LETTER ADDRESSED TO THE CENTRAL COMMITTEES OF THE COMMUNIST AND WORKERS’ PARTIES OF THE WARSAW TREATY MEMBER COUNTRIES

September 6, 1961

The Plenum of the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania, meeting on September 5-6, 1961, after having carefully examined the letter which the First Secretaries of the Central Committees of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, the United Workers’ Party of Poland, the Communist Party of Bulgaria, the Socialist Workers’ Party of Hungary, the Rumanian Workers’ Party, sent to the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania on August 3, 1961 from the meeting of the representatives of the communist and workers’ parties of the Warsaw Treaty member countries, through the secretariat of this meeting, sends them the following reply:

From the above-mentioned letter, as well as from the delegation of the Party of Labour of Albania which went to Moscow to take part in this meeting, we learned with indignation about the impermissible, profoundly unfriendly attitude, without precedent in the history of the inter-

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1 This letter was addressed to the Central Committees of the CPSU, the CP of Czechoslovakia, the SUP of Germany, the UWP of Poland, the CP of Bulgaria, the SWP of Hungary and the Rumanian WP.
national communist movement, which was maintained there by the authors of the said letter towards the Party of Labour of Albania. In recent times, beginning from the Bucharest Meeting of June 1960, the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Nikita Khrushchev, and the First Secretaries of some communist and workers' parties of socialist countries, members of the Warsaw Treaty, have followed the anti-Marxist practice of placing the Party of Labour of Albania in positions of inequality, discredit and discrimination. This dangerous practice reached its culmination at the meeting of August 3, 1961, where, under the pretext that the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania, Comrade Enver Hoxha, was not taking part in the meeting personally, even the most elementary norms of relations between the communist and workers' parties were brutally violated, and the delegation of the Party of Labour of Albania was ousted from the meeting by means of an arbitrary decision. The Plenum of the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania considers this act, unheard of in relations among Marxist-Leninist fraternal parties, as brutal interference in the internal affairs of our Party, as a blatant violation of the principles of consultation, equality, and independence of the communist and workers' parties, which have been clearly defined in the Moscow Declaration of the 81 communist and workers' parties. The undertaking of such an action towards a fraternal party, such as the Party of Labour of Albania, clearly demonstrates that its authors are deliberately going further and further down the road of exacerbation of relations with the Party of Labour of Albania and the Government of the People's Republic of Albania, that they have entered a road from which there is no return, which heavily damages the supreme interests of the unity of the socialist camp and the international communist move-
ment and the interests of the Warsaw Treaty, a road which can bring joy only to our common enemies.

In its letter of July 22, 1961, addressed to Ulbricht, the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania had explained that it was not possible for the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania, Comrade Enver Hoxha, to take part personally in the meeting of August 3, 1961. The pretext contained in the letter of August 3, addressed to the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania, alleging that the delegation appointed by the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania for that meeting, which was headed by a member of the Political Bureau and secretary of the Central Committee, with that composition, was not «competent» to take part in the discussion of the problems concerning the preparations for the conclusion of the peace treaty with Germany, is entirely without foundation and in contravention of the Leninist organizational rules. In the communist and workers' parties the Leninist principle of collective leadership exists. And our Party of Labour rigorously respects this principle. Consequently, if it is impossible to send its first secretary, the central committee of any communist and workers' party, hence also the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania, has the full right on any occasion and for any meeting to appoint another fully empowered representative, and to authorize him to present the view of his party and assume full obligations and responsibilities on its behalf for the decisions taken collectively as a result of equal, comradely consultations. For the same reason it must be pointed out that neither Khrushchev nor Ulbricht nor any one else is in a position, and neither is it up to them, to determine whether the delegation appointed by the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania to represent our Party at the August 3 meeting was or was not «competent». This is an internal question
of our Party and, in conformity with the well-known principles of the independence of every communist and workers' party, only the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania, as the supreme collective leading organ of the Party, has the right to decide which delegation or leader of the Party will represent it at this or that meeting of fraternal parties.

In its letter of July 22, 1961, the Central Committee of our Party declared with the greatest clarity that its delegation headed by Comrade Ramiz Alia had full power and authority from the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania to represent the Party of Labour of Albania with the most complete competence at the meeting of August 3, 1961, in connection with the German problem which was on the agenda. Therefore we consider the decision of the First Secretaries of the Central Committees of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, the United Workers' Party of Poland, the Communist Party of Bulgaria, the Socialist Workers' Party of Hungary and the Rumanian Workers' Party, not to allow the delegation of the Party of Labour of Albania to take part in the said meeting, unlawful, an unprecedented interference in the internal affairs of the Party of Labour of Albania. Likewise, the accusations made against the Party of Labour of Albania, with regard to Comrade Enver Hoxha's non-participation in the meeting of the Consultative Political Committee of the Warsaw Treaty in March this year, are also interference in our internal affairs.

