WHETHER ALBANIA IS A SOCIALIST COUNTRY OR NOT DOES NOT DEPEND ON KHRUSHCHEV, BUT HAS BEEN DECIDED BY THE ALBANIAN PEOPLE THROUGH THE WARS THEY HAVE FOUGHT AND THE BLOOD THEY HAVE SHED

From the conversation with Y. Andropov in Moscow

November 8, 1960

COMRADE ENVER HOXHA: I was informed today that Khrushchev had expressed the wish to meet me tomorrow at 11 a.m. I had decided to give a positive answer to this request, but today I read the Soviet document in which Albania does not figure as a socialist country.

Y. ANDROPOV: What document is this, I do not understand you, tell me concretely what material you mean, where this has been said?!

COMRADE ENVER HOXHA: This is the material of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union addressed to the Communist Party of China1.

Y. ANDROPOV: But why should you be concerned about it? This is a letter to China. What has China to do with Albania?

1 Reference here is to the 125-page letter of November 5, 1960, which the CC of the CPSU sent to the CC of the CP of China, in which it ignored the existence of the PR of Albania as a socialist country and maligned the Party of Labour of Albania.
COMRADE ENVER HOXHA: And this made my meeting with Khrushchev definitely impossible.

Y. ANDROPOV: I do not understand you. What is said about you in that material?

COMRADE ENVER HOXHA: Read it and you will see.

Y. ANDROPOV: I have read it and am very familiar with its content, since I myself participated in drawing it up. But your statement, Comrade Enver, is a very serious one.

COMRADE ENVER HOXHA: Yes, it is serious. Tell Khrushchev that whether Albania is a socialist country or not does not depend on Krushchev, but has been decided by the Albanian people themselves through the wars they have fought and the blood they have shed. This has been decided by the Party of Labour of Albania, which has marched, and will always march, on the Marxist-Leninist road.

Y. ANDROPOV: I do not understand you, Comrade Enver, that material is meant for China. What has it to do with Albania?

COMRADE ENVER HOXHA: I speak on behalf of my Homeland, my people, my country.

Y. ANDROPOV: This is a very serious statement, and I can only express my regret over it.

COMRADE ENVER HOXHA: We shall have the meeting of the parties, and there our Party will express its opinion. That’s all! Good bye!

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A. Mikoyan is the first to speak. Expressing his «regret» over the disagreements that have arisen between the CPSU and the Party of Labour of Albania, he accuses our Party of allegedly being the cause of these disagreements, of «not having the same trust as before...» in the CPSU. He complains of our officers' having allegedly completely changed their attitude towards the Soviet officers at the naval base of Vlora, and asks: «Do you want to leave the Warsaw Treaty?...», etc. He claims that the Soviet leadership allegedly stands for the clearing up of these «misunderstandings» in the best way. «Tell us,» he went on, «where our mistakes are, we shall not get angry. We get angry only when you talk behind our backs.»

1 This meeting with the delegation of the PLA, that was staying in Moscow, was requested by the Soviet leaders with a view to «persuading» our delegation not to raise at the Meeting of the 81 parties the questions about which the PLA did not agree with them, and particularly their anti-Marxist actions towards our country after the Bucharest Meeting.
COMRADE ENVER HOXHA: Tell us when and where we have said anything against you behind your backs. With us Albanians, it is not the custom to talk behind someone's back.

What you said concerning the military base of Vlora is not true. There is a close friendship between the Albanian and Soviet officers and men there. This was the case until the Bucharest Meeting, and from our side it is still so. The Central Committee of our Party has instructed our men at the Vlora base to maintain a correct attitude toward the Soviet personnel. But some of your sailors have even attacked ours. It has also issued instructions that these matters should be settled through the party basic organizations. An incident took place between an officer of our navy and a Soviet rear-admiral, who came from Sevastopol on an inspection and who was addicted to drink. Quite improperly, he got hold of one of our officers, a good comrade who had studied in the Soviet Union, and demanded that he tell him what was decided at the Plenum of the Central Committee, because, he said, «I will be giving lectures on this matter in Sevastopol and will be asked about it.» Our officer replied that the communiqué on the 18th Plenum of the Central Committee had been published in the newspaper,² so what more did he want? He took his hat and left and reported the matter to his commander. Your comrades had the rear-admiral on the mat; he begged our pardon, and the incident was closed.

