SLANDERS AND PRESSURE DO NOT FRIGHTEN US
— WE DO NOT FALL ON OUR KNEES

From the conversation with the delegation of the
CPSU which participated in the 4th Congress
of the PLA

February 20, 1961

COMRADE ENVER HOXHA: We listened with much
attention to your words, Comrade Pospelov. In regard to the
love and loyalty of our Party and people towards the Sovi-
et Union and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union,

1 After the 4th Congress of the PLA, Comrade Enver Hoxha
received the delegation of the CPSU, with which he had a con-
versation at the premises of the Central Committee. The
first to speak was P. Pospelov, candidate of the Presidium
of the CC of the CPSU and head of the delegation, who said
that the purpose of the request by the Soviet delegation for this
meeting was «to talk about some issues which have to do with
our comradely mutual relations.» After having said, «true, a
great deal was said at your congress about strengthening the
friendship between the Albanian people and the Soviet peoples,»
but that they had information that «the role of the Soviet Union
is negated in Albania», «the Soviet specialists are not treated
well», and that «offensive things are being said about the Soviet
leadership», he committed a series of slanders against the Party
of Labour of Albania and its leadership and tried to exert pres-
sure on it.
we have shown this in life with deeds. We desire close friendship with the Soviet Union and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union on the Marxist-Leninist road. Do not think that we believe that this close friendship will be strengthened through the «holy spirit». We know that this friendship can be realized by implementing the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism correctly and consistently. We have never wished and do not wish ill to the Soviet Union. On the contrary, we have loved the Soviet Union and still do. Let him who wants to disbelieve these ardent feelings of our people and Party, we march on the road which Marxism-Leninism and our Party teach us.

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

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

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

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

We have also held bilateral talks to resolve these disagreements. The last meeting is that held between the representatives of our two parties in Moscow.² Mikoyan, Kozlov and Andropov were at this meeting from your side.

² This refers to the joint talks which were held in Moscow on November 20, 1960, after Comrade Enver Hoxha's speech at the Meeting of the representatives of the 81 communist and workers' parties. These joint talks were held between the delegation of the PLA, which was comprised of Comrades Mehmet Shehu and Hysni Kapo, and the delegation of the CPSU. The meeting was held at the request of the Soviet leadership.
The instructions which the Central Committee of our Party has given us are that we should march ahead, on the Marxist-Leninist road. For us there is no other road. You may have your opinion, but we have our opinion, too. Our opinion is that the disagreements which have arisen between our two parties cannot be resolved within one day. It would be deceiving ourselves to think that they can be settled within one day. Therefore we must put our common will to it and resolve the disagreements gradually, in the correct Marxist-Leninist way, in complete equality. This is the way in which they must be overcome.

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

Let us take the economic aid. In the opinion of Kozlov and Mikoyan the whole problem rested on this. This was apparent especially in the attitude maintained towards our economic delegation that went to the Soviet Union. This delegation was kept hanging about in Moscow for whole months. Our people go to Moscow, wander round and round and are unable to conclude anything with you, because of the attitude you maintain towards them. Do you think we do not understand your contemptuous attitude? Comrade Mehmet [Shehu] was right when he said, a little while ago, that when the Yugoslavs come, you conclude the talks within ten days! Likewise, the War Minister of In-
Enver Hoxha

donesia went to Moscow, and you immediately gave him large credits for armaments, while little Albania, which is looking down the wolf's mouth, with which you have signed agreements, and which is led by a Marxist party, is neglected.

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

We have set out all the reasons why we refused to hold this meeting in a very comradely letter to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. But it must be pointed out that, immediately after the Bucharest Meeting, the letters which our Central Committee has sent to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union have all remained unanswered. This is neither fair, friendly, nor correct. You said that you have answered our letters, but we say to you: Have a look because perhaps they are tucked away in the drawers of your offices, for we have received no reply whatever. Even the simplest rules of relations between parties require that a letter must be answered by letter\textsuperscript{3} but, I repeat, we have received no reply from you.

No answer is being given from your side, likewise, to the letters of our Government about many other problems, particularly about problems of the army, which are linked

\textsuperscript{3} The Soviet revisionist leadership avoided answering the CC of our Party by letter, because it did not want its official replies to remain in the archives of our Party.
with the defence of our country and the training of the army, based, of course, on the agreements we have with the Soviet Government. We think that on all these issues, the Central Committee of the Communist Party and the Soviet Government should have replied, either positively or negatively, to our Central Committee and Government. We need one another's assistance and this assistance must have a thoroughly internationalist content.

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

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

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

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

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

You say that you have the course set for you by the Moscow Declaration and the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. We, too, base ourselves on the Declaration of the Moscow Meeting of last year, indeed, we implement it consistently, but as far as the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union is concerned, we stated frankly at the Moscow Meeting on which matters we are not in agreement. But, instead of accepting the comradely criticism we make of you, you make
the accusation that we are ruining the friendship with the Soviet Union! It is unnecessary to say what a great and sincere friendship we have had with the Soviet people. It is the Soviet cadres and leaders who have dynamited the friendship that existed between us. We stated also at the Moscow Meeting that it was the former ambassador of the USSR to Albania, V.I. Ivanov, in the first place, who ruined the situation. It was he who upset things. Let this be known also to the newly appointed ambassador, Josif Shikin, who has the possibility to exert all his efforts so that together we can improve the abnormal situation that has been created between our two countries. For our part we shall do everything possible in this direction. We want to believe that the comrade ambassador, too, will act in this way, because for him, too, it is not only a duty, but also an urgent need, that our relations should constantly improve and the disagreements be gradually eliminated in a Marxist-Leninist way.