We also reject the baseless accusation made in the August 3 letter addressed to the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania, which alleges that the leadership of the Party of Labour of Albania ignores the collective opinion of the fraternal communist and workers' parties and that allegedly for this reason, in November 1960, the
Comrades Enver Hoxha and Mehmet Shehu «walked out» of the Meeting of the representatives of the 81 communist and workers’ parties in a «demonstrative fashion». It is well known that the Party of Labour of Albania, just as all the other fraternal parties participating in the Meeting of November 1960, signed the Joint Declaration which was adopted there. The Party of Labour of Albania has consistently implemented and continues to implement the Declaration of the 81 communist and workers’ parties of the year 1960, just as it has implemented and continues to implement the 1957 Declaration of the Moscow Meeting. Where then is this «ignoring of the collective opinion of the fraternal parties»? Those who have been and are brutally violating the principles of the Declaration concerning the relations among the communist and workers’ parties and among the socialist countries ignore the collective opinion of the fraternal parties; the First Secretaries of the Central Committees of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, the United Workers’ Party of Poland, the Communist Party of Bulgaria, the Socialist Workers’ Party of Hungary and the Rumanian Workers’ Party, who maintain arrogant and unfriendly attitudes towards the Party of Labour of Albania and the People’s Republic of Albania, as is proved by the stand they maintained towards the delegation of the Party of Labour of Albania at the meeting of August 3, 1961, ignore it. As to the departure of the Comrades Enver Hoxha and Mehmet Shehu from the final sessions of the November 1960 Meeting, it is well known that this was done because they had to be present in their Homeland for the National Day celebrations of November 28 and 29. Moreover, they left when the general discussion at the Moscow Meeting had come to an end, when the only business still going on was with the commission for the preparation of the text of the Declaration, on which the over-
whelming majority of the participating parties, including the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, the United Workers' Party of Poland, etc., were not represented by the heads of their delegations. Besides this, many fraternal parties at the November 1960 Meeting were not represented by their principal leaders, while some days before the departure of the Comrades Enver Hoxha and Mehmet Shehu, Comrade Novotny left the meeting, but despite this nobody has even thought of making accusations against these parties and Comrade Novotny. over this thing, and this is right. Why then, is a different attitude maintained in the case of the Party of Labour of Albania? Is this not a gross violation of the principle of equality, a blatantly discriminatory attitude towards the Party of Labour of Albania?

From this it is clear that all those things contained in the letter addressed to the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania, and which were said at the Meeting of August 3, 1961 against the Party of Labour of Albania and its leadership, are nothing but pretexts invented to justify the impermissible discriminatory attitudes towards the Party of Labour of Albania, to deny it the right to take part in the meeting and to present its correct viewpoint there concerning the German issue. By their unjust decision the First Secretaries of the Central Committees of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, the United Workers' Party of Poland, the Communist Party of Bulgaria, the Socialist Workers' Party of Hungary and the Rumanian Workers' Party, committed an unprecedented crime: they denied the Party of Labour of Albania, which has always loyally defended and continues to defend the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, and the allied and fraternal
Albanian people, a member of the Warsaw Treaty, their lawful right to have their say with regard to the just solution of the German problem; they trampled underfoot every Leninist law and principle governing the relations among fraternal parties and socialist countries.

Apparently, in order to hide this crime from the world, to conceal the injustice done to the Party of Labour of Albania, at the end of the proceedings of the Meeting of August 3, 1961, an announcement was made in to the press, which falsified the reality by implying that the delegation of the Party of Labour of Albania also, took part in this meeting. But, however these actions may be justified and concealed, it remains a bitter and undeniable fact that they are seriously harming the unity of the socialist camp and the international communist movement, and their authors are thus taking upon themselves a grave responsibility before the peoples and history.

And that is not all. In continuation of their reprehensible actions towards the Party of Labour of Albania, they unscrupulously violated every Leninist norm of relations among fraternal communist and workers' parties; they did not even inform the Central Committee of our Party about what took place during the meeting of August 3-5, 1961, and the measures adopted there. Up to date, neither the decisions taken at this meeting nor its minutes have been sent to the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania. Such an action towards a fraternal party cannot be described otherwise than as a dishonest and entirely unjustifiable effort to exclude the Party of Labour of Albania in fact from effective participation in the discussion and solution of the major problems which are concerning the international communist and workers' movement, the socialist camp and the Warsaw Treaty today, such as the German problem.

But they went even further. As it emerges from the
decision of the Council of Ministers of the German Democratic Republic of August 12, 1961, concerning the measures for the strengthening of the control on the border with West Berlin, apart from the August 3, 1961 Meeting of the representatives of the communist and workers' parties of the Warsaw Treaty member countries, at which the Party of Labour of Albania was unlawfully prohibited from participation, a meeting of the Consultative Political Committee of the Warsaw Treaty has been held, too. Not only were the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania and the Government of the People's Republic of Albania not invited to take part in this meeting, but they were not even informed of the holding of such a meeting. The Central Committee of our Party considers this a blatant violation of the legal rights of the People's Republic of Albania, which is a worthy and equal member of the Warsaw Treaty. The organizers of this unprecedented act, which has the aim of putting the People's Republic of Albania effectively outside the Warsaw Treaty, took upon themselves a heavy responsibility as underminers of the unity of the Warsaw Treaty and the socialist camp. With profound regret we are obliged to observe that this is not the first time that, in their relations with the Party of Labour of Albania and the People's Republic of Albania, some leaders of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, with Khrushchev at the head, and some leaders of the communist and workers' parties of the socialist countries of Europe, have violated the agreements existing between our parties and countries in a flagrant manner. The Plenum of the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania most resolutely protests over these unlawful and profoundly anti-Marxist acts, which bring great harm to our common cause.