Concerning the handing over of the submarines: our seamen were trained for two and a half years in Sevastopol, and they had distinguished themselves in firing practice. Our Staff and our seamen had prepared themselves to receive the submarines in a solemn manner. There is a

² «Zëri i popullit», organ of the CC of the PLA, September 9, 1960.
Soviet rear-admiral in our Staff. We do not know exactly what he is, but a rear-admiral he certainly is not. He said, «The submarines cannot be handed over to you because you are not trained.» The comrades of our Ministry of Defence questioned the validity of this statement. Were it necessary for our armymen to study for some months longer, they should have been informed about it. But the Soviet Staff itself had said that the Albanian crews had completed their training.

Then they told us that winter had come, that seas were stormy. Our comrades came here, to your admiralty, stated their case and received the reply that «the submarines would be handed over to them.» But again came the order from your people not to give them to us. When we were in Tirana, our Ministry of Defence sent a letter to Gorshkov, explained the matter in comradely terms, just as I put it to you. The letter said that if several more months were needed to train our seamen, you could tell us so. But the reason does not lie here.

A. MIKOYAN: And where does it lie?

COMRADE ENVER HOXHA: It is up to you to tell us this. But this is not the main problem... Let us come now to the question of our leaving the Warsaw Treaty, since you mentioned this at the start...

A. MIKOYAN: We did not, but such was the impression created.

COMRADE ENVER HOXHA: How can such an impression be created? On the basis of what a certain rear-admiral says?! Let us consider this question, for there are more serious things in it.

A. MIKOYAN: Really?! We know nothing of them.

COMRADE ENVER HOXHA: How is it that you know

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3 Soviet admiral, at that time Deputy-Minister of Defence of the USSR.
nothing of them? If this is the case, it is not right that your Central Committee does not know about them. Do you know that we have been threatened with expulsion from the Warsaw Treaty? Grechko\(^4\) made such a threat.

A. MIKOYAN: We know nothing about it. Tell us.

COMRADE ENVER HOXHA: We shall tell you all right, for it is a matter of principle. Two of your marshals, Malinovsky and Grechko, have said such a thing. You must know this.

COMRADE HYSNI KAPO: On October 22, I informed Polyansky of this.

A. MIKOYAN: You may not believe me, but I do not know.

COMRADE ENVER HOXHA: Since you put the matter in this way, that you know nothing about it, we must remind you that four months ago we wrote you a letter concerning your ambassador. Why did you not follow the Leninist practice of your party and reply to us?

F. KOZLOV: We shall send you another ambassador.

COMRADE ENVER HOXHA: You say so now, but why have you not written to us? We wrote to you four months ago, but have received no answer.

A. MIKOYAN: We did well not to answer you. And this is why: for 15 years now our ambassadors have been going to the party committees to ask for information. This has been so in Albania, too. Is it interference on the part of our ambassador to ask the chairman of the Central Auditing Commission\(^5\) about what went on at the Plenum\(^6\)?

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4 At that time commander-in-chief of the armed forces of the Warsaw Treaty.

5 Koço Tashko, who was discharged from his functions and expelled from the ranks of the Party for anti-party activity, breach of party discipline and organizational norms and distortion of its line.

6 The 17th Plenum of the CC of the PLA — July 11–12, 1960, which approved the activity of the delegation of the PLA at the Bucharest Meeting.
COMRADE ENVER HOXHA: Yes, it is interference and entirely impermissible. I can say that in our country nothing has been hidden from the Soviet personnel. For 16 years we have followed the practice of informing you about all important documents and decisions of the Central Committee of our Party or Government. Why have we done this? Because we have been sincere and frank with the Soviet Union and the CPSU. You have no right to accuse our Party of bad behaviour towards the CPSU. We have been very closely linked with the Soviet comrades, from the ambassador to the ordinary specialist. All doors have been open to them.