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

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

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

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

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4 This refers to the counter-revolutionary plot which was being prepared by a secret anti-state organization at the head of which were veteran agents of the Intelligence Service. Their plan was combined also with an armed intervention on the part of the Yugoslav revisionists, the Greek monarcho-fascists and the US 6th Fleet in the Mediterranean. As was proved, the Soviet revisionist leadership also had knowledge of this plot, which it had reckoned to exploit for its own purposes.

5 At that time representative of the United Command of the armed forces of the Warsaw Treaty, in Albania.
for the interests of our entire socialist camp, and not just for us. We told Nikita Khrushchev this, too.

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

The issue raised here by Comrade Pospelov, that one of our people has allegedly spoken to the representatives of the Communist Party of Cuba and the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia against the Soviet leadership, is not true. However, we shall inquire into it. How is such a thing possible when we have been and are in complete agreement with what Nikita Khrushchev said, that if Cuba is attacked, the Soviet Union will launch missiles against the aggressor to defend Cuba? Therefore we think that this is a slander.

Why do I say this? I say this because Barak⁶ has come to the 4th Congress of the PLA with very bad aims and he behaves with contempt towards our Party and our people. Since he is visiting us, he is our guest and we respect him according to our traditions. You, Comrade Andropov, may tell him these things, because we shall not tell them him here, but when some meeting of international communism is held, I shall not fail to tell him. Barak should understand clearly that we are not afraid of him.

We observe that Barak is treating the members of the Political Bureau of our Party with contempt. We had

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⁶ Rudolf Barak, ex-member of the Political Bureau of the CC of the CP of Czechoslovakia, first deputy to the chairman of the Council of Ministers and Minister of Internal Affairs of the Socialist Republic of Czechoslovakia, had come to the 4th Congress of the PLA with hostile intentions.
thought that, as the representative of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, he should greet our Congress after the representatives of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Communist Party of China. But, when a comrade of ours begged him to say when his speech of greeting would be ready, not only did Barak not deign to tell him, but he asked him scornfully: «And who might you be?» Our comrade, towards whom Barak behaved in this way, displayed his modesty and said nothing for he was his guest, but when Barak asked him: «And who might you be?», although he knew who he was, he could have replied that «I have 15 decorations on my chest which I won in the war against fascism, and I have wounds on my body,» and then could have asked him: «But you, who are you?» However, our comrade did not do this because he had him as a guest in his home and he respected the customs of our people.

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

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

We want the disagreements between our parties and countries to be resolved in time and in a Marxist-Leninist way. We shall struggle to the limit of our possibilities to strengthen our unity. We shall never give either occasion or cause for this unity to be damaged, but will work to make it stronger day by day. We shall defend our views on the basis of the Moscow Declaration, on the basis of Marxism-Leninism, regardless of whether others may think that we are allegedly ignorant of Marxism-Leninism. That is what the Italian comrades, for example, think. When Nikita Khrushchev was in Albania, he said, making allusions against Tito, that it was not true that the Albanian comrades did not know Marxism, indeed even children were Marxists in Albania. Whereas the Italians have told us: «Read Marx and Lenin!» We tell them that not only do we read our glorious teachers, but we work and fight on the basis of their teachings.

But we are not making an issue of these things. We can play politics, too, but we do no indulge in diplomacy with the Soviet comrades. Whatever we have to say we say it openly. Bear this in mind, comrade ambassador, between us we shall not use diplomacy, but we shall speak frankly and in a comradely manner.
I shall tell you one thing. Owing to your stand we shall be compelled to reduce our food rations and the firing practice programs in our Army, but we shall not surrender. You saw what the Congress was like and if we take this measure which is imposed on us by you, our soldiers and officers will ask why has this measure been taken. Then, what must we do – not speak? No, we shall not shut our mouths. We shall tell our men and women that the Soviet leading comrades want to force our Party and Government to their knees, that the Soviet leadership is breaching the signed agreements, acting in a unilateral manner, and refuses to help us, and we shall issue the call: tighten your belts, stand vigilant in defence of the Homeland and the socialist camp, endure it! Our Party and people have a very high level of understanding of these things.

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

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

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

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

COMRADE MEHMET SHEHU: Do not forget to tell Khrushchev what your men have said about Comrade Enver Hoxha. What friendship are you talking about, when you subject the delegation of our Party to espionage processing, when you have put all sorts of bugging devices in our embassy in Moscow? You should be the first to show us that you want to strengthen our friendship, but when you commit such unfriendly acts, when you reduce economic aid to our country, when you suspend supplies of armaments to our army, how can you expect an approach from our side?

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

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

I believe we have finished. Please transmit our greetings, as well as our views, just as we stated them here, openly and sincerely, to all the comrades of your leadership.
I want to bring you up to date about recent events. I am not going to begin with the Moscow Meeting of the 81 communist and workers’ parties, because you have been informed about that, and indeed many of you know about what happened at the recent meeting of representatives of the member countries of the Warsaw Treaty, which was held in Moscow on March 28-29, this year.

The main purpose of the recent meeting of the Warsaw Treaty was to attack the Central Committee of our Party and our Government. This was the aim of Nikita Khrushchev and company, while the agenda of this meeting said that a report was to be delivered on the moral-political state of the armed forces of the member countries of the Warsaw Treaty and about their armaments. In fact, however, these questions were not discussed. The problem of the armament of the armies of the Warsaw Treaty member countries had been discussed previously at various meetings.
with the military representatives of those countries, and indeed, the lists of the requirements of each army, as well as the sources and countries from which they were to get these armaments, had been decided. Thus, the question of the armament of the armies was only formally included in the recent meeting of the Warsaw Treaty and in fact, was not discussed at all.