The letter, which the First Secretaries of the Central Committees of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union,
the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, the United Workers’ Party of Poland, the Communist Party of Bulgaria, the Socialist Workers’ Party of Hungary and the Rumanian Workers’ Party addressed to the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania, contains a series of attacks, false arguments, and the basest inventions against the Party of Labour of Albania and its leaders, that cannot be left without the reply they deserve from the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania.

The leaders of the Party of Labour of Albania are accused of allegedly being afraid to take upon themselves the responsibility for the settlement of so complicated a question as the German question. The Party of Labour of Albania and the Albanian Government, the Albanian leaders have never been and are not afraid of their responsibility as allies and members of the Warsaw Treaty in any situation. Although a small country, encircled all round by savage enemies, without a common border with the other socialist countries, the People’s Republic of Albania has stood like a granite rock on the Adriatic coast, has successfully coped with the countless plots, provocations and blackmail of the imperialists and their tools, and has carried out its obligations as a socialist country and member of the Warsaw Treaty to the letter.

The stand of our Party and Government on the German question is known to the whole world. It is contained in many official documents that have been published in the press. The Party of Labour of Albania and the Government of the People’s Republic of Albania have always resolutely supported the efforts of the Soviet Union and the German Democratic Republic for a peaceful solution of the German question. The view of our Party and Government has been and still is that the conclusion of a peace treaty with Germany and the settlement on this basis of
the problem of West Berlin, too, are indispensable measures, long overdue, and in the interests of the People's Republic of Albania, the German Democratic Republic and the other socialist countries, in the interests of peace and security in Europe. We have been and are for the earliest possible solution of these problems, because any dragging on of them is to the advantage only of our enemies. You all have the speech that the delegation of our Party was to have delivered at the August 3 Meeting, which it sent on August 3 to the delegations of all the communist and workers' parties participating in this meeting. It shows that our delegation was authorized to declare, on behalf of the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania and the Government of the People's Republic of Albania, that «in any situation and at any moment of danger we shall fight to the end beside the Soviet Union and the other fraternal countries, regardless of any sacrifice, we shall be in solidarity to the end and shall do our duty honourably, on every occasion, as we have always done.» This has been and is the view of the Party of Labour of Albania and the Government of the People's Republic of Albania, irrespective of the ideological disagreements which exist between our parties.

Who, in fact, is afraid of the responsibility for the solution of the German issue — we who have been and are for the earliest possible settlement of it, or those who have retreated on this issue and dragged it on until today? Khrushchev himself publicly declared, in November 1958, that after six months the realization of measures for the liquidation of the occupation regime in West Berlin and for its transformation into a free, demilitarized city would begin. But six months went by, another two years have gone by, and the situation in West Berlin is still what it was. There is another fact, too, which we cannot fail to mention here. Only a few months ago, at the March 1961
Meeting of the Consultative Political Committee of the Warsaw Treaty, Nikita Khrushchev reproached the Party of Labour of Albania with allegedly pursuing an incautious and hard-line policy in connection with the German question, while four months later the Party of Labour of Albania is accused of being afraid, that it seeks to avoid the responsibilities stemming from the solution of the German question, etc., etc. Are these declarations not a little surprising? Is it not clear that some leaders of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and some leaders of the communist and workers' parties of the socialist countries of Europe who support them in their efforts to smear the Party of Labour of Albania, in order to distort its correct policy, resort to all sorts of arguments, be they invented or borrowed from the arsenal of the enemies of the People's Republic of Albania and the socialist camp, be they even contradictory to one another? But the sun cannot be hidden by a sieve. The stand of the Party of Labour and the Government of the People's Republic of Albania is clear to everybody. The various calumnies and accusations, wherever they may come from, cannot deceive anybody, apart from the naive and those who want to be deceived.

To us it is astonishing and monstrous how such slanderers can be emitted from the mouths of the leaders of some socialist countries and communist parties against another socialist country such as Albania and a Marxist-Leninist party such as the Party of Labour of Albania, that they are allegedly «striving to prepare the ground for rapprochement with those who oppose the peaceful settlement of the German problem». The Plenum of the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania firmly and indignantly rejects this base insinuation and considers it a grave insult to our Party and people, who have fought heroically against fascism and nazism, who have given so
many proofs of their determination in the struggle against imperialism and its tools, who have unflinchingly resisted every threat and provocation by the enemies of socialism, who have mercilessly exposed all those who, deviating from class positions, have sunk into the slime of opportunism and preached conciliation with our enemies. It appears that since their false accusations of sectarianism and extremism against the Party of Labour of Albania did not work and could not deceive anyone, now they are trying to spread all sorts of inventions that the Party of Labour of Albania is seeking rapprochement with the enemies of peace and socialism. But, faced with the correct and consistent Marxist-Leninist stand of our Party, a stand which is so widely known that we do not take the pains to document it in this letter, these new accusations, too, will suffer the same fate as the previous ones — they will fail ignominiously. Those who accuse and slander the Party of Labour of Albania and its leadership are unable to bring forward even one fact that could prove what they say, whereas we are in a position to bring out many documented facts which clearly show their vacillations from the positions of Marxism-Leninism and the struggle against imperialism. We have never had illusions about our enemies, we have not embraced and kissed them, we have never flattered them or patted them on the back, and neither have we ever kowtowed to them. Our Party and Government have always maintained a resolute and principled Marxist-Leninist stand towards the enemies of peace and socialism, have sternly and constantly unmasked imperialism and its policy of war and aggression. They have been irreconcilable towards the class enemies. The efforts to cast aspersions on the Party of Labour of Albania and the Government of the People's Republic of Albania, on the entire Albanian people, are disgraceful attempts which will never be successful. They are refuted both by the
entire history of the Party of Labour of Albania, as well as by life and present-day reality itself.