A. MIKOYAN, M. SUSLOV: Precisely, that is so.

COMRADE ENVER HOXHA: We think that perhaps no other party has behaved in this way towards the CPSU. Why have we done this? Because we have considered the CPSU as the party which, under Lenin's leadership, carried out the Great Socialist Revolution and was the first to open the way to socialism and communism.

We have had disagreements prior to the Bucharest Meeting, and we shall tell you about them. For example, on the question of Yugoslav revisionism. But we have gone about it in such a way that nothing has leaked out. Why have our relations deteriorated after Bucharest? What did we say at Bucharest? We expressed our attitude, stressing that the disagreements which were presented by Khrushchev at the Bucharest Meeting were over matters concerning the CPSU and the CP of China, and that the Party of Labour of Albania reserved the right to voice its opinion about them at the Moscow Meeting. Why, then, was our Party attacked?

We do not agree with the Bucharest Meeting, but we did nothing to make you change your attitude towards us one hundred per cent. First of all, your ambassador, whom we liked, behaved in a despicable manner towards us. After the Bucharest Meeting, and especially after his return from
Moscow, he began to attack us and behaved contemptuously towards us.

A. MIKOYAN: I had never thought he would go as far as that.

COMRADE ENVER HOXHA: That means you do not believe us. Do not forget that I am the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Party of Labour. I have been and am a friend of the Soviet Union. You can disbelieve me, but you believe your «chinovniki»*. What interest has the PLA in creating disagreements and saying false things about the ambassador of the Soviet Union?!

A. MIKOYAN: I believe that you are not interested in this. The ambassador has spoken no ill of you. Personally, he is a good man.

M. SUSLOV: But not very bright, especially politically.

A. MIKOYAN: Tell us, what should we do to improve our relations? We shall replace the ambassador.

COMRADE ENVER HOXHA: Things are not as simple as that. We do not maintain only diplomatic relations but also inter-party links, and these must be on a Marxist-Leninist basis. For example, ambassador Ivanov had contact with me. Why should he meet the Chairman of the Central Auditing Commission?

I am the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Party. Have I asked you why you expelled Zhukov? Up to now I know nothing. The Soviet ambassador has always come to ask me about the plenums of our Party, and I have informed him about them. He came and asked me about

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* Russian — bureaucratic officials of Tsarist Russia. Such bureaucratic officials were also cultivated by revisionism in the Soviet Union.

7 Member of the CC of the CPSU, Marshal of the Soviet Union, Minister of Defence of the USSR. While he was on a visit to the PR of Albania, the Khrushchev group discharged him from all functions and informed him of this as soon as he landed in Moscow upon his return from Albania.
the proceedings of this plenum. I told him what was to be told. Since the First Secretary of the CC of the Party told him that much, he should have gone home to bed. Otherwise, if your ambassador is going to get hold of one and the other, he and his friends are not diplomats and representatives of a socialist country, but intelligence agents. The staff of the embassy, through Bespalov, got hold of the chairman of the Auditing Commission and «worked» on him in two sessions. Then, for the third session, he was invited to dinner in the name of the ambassador, at the residence of the first secretary of the embassy. There were three of them: the ambassador, the counsellor and the secretary. And there our comrade, who 15 days before had agreed with the decision of the plenum, with the line of our Central Committee, was turned against the line of the Party. Now I ask you: can an ambassador be allowed to act in this manner and on his own responsibility?

We think that all these actions were aimed at creating disruption in our Party. Your ambassador went even further. At the airport, alluding to the Bucharest events, he asked our generals, «With whom will the army side?»

A. MIKOYAN, F. KOZLOV: He is a fool.

COMRADE ENVER HOXHA: I respect you, but we cannot swallow such «excuses», although we lack your experience.

The question of the invitation Khrushchev sent me is very important. First I decided to accept it. But when I read your material, the letter addressed to the Chinese comrades on November 5, I saw that Albania had been excluded from the socialist camp. All the countries of people's democracy of Europe are mentioned there with the exception of Albania.

