I shall try to be brief, since the contributions of the comrades of the Plenum to this great problem, so decisive for the defence of Marxism-Leninism and the line of our Party, were at the proper level and supplemented the report submitted to the Plenum on behalf of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee very well.

First of all I want to emphasize that what we did in Moscow, where we put forward the line of our Party, is not a personal merit of mine or of our delegation only, but it is the merit of our entire Party, and in particular, of its leadership, the Central Committee, which has always led the Party correctly, has always analysed the situations in the light of Marxism-Leninism, has always remained loyal to our glorious theory, has carried out to the letter all the correct decisions that have been adopted and, likewise, has

1 At this Plenum Comrade Enver Hoxha submitted the report «On the Meeting of the Representatives of the Communist and Workers’ Parties Held in November 1960 in Moscow». The Plenum fully and unanimously endorsed the activity of the delegation of the CC of the PLA at that meeting.
known how to transmit these decisions properly to the Party and to arm it powerfully. For these reasons the whole general line of our Party has achieved great successes. Hence, we should be clear that the credit for this belongs to the Central Committee and our entire heroic Party.

The revisionists may think and say that, if our Party were to learn about the stand our delegation maintained at the international meeting in Moscow, it would not tolerate its Central Committee. But none of us has the slightest doubt about the steel-like unity existing in our leadership, the steel-like unity of our Party around the Central Committee and the Political Bureau. This constitutes the great strength of our Party, and this unity has made it possible for our Party to contribute to the defence of Marxism-Leninism at an international level, too. In this regard, of course, we have done nothing but our duty as a Marxist party, as internationalists. With this correct concept of its duty, which is characteristic of our Party, we are firmly convinced that all of us, in solid unity, will exert all our strength to apply Marxism-Leninism precisely, through to the end, unwaveringly and in all circumstances.

As the comrades said, we are confronted with a great and difficult struggle. We all are aware of the struggle which awaits us, but we are not afraid. We do not say this out of the desire to give one another courage; the whole life of our Party has demonstrated this, the recent events, especially, have proved this. In its principled, consistent stand, defending its correct line, i.e., Marxism-Leninism, our Party took no heed of either the current difficulties or those of the future. Thus, difficulties and the struggle do not frighten us. This is a Marxist characteristic. We have not been nor will we ever be pessimistic about the future. On the contrary, we will be optimistic, for we are convinced that Marxism will always triumph over opportunism and revisionism, as well as over imperialism.
But why is this struggle difficult? Because, when we say that we are confronted with modern revisionism, we mean not only that we are confronted with Yugoslav revisionism, which the Moscow Declaration describes as the essence of modern revisionism, but that we are facing even more dangerous revisionists. For the sake of appearances, everyone, even the other revisionists, even Khrushchev and company who are such themselves, admitted this. They did this to camouflage themselves, choosing the lesser of two evils. Otherwise, it would have looked a bit fishy and what they sought to conceal would have been exposed. They have put up a fight and will continue to do so in the future, too, resorting to all sorts of tricks to camouflage themselves.

These people proposed that nothing should be said about Yugoslav revisionism in the Declaration, and only after a prolonged struggle did they agree to the inclusion of this issue. But revisionism is not concentrated in Yugoslavia alone. It is a dangerous trend in the whole international communist movement. It has become dangerous especially because of the efforts of the opportunists to tranquilize the people by spreading the idea that revisionism exists in Yugoslavia alone, hence, they fight to confine the struggle just to Yugoslavia. In this way international revisionism is causing great confusion and will continue to do so in the future, it will try to conceal this serious danger which is threatening the international communist movement, and will go on confusing and deceiving other people in the future. Faced with this danger, one of the Marxist-Leninist parties which must and will wage a stern and consistent struggle against revisionism, is our Party.

It is a fact that we are not alone in this struggle. When Khrushchev said to the representatives of the Communist Party of China that, «We shall treat Albania the same as Yugoslavia», or that, «The Albanians behave towards us
just like Tito», he was bluffing and could deceive nobody. Tito is not Khrushchev's enemy, but we are. But, since the Yugoslav revisionists have been condemned, against Khrushchev's will, by the international communist movement as traitors to and renegades from Marxism-Leninism, then Khrushchev and Co., while not defending them directly, strive to smear the positions of the genuine Marxists and to put the «dogmatists», in reality those who defend the principles of Marxism-Leninism, on a par with the revisionists, with whom, as Marxism teaches us, one fine day Khrushchev and those who follow him will reach complete agreement on the course they are pursuing. So Khrushchev says that we Albanians are not revisionists but «dogmatists», and that allegedly we fight the Soviets the same as the Titoites, that is to say, according to him, he and his cronies are allegedly Marxists, whereas we constitute the «left» wing of Marxism: «Therefore,» he says, «both Tito from the right and the Albanians from the left are fighting against us, the Marxists.»