The representative of our Party and Government also took part in the discussion at this meeting. In his contribution he dealt with the international situation, the moral-political state and the armament of our army, presented the views of our Party and Government in connection with the measures that should be taken and made proposals for the further strengthening of the socialist camp and our armies.

Apart from the speech of our representative, all the other speeches were nothing but attacks against us, and not one leader of the other socialist countries who spoke, dealt with the problems on the agenda. They went on the attack and asked why the representative of Albania had nothing to say in connection with the letter which the Commander of the United Forces of the Warsaw Treaty, Marshal Grechko, had sent us.

You ought to know this was a letter delivered at the last minute, which is a practice of the Soviet leaders at all international meetings; their aim is to put the other party in a difficult position by giving him insufficient time to examine the material carefully. But we immediately understood the dirty aims of Khrushchev and company and we were able to give Marshal Grechko the reply he deserved, orally and in writing, at the proper time.

Grechko's letter demanded that we agree to relinquish all rights to our base of Vlora and all its hinterland, as he puts it, which would be placed under the control of the Soviets; that the armed forces of the Albanian navy should be withdrawn from this territory and all the war-
We replied to this letter politely, always keeping our tempers, because this is the characteristic of Marxist-Leninist correctness. Thus, our letter had been written in a quiet tone, in a friendly spirit, and was based on the Marxist-Leninist principles, on proletarian internationalism and the agreements signed between our two governments. Therefore, we replied that this proposal was not acceptable to us, because, in the first place, it was neither friendly, internationalist, fraternal, nor based on the agreements we had. We replied to them that our naval forces had proved, at all times, from any point of view, to be capable of running any kind of warship. Finally, we stressed that Grechko's proposal had no foundation and pointed out that the reasons that he put forward for taking these measures were all fabrications and slanders. The only "reason" which Grechko put forward in his letter for the measures he proposed, was the allegation that life had been made impossible for the Soviet navymen at the Vlora naval base. According to him, such bad conditions had been created for the Soviets at the base that they could see no solution other than that we Albanians should leave our base and the Soviets take it over, because, according to them, this was the only way to avoid any incident! One "incident", according to them, was that a policeman at the Izvor River, while checking a bus, on which three Soviet women were travelling, told them that, since they were going to Vlora, they should have their passports with them, because not being known, they might run into some difficulty in the city. This interference of the policeman has allegedly caused tension in relations and hurt the "pride" of the Soviets. This "incident" is allegedly one of the decisive reasons why the Soviet side should take over all the ships. Apart from this, the letter contained a series of other slanders about
quite trifling things, which are entirely unfounded, because they have never occurred but have been deliberately fabricated by them.

It is clear to us that these stands of the Soviet leadership, which are being maintained following the Bucharest Meeting, have their own political and ideological basis. Before Bucharest there was not the slightest disagreement between the two sides, especially at the base, where there was complete harmony. However, after Bucharest, all these tales were concocted by the Soviet leadership, by the Soviet Embassy in Tirana, and especially by the Soviet officers who have been sent to the Vlora base precisely for hostile purposes.

After our speech at the Warsaw Treaty meeting, all began to attack us. When Khrushchev got up and asked the Albanian representative why he did not speak about the Soviet letter, we replied that this was not the place to speak about it, because we had come to this meeting for other purposes and not to reply to the correspondence between ministries of defence. However, this was the business they had prepared themselves for, therefore, what didn’t they say against us: «You have put yourselves outside the Warsaw Treaty», «you are anti-Soviet», «you Albanians are against unity», and so forth. There are too many of these attacks to mention them all. But the answer they got was so correct and stern that Khrushchev was obliged to get up to speak twenty times, because all their facts and arguments were baseless and these stands clearly revealed the falsity of their position, which is anti-Marxist, anti-Albanian, unfriendly and not in the least internationalist.

In the end, after all had spoken again and again against us, and we accepted none of the accusations, they came up with the decision that the Vlora base should be handed over to the Soviets and linked directly with the
Soviet commander of the united forces of the Warsaw Treaty, and they put this question to the vote. They all approved this decision. Ours was the only vote against and we described this as a decision without any basis and entirely devoid of internationalist spirit.

Apart from this, other attacks and interference against us took place at the March meeting of the Warsaw Treaty, especially over the trial which was to be held against the traitor Teme Sejko and his accomplices who were organizing a counter-revolutionary plot and an armed intervention, coordinated with the US 6th Fleet, the Greek monarcho-fascists and the Yugoslav revisionists, apparently because this trial upset them greatly. At this meeting, the trial of these traitors was made a major problem. According to them, this trial was a fraud, a frame-up, because Albania had not been attacked by anyone. Therefore, according to them, a commission should be set up to verify the documents of our investigation. Khrushchev, Gomulka, Zhivkov and others spoke in this spirit. They hammered away at the «fact» that we «had not informed them about this problem». Of course, we rejected this view, too, and replied to them as they deserved.

It is a characteristic fact that the leaders of the member countries of the Warsaw Treaty had gone to that meeting with plans to blackmail and threaten us, so we would not condemn the spies and traitors we had captured and whom we had declared we would bring to trial. To achieve this aim they tried to intimidate us with the liquidation of the Vlora naval base. By using the dismantling of the Vlora base as a means of pressure, if we brought these traitors to trial, they openly defended the traitors to our Party and our Homeland. This is the meaning of their pressure and threats. Only they know why they defended these traitors and spies. However, we are very clear on the issue. We are very clear about the fact that Khrushchev defended Panajot
Plaku. This traitor sent a letter to Khrushchev in which he sought the liquidation of the leadership of our Party. Khrushchev also defended the traitors Dali Ndreu, Liri Gega, Tuk Jakova and others, in a word, all the traitors to our Party. We know also that Khrushchev talked with Sophocles Venizelos and agreed to communicate to us his views on the so-called question of the autonomy of «Northern Epirus».