M. SUSLOV: Neither is the Soviet Union mentioned there.

COMRADE ENVER HOXHA: What are you trying to
tell us? Were I in your place, I would admit that it is wrong. Ivanov has acted in this way, Grechko likewise, such things are written in the document, Khrushchev has told the Chinese delegation disgraceful things about Albania, but you admit nothing, whereas we have always been sincere with you. Kosygin did not behave well towards me in a conversation we had, either. He behaved as if he were an overlord. He said: «In your Party there are enemies that want to split us.»

This year, because of very unfavourable natural conditions, we were badly in need of bread grain. We had bread for only 15 days. We asked you for 50 thousand tons of wheat. We waited for 45 days but received no reply. Then we bought it in France with convertible currency. The French merchant came immediately to Albania to size up the situation. He asked, «How is such a thing possible? Albania has never bought grain from the Western countries, and the Soviet Union is selling grain everywhere.» In order to dispel his doubts we told him, «The Soviet Union has given us grain, that is, maize, but we use it to feed pigs.» We know where you sell your grain, where the Rumanians, the Germans sell theirs: to England and elsewhere. You imposed conditions, and we were obliged to offer you gold to buy the bread grain we needed.

A. MIKOYAN: We have not refused to supply you with grain. I know that grain has been shipped to you every month. You proposed to our people to pay in gold, and they accepted. Why should we want your currency?!

COMRADE ENVER HOXHA: Comrade Pospyelov, when you were in Albania, you saw what love our people nurture for the Soviet Union. But now you seek this love from Koço Tashko and Liri Belishova, and not from us.

The tactic you are following is completely wrong. You should have talked with me before you wrote those things
in the letter I mentioned. But when you accuse our Party and its leadership of being anti-Soviet, of being criminal, and, as you say, of resorting to "Stalinist methods", and now, after you have made all these public accusations, you want to talk with me; this I cannot accept.

A. MIKOYAN: We invited you to talk earlier but you refused.

COMRADE ENVER HOXHA: The matter is not as you say. I had taken some days off. It was only partly a vacation, because I was working on the report for the Congress of the Party.\(^8\) Comrade Hysni Kapo told me that Ivanov had informed him that if he wished, Comrade Enver could go to rest in the Soviet Union. But he did not tell me anything about the meeting with Khrushchev.

COMRADE HYSNI KAPO: In regard to your letter, in which you invited us to hold talks, it was quite clear what we were going to talk about.

COMRADE ENVER HOXHA: The letter said that we should meet to discuss the question of China.

A. MIKOYAN: Not the question of China. The word "China" is not even mentioned there.\(^9\) You refused to meet us.

COMRADE MEHMET SHEHU: How can such a thing be denied! How can you behave in such a way towards our country! Shame on you, Comrade Kozlov, that you allow

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\(^8\) Reference here is to the 4th Congress of the PLA, which it had been decided to hold in November 1960. Later, due to the Meeting of the 81 communist and workers' parties in Moscow, it was postponed until February 1961.

\(^9\) A downright lie on the part of Mikoyan. The letter of August 13th that the CC of the CPSU sent to the CC of the PLA said expressly: «The Meeting of the representatives of the communist and workers' parties held in Bucharest showed that between the Communist Party of China and the other sister parties there is a different understanding of a series of important problems of the international situation and the tactics of the communist parties...»
yourself to present small Albania with an ultimatum: «Either with us or with China»!

F. KOZLOV: When your delegation passed through here, I said only that I was surprised at Comrade Kapo’s position. Your stand was different from that of other parties. We have treated you so very well. When Comrade Enver spoke in Leningrad, he said that the Albanian people feel that they are not one million but 201 million.

COMRADE ENVER HOXHA: I still say it too, but not if you ignore China. Both you and we should be for the unity of the camp, for a billion-strong camp. We love the Soviet Union, but we love China, too. Why is it, Kozlov, that since Bucharest you speak of «zigzags» by our Party and ask with whom we will side, «with the 200 or the 600 million»? At a meeting at which the ambassadors of other countries were present, you said that a single bomb would be enough to turn Albania into dust and ashes...