But, it is not the revisionists who are the enemies of Khrushchev and his entire group. Life is demonstrating that only the Marxists are the enemies of this group. The Political Bureau emphasizes that, following his advent to power, Khrushchev and his revisionist group had worked out a complete plan: Marxism-Leninism would be negated and all those trends and persons that had been unmasked, attacked and defeated as anti-Marxists, or who had been liquidated by Marxism-Leninism in action, were to be rehabilitated; the entire struggle of the Soviet Union and of the CPSU against renegades from Marxism-Leninism, a struggle which was personified in the CPSU(B) led by Lenin and Stalin, was to be negated.

This meant that both Lenin and Stalin had to be attacked. But to attack Lenin was impossible for them; it would have been a great catastrophe for the revision-
ists, therefore they confined themselves to Stalin and they dragged out a thousand and one things against him. Today it has become even clearer that these intrigues, liars, opportunists and revisionists are doing all these things openly, devising all these villanies in the international communist movement, organizing disgraceful behind-the-scenes plots within the fraternal parties.

Seeing all these despicable methods which the revisionists use, our Party is fully convinced that such monstrous accusations and slanders were brought against Stalin to discredit both him as a person, and the work of this great Marxist-Leninist. The revisionist, career-seeking, non-Marxist elements in the Soviet Union have accepted these concoctions. They have accepted the theses of Khrushchev and his group concerning «Stalin's mistakes», and so on.

The Political Bureau emphasizes that the Soviet leadership headed by Khrushchev tried to rehabilitate the Tito clique, and this is a fact. We should not be taken in by the variations and zigzags. For he has not been able to avoid them since he was not in a position to change the situation in a single day; there were sound Marxist-Leninist forces in the party who did not allow him to follow his course at the speed he would have desired, so that he and his group could carry out their plans immediately. But it is a fact that he has made every effort to completely rehabilitate all the enemies of Marxism-Leninism condemned up till then in the Soviet Union. He dug up accusations against Stalin, such as whether or not Kamenyev and Zinoviev, who had betrayed Lenin, should have been executed. Whether or not it was Stalin who shot these traitors, they were shot for the treason they had committed against the Soviet Union and communism. Now Khrushchev is dragging out all these things and striving to rehabilitate such people. Therefore, in order to rehabilitate the Yugoslav revisionists, too, he had to fabricate all sorts of lies against Stalin.
We should have no illusions at all that the line of Khrushchev and his group will change. This line will not change in the least in regard to international policy and its defence of revisionism. Khrushchev and his group are on a revisionist course. This stand of his has had and will have grave repercussions in the international arena.

But will Khrushchev and his group succeed in their plans? We are fully convinced that they will not be successful. Nevertheless we shall encounter many difficulties on our course. We must keep his policy in mind and deal with it very carefully, since he is no ordinary revisionist, but a wily devil and a skilful acrobat to boot. If we carefully analyse his activity since he came to power, we shall see that he has captured key positions everywhere, has used all sorts of methods to disguise himself, and is continuing to do his dangerous work. In the beginning, through his jugglings, he managed to create a situation which prevented the emergence of any opposition, he took up a few slogans about international political life and the development of the economy, and blazoned them far and wide with enough clamour to confuse people for a moment.

He followed this tactic in the Soviet Union as well, by preaching a sort of change, right down to the way people live. He trumpeted that, in Stalin's time, the life of the working people in the Soviet Union was hell, whereas now Khrushchev has become the «promoter of a new life, democratic and rich from the economic aspect». Then he also raised the question of peace in the world, which he was going to «impose» on the imperialists, etc.

This policy was loudly propagated right from the start of his career, when his instructions had not yet yielded their fruit. Words there were a plenty, but nothing came of them. All this was done in order to prepare the ground and create a favourable situation. Khrushchev continued to follow this road.
This course has had grave repercussions in international policy. It has lulled people to sleep in the face of the imperialist danger, the revisionist danger, and all the other opportunist trends menacing international communism.