We know these things, therefore, we have criticized Nikita Khrushchev openly, in a Marxist way, over these stands. The question could be asked: Why were they rankling over our bringing of spies and traitors to our Party and our Homeland to this recent trial? They know the reason. Why did they want to intervene and examine the dossiers on our traitors? They know this, too. But one thing we know is that we must always be vigilant. Time and history are remorseless. They will bring these things to light and will explain why the Soviet leadership has taken the traitors to our Party and state under its wing. They do not frighten us at all with the pressure they are exerting over the Vlora base, because we are on the right road in all directions. The existence of the Vlora base serves the defence, not only of Albania, but of the whole socialist camp. That is the purpose for which the Vlora naval base was set up, and this is reflected in the historical documents signed by the two sides. The facts have shown that our men that have worked at the Vlora base can run the ships very well. And these who are working at the base today have become very capable at their work, indeed, more capable than many of the Soviet personnel who had been sent here allegedly to instruct our men. In regard to courage, too, the Albanian people, the communists, officers and soldiers have displayed this when the need has arisen.

Therefore the decision adopted at the recent meeting of
the Warsaw Treaty was an act which violated all the recognized norms of relations between states, which violated the interests of the socialist camp, and which damaged and endangered the defence of Albania and the camp as a whole. We have expressed this view bluntly to the Soviet leaders and all the leaders of the other socialist countries of Europe; therefore a heavy historical responsibility falls on them, on Nikita Khrushchev, first of all, but the others have just as much responsibility as he.

Time will show, and is already showing, what foul crimes they are committing. In the future it will show up more of the dirty deeds of the revisionists even more clearly. Stopping at nothing, they continue on their anti-Marxist course, trying to complicate matters as much as possible. Only the cool-headedness of our Party has made it possible to avoid unpleasant actions so far.

After one of its meetings, the Soviet leadership sent a letter signed by Kosygin to the Central Committee of our Party. The second part of the letter speaks of the aid the Soviet Union has provided for Albania. This whole section is not pervaded by the friendly, fraternal, internationalist spirit, but by the anti-Albanian aims of the revisionist group headed by Khrushchev. The conclusion emerges from this part of the letter, too, that the aid that our country has received has not served to persuade the Albanian leadership to bow to the views and decisions of this revisionist group. In a word, according to the Khrushchev group, the aid which the Soviet people and CPSU have provided for us should be taken as a factor to make one obedient and submissive to its Trotskyite revisionist views.

This letter was also full of slanders concocted about the Vlora base, including the «incident» in which our policeman had asked three Soviet women travelling on a bus to carry their passports with them, this was allegedly a «major tragedy» for them, therefore this letter demands that the
Albanian Government, which is charged with full responsibility, should apply the decision of the meeting of the Warsaw Treaty.

We replied by letter to the Soviet Government, especially on the question of this decision. Once again we repeated our views calmly, proving all our facts, and told them that the decision of the meeting of the Warsaw Treaty was unacceptable to us and that there was only one solution, that the Vlora naval base must remain in the hands of the Albanian army. There was no other solution. This means, we stress in the letter, that the agreement signed by the two sides should be carried out.

How was the agreement being carried out? On the basis of the agreement, all the warships run by our officers had been completely handed over to us, while since August of last year, the other ships should have been handed over to our crews, because they were instructed, trained and fully ready to take them over.

However, after the Bucharest Meeting, the Soviet side, on various pretexts such as "the time still has not come", etc., were not handing over the ships on the basis of the agreement. We pointed out to the Soviets that our sailors were fully capable of taking over the ships and running them, because they had been learning for several years and were better trained than those they had sent us and who had been in the navy for only one year. It is self-evident that their aim was to avoid handing the ships over to us, because, if things had gone according to the agreement, they would have been handed over long ago.

After the decision of the Warsaw Treaty we demanded that the status quo should be maintained. We stated this to them categorically. We told them, also, that if they wanted to apply the agreement reached earlier, according to which the ships were to be handed over to our crews once they were trained, they were free to leave. Even the
Soviet authorities themselves had said, one year or so ago, that the «Albanian crews are trained».

A long time after our reply the Hungarian Govern-
ment, to be in solidarity with the decision of the Warsaw Treaty, sent us a letter in which they advised us, in im-
permissibly strong terms, to apply the decision of the War-
saw Treaty. But the worst of all is the letter from the
Germans, signed by a certain Willy Stoff, Deputy-Prime
Minister and Minister of Defence, who is nothing but a
fascist, indeed, even a fascist would not have written such
a letter. In this letter Willy Stoff openly defends the Yugo-
slav revisionists and the Greek monarcho-fascists and
accuses us of provoking the Yugoslavs and the Greeks. We
shall give this document, which we have in hand, the reply
it deserves. The Bulgarians sent us a similar letter. So far
the others have sent us nothing.

In our reply to the Soviet Government we proposed
that if the status quo, which we wanted to be maintained,
was not acceptable, a commission should come from the
Soviet Union to discuss the ways and measures for the liqui-
dation of the Vlora base, which they wanted. They accepted
our proposal and the commission came. But even the persons
who made up this commission began many provocations.
Our Party required all its cool-headedness to cope with
their provocations.