The authors of the above-mentioned letter of August 3, 1961 are trying their utmost in every way to find any sort of pretext for further anti-Marxist and utterly unfriendly actions against the Albanian people, their Party and Government. The accusations made against us that allegedly the People’s Republic of Albania does not carry out its commitments as a member of the Warsaw Treaty, that it does not inform the United Command about the state of the Albanian Army, that it pursues a line which is in opposition to the interests of the other Warsaw Treaty member countries and to the principles of proletarian internationalism, are concoctions from start to finish. In fact, we have carried out to the letter all the existing agreements, all the duties with which we have been charged by the United Command of the Warsaw Treaty Armed Forces. We have carried out all its orders and instructions about military training and all the measures envisaged in the joint plans of the Warsaw Treaty armies. Regularly, every year and every six months, at the times set and with all the details, we have notified the United Command of the Warsaw Treaty about the moral-political and material-technical situation, the combat and technical-operational readiness of our army. Such, for example, are the latest reports given verbally and in writing to the Commander-in-chief of the United Forces of the Warsaw Treaty, Marshal Grechko, in October 1960, and on March 27, 1961. It is not we, but precisely the United Command and the Soviet Government that have not carried out their obligations towards the army of a Warsaw Treaty member country, such as the People's Republic of Albania. Immediately after the Bucharest Meeting, the Soviet Government cut off all the military supplies in food and clothing, technical equipment, armaments and other means for the Albanian Army,
thus, unilaterally and without any warning, violating all the previously signed agreements, such as, for instance, the agreement concluded between the Government of the Soviet Union and the Government of the People's Republic of Albania on September 28, 1949, the protocol of February 26, 1959, the protocol of February 3, 1960, etc., including also the flagrant violations by the Soviet side of the agreements of the years 1957 and 1959 regarding the Vlora naval base. Completely contrary to the common interests of the defence of the socialist camp, the Soviet leaders and all those leaders of the communist and workers' parties of the socialist countries of Europe who approved their proposal, liquidated the Vlora naval base, thus taking upon themselves a grave historical responsibility, not only before the Albanian people, but also before all the other peoples of the socialist camp. The plan of principal measures of the United Command of the Warsaw Treaty about the operational and combat training of the Albanian Army for the 1961 school year has not been carried out. It has been violated without any reason or warning. The United Command has categorically cut off the dispatch of military literature to Albania and does not give the Command of the Albanian Army any information whatever about what is going on in the armies of other Warsaw Treaty member countries. Despite the repeated requests of the Albanian authorities, made in the report sent to Marshal Grechko on March 27, 1961, at the meeting of the Consultative Political Committee of the Warsaw Treaty in March this year, and on other occasions, that the Command of the Albanian Army should know what are its duties and the armies with which our army would act together in case of war, at least in the initial stage after it begins, up till now no answer has been given and no measure has been taken, so that the Albanian Army still does not know its duties in the context of the joint strategic and operational plan of the Warsaw Treaty
armies. The request of the Albanian side, presented in the above-mentioned report of March 27, 1961, in the context of the reciprocal exchange of experience, that the Albanian Army, too, should take part in joint exercises to the extent and with the composition that are judged reasonable, has likewise remained without an answer.

From what has been said above, it clearly emerges that the Party of Labour of Albania and the People's Republic of Albania have always fulfilled their obligations in a correct manner, both towards the other Warsaw Treaty member countries and towards the United Command. Whereas, on the contrary, the leaders of the other Warsaw Treaty member countries and the United Command have not fulfilled their duties towards the People's Republic of Albania and the Albanian Army, towards a socialist country and member of the Warsaw Treaty.

The same thing can be said, also, with regard to the political activity of the Government of the People's Republic of Albania. In its entire practice, the Government of the People's Republic of Albania has regularly informed the other Warsaw Treaty member countries about all the important issues of foreign policy, through their diplomatic representatives in Tirana, for whom it has provided all facilities for the exercise of their activity. The accusations made against the leadership of our Party and Government in this direction, too, are sheer inventions which are made with the purpose of making our relations even worse.

But all these unjust actions, baseless accusations and slanders against the Party of Labour of Albania and the People's Republic of Albania, will never attain their aim, they will never be able to turn the People's Republic of Albania from the rigorous and consistent carrying out of its internationalist duties as a socialist state and worthy member of the Warsaw Treaty. The Plenum of the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania once again
declares that, despite the obstacles and difficulties being created for us every day, with our means and possibilities, we shall keep our armed forces in full readiness in order to perform honourably and with precision our duty as an ally for the defence of the interests of the socialist camp in this region, and as far as we are concerned, we shall keep the United Command of the Warsaw Treaty and all the socialist countries informed. At the same time, we demand and shall demand that the United Command and the governments of the socialist countries, members of the Warsaw Treaty, also fulfil to the letter their obligations towards the People's Republic of Albania and its Army, as an equal member of the Warsaw Treaty. The Party of Labour of Albania thinks that the reciprocal obligations of all the Warsaw Treaty members must be carried out to the letter and by everybody, without any discrimination.