With his views and his opportunist and revisionist policy, Khrushchev has aroused and activated all the revisionist elements, therefore he has become very dangerous. The revisionists who existed in the past in other countries did not make their presence felt, not because they were terrified of Stalin, not because he would have them shot, for in Bulgaria, Albania and elsewhere, even if Stalin had wanted to, or had really been as Khrushchev is presenting him now, they were out of his reach; they did not make their presence felt because at that time, in all the parties there was a correct Marxist-Leninist line, which did not allow revisionism to become active.

Yugoslav revisionism was exposed and condemned by the CPSU and by Stalin. This line was embraced by all the other parties. When Khrushchev and company came to power, all the revisionists saw that in them they had a powerful support, because these people were at the head of the Soviet Union. Therefore now it can be seen that during this period within many Marxist-Leninist parties which have had a consistent stand, people of opportunist-revisionist trends have raised their heads and even managed to have themselves elected to the leadership of some parties.

For a while Khrushchev thought that he would push through his line without resistance, therefore he was reckless in the propagation of his views, both in the internal economic and organizational measures which were taken in the Soviet Union and in its international policy. Thus, in pursuing his opportunist and revisionist line, he would say whatever came into his head and made repeated concessions to imperialism. In words, you may threaten the imperialists as much as you like, but they are no fools, they make their
calculations well, judge others not only by their declarations and tactics, but also by their means and forces. The imperialists also have the assistance of the revisionists who know the concrete reality in our countries.

It is a fact that ever since Nikita Khrushchev and his group came to power, imperialism has made no concessions at all. On the contrary, it has armed itself even more and is preparing for war. We are absolutely right when we say that the camp of socialism and the forces of peace are much more powerful than those of imperialism. But these forces can be weakened if we slacken our vigilance, if we do not defend Marxism-Leninism resolutely, if we do not put a stop to these actions of the revisionists and do not ceaselessly expose imperialism and revisionism, if we do not educate the people politically and do not arm them so that they are always ready to cope with any possible danger.

It is clear that the methods used by Nikita Khrushchev and those who assist him result in reduced vigilance towards this danger. Therefore, as the report of the Political Bureau points out, the time came when we could wait no longer, we could go no further by these methods. When the Soviet leaders say, «you started the fight», etc., they are telling lies, trying to cover their tracks. The main thing is that they began to follow an opportunist line, which has become more and more pronounced since the time they seized power.

Their defence consists only of accusations against others of having said this and that. But it doesn’t hold water. We see that ever since they came to power, they have been following a revisionist line and working to weaken the struggle against imperialism, the vigilance of the peoples and help revisionism gain control of the international communist movement.

Now, however, we have said stop! to this whole
business. Thus, the whole opportunist line, with Khrushchev at the head, was endangered. He wanted to defeat the Marxist-Leninist resistance to his line in an opportunist way. He thought that this resistance in the Soviet Union would be broken by bringing out the question of Stalin, by condemning the «cult» of the individual around Stalin. He thought, too, that, in the international communist movement, there were enough forces available to strike a decisive blow at the Marxist-Leninist attack against this opportunist line. This was clearly evident at the Bucharest Meeting where efforts were made to condemn and liquidate the situation which was hindering them, but, as we know, they failed.

Our Party played an important role at the Bucharest Meeting. It was the only party to oppose what was being done there. And thenceforth the hostility against us, until then covert, came out in the open. From this we can judge how grave and damaging to them was the stand of our Party.

We must have complete confidence that the situation Khrushchev has created in many communist parties of Europe, which he has managed to win over to his side, is a temporary one. We base this conviction on the strength of Marxism-Leninism. However, for the time being, he has created this unhealthy situation by bringing people with opportunist-revisionist views into the leadership of a number of parties by one means or another. In these favourable conditions which he had created for himself, apart from the great Communist Party of China, there was a small Party, too, which realized the danger of this line, and stood up to say resolutely: «Stop! I am not with you at this point, I do not support the course you are pursuing!»

Up till now, in the interests of the international communist movement, we, too, have used tactics, but now that Khrushchev seeks to deal blows at the sound part of the international communist movement and compel it to follow
his opportunist line, we say to him, "Stop!" Of course, to them this is a great loss.