COMRADE HYSNI KAPO: You say that we allegedly talk behind your backs. But on October 22, Khrushchev told the Chinese delegation that from then on he would maintain the same stand with respect to Albania as to Yugoslavia.

Y. ANDROPOV: That is how things stood: in a conversation we had with the Chinese comrades, Comrade Khrushchev said that some Albanian leaders are dissatisfied because the question of Berlin is not yet settled.

CCMRADE ENVER HOXHA: And I am the one who said it, too. After Khrushchev returned from Paris, Ivanov asked me about the Berlin question. I answered: «In my personal opinion, imperialism has been shaken, our positions are strong, and in America there is a favourable political situation that could be utilized for the settlement of the Berlin question.» This was my personal opinion.

A. MIKOYAN: There is nothing wrong with that, but
not as someone, who offended us, put it, saying to our officers: «Berlin scared you, you did not keep your word,» etc...

Y. ANDROPOV: It is in connection with these words that Khrushchev said that we have had good relations with the Albanians, but now, as things stand, we cannot trust them. We lost Albania...

COMRADE ENVER HOXHA: Even in these terms, this is not in the least comradely. What has the Bolshevik Party taught us? All these things have a source. Marxism-Leninism does not recognize that events can develop spontaneously. Hence, you should go thoroughly into these matters. What are the reasons that things came to this state after the Bucharest Meeting? We think it is up to you to tell us.

A. MIKOYAN: We may be wicked, but we are not fools. Why should we want our relations with you to become worse?

COMRADE ENVER HOXHA: We have asked this question, too. Apart from the fact that we have not been wrong, but even if we had, why did the CPSU, which has seen many things, not show a little patience with us Albanians; why did its leadership not say: «Well, the Albanians have made a mistake, but let us see what they have to say tomorrow, after they have thought things over»?

You should know, comrades, that we regret when we see all these things which are occurring in the attitude of the leaders and other Soviet officials towards Albania and our Party of Labour. We say to you that the unhealthy spirit that exists among your people in Albania should be completely eliminated. Since the Bucharest Meeting, seeing what Ivanov and company are doing, I have not met and will not meet your people in Tirana.

A. MIKOYAN: It’s your cadres who have changed their attitude towards us. The Central Committee of our Party is
not mentioned. Khrushchev is mentioned only as a blunderer.

**COMRADE ENVER HOXHA:** I must tell you in a com-
radely way that Khrushchev often accuses us of being
«hot-headed». But Khrushchev himself should keep his
tongue in leash, because every state, every person has his
dignity. He has said that you will treat Albania the same
as Yugoslavia.

**P. POSPYELOV:** With his sharp replies at the Buch-
arest Meeting, Comrade Kapo was not in order, either.

**COMRADE ENVER HOXHA:** Even now we do not
agree with the Bucharest Meeting, as you organized it.

**A. MIKOYAN:** The Bucharest Meeting is another issue.
Now the question is whether our relations should be im-
proved or not. Comrade Khrushchev said today in his
speech that we shall maintain friendship even with those
parties with which we have differences. We must meet
and talk things over.

**COMRADE ENVER HOXHA:** We are not against meet-
ings. But we ask the comrades of the leadership of the
CPSU to be more careful, because to distribute among 80
and more parties a document in which Albania is not includ-
ed among the socialist countries, and then invite us to
«come and talk», is completely unacceptable to us.

**M. SUSLOV, A. MIKOYAN:** Let's meet and talk about
how we can improve our relations.

**COMRADE ENVER HOXHA:** We, too, seek to improve
our relations.

**M. SUSLOV:** But not in that tone.

**COMRADE ENVER HOXHA:** I want to give you a
piece of advice: Put out of your mind that we are hot-
headed. When Marxism-Leninism and the interests of our
people are at stake, we shall defend them ardently.
WE HAVE FOUGHT EMPTY-BELLIED AND BARE-FOOTED, BUT HAVE NEVER KOWTOWED TO ANYBODY

Conversation of the delegation of the PLA, headed by Comrade Enver Hoxha, at the meeting with Khrushchev in the Kremlin, Moscow

November 12, 1960

KHRUSHCHEV: You have the floor, we are listening.