In the August 3 letter addressed to the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania, it is stated that the Party of Labour of Albania «considers the carrying out of its obligations which stem from the Warsaw Treaty to be a heavy burden,» etc. One can really deplore the authors of these declarations placing themselves in a ridiculous position. How could a small country like Albania, which is building socialism in the conditions of the capitalist savage encirclement, under the continuous pressure of the conspiracies, provocations and threats of the imperialists, the Greek monarcho-fascists, and the Yugoslav revisionists, find it a burden to be in the Warsaw Treaty? Who could be more interested in the Warsaw Treaty than the small Albanian people, who are living and working right in the wolf's mouth? Therefore the Plenum of the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania indignantly rejects both the conclusion contained in the August 3 letter, according to which the Albanian leaders allegedly «consider the carrying out of the obligations which stem from
the Warsaw Treaty a heavy burden», as well as the formula repeated in many documents aimed at the Central Committee of the PLA that allegedly «the Party of Labour of Albania and the Albanian Government have placed themselves outside the Warsaw Treaty». The objective at which the authors of such calumnies aim is more than clear, but irrespective of this, the Plenum of the Central Committee of the PLA declares that the People's Republic of Albania has been and is a worthy member of the Warsaw Treaty, which has honourably upheld and upholds all the responsibilities stemming from this membership.

The accusations that allegedly the Party of Labour of Albania and its leaders are disrupting the unity of the Warsaw Treaty countries and the socialist camp by their actions are lies and are made with sinister aims, as a cover for the unfriendly activity which has been carried on against our Party and people by the leaders of some communist and workers' parties of the socialist countries of Europe for some time. It is precisely this activity, and not the attitude of the Party of Labour of Albania, which is undermining the unity and compactness of the countries of the Warsaw Treaty and the socialist camp. Despite the injustices done to them, despite all the slanders and many kinds of pressures and difficulties which are being created for them, at no time have the Party of Labour of Albania and its leaders given any cause for our unity to be weakened. On the contrary, they have fought and are fighting to strengthen it, they have not provided and do not provide the enemies with any weapon whatever with which to attack our unity. It is precisely certain leaders of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, with Khrushchev at the head, and of the other communist and workers' parties of the socialist countries of Europe, headed by Novotny, Ulbricht, Gomulka, Zhivkov, Kadar and Gheorghiadej, who, by their acts against the Party of Labour of
Albania and the Albanian people, acts which are becoming more publicly known day by day, are providing our common enemies with weapons to attack both our unity in general, and the People's Republic of Albania in particular. It is they who deliberately carried over the ideological disagreements between our parties to the field of relations between our socialist states, by imposing the economic, political and military blockade on the People's Republic of Albania. It is they who, from the discussion of these problems through party channels, launched into public discussion of them, as Ulbricht did in his notorious statement after the Moscow Meeting of the 81 communist and workers' parties, or as the leadership of the Communist Party of Bulgaria has done in its own party. It is they, who, instead of working, as the Moscow Declaration says, to gradually eliminate the disagreements that existed and the negative phenomena that had been observed in the relations between our parties, preferred another course: the course of the further exacerbation, the course of pressures, the one greater than the other, the course of unprincipled attacks and countless provocations against the Party of Labour of Albania and the People's Republic of Albania. It is precisely they who are weakening and undermining the unity and compactness of the socialist camp and the Warsaw Treaty, with the unprecedented decision they took at the August 3 Meeting to deprive the plenipotentiary delegation of the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania of the legal right to take part in the meeting and express the view of our Party about so important a problem as the German problem, and precisely at a very delicate moment of the international situation, when it is more necessary than ever that we are united to a man; facing the US and other imperialists who are threatening us with war. Hence, it is not the Party of Labour of Albania, but certain Soviet leaders, with Khrushchev at the head, and leaders of other socialist
countries of Europe who, with their anti-Marxist and by no means friendly acts, are weakening and undermining the unity of the socialist camp, the international communist movement and the Warsaw Treaty countries, thus pleasing only the enemies of peace and socialism...

Why then is the leadership of our Party being slandered so zealously? What purposes do the authors of the monstrous charges and attacks against it aim to achieve? Their purpose is poorly disguised, because everything is more than clear: they do not like the present leadership of the Party of Labour of Albania and they are striving in every way to bring it down. But let them be sure that they will be quite unable to achieve this aim, just as the imperialists, or the Yugoslav revisionists were unable to achieve it and never will.

The Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania has declared more than once, and we repeat in this letter, too, that the fact that the Soviet leaders and those of the other socialist countries of Europe are pursuing a completely erroneous political course in their relations with the Party of Labour of Albania and the People's Republic of Albania, a course which brings harm, not only to the Albanian people and the construction of socialism in Albania, but also to the interests of the socialist camp itself and the Warsaw Treaty, to our unity which is more than essential particularly at present, worries and saddens us greatly. They have taken the dangerous course of deliberately exacerbating and complicating our disagreements and they are going further down this road. Our Party of Labour has said and we repeat that if there are some who think that in this way, through pressures and unjust actions, through blockades and economic, political or military restrictions, our Party can be conquered, that views with which it does not agree can be imposed on it, they are gravely mistaken. Therefore, the Central Committee of the
Party of Labour of Albania repeats once again the call made in its letter of July 6, 1961, addressed to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, to give up unfriendly actions towards and pressures on the Party of Labour of Albania and the People’s Republic of Albania, the conscious exacerbation of our relations, anything that only creates artificial obstacles to the strengthening of our unity and friendship. This, and this alone, is the way to the resolution of disagreements and strengthening of our unity.

But we observe with profound regret that their hot-headedness and arrogant attitude towards the Party of Labour of Albania, which by no means conform to the principles of proletarian internationalism, hinder N. S. Khrushchev and the leaders of other socialist countries of Europe from carefully weighing up the proposals in our letter of July 6, which indicate the only correct way to resolve our disagreements. Instead of correcting their wrong attitudes towards the Party of Labour of Albania and undertaking real steps to improve our relations and strengthen our unity, they make a show of strength against a small fraternal people, such as the Albanian people, by means of blockades, blackmail and economic, political and military pressures. But it is known that the argument of strength is a sign of weakness, it cannot change lies into truth nor replace principles. We remain unshaken, because we have an invincible strength, the strength of the truth, the strength of principle, the strength of Marxism-Leninism. Proceeding from their distorted positions, the Soviet leaders and those of other socialist countries of Europe who support them in their unprincipled fight against the Party of Labour of Albania and the Albanian people, may take any decision against the Party of Labour of Albania and the People’s Republic of Albania, against the Albanian people, but any such decision will be wrong and will not achieve its aim.
In the future too, the Party of Labour of Albania and the Government of the People's Republic of Albania will honourably carry out their duties as a Marxist-Leninist Party and a socialist country just as they have done up to now. This has been our line. This will be our line in the future, too.

For the Central Committee
of the Party of Labour of Albania

First Secretary

Enver Hoxha

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AN UNPRECEDENTED ACT OF HOSTILITY AGAINST THE PRA AND THE ALBANIAN PEOPLE

Article published in the newspaper «Zëri i popullit»

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On the urging of Khrushchev, the Soviet Government has decided to withdraw the entire personnel of the Soviet Embassy from Tirana and demanded the departure of the entire personnel of the Albanian Embassy from Moscow. This unprecedented act of hostility against socialist Albania and the Albanian people is an action unheard of in the history of the relations among socialist countries, a heavy blow against the unity of the socialist camp and the international communist and workers' movement. Such an act is an insult to the feelings of profound fraternal friendship which the Soviet communists and the Soviet peoples nurture for our Party and people, and rightly revolts every Albanian and every honest person in the world. By taking this action, Khrushchev gladdens only the enemies and gives them weapons to discredit the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the Soviet state and their traditional policy of friendship among the peoples. This shows what depths Khrushchev has reached in his hostile feelings towards the PLA, the PRA and the Alba-

1 This material appeared as an editorial in the newspaper «Zëri i popullit» under the title «An Unprecedented Act in the Relations among Socialist Countries». 
nian people, who have been and are loyal friends of the Soviet Union.

The twenty years of the activity of the PLA and the 17 years of the existence of the PRA are the clearest evidence of feelings of friendship and boundless love for the CPSU and the peoples of the Soviet Union. The friendship of our people for the Soviet Union has been forged by the PLA in the flames of the struggle for freedom, national independence and the building of socialism. It has been consecrated with the blood of the valiant sons of the Soviet peoples and the Albanian partisans who fell in the common struggle against the common enemies. The PLA has educated its members and all the working people of the country in the spirit of boundless love and unshakeable loyalty towards the Communist Party of Lenin and Stalin and the Soviet peoples. The PLA and the Albanian people have always considered the friendship with the Soviet Union, its internationalist support and aid, as the important external factor for the liberation of the country, the construction of socialism and the defence of freedom and national independence, and for this they have been and are grateful. The relations of the PRA with the Soviet Union have always been more than exemplary, and there have never been black clouds between our two countries. In the interests of our common cause, the Government of the PRA has supported and backed up the foreign policy of the Soviet Union, its proposals and steps for the solution of the important international questions in the interest of peace and the security of the peoples, with all its strength. The Albanian-Soviet friendship is not a result of some diplomatic combination, but a profound people’s friendship, which has its source in our common course of socialism and communism, in our common interests and aims, in the struggle against imperialism, in the ideology of Marxism-Leninism and the lofty principles of proletarian internationalism.
It is astounding and even incomprehensible to any honest person how Khrushchev could go so far as to sever state diplomatic relations with a small, friendly and fraternal country, with a socialist country, which is fighting undauntedly, in the conditions of the capitalist and revisionist encirclement, which is holding aloft the banner of socialism on the shores of the Adriatic, which at every moment and in all circumstances has demonstrated its boundless loyalty towards the great homeland of Lenin with deeds. This attitude towards socialist Albania cannot fail to cause astonishment, at a time when Khrushchev is so loudly advocating the policy of rapprochement and collaboration with all states, even with the most reactionary ones, which are carrying on a consistently hostile policy against the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, at a time when Khrushchev is extending his hand and striving to create close ties even with the most reactionary multi-millionaires, with various princes and kings, not to mention his rapprochement with and embracing of the Yugoslav revisionists and the cordial greetings and congratulations he sends to the Pope of Rome. From these facts not only every communist, but every honest person in the world will be convinced of the degree of hostility of Khrushchev’s act against the PRA, and they will see whom this act serves in reality.