But the situation became more complicated for them at the Moscow Meeting. The Moscow Meeting did not proceed as they had envisaged. The proof of this is the Moscow Declaration, which is a good document, approved by all. Naturally, had there existed a healthy situation, a more fiery, more militant declaration would have come out of it. However, this document is acceptable and it must be understood correctly, just as it is.

Now the question arises: Can it be said that these people who signed such a document will change? We must say to the Central Committee that they will not change their line. This is implied from the words Khrushchev said, which were mentioned in the report, and which should not be forgotten. In connection with the Declaration he said that "it is a compromise document". To Khrushchev this is a compromise, because he is entering another phase, but our tactics, too, are now entering another phase.

All the Marxist-Leninist communist and workers' parties ardently loved the Soviet Union, the CPSU and the leadership of the CPSU, with Stalin at the head, and had unshakeable trust in them. This was a well-deserved, correct, Marxist-Leninist trust. When the Khrushchev group came to power, it no longer found that warmth in the hearts of the Albanian communists and those of the other countries as before. We continued to nurture the same feelings of love and trust as before for the Soviet Union and the CPSU, with the difference that, basing ourselves on the events taking place there, we said that injustice was being done in the CPSU, that the line was being distorted there. In the beginning there were a number of ill-defined things, but later they became concrete.

Even in this phase, we preserve our love for the Soviet Union, but over this time we have seen and understood that
the leadership of the CPSU was moving to the right, towards an opportunist, revisionist course. Under these conditions, we adopted the tactic of keeping silent in public, especially before world public opinion. This was a correct tactic of our leadership, which did not adopt it by accident. Its aim was to defend Marxism-Leninism, to defend the line of our Party.

But what is our line? Struggle against revisionism and any opportunist or dogmatic trend which attacks and aims at the destruction of Marxism-Leninism, ideological and political exposure of imperialism and Yugoslav revisionism and of every kind of revisionism, sharpening of vigilance, arming and permanent readiness to deal with any eventual danger, and unbreakable friendship with all the communist and workers' parties and with the countries of the camp of socialism, regardless of whether Khrushchev, Zhivkov, Gomulka, and others like or dislike our line. That is to say, we have not made political or ideological concessions in our line, it was they who made concessions. We have tried resolutely to defend our line and our love for the CPSU and the Soviet Union, but with Khrushchev and Co., we have not been and are not in agreement. This they have understood and know.

Now a new stage, which the Bucharest and Moscow Meetings opened, has been reached. In this stage too, their tactics have taken and will take new forms. But our tactics too, will not mark time; they will be adapted to the development of events, but we shall always continue our resolute defence of Marxism-Leninism, we shall expose all the enemies of Marxism-Leninism.

After the Bucharest Meeting and especially after the Moscow Meeting, the positions of these people, who thought that they had won, have been shaken. Of this nobody has any doubt. Nikita Khrushchev can no longer cut a great figure on the throne he had seized in the international
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communist movement, because of the principled struggle waged by our Party and by many other parties which maintained a Marxist-Leninist stand.

These stands are of great historic importance, for they said stop! to Khrushchev. They shook his positions among the various parties to their foundations, although he had thought them impregnable.

But we should bear in mind that Khrushchev will try to keep all those who followed him at the Bucharest and Moscow Meetings on his side, because they are heavily compromised. The Soviet revisionists and their flatterers who were present at the Moscow Meeting, were greatly concerned that we should not criticize them, therefore they strove to throw dust in our eyes by cajolery. This was what Mikoyan tried to do before we spoke at the Meeting. «We, too, agree with you on the question of Stalin, on the 'condemnation' of Yugoslav revisionism, so tell us what more do you want?» was more or less what he said.

If we look at the problem from the ideological viewpoint we shall be convinced of what was of greater importance: whether to speak about those major problems of principle of the communist movement, or about something else, about what Malinovski and others said, for example. Of course, the defence of questions of principle of the communist movement, first and foremost, was of greater importance than to mention the things the Soviet leaders had done us, but these, too, were extremely discrediting to them, therefore they tried to induce us not to mention them in our speech, for this would expose not only their opportunist line, but also the underhand, fiendish and dirty methods, which the Soviet revisionists and their leadership have used against us and many others, which they have now covered over with a scab, but these things have not been forgotten, and have had their influence on the mistakes made in many major questions of international communism.
Maurice Thorez, for example, may have had other reasons for the stand he maintained against us at the Moscow Meeting, though, when he was on holiday in Albania, he was in full agreement with as much as I told him. But the speech of our Party delegation in Moscow touched him on the sore spot, because as the representative and leader of the Communist Party of France, he bears great responsibility, since he permitted such a very important matter as that of the stand towards the Yugoslav revisionists, whom the Information Bureau had condemned, to be settled by Khrushchev and his followers, not in the Marxist-Leninist way, but simply by means of a telegram.

