. The 4th Congress of the PLA was another clear proof that the line of our Party towards Albanian-Soviet friendship has been kept unaltered and based always on principle. «Friendship with the Soviet Union» the Resolution of the 4th Congress of the PLA stresses, «has been, is and will always continue to be the corner stone of our foreign policy. It has been wrought by our heroic Party in the thick of the fray for freedom, socialism and peace, it is based on the Marxist-Leninist principles of proletarian internationalism. The friendship with the Soviet Union will grow ever stronger and there is no force in the world that will be able to injure it. Just as our people have in the Soviet people and in the Communist Party of the Soviet Union their staunchest friend so can the Soviet people count on the Party of Labour and the people of Albania as their loyal friend». In the days to come, too, our Party will guard the friendship of our people with the fraternal Soviet people as a precious treasury and will do its utmost to strengthen it. It is our honest conviction that Albanian-Soviet friendship will always triumph over the anti-Albanian activity of N. Khrushchev and his men.

**N. Khrushchev's anti-marxist attitude towards the PLA is a direct consequence of his departure from Marxist-Leninist theory.**

Facts point out that all of N. Khrushchev's «efforts» with regard to the PLA have been and continue to be directed not towards settling the differences but towards aggravating Albanian-Soviet relations. Since after the Bucharest meeting N. Khrushchev and his group have made systematic and increasingly persistent efforts at first to reconcile our Party to his opportunist line and to his anti-marxist and refractory stand towards the socialist camp; then to inveigle it into silence about N. Khrushchev's anti-marxist views and doings; and later, to

compel the PLA, through impositions of all kinds to yield and finally, to eliminate and, if that is impossible, at least to isolate it. Every phase has its own means and method of approach and N. Khrushchev and his group have lots of them in store for use in order to impose themselves on others. The method which N. Khrushchev used and continues to use against the Party of Labour of Albania are an inevitable consequence of his departure from Marxist-Leninist theory, they are the other side of the medal which illustrates his true opportunistic and anti-marxist features.

N. Khrushchev's anti-marxist stand towards the PLA is not at all something casual and isolated. It constitutes only one of the links in the chain of his acts against the socialist camp and the international communist and workers' movement, which he tries to draw into his deeply opportunistic and revisionist ways, into ways of unprincipled concessions to imperialism, into the perilous ways of bourgeois pacifism. Through his view and acts he has created great confusion in the ranks of some Communist and Workers' Parties, a thing that cannot but weaken their positions, dicredits and compromises them. In order to attain his anti-marxist ends N. Khrushchev takes no account of consequences but deliberately goes on committing grave crimes that incur colossal losses to the entire communist movement of the world, to the great cause of socialism and communism. He is in fact splitting the socialist camp and the international communist movement. Are N. Khrushchev's unparalleled acts against the Party of Labour and the People's Republic of Albania not a clear enough proof of this? One must be deprived of the very rudiments of reason to say that such acts of N. Khrushchev and his group as their pressures and economic and political blockades against a socialist country like Albania, which went so far as to result in actual rupture of diplomatic relations with the People's Republic of Albania, serve to allegedly consolidate the unity of the Socialist Camp and the Communist Movement! But it is not towards the People's Republic of Albania alone that

N. Khrushchev maintains such an anti-marxist attitude. N. Khrushchev's anti-marxist group have often launched forth attacks of blackmail against the People's Republic of Albania but these have by no means been confined to our Party alone, they have been carried, out in the lobbies and behind the scenes and not against the PR of Albania alone.

N. Khrushchev and his anti-marxist group are daily plunging themselves deeper and deeper into perilous ways. They are embarking on fresher and graver crimes against the socialist camp and the communist movement. Our Party, like all other Marxist-Leninists throughout the world, is fully aware and deeply concerned about the serious peril that is threatening the cause of socialism and communism by N. Khrushchev's revisionist group's anti-marxist views and activity. Maintaining full responsibility before the Albanian people and international communism, the PLA deems it its lofty duty to carry on by all the means and possibilities within its reach, a relentless war of principle to safeguard the purity of marxism-leninism, the compactness of the socialist camp by Marxist-Leninist methods and by Marxist-Leninist methods alone. It is only through a determined war of principle that marxism-leninism can be safeguarded and protected from N. Khrushchev's revisionist attacks, only in this manner can be defended the Moscow Declaration of the 81 Communist and Workers' Parties, which N. Khrushchev's adherents are now scornfully calling a document «of limited clauses» which «cannot have the desired universal validity» (in other words: «a document of compromise of no value» as N. Khrushchev had labelled it in its draft form in October, 1960), only this way can the unity of the socialist camp, which N. Khrushchev's anti-marxist group is trampling under foot and seriously damaging, be maintained.

N. Khrushchev and his propagandists are trying in vain to reproach in a slanderous way our Party with anti-Soviet proclivities. Our Party does not confuse N. Khrushchev's anti-Marxist group with the Glorious Soviet Union

and with the fraternal Soviet people. To be friendly towards the Soviet Union and stand loyal to it does not mean to shut your eyes and to follow blindly in the anti-marxist footsteps of N. Khrushchev even when those footsteps lead to perdition and cause great damage to the Communist Movement, to the Socialist Camp and to the interests and prestige of the Soviet Union itself. Fighting against N. Khrushchev's anti-marxist views and doings, the PLA fights to safeguard Albanian-Soviet friendship. «A friend in need is a friend indeed,» as a popular Albanian saying goes. Our Party and our people have given tangib'le proof, not only in words but in deeds as well, that they are staunch friends of the Soviet Union and of the fraternal Soviet people, that they have stood, stand and will continue to stand firmly by the Soviet Union at every moment and under all circumstances, in days of joy and of sorrow. This has been, is and will always be our unwavering stand.

N. Khrushchev's propagandists are now trying to justify the attacks launched at the 22nd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and all the subsequent acts of the present Soviet leaders against the Party of Labour of Albania. But that is useless, for it is not a question of justifications but one of response, for people, communists throughout the world want to see justice done, want to know: «Why is the PLA so ruthlessly attacked, why does Khrushchev cause dissension in the Socialist Camp and to whose advantage is all this?» Instead of empty words of justification, N. Khrushchev's group should muster enough courage and pluck, which only Marxist-Leninists possess, to fully own and publicly condemn the anti-Marxist acts against the PLA, against the International Communist and Workers Movement, against the Socialist Camp, against the great cause of Socialism and Communism.

**(Article published in the newspaper «Zëri i Popullit»  
March 25, 1962).**

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