In the commission we again presented our theses in a
friendly way, while they stuck to their theses. They said
to us: «Either agree to apply the decision, or we shall leave
them base.» And they demanded that we hand over to
them all the means, even down to the bolts and planks
which have been used for the barracks. Our representatives
replied in the spirit of the letter which we sent them,
that if they did not accept the just view of our govern-
ment, then they should take the eight submarines and the
floating dock which had Soviet crews, while the others
which had Albanian crews would remain here because they were the property of the Albanian people. We pointed out to them that even the eight submarines and the floating dock which we told them to take were the property of our state, too, and in fact this is the case. They became our property by agreement, whether they have been given free or we have paid for them with money. This is from the legal aspect. But from the moral aspect, also, right is on our side, because Albania is a socialist state, a member of the Warsaw Treaty, and a member of the socialist camp. In this sense we have a common aim. Some might object and say, «But these things have been given the Albanians free.» Our reply is that they are not lollipops or toys, but means for the defence of the People's Republic of Albania and the socialist camp. Our slogan is: one for all and all for one. For our Party this slogan has a great internationalist meaning and we adhere to it.

The way Khrushchev and those who follow him reason, they could demand to take away the factories and combines the Soviet Union has given us, but only crooks, in the full meaning of the term, could do such things. The present-day Soviet leaders headed by Khrushchev are just such crooks, therefore to expose these revisionists means to defend the Soviet Union.

We have defended the peoples of the Soviet Union and are still defending them, especially in the situation they are going through, because Khrushchev and his group are enemies, not only of the Albanian people, but also of the Soviet peoples. We will always distinguish the Soviet Union of the time of Lenin and Stalin from these renegades from Marxism-Leninism.

The Soviet revisionists are well aware of whom we speak against, but to conceal their anti-Marxist actions, they say that the Albanian leaders are attacking the Soviet Union, throwing mud at the CPSU, etc. They want to
present our course and our just, stern criticisms, which are aimed against this group of revisionist enemies, as if they are aimed against the fraternal Soviet people and the CPSU. We know, also, that the anti-Marxist activity of this group is aimed, not only against socialist Albania, but against the whole of international communism.

They are quite clear about the course we are following but they distort it with hostile aims and slander us. Yesterday, for example, a driver of the Soviet navy ran over one of our seamen, who is in a very serious condition. The commanders of the Soviet ships, other Soviet citizens, and the driver who committed this crime, himself, have signed the affidavit about the occurrence of this event, while the Soviet Embassy, in its note in reply to our note, says this is not true. We have sent many notes about such things and they have replied in this way. What filthy scum has come to the top!

Thus, in connection with the Vlora base, we informed them which ships could leave, while the others would not shift. They made all that fuss and pressure. But does Mount Tomorr quake under the rain, the wind and the tempest? No, it does not quake, but stands firm, like a granite rock. And in the same way, the leadership of our Party and Government did not budge from their decisions. When they saw that they could get no further, they departed with their submarines which they had not handed over and with the floating dock. However, they have left about one hundred and fifty men here, no doubt as a pretext for disputes. We told them that these men, too, should be withdrawn as quickly as possible from Albania, that they had no reason to stay longer here, because they were sitting idle and this was nothing but a stay with evil aims. And in fact such actions as that which their driver carried out, could still occur.

We know that it is not the sailors at the Vlora base
who are to blame but the leadership. How is it possible that they have gone so far as to instruct the sailors to steal everything they find? Thus, they are leaving behind no curtains, fans, electric lamps, porcelain articles, etc. So true is this that their own commander has told our command that he does not know what to do with his men. He has told them a hundred times not to act like this, but they have been corrupted. Their rear commander, a colonel, has tried to appropriate things which belong to our state. When he is asked why he, a communist, is doing these things, he replies without a blush that he is going to take these things for himself because that is what others are doing.

But why are they committing all these base acts? Of course, to hatch up some accusations against us, in order to have as many as possible so-called «facts» against us. But despite all these dirty provocations, our cadres, from the most senior officer to the rank-and-file sailor, have orders to keep their tempers. They have all proved to be at the necessary level, to be party people. They see that these stands are unworthy and they make a very bad impression on them. We understand that the Soviets are doing these things as an excuse to send us note after note. Thus, their most senior military representative in our country at present comes and complains to our command that an Albanian sailor has allegedly searched the pockets of a Soviet sailor, that another Albanian sailor has allegedly not allowed a Soviet sailor to go out on the beach, or that the parcel that a Soviet sailor was taking out of the base was allegedly searched. It seems that they are gathering up their belongings to leave. This is the best solution in the existing situation, which we did not want, but which the Soviet revisionists themselves have created.

The hostile Soviet actions at the Vlora base are carried out by orders of the Khrushchevite revisionist leadership, but nevertheless, there are good people at the base who give our sailors the keys to even the most delicate appara-
tus of the submarines, advise them where they must be careful and how to look after and maintain them, and say that we have been and are friends, etc.

Our Party has said, and still says, that Vlora will always remain a strong base for the defence of our Homeland, the PR of Albania, and the common interests of the peoples of this zone. This has been, is and always will be the unalterable principle of our Party. Nothing can shift us from our course. Let the Soviet leaders go further if they like. And they have gone further in their stands against us. Since the Soviet leadership was to withdraw the ships of the naval fleet at the Vlora base, it made no sense for us to leave the students and officers of our navy to continue their studies in the Soviet Union. Therefore our government ordered our military attache in Moscow to send back our officers and men who were studying in the Soviet naval colleges. Our military attaché went to the Soviet command and informed them of the decision of our government. The only thing they said to our attaché at the Soviet command and informed them of the decision of hurry. He immediately replied that he had this order from his government and he was carrying it out.