Gomulka got up in the meeting and demanded that the question of Albania should be considered within the Warsaw Treaty, but he said this also because the representative of our Party had opposed his policy and had not agreed with Gomulka's proposals in the UNO. This is a question of great importance, because his proposals amounted to saying to the imperialists: «Keep all the numerous military bases you have set up, keep the atomic bomb, and don't let others have it.» The stand of our delegation, therefore, was a telling blow to their adventurous and opportunist policy, the aim of which is to lead the socialist camp to disaster. That is why Gomulka said that Albania should be expelled from the Warsaw Treaty.

The raising of these major questions for the fate of socialism had very great importance. The Soviet leadership would not have been much concerned if we had only pointed out what Ivanov had done in Albania. The raising of problems in the way we did upset them, since this would expose their policy. But by also raising the question of their interference in the internal affairs of our country, the question of their aims to split our leadership, we touched Zhivkov on a sensitive spot, since it is known
that it was Khrushchev who interfered to bring him to power in Bulgaria.

Thus, our speech at the Moscow Meeting was extremely rankling to Khrushchev. It is understandable that this exposure opened up very great troubles for him. This is what impelled them to heap unprincipled insults on us, because, if the others were to go thoroughly into these things, it would lead to a lot of troubles, not only for those who aimed their insults against us, but also for those who directed them.

It is known that following the 20th Congress of the CPSU, there were changes in the leaderships of many communist and workers' parties. Khrushchev understood that the parties in which the leaderships were not changed constituted a great danger to his line, because his efforts and his views could not find a foothold among them. Thus, he was obliged to grin and bear it and, for the sake of appearances, maintained friendly relations with our Party. But he saw that he could not achieve his aim and thought, if not today, I will try again tomorrow to achieve it. This is what he intended for our Party, the CP of China and some other parties. In these parties he has been quite unable to undermine the leaderships, therefore, seeing a danger in them, he has gone about achieving his plans in other ways.

At first he tried to strengthen his positions, to create an atmosphere of trust, because, allegedly, he was the «Lenin of today», to eliminate all doubts about himself, and in the course of this activity to prepare his loyal cadres who would support him. He saw that good propaganda work about the Soviet Union was being done in Albania and he hoped that the time would come when we, too, would follow his course. But it did not turn out that way.

Although they signed the Declaration, it does not mean that they have changed their course. This is only
one of their tactics. None knows how long this will go on, but it is a dangerous tactic. We shall keep our eyes on it, we shall follow it closely; the international situations will become more complicated, despite the propaganda of Khrushchev and his followers about peaceful development. Wherever we look, we see strikes, uprisings, national liberation movements on the part of the peoples and terror on the part of the imperialists. This refutes the view Khrushchev has propagated so widely about the peaceful development of events.

Except for the great strength of international communism, the strength of the parties fighting consistently for the defence of Marxism-Leninism, nothing can stop these people on their course.

We must be optimistic. The issues are becoming clearer day by day, and the international situation will undoubtedly confirm our theses. But we face a protracted struggle. It should in no way be thought that they will lay down their arms. On the contrary, they will try to manoeuvre in the most brutal and sophisticated ways. The contradictions of the policy they follow towards the imperialists will emerge ever more clearly, whoever is a Marxist will understand them, because the imperialists are preparing for war, while the revisionists want to restrain them with words alone. With the policy they are pursuing they are leaving imperialism a free field of action, therefore, day by day, it is becoming a grave danger to the camp of socialism, the entire communist world, and peace in the world.