The pretext Khrushchev found for the withdrawal of the entire personnel of the Soviet Embassy from Tirana was that allegedly the Albanian Government was carrying out a hostile campaign against the Soviet Union and exacerbating the relations between the two countries, hindering the normal activity of the Soviet ambassador in Tirana, and creating an intolerable situation for the Soviet diplomats, etc. All these «serious» causes which drove Khrushchev to such an action are without foundation from start to finish, they are slanders and inventions which are refuted by
the real state of affairs. Anyone who has the slightest acquaintance with the press and the reality in our country sees that in it there is no word, no expression, not even the slightest trace of hostility towards the Soviet Union. On the contrary, it is Khrushchev and his followers who invent slanders and tales in order to sow enmity and hatred against our people. Proceeding on this course, a few days ago, it was alleged in an article of the newspaper «Pravda» dated December 2, 1961, written by Andropov, that an editorial of the newspaper «Zëri i popullit» published on the eve of the 22nd Congress of the CPSU wrote that the Albanian leaders «would not develop their relations with the Soviet Union from now on, except on the basis of the principles of peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems». This is a falsification and distortion of the truth. Such a thing has never been said in any issue, article or editorial of «Zëri i popullit» or any other Albanian newspaper. These are the fabrications on which Khrushchev bases his «arguments». What hypocrisy! He hurls at us the false accusation that we are allegedly for relations of peaceful coexistence with the Soviet Union and he is very angry about this, whereas he himself in fact goes very much further even than his own fabrications, to the point of closing the Soviet Embassy in Tirana and ousting the personnel of the Albanian Embassy from Moscow, an action which has nothing in common with the internationalist principles of relations among fraternal socialist countries, nor even with the principles of peaceful coexistence, about which he makes so great a fuss.

As to the pretext that allegedly an intolerable situation has been created in Albania for the Soviet diplomats and the normal activity of the ambassador, such a slander is not even worthy of denial. Khrushchev and his group, like the Soviet diplomats themselves, know very well that, in reality, the conditions created for them to carry out their
activity in Albania surpass the usually accepted norms, that the Soviet ambassador, for whose work great obstacles have allegedly been created, particularly in recent times, has not been in Albania, but in Moscow, since August 19, 1961. It is truly astonishing that Ambassador Shikin has noted from Moscow the obstacles created for him in Albania recently!

Khrushchev's pretext that allegedly the Government of the PRA has violated the norms of international law by requiring the reduction of the personnel of the Soviet Embassy in Tirana cannot stand either. Why did the Government of the PRA demand that the personnel of the two embassies should be placed on a basis of reciprocity? It is known that since the Bucharest Meeting of June 1960, Khrushchev has systematically and deliberately pursued the policy of pressures and blackmail, with a view to bringing the PLA and the Albanian people to their knees and subjugating them. Violating the previously signed agreements, he suspended all the credits that the Soviet Union had accorded our country, withdrew all the Soviet specialists from Albania, almost completely suspended our trade relations on a clearing basis, cut off the bursaries of all the Albanian civilian and military students who were studying in the Soviet Union, cancelled all the plans of cultural and technico-scientific collaboration between the two countries, established the strict blockade of silence and political isolation towards the PRA and the Albanian people, violated the agreements in the field of military relations, in a word, established the «cordon sanitaire» around the People's Republic of Albania. And after all this, is the demand of the Government of the PRA that the personnel of the two embassies should be put on a basis of reciprocity from the numerical viewpoint not completely justifiable and fair? In these conditions what would about 80 people of the Soviet Embassay in Tirana do, when the sphere of
their activity has been reduced to the limit, taking into account the unilateral restrictive economic, cultural, and political measures adopted by Khrushchev towards the PRA?

The real cause that impelled Khrushchev to this extreme act is not the trumped up accusations he takes as pretext. The real cause must be sought in the revisionist views of Khrushchev and in his anti-Marxist efforts to impose them on the other parties by any means. Beginning from the Bucharest Meeting, and particularly after the Moscow Meeting of the 81 communist and workers’ parties, at which the PLA openly expressed its opinion and courageously criticized the opportunist views and anti-Marxist actions of Khrushchev in a principled way, in retaliation for this and with a view to silencing our Party, to subjugating it and giving a lesson to anyone that would dare to oppose him, Khrushchev extended the ideological disagreements to the field of state relations and began to behave with the PRA as towards an enemy country. After having systematically implemented the economic blockade, the blockade of silence and political isolation, etc., one after the other, in order to force our Party to its knees, at the 22nd Congress he went so far as to publicly level the basest slanders and accusations at the Party of Labour of Albania and its leaders and make a blatantly counter-revolutionary call for the overthrow of the leadership of the Albanian Party and state, thus brutally interfering in the internal affairs of a sovereign socialist country which is a friend and ally. And after having failed in all these attempts and being unable to attain his aim, he committed this further hostile act against the PR of Albania by cutting off diplomatic relations. The closing down of the Soviet Embassy in Tirana and the demand for the withdrawal of the entire personnel of the Albanian Embassy from Moscow is a logical conclusion to the anti-Marxist and anti-Albanian
course which Khrushchev has been following for some time now towards the PLA, the PRA and the Albanian people. But by this unprecedented act of hostility Khrushchev further exposes himself, not only before the Albanian people and the Soviet people, but also before the entire international communist and workers' movement, before world public opinion.