Thus, our military attaché went immediately to Leningrad where, after informing the command of the Naval Academy, he gathered all our students there and explained the matter to them. All of them were unanimous that they were under the orders of the Party. When the Albanian military attaché went to the other Naval Academy, they confined all the students in their rooms, under guard, and did not allow the attaché to meet them. However, the students overcame the obstacles and met the representative of our state, who gathered them together and told them how matters stood. He told them that the order of the Party was that they were to return to Albania. All of them, to a man, responded to the call and on this occasion the place echoed
with speeches and slogans about the correct road of our Party. This made a powerful impression on all the Soviet officers and students, who wanted to know why all these unjust things were being done to the Albanians, why the Albanians, whose conduct and stand was so good and who were working at the lessons so well, were confined. This created a great commotion which everybody heard. To defeat our men, the Soviet command doubled the guards, but the majority of them declared openly that they refused to confine their Albanian comrades. These guards were replaced with others, but they too refused. The director of one of the naval academies refused to treat in that way our officers and students who were studying there. On the contrary, he lined them up and personally accompanied them to the cinema. At another academy, they told our officers, «You will come back to us again.» Thus, things went so far that they tried to hold our students by force by lying to them that a counter-revolution, like that in Hungary, had broken out in Albania, and so on.

When our military attaché was carrying out the order of our government in Leningrad, and the chief of the General Staff of the Soviet Army telephoned him and told him to return to Moscow, he replied, «I carry out the orders of my government and not yours.» They expelled our military attaché and, as a counter-measure, we expelled theirs.

Naturally, we lodged an immediate protest. During those days the commissions of the two sides were meeting in Tirana on the question of the Vlora base, but we suspended the work of our commission and informed the Soviet side that if the hostile arbitrary measures against our officers and students who were studying in the naval academies of the Soviet Union did not cease, the meeting could not be held. Thus, they were obliged to annul the measures against our people and, apart from this, they made false statements that they had no intention of keeping our naval officers
and students in the Soviet Union and would take measures to return them to Albania. It was only after this that the Albanian and Soviet commissions continued their talks about the Vlora base. The Soviet leadership was obliged to alter its stand because of the resolute stand of our Party and government, as well as of the lofty patriotism, great determination and fearlessness of our communists, officers and students.

Our people who were studying in the naval academies in the Soviet Union maintained an exemplary stand. As soon as they received the instructions of the Party, they were ready to face any sacrifice so long as the order of the Party was carried out, without the slightest wavering. The Khrushchevite clique who are organizing unparalleled hostile acts against our country, who have ruined the friendly, fraternal relations between our two countries, were put in their place by the stand of our men. But they must understand that with the Albanians, with the cadres of the Party, they will achieve nothing in this way, because they will find themselves facing a blow which will smash their heads. And, in fact, with the act they committed against our naval officers and students they have exposed themselves, because this act has created a sensation in the Soviet Union, especially in the cities where our men were studying and where they were on the best of terms and well-behaved with their professors and Soviet colleagues, as well as with the people.

As you see, the situation created in our relations with the Soviet Union is difficult. We are going through situations in which it is necessary to keep our heads cool. Now it is clear to us with what sort of people we are dealing. All those events, which are becoming ever clearer, have occurred between our two countries. They convince us even more that the present Soviet leaders, headed by Khrushchev, are not only on the wrong road, but have gone a long
way down the road of hostility to the socialist camp and especially to the PR of Albania. They have done everything in their power against us and are ready to do anything else they can, but they will be smashed. They have lost and are bound to lose, even if they go further in their stands. They may take some decision to expel us from the Warsaw Treaty. Let them take even this decision: they will bear great responsibility. They cannot destroy the feelings of the Soviet peoples and those of the other socialist countries for us. This they will never achieve, however unrestrained their propaganda against us. Their propaganda against Albania will never be implanted in the masses of the communists and the peoples of their countries. This is so not only in principle, but in the concrete reality, too.

We have hundreds of students and other specialists who have contacts with rank-and-file Soviet people and communists, and have explained to them these stands of our Party and those of Khrushchev and his revisionist group. These people are able to judge these stands of ours, and the overwhelming majority of them fully approve the correct line of our Party. If they did not approve it, the Soviet leadership would have allowed the reports of our 4th Congress to circulate freely in the Soviet Union, but the fact is that these reports have been blocked by the censor there. The Soviet security service has been mobilized all over the country to gather up the reports which are circulating from hand to hand. If these reports had an anti-Marxist content, as the Soviet leaders slander, why not let them circulate, because as such the Soviet workers would not touch them. However, the report of the 4th Congress of our Party is Marxist-Leninist and unmasks the line, the stands and the aims of the Khrushchev group. Those who have read it have fully endorsed it. Now that the recent international events are taking place, those who have read the report once,
want to return to it again, because, as they say, «it is a realistic analysis of the international situation.»

An article published recently in the newspaper «Izvestia» says: «How Long will Hitler's Generals Be Allowed to Go on Arming?» This is a smokescreen which these people are putting out to cover themselves, because it is the international communist and workers' movement which is raising the question how long the arming of West Germany will continue. It is known that Kennedy has made statement after statement to organize espionage and sabotage against the socialist countries...

We are certain, also, that nothing positive is going to emerge from the meeting which Krushchev is going to hold with Kennedy, because we are all clear about Kennedy's pacifist and liquidationist views. The Soviet diplomats everywhere are saying that all the international problems will be solved with this meeting. This is a great fraud, a terrible bluff. How can it be claimed that Krushchev is going to this meeting to decide the important international problems, when in fact he is going to talk with Kennedy about questions which pertain only to the Soviet Union and the United States of America? We know that from this meeting, too, only hot air will emerge. This does not mean to say that we are not for peace. We are resolutely for peace, but not on the road on which Khrushchev and all those who are singing in harmony with him are proceeding. This is not the way to peace. However Khrushchev is trying to create a favourable situation until the 22nd Congress of the CPSU, which is to approve the party program, is over.