We have had faith in the Soviet Union, because in case of difficulties both it and the countries of people's democracy have helped us. But at no time have we gone to sleep basing our hopes on the aid of friends alone. Khrushchev has always said demagogically: «Why do you need weapons? We are defending you!» Fine, but what are all these things that are happening? Why have we not met even
once to talk over these problems so important for the fate of the socialist camp and international communism, to look into these great problems together? Why was our Minister of Defence appointed deputy—commander of the united forces of the Warsaw Treaty? Likewise, why have his colleagues of Poland, Czechoslovakia and others been appointed? Their appointment is entirely formal, because nobody invites them to talks, all the measures taken on behalf of the socialist camp are decided by Khrushchev and company. «You can put your trust in us,» says Khrushchev, «we are well armed.» But somebody might launch a surprise attack on us, and we do not have the weapons to retaliate. «We shall attack them from Siberia,» says he. But as events are developing, all of us together should be better prepared. We shall go to war together, therefore how we shall defend ourselves should be decided together. We do not seek to know the military secrets of the Soviet Union, but Khrushchev in the Kremlin continues to lay down his grand strategy for all the countries of the camp and doesn’t call even once to tell us at least: «We have these kinds of weapons and in safe places.» The representatives of the Warsaw Treaty countries do not meet from time to time to check on armaments, to take joint measures, so that our armies get to know and fraternize with one another. These situations are known only to Khrushchev’s friends. I am sure that the others, too, even Gomulka who is keeping quiet now, certainly have objections over these questions, but now he sees eye to eye with Khrushchev, and, over a criticism that we made, besides other threats, he demanded our immediate expulsion from the Warsaw Treaty.

Hence, the struggle ahead of us in the existing situation is not an easy one. On the contrary, it will be very difficult. But we must fight with determination, must follow the situation step by step, being clear in our minds about what these people are and what they want to do. If they
put themselves on the right road, we shall change our attitude towards them and shall march together with them as before, but it is impermissible for us to slacken our vigilance and go to sleep. After all these things which are occurring, we shall not have blind trust, because the views and actions of this man are blatantly anti-Marxist. Khrushchev is committing a great crime against the Soviet peoples and international communism.

We must take the threats he is making against us seriously. If they do not manage to throw us out of the Warsaw Treaty, if they do not withdraw their men from the Vlora naval base, if they do not cut off their credits, this will not be because they love us, but because their impetus was checked in Moscow, as well as because of international political circumstances. What they did to us about the naval base was not only blackmail, but an entire line mapped out not by Khrushchev alone.

Why did they take a stand against us when we had not yet expressed our viewpoint? They had consulted one another, and the Bucharest Meeting was the alarm signal for them to do this. Later they called on us to march on their road, and since we did not follow them, they thought up what stand they should adopt towards us.

If their career had not been stopped at the Moscow Meeting, they would have tried to drag us on to their anti-Marxist road, or, if they failed to achieve this, to discard us, and if they were unable to expel us, to take the stand they are adopting now.

They could achieve neither the first nor the second objective, and so it came to the situation we know. Of course, they had a different plan for us, but it was not easy for them to achieve it because they would have been exposed in the international communist movement, especially in the eyes of the peoples of the Soviet Union. Although their plan towards our Party failed,
they will never forget the courageous and correct Marxist-Leninist stand our Party has maintained and continues to maintain, and they will hatch up plans to take revenge, if not today, tomorrow. But we shall not give them weapons to fight us. We are not going to make mistakes; we do not violate the line, nor kowtow to anyone; we shall remain vigilant, as always, on the positions of Marxism-Leninism.

The Marxist-Leninist stand we maintained, as well as the stand of the CP of China, are of decisive importance for the life of the socialist countries, for peace and socialism throughout the world. The Communist Party of China has become an extraordinarily serious obstacle to them.

We think that if Khrushchev and company had not retreated, it would have been a great disaster for them and for all their minions, because their parties would not have allowed such a crime to be committed against international communism. But even if their parties had accepted this temporarily, after a time it would certainly have emerged that they were revisionists and traitors. That is why they preferred to retreat, in order to gain new strength from the new positions they withdrew to. For this reason we think that we shall be facing a difficult struggle of great responsibility for the defence of socialism in Albania, the general line of our Party, and the correct principles of the Moscow Declaration.

But the grave situation that has been created in the international communist movement and in our relations with the leadership of the CPSU and with the leaderships of some other parties, sets before us very important tasks, which we must always carry out correctly, with Marxist-Leninist wisdom and courage, as we have done up till now.