COMRADE ENVER HOXHA: You have invited us. The host should speak first.

KHRUSHCHEV: We accept the Albanians’ terms.

I do not understand what has happened since my visit to Albania in 1959! Had you been dissatisfied with us even then, I must have been a block-head and very naive not to have realized it. At that time we had nothing but nice words to say, apart from some jokes, like the one I made with Comrade Mehmet Shehu about the poplars.

COMRADE ENVER HOXHA: If this is intended to

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1 On November 12, 1960, the delegation of the PLA agreed to meet the representatives of the CPSU once more. Also present from the Soviet side at this meeting were A. Mikoyan, F. Kozlov and Y. Andropov.

2 The sole criticism Khrushchev managed to make during his stay in Albania in May 1959 was that the poplars along our roads should be replaced with fig-trees and plums!...
open up conversation, it is another matter. The joke about the poplars is out of place here.

KHRUSHCHEV: What other reason could there be then, why have you changed your attitude towards us?

COMRADE ENVER HOXHA: It is not we who have changed our attitude, but you. We have had disagreements on previous occasions, as for example, over the stand to be taken towards the Yugoslav revisionists. But this change of attitude occurred after the Bucharest Meeting, and precisely on your part.

KHRUSHCHEV: I want to get one thing clear. I thought that we had no disagreements over Yugoslavia. You have spoken more than we have about this problem. We, too, have written about it, but dispassionately. We have stressed that the more is said against them, the more their value would be increased. And that is what happened.

COMRADE ENVER HOXHA: In our opinion, that is not so.

KHRUSHCHEV: I speak for us. But I want to ask you: in what tone shall we speak? If you do not want our friendship, then tell us so.

COMRADE ENVER HOXHA: We want to be friends always. We want to talk in a friendly way. But this does not mean that we should see eye to eye with you on all matters.

KHRUSHCHEV: Three times we have invited you to talks. Do you want to break off our relations?!

COMRADE ENVER HOXHA: It is you who caused the deterioration of our relations after the Bucharest Meeting. We have pointed out many facts to your comrades. They should have told you.

KHRUSHCHEV: I do not quite understand this; I had no conflict with Hysni Kapo at Bucharest. He said that he was not authorized by your Central Committee to take a definite stand on the questions under discussion.
COMRADE HYSNI KAPO: At Bucharest I expressed the stand of our Party that the Bucharest Meeting was premature and held in contravention of the Leninist organizational rules, that the disagreements discussed were disagreements between the CPSU and the CP of China, and that the Party of Labour of Albania would express its opinion on these matters at a future meeting. Thereupon, you said that you were amazed at the stand taken by the Party of Labour of Albania. You said this both at the meeting of the 12 parties of the socialist countries and at the broader meeting of 50 and more parties. In reality, we had told you our stand before we spoke at the meeting of the 12 parties. I had spoken with Andropov about this. After he informed you of our talk, you told him to tell the Albanians that they must think things over and change their stand.

COMRADE ENVER HOXHA: The Central Committee of our Party has never accepted the Bucharest Meeting. From the very beginning, I was fully informed of all that was going on at Bucharest.

KHRUSHCHEV: This is of no great importance. The point is that even before the Bucharest Meeting you were not in agreement with us, but you said nothing about this to us. And we considered you as friends. I am to blame for having trusted you so much.

COMRADE MEHMET SHEHU: I ask Comrade Khrushchev to recall our talks of 1957. We spoke to you with open hearts about all the problems, including that of the activity of the Yugoslav revisionists. You listened to us, then after a telling reply to you by Comrade Enver, you rose to your feet and said, «Do you want to put us back on Stalin’s road!» That means that you knew long ago that we thought about the Yugoslav revisionists differently from you. You knew this at least as early as April 1957. But you should also remember that in 1955, when you were about to go to Yugoslavia, we replied to your letter
in which you suggested changing the attitude that should be maintained towards the Yugoslav revisionists, that the problem should first be analysed by the Information Bureau which should make the decision.