This is how the relations between our two countries and parties have developed, while from the economic viewpoint all aid and credits have been suspended. Khrushchev announced this at the recent meeting of the Warsaw Treaty and all the others repeated it. They have raised the ques-
tion of aid and credits in a detestable anti-Marxist way, as if they, along with Ulbricht, are keeping us alive. They say, «You will receive this aid if you submit to us.» But such a thing will never occur. We do not want this kind of aid because the Albanian people and their Party are among those who can live even on a mere crust.

The Czechoslovak leaders, also, have taken Khrushchev’s road. But whatever they do, they will lose. We are on the right road. True, we have suffered from these actions, but we have learned a great deal. The Soviet revisionists and those who follow them did not believe the last trial we conducted and wrote nothing about it in their press. Well, let them not write, tomorrow they will see what will emerge; the time will come when the Soviet, the Bulgarian and other peoples will learn what these enemies and traitors were. For us, the important thing is that in this situation our people are united around the Party like a closed fist, that the unity of our Party is like steel, that the people and the Party are politically, ideologically and morally uplifted and united as one around the CC of the Party and the Government. This constitutes the invincible strength of our Homeland.

No intrigue, no hostile work of Khrushchev and his henchmen can be successful, much less overthrow our Party. We shall have difficulties, but we shall win, while they will lose. It was and is important that we keep our people informed. In these situations the clarity of people on these matters has meant that our unity has been strengthened, that we have not allowed the enemies’ slanders against us to take root and create confusion in the minds of our people, a thing which might lead to a tense situation later in the Party and among the people.

We have always kept the Party informed and have told it how the truth stands. This has tempered our people and brought about that even the waverers, or those who do
not have a high ideological level, understand these matters correctly and fight against this great anti-Marxist activity which the enemies, the imperialists, the Yugoslav revisionists, the Greek monarcho-fascists, the Italian neo-fascists, as well as the revisionist group of Nikita Khrushchev are carrying on.

The activity of this group has not come to an end, but as always we are keeping cool. This is not a simple matter. Only a Marxist-Leninist party, tempered in struggle and difficulties, can keep its head cool. A party which is on the right road cannot be shaken. Ours is such a party which in these situations has always acted correctly, in a Marxist-Leninist way and, therefore, it has become tempered.

The present situation demands, first of all, that we safeguard our unity. This has decisive importance. The enemies of our Party attack its leadership alleging that it is anti-Soviet. This is their catch-cry. Taking advantage of the great love which our Party has for the Soviet Union, they are trying to create doubts in people's minds and present the question as Koço Tashko did, that he who loves the Soviet Union must defend Khrushchev. But unmasking Khrushchev does not mean in any way that we are against the Soviet Union. We say that a leadership which is against socialism, which acts against the interests of the camp and the international communist movement must be ruthlessly exposed. The people love their leadership when it proceeds on the right road, but when it takes a crooked course nobody follows it.

If our leadership were against Marxism-Leninism, against socialism, against the freedom and independence of the Homeland, then why would our people love the Party so much? The people love the Party precisely because it is marching unhesitatingly on the Marxist-Leninist road, because it is building socialism successfully and defending the interests of the Homeland and the peoples. The mem-
bers of the Khrushchev group are trying to raise doubts among weak individuals with their propaganda.

We love the Soviet Union, but we are not going to allow the Khrushchev group to carry out hostile activities against Albania without slapping this back in their faces, of course, without breaching the norms and rules which exist in our relations. We think that the time has not yet arrived to write about these matters in the newspapers, but in the international meetings of parties we will maintain a stand based on the correct line of our Party, hence, will express the views of our Party. If these views are contrary to those of the group of Nikita Khrushchev, this does not upset us.

We are going to speak about these correct views to the people of our Party, because our opponents do not hesitate to slander us to their people. They are sending letter after letter to the party organizations, but their arguments are weak and no one believes them. In these letters they write, «Enver Hoxha threw mud at the Soviet Union», «Enver Hoxha is against the Soviet Union», «the Party of Labour of Albania has taken the anti-Marxist road».

Hence, we must arm our people well, must inform them correctly and thoroughly so that they know what to do. Not only must we members of the party be able to differentiate between the Soviet Union and the glorious Party of Lenin, on the one hand, and this enemy group headed by Khrushchev, which has raised its hand against a socialist country, on the other, but the people, too, must be educated to be able to make this differentiation. We are with the peoples of the Soviet Union, even in their present difficult situation.

We must bear in mind that questions are being asked everywhere, but it should not be assumed that they are being asked for evil purposes. Our people are political and that's what we want them to be. However, if they are to be political, things must be made clear to them. We should
not hesitate to present the arguments to them just as they are. Whenever the opportunity presents itself, we should explain the situation, both to party members and to non-party people. We are going to tell the people and all those who ask what Khrushchev's aims are in regard to the Vlora base and, in the first place, we shall tell the Party so that it is thoroughly informed. If someone asks a question in the street, in a group, or meeting, he should be given an answer, naturally a prudent, objective one, without heat and in the Marxist-Leninist way.

It is natural that people ask you: What is the situation with the Soviet Union? We must tell them that a group of revisionists are at the head of the party and state there and the peoples of the Soviet Union are going through a difficult situation. Of course, the Khrushchev group have powerful means of propaganda, but it is not all that easy for them to strangle justice and the voice of truth, the voice of the Party of Labour of Albania and the Communist Party of China, etc.