First of all, day by day, we must further consolidate the unity of the Party. This is a steel unity, but we should work continuously to temper it, since these moments are import-
ant turning-points, and at these turning-points there are people who waver. Therefore the Party should be close not only to its members but to each individual, close to all the masses of the people, so that the unity of the ranks of the Party and the Party-people unity is tempered in a Marxist-Leninist way.

We are of the opinion that the Party should know the hostile and revisionist activities of these traitors, should see who are the individuals that want to dig the grave for our Party, as well as for international communism. There are written documents about this, but we should also work by word of mouth in order to make it clear to the Party that a stern struggle must be waged against revisionism, not only theoretically, but also in practice and with concrete examples. The Party members must be vigilant, defend its line and safeguard the great interests of our people, the Party and Marxism-Leninism.

Thus, it is important that we educate the Party well, because in this way it will understand correctly the tactics we have to use in such complicated situations.

Our Party will use tactics; this is necessary, among other things, so that the Soviet peoples and those of the countries of people's democracy understand that we are on the Marxist-Leninist road and in friendship with them, but in opposition to those who are their enemies and enemies of Marxism-Leninism.

If the leaderships of these countries continue to act against us, they will receive the proper reply, but we shall try to maintain friendly relations with all the socialist countries, without making concessions in principles, without distorting the line, and always maintaining correct attitudes on the basis of the principles of Marxism-Leninism.

We should keep in mind that we shall have contacts with Soviet people or people from the countries of people's democracy. We shall not change our attitudes, but of course,
the relations with them will not be as they used to be, and it is not we who have brought this about, but they themselves. Mikoyan said to us: "Now it is not necessary to have close party relations, but only trade relations." We told him that we did not agree with such a view, but since that was what they wanted, we could act that way, too.

When Ivanov or Novikov came to meet us, we were the ones who gave them the information they wanted with the greatest goodwill. We did this, not because we had to render account to them, but because this stand was connected with the question of the close and unreserved friendship we nurtured for the Soviet Union. Now that the situation has changed, and this only because of them, when they come again we shall receive them, shall ask what they want, but shall give them only what we consider it reasonable for them to know, and nothing more.

With the technicians and specialists who work in our enterprises, our relations should be warm, cordial and friendly. Of course, there may be evil people among them, but even if they are not so, some will be instructed to become so. Therefore we must be careful and vigilant, must clearly distinguish between those who are honest and sincere towards us and those who have been sent to carry out the hostile instructions of Khrushchev and company. We must defend our Marxist-Leninist line all the time and with anybody. We must not be afraid to hit back at them in a proper way when they attack our Party, our leadership and our unity, in an improper way. We should be on our guard against provocations, because there are people who commit provocations, but there are also provocations to which we must respond on the spot and deal the deserved blows at those who hatch them up.

We should be careful and vigilant to orientate ourselves correctly on the basis of the line of the Party in every instance. Here the capability and intelligence of commu-
nists must be displayed. It is easy to tell the other: «Get out!» or «I don't want to talk to you!» but such a stand would be neither politic nor Marxist. Therefore we should act with maturity and flexibility.

We should talk to the foreigners residing in Albania about the line of our Party, about our stand, we should try to explain it to them, so that they understand these things correctly, because many of them may be unclear.

The press organs in particular must be very vigilant and mature. Our press must present the line and tactics of our Party properly. This work must be done carefully by the Directory for Agitation and Propaganda. It is important to steer a correct course in the press, because a mistake made by us there may be exploited by the imperialist and revisionist foreign enemies, or may confuse the broad masses of the Party and people.

Therefore we should work carefully to guide the Party correctly through the press. Everything on the correct Marxist-Leninist road, in the interest of the Party, the people and socialism should be reflected there, whereas any manoeuvre of the revisionists, which may even seem fine, but which, in fact, is harmful, should not be published in the press, and we shall render account to nobody for this.

We must consider everything deeply, must carefully weigh up both its good and its bad aspects, and choose the best one, which serves our work and our cause.

We shall certainly overcome these difficulties. Therefore, first of all, the Party must be mobilized, must be clear about everything and in complete unity, its political and ideological level must be enhanced, its Marxist-Leninist line applied consistently, and we must be totally mobilized to realize our plans.