A. MIKOYAN: Yes, that is what happened.

KHRUSHCHEV: You say that new people with little experience have come to power in the Soviet Union. Do you want to teach us?

COMRADE ENVER HOXHA: No, there is no need. This is an internal question of yours. But do you know what your ambassador has said? Other things apart, I shall tell you only one fact that has to do with the army. He has asked to whom the Albanian army will be loyal. This question he addressed to our generals at the airport, in the presence of one of your generals. Our officers replied that our army would be loyal to Marxism-Leninism, to the Party of Labour and socialism.

KHRUSHCHEV: If our ambassador said such a thing, he was foolish.

COMRADE ENVER HOXHA: Yes, but this is political foolishness.

KHRUSHCHEV: This is every sort of foolishness.

A. MIKOYAN: Do you think that such behaviour by our ambassador expressed our line?

COMRADE ENVER HOXHA: A fool’s foolishness, even of a political character, may be excused once, but when it is repeated many times over, then it is a line.

KHRUSHCHEV: Yes, that is true.

COMRADE ENVER HOXHA: Your ambassador has been a friend of our Party, and ours personally. He was no fool. He committed this «foolishness» following the Bucharest Meeting. Why did he not display such «foolishness» prior to the Bucharest Meeting, during the three consecutive years he stayed in Albania? That is astonishing!

A. MIKOYAN: It is not astonishing, but previously he
used to receive information from you regularly and had not seen such behaviour on your part.

**COMRADE ENVER HOXHA:** It seems to me that you said that he did not know that there were disagreements between us...

**A. MIKOYAN:** Comrade Enver told us that previously he used to tell Ivanov everything, but later he did not: Hence the changes in the behaviour of the ambassador. We discussed these things.

**COMRADE ENVER HOXHA:** If we have discussed these things, as Mikoyan says, then why are we sitting here? If, after discussing matters, we say that we do not agree with you, you can then say to us, «We have discussed these things.»

**A. MIKOYAN:** But we recalled our ambassador. Why do you inflate this matter?

**COMRADE ENVER HOXHA:** All right, we will leave the ambassador aside, but what you have written about Albania and the Party of Labour in your letter to the Chinese comrades is monstrous.

**A. MIKOYAN:** We have expressed our opinion.

**COMRADE RAMIZ ALIA:** You publicly accuse us of anti-Sovietism. *(He reads page 46 of the letter.)*

**KHRUSHCHEV:** This is our opinion. You must not get angry.

**COMRADE MEHMET SHEHU:** You attack us, and we should not get angry.

**KHRUSHCHEV:** We are sorry about what happened with these people.3 You do not agree. I did not know

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3 Koço Tashko and Liri Belishova, the latter ex-member of the Political Bureau of the CC of the PLA, who capitulated to the flattery and blackmail of the Soviet leaders and put herself in open opposition to the line of the Party. For her anti-party and hostile stand she was dismissed from all functions and expelled from the Party.
Koço Tashko. I may perhaps have seen him, but even if you were to show me his photo, I would not remember him.

COMRADE ENVER HOXHA: If you want his photo, we may send it to you.

KHRUSHCHEV: I know Belishova less than you do. I know that she was a member of your Political Bureau. She told us about the talk she had had in China. Kosygin told Comrade Mehmet this when Mehmet was in Moscow, and when he heard it he went white with rage. She was a courageous woman; she told us openly what she felt. This is a tragedy; you expelled her because she stood for friendship with us! That is why we wrote about this in the document.

COMRADE ENVER HOXHA: That is to say, you consider what has been written here, in your material, to be correct?

KHRUSHCHEV: Yes, we do.

COMRADE ENVER HOXHA: There are two points here. First, you say that we expelled a member of the Political Bureau in an undemocratic way. Who told you that this was done not according to democratic rules and Leninist norms, but according to «Stalinist methods», as you call them?! Second, you say that we expelled her for pro-Sovietism, and that implies that we are anti-Soviet. Can you explain this to us?