Therefore, in this situation, our Party must be on its toes to defend the interests of the Party and the people, to protect and defend its people. You must be careful in dealing with people, comrades, because in this situation the enemy pressure is great, imperialism with all the power of its propaganda is exerting great pressure on us, the Yugoslav revisionists and the Greek monarcho-fascists are exerting great pressure through their propaganda, and their attacks on us are numerous and unceasing. All this pressure could cause trouble among people with weak nerves, many of them might give way. Therefore they must be kept close, advised, corrected, assisted, cured and encouraged to advance.

The enemies want those individuals, who cannot keep their nerves in this situation, to be rejected from our ranks. The Party knows how to act against enemy elements, but all
who make mistakes must not be lumped together, especially the good elements of the people and the party members. There are some who do not properly understand these difficult moments and whose judgement is unclear. With these individuals, or with communists in this position, we must behave like the doctor with patients suffering from influenza, typhoid or tuberculosis, striving to the end to cure them.

But we fear nothing, because our Party is strong. You comrades are party leaders in the districts. You live with the masses day and night and see for yourselves that never before has there been such great mobilization and enthusiasm among the people and the communists, such lofty patriotism, not sentimental but concrete, in the work and the struggle to carry out tasks and overcome difficulties. This shows the great strength of the Party and our people. It is at difficult moments that you recognize a person's worth, and amongst our people patriotism has been raised to a very high level, a thing which shows how capable and tempered our Party is. Therefore we must work even better to temper the Party more and more, to further strengthen its unity, must make the masses of the party members clear, must tell them how the situation is developing, must not hide it from them, but must tell them objectively, just as matters have occurred, without exaggerating or minimizing things, and we must ensure that together with the Party, the people are clear, too.

It is self-evident what decisive importance the fulfilment of our plans in all directions has, not only in the economy, but also in the sectors of education, culture, etc., in order to cope successfully with the attacks they make on us. We must contribute all our strength, heart and soul, must toil in all directions in order to fulfil and overfulfil the plans in reply to the attacks they are making on us from all sides. Our people are wonderful, active supporters of the correct line of their Party, and ready to make any
sacrifice, therefore we must know how to mobilize them correctly to carry out the plans. If we do this well, we will fully deserve the great trust the people have in the Party.

Besides the self-sacrificing work, the revolutionary enthusiasm and the readiness of the broad masses of the working people to carry out the economic plans, we shall also have all the necessary aid of the People's Republic of China. The first groups of specialists have started to come from China and, together with our specialists, they will study the places where the plants and factories envisaged in the 3rd Five-year Plan will be built.

It is a very interesting and encouraging fact that once the Soviet specialists left, from wherever they were, our people took the work in hand and, when certain amendments in the plan were made, the collectives and our specialists have written letters to the Central Committee with the request that the plans should not be reduced, thus expressing the belief that they are capable of ensuring the full realization of the plans set. Hence, we are sure that the 3rd Five-year Plan will be fulfilled in all directions.

We have very friendly relations with the People's Republic of China, not only in the ideological field, but also in political and economic matters. All our political problems have found full endorsement from many other parties, too. We have the support and backing of all the revolutionary peoples of the world.

We shall strive, as always, to eliminate the tense situation with certain parties, but only on the Marxist-Leninist road. We will make no concession over principles. We demand that Khrushchev and those who follow him abandon the anti-Marxist, hostile activity they are carrying out against Albania, in particular. We have been and are for friendship with the Soviet Union and all the countries of people's democracy. For our part, we shall do nothing to exacerbate relations with those countries, but this does not
depend on us. This depends on them. Up till now, we have seen no sign in this direction. On the contrary, every day they send us notes with tendentious aims of slander, but we reply to their notes and put matters in order.

Now, comrades, you will go down to the base and people may ask you questions. Bear in mind that matters must be explained correctly, as they are in fact. It must be thoroughly understood that our relations with the Soviet leadership are no longer what they were in the past and for this the Soviet leaders are to blame. Today, the Soviet leadership is carrying out extensive espionage activity against our country. The situation is no longer that in which everything, everywhere, was open to Soviet people. Therefore, when they go about the country, our comrades must be careful and vigilant. Now we can no longer give those who are diplomats, who make visits around our country, everything they ask for. Previously they have known a great deal about our internal matters; we have kept nothing secret from them because we considered them friends. Now we are in no way obliged to give them information, to tell them how our industry is going, how our bread grain is, etc. We can tell them, after all, how the branch of the Albania-USSR Friendship Association is working, but here, too, we should let them know that we do not accept control over its activity, for the reason that when our ambassador goes to a meeting of the USSR-Albania Friendship Association, which is held once a year in Moscow, they do not even allow him to speak to deliver a message of greeting, until he is obliged to insist on the right to speak. When they change their views and attitude towards our Party and country, then we shall see what we shall do.

Of course, we must behave correctly with people from the Soviet Union, but, when they ask provocative questions, the proper answer must be slapped back in their faces. When their questions are for purposes of surveillance and
information, that is, of a purely espionage character, they must be told openly that such information is not available to them. You should say to them, «This is as far as you can go.» When you see them do unworthy things towards our people in the way of blackmail, threats, pressure, etc., expose them.

Teach our people to fight and take a correct stand towards all hostile actions, and at the same time to struggle to strengthen friendship with the Soviet Union. And this attitude towards these individuals in no way weakens our friendship with the peoples of the Soviet Union. By acting in this way we are on the right road.

That is all I had to say. These are the questions I wished to bring to your attention.