The comrades working in the party and state organs should keep these situations in mind and pay very great
attention to the work of convincing and educating the masses, to make them conscious of the need to carry out all the tasks, especially the utilization of internal resources. Thus, while working to open up new land, we should not base all our hopes on tractors alone. If possible, we shall bring in tractors, too, but we must strengthen our economic potential with all the possibilities we have, in order to keep up regular supplies for the people, to avoid being caught in a crisis, we must create reserves in all fields through economical use of our resources.

With regard to this, a program of work should be built by the whole Party and the state organs. Many tasks face us in practice over this question.

Our Party and people have been hardened to difficulties, therefore our plans have always been realized. So we shall overcome these new difficulties as well, better days will come for our Party and our people, because right is on our side, because we have many friends in the world, not only great China, but all the peoples and the true communists, to whom the cause of freedom, independence, and socialism is dear.

This was what I had to say. Now let us approve the communique. Besides this, we have the 4th Congress of the Party ahead, which, as we decided, will be held in February next year. During this time, the Party must mobilize all its forces, carry out an all-round political, ideological and economic work, in order to go to the Congress in steel-like Marxist-Leninist unity, with tasks realized in all fields, well-prepared to discuss problems in a lofty party spirit and to shoulder the difficult but glorious tasks we shall be charged with.
THE OPEN POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC PRESSURE OF
THE SOVIET REVISIONISTS WILL FAIL IN THE FACE
OF THE DETERMINATION AND IRON WILL OF THE
ALBANIAN PEOPLE AND COMMUNISTS

Letter sent to the CC of the CPSU

January 14, 1961

To the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union

Moscow

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

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

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

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

As is known, on the basis of talks held in Moscow in regard to this question in December 1958, between the representatives of the parties and governments of the two countries at the highest level, the Soviet Union accorded the People's Republic of Albania a credit for the period 1959-1965 and the relevant agreement, together with the lists of the projects to be extended or built in Albania with the assistance of the Soviet Union on the basis of this credit, was signed in Tirana on July 3, 1959. Likewise, in response to the request of the Central Committee of the Party of
Labour of Albania, on April 30, 1960, for a special credit for agricultural machinery and chemical fertilizers, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union agreed to accord the People's Republic of Albania another credit for this purpose and on July 25, 1960 the Soviet Government presented to the Albanian Government the relevant draft-agreement for signature. As to exchanges on a clearing basis for the period 1961-1965, after the talks held for this purpose, the relevant protocol has been signed by the government delegations of our two countries since April 3, 1959.

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

Here it is opportune to mention that a few months ago the Soviet Government itself considered the issues in the same way, and showed itself ready to send the minister of foreign trade of the Soviet Union to Albania for the signing of these agreements. When we were informed by the Soviet side that he was unable to come to Albania for health reasons, the necessary approaches were made from our side so that an Albanian government delegation, headed by the deputy-chairman of the Council of Ministers and chairman of the State Planning Commission, would go to Moscow.
As can be seen, everything is very clear and the proposal of the Albanian Government to send the said delegation for the above purpose is completely normal and in order. In these circumstances, we are rightfully astonished at the stand now maintained by the Soviet Government on these questions and we cannot understand from what bases it is proceeding in unilaterally demanding the re-examination of the above-mentioned issues, discussed and decided at the highest level of the parties and governments of the two countries and definitely settled. In its reply of January 6, 1961 the Soviet Government also makes allusions to doubts about the relations between our two states and speaks of their normalization.

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

Our view is that the issues raised by the Soviet Government have a distorted character and can be rightfully considered as economic pressure exerted on our state and the Party of Labour of Albania on the eve of its 4th Congress, in order to cause it economic and other difficulties. We think that the relations between our two states are quite normal, and in questioning their true character, the Soviet Government is making a very wrong and unilateral assessment, with which we cannot reconcile ourselves.

We want to point out that the Party of Labour of Albania and the Albanian Government have considered and
will always consider the meeting of delegations of our two parties and governments at the highest or any other level, a pleasure. But in such conditions as the Soviet Government presents the issue, the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania does not find it reasonable or proper to send a top level delegation. First, because, as it was stated above, the issues concerned have been examined and decided definitely by the two sides, in full agreement and at the highest level, and second, because the Soviet Government raises these issues in an incorrect way, contrary to the spirit of relations between socialist countries, hence, unacceptable to us.

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

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

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

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

On instruction
of the Central Committee of the PLA
First Secretary
Enver Hoxha

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