This act, unprecedented in the relations among socialist countries, sheds light on the anti-Marxist concepts of Khrushchev about the equality and independence of communist parties and socialist states, be they small or big, about their indisputable right to have their own viewpoint and express it freely. On the lips of Khrushchev, the Leninist principles of equality, independence and non-interference in the internal affairs of one another are nothing but deception, for in fact the PLA needed only to express its viewpoint on a number of questions of the present-day developments in the world and the international communist movement, in opposition to Khrushchev's revisionist concepts, and all the stones rained upon it and all methods were used, up to those which the imperialists and the other most reactionary forces have used and continue to use.

What does Khrushchev reckon to achieve with this new hostile act against the PRA? Pursuing the same course and the same aims as before, with this act, too, he aims to intimidate and subjugate the PLA, to shift it from its revolutionary Marxist-Leninist positions, to shake the confidence of our people in the PLA and its leadership, to upset the feelings of friendship of the Albanian people towards the Soviet Union, to undermine the friendship and love of the Soviet people for the PLA, the PRA and the Albanian people, to create new difficulties on the road to the building of socialism in Albania. Undoubtedly, Khrushchev goes even further in his reckoning. On the international plane he aims to threaten and warn any
other party and country that would dare to oppose his views and actions, which are doing great harm to the cause of Marxism-Leninism and socialism.

But Khrushchev is trying in vain. He will never attain these aims. The Albanian people are linked with their Party like flesh to bone, because from the experience of life itself they have become convinced of the wise leadership of the PLA, its correct line, its boundless loyalty to the cause of the people and socialism, its policy of sincere friendship with the Soviet Union. Under the leadership of the PLA, the Albanian people have scored historic victories in the course of these twenty years: they liberated the country from the fascist invaders and established the people's state power, reconstructed the war-ravaged country, liquidated the centuries-old backwardness and achieved great successes in the construction of socialist society, defeated every provocation and conspiracy of the imperialists and other enemies of our people, and defended the freedom and independence of our Homeland. Today the unity of our people and Party, tempered in struggle and work, is stronger than ever. There is no intrigue and pressure, conspiracy and blackmail that can damage this steel-like unity. In the face of it, all the efforts of the imperialist enemies and modern revisionists will fail ignominiously as they have done so far.

The attacks, slanders and hostile actions of Khrushchev, including his latest act, will not affect the pure feelings of friendship our people nurture for the fraternal Soviet peoples, for the genuine Soviet communists...

The Albanian people and the PLA will march resolutely on their right road of the construction of socialism and the defence of the Homeland. The temporary difficulties will not stop us. We are sure of our future. The targets of the 3rd Five-year Plan will be fulfilled and overfulfilled, irrespective of the obstacles which Khrushchev and his
followers are trying to put in our way. Socialist Albania will live unbowed and will prosper with every passing day. A reliable guarantee for this is the patriotism and the revolutionary spirit of our people, the correct leadership of the PLA and the internationalist aid and support of our friends, the international solidarity of the working people.

The Albanian people and the PLA know no fear. They are not afraid of the pressures and blackmail of Khrushchev and his cronies. Just as it has done hitherto, the People's Republic of Albania, as a socialist country, will have as the foundation of its foreign policy its efforts to strengthen the friendship and fraternal collaboration with the socialist countries, on the basis of the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. In the future, too, our Party and Government will unwaveringly continue their determined, principled struggle to expose the war-mongering and aggressive plans and actions of US-led imperialism, will fight modern revisionism, and will always keep their revolutionary vigilance at a high level. Our Party and Government will consistently pursue their policy of peaceful coexistence among countries with different political and social systems, will fight for the relaxation of tension in the relations among states, and will make their contribution to the peaceful solution of the problems which exercise the minds of the peace-loving peoples. As before, our Party and people will unreservedly support the sacred struggle of the peoples for their national and social liberation.

Utterly disgusted, the Albanian Party and people protest with deep indignation against the new act of unprecedented hostility by Khrushchev against the People's Republic of Albania. They are deeply convinced that they are on a correct course, and that the Soviet peoples and communists are with them against this act, which will prove fatal, not to us, but to the Khrushchev group itself.
Our Party is fighting for a great cause, for the truth of Marxism-Leninism, to preserve and strengthen the sound unity of the socialist camp and the international communist movement against modern revisionism, against the opportunist, revisionist distortions and disruptive actions of Khrushchev, for the triumph of our common cause of socialism, peace, and the freedom of the peoples. On this course, marching shoulder to shoulder with the sister Marxist-Leninist parties and the fraternal peoples of the socialist countries, as well as with all the revolutionary forces of the world, our Party and people will score complete victory over the imperialist and revisionist enemies. Marxism-Leninism cannot be vanquished! Socialism and communism will triumph!