KHRUSHCHEV: If you have come here intending to disagree with us and break off relations, say so openly and we won’t waste time.

COMRADE ENVER HOXHA: You did not answer our question. And you have distributed this material to all the parties.

KHRUSHCHEV: To those parties to which the Chinese have distributed their material.

COMRADE ENVER HOXHA: And we have our point
of view which does not coincide with yours. Two or three times you have raised the question of whether we are for friendship or for breaking off relations. We came here to strengthen our friendship. But you admit none of your mistakes. You have made criticism of us, and so have we of you. You have criticized us on the quiet and publicly, before all. You may have other criticisms. Tell us, and we shall tell you ours, so that our central committees may know them. The Central Committee of our Party has sent us here to strengthen our friendship.

KHRUSHCHEV: One of your comrades told our armymen that Khrushchev was not a Marxist.

COMRADE ENVER HOXHA: In connection with the question of the armymen, we have talked with your comrades. How could it be in our interest to have our armymen quarrel at the Vlora base! And now you produce «documents» to the effect that one of our comrades has allegedly said this and that. Have a good look at your armymen. I told Mikoyan that your rear-admiral at the Vlora naval base is not a rear-admiral.

KHRUSHCHEV: We can dismantle the base if you like.

COMRADE ENVER HOXHA: Then what Malinovsky and Grechko have said turns out to be true. Are you trying to threaten us? If the Soviet people hear that you want to dismantle the Vlora base, at a time when it is serving the defence of Albania and the other socialist countries of Europe, they will not forgive you for this...

KHRUSHCHEV: Comrade Enver, don’t raise your voice!

COMRADE ENVER HOXHA: If you dismantle the base you will be making a big mistake. We have fought empty-bellied and bare-footed, but have never kowtowed to anybody.

KHRUSHCHEV: The submarines are ours.
COMRADE ENVER HOXHA: Yours and ours, we are fighting for socialism. The territory of the base is ours. About the submarines we have signed agreements which recognize the rights of the Albanian state. I defend the interests of my country.

A. MIKOYAN: Your tone is such as if Khrushchev has given you nothing. We have talked among ourselves about the base. Khrushchev was not for dismantling it. I said to him, if our officers go on quarreling with the Albanians, why should we keep the base?

COMRADE MEHMET SHEHU: You have treated us as enemies. Even here in Moscow you have carried out intelligence activities against us. You know this very well.4

COMRADE ENVER HOXHA: As the question was put here, we might just as well discuss it at the Warsaw Treaty. I want to say that while such a thing has occurred to you, it has never crossed our minds. And then, you say: «We shall dismantle it if you like.» Relations between the Albanians and the Soviet personnel at the Vlora base have always been good. Only since the Bucharest Meeting have some incidents taken place, and they were caused by your officers who were not in order. If you insist, we can call together the Warsaw Treaty. But the Vlora base is ours and will remain ours.

KHRUSHCHEV: You flare up in anger. You spat on me; no one can talk to you.

COMRADE ENVER HOXHA: You always say that we are hot-headed.

KHRUSHCHEV: You distort my words. Does your interpreter know Russian?

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4 The reference is to the bugging devices installed secretly by the Soviet revisionists both at the residence of the delegation of the PLA in Zarechye of Moscow and in the offices of the Embassy of the PR of Albania in Moscow.
COMRADE ENVER HOXHA: Don't carp at the interpreter. He knows Russian very well. I respect you and you should respect me.

KHRUSHCHEV: That is just how MacMillan wanted to talk to me.

COMRADE MEHMET SHEHU AND HYSNI KAPO: Comrade Enver is not MacMillan, so take that back!

KHRUSHCHEV: But where shall I put it?

COMRADE MEHMET SHEHU: Put it in your pocket.

COMRADE HYSNI KAPO: (addressing the comrades of our delegation) I do not agree that the talks should be conducted like this.

Comrade Enver Hoxha and the other comrades rise and leave the room.