

**SPEECH DELIVERED AT THE MEETING OF
81 COMMUNIST AND WORKERS' PARTIES
IN MOSCOW¹ ON BEHALF OF THE CC
OF THE PLA**

November 16, 1960

Dear Comrades,

This Meeting of the communist and workers' parties is of historic importance to the international communist movement, for it is making a detailed analysis of the international political situation, drawing up a balance-sheet of the successes and mistakes that may have been observed along our course, helping us see more clearly the line we should pursue henceforth in order to score further successes to the benefit of socialism, communism and peace.

The existence of the socialist camp, headed by the Soviet Union, is already an accomplished fact in the world. The communist movement in general has been enlarged, strengthened and tempered. The communist and workers'

¹ The Meeting of 81 communist and workers' parties was held in Moscow from the 10th of November to the 1st of December 1960. It was held in an extremely complicated situation of the international communist movement as a result of the spread of modern revisionism and especially the disruptive anti-Marxist activity of the Soviet leadership with Khrushchev at the head.

The delegation of the PLA was headed by Comrade Enver Hoxha. The speech he delivered at the Moscow Meeting was approved at the 20th Plenum of the CC of the PLA held on November 1, 1960.

parties throughout the world have become a colossal force which is leading mankind forward towards socialism, towards peace.

As the draft-statement which has been prepared emphasizes, our socialist camp is very much stronger than that of imperialism. Socialism is growing stronger and attaining new heights day by day, while imperialism is growing weaker and decaying. We should make use of all our means and forces to speed up this process. This will come about if we remain unwaveringly loyal to Marxism-Leninism and apply it correctly. Otherwise, we will retard this process, for we are faced with a ruthless enemy — imperialism, headed by US imperialism, which we must defeat and destroy.

We want peace, while imperialism does not want peace and is preparing for a third world war. We must fight with all our might to avert a world war and to bring about the triumph of a just and democratic peace in the world. This will be achieved when we have forced imperialism to disarm. Imperialism will not give up its arms of its own free will. To believe anything of the kind is merely to deceive oneself and others. Therefore, we must confront imperialism with the colossal economic, military, moral, political and ideological strength of the socialist camp, as well as with the combined strength of the peoples throughout the world, to sabotage in every way the war which the imperialists are preparing.

The Party of Labour of Albania has never hidden from its people this situation and the threat with which imperialism is menacing peace-loving mankind, nor will it ever do so. We can assure you that the Albanian people, who detest war, have not been intimidated by this correct action of their Party. They have not become pessimistic, nor have they been marking time as far as socialist construction is concerned. They have a clear vision of their future and have set to

work with full confidence, always vigilant, keeping the pick in one hand and the rifle in the other.

Our view is that imperialism, headed by US imperialism, should be mercilessly exposed, politically and ideologically, and at no time should we permit flattery, prettification, or coddling of imperialism. No concessions of principle should be made to imperialism. The tactics and compromises which are permissible on our part should help our cause, not that of the enemy.

Facing a ruthless enemy, the guarantee for the triumph of our cause lies in our complete unity, which will be secured by eliminating the deep ideological differences which have been manifested, and by building this unity on the foundations of Marxism-Leninism, on equality, on brotherhood, on the spirit of comradeship and proletarian internationalism. Our Party believes that not only should we have no ideological split, but we should maintain a unified political stand on all issues. Our tactics and strategy towards the enemy should be worked out by all our parties, based on Marxist-Leninist principles and on correct political criteria in accordance with the concrete existing situations. . .

All the peoples of the world aspire to and fight for freedom, independence, sovereignty, social justice, culture and peace. These sacred aspirations of theirs have been and are being suppressed by the capitalists, the feudal lords and the imperialists. Hence, it is natural that the struggle of these peoples should be waged with great severity against the capitalists, feudal lords and imperialists. It is also natural for the peoples of the world to seek allies in this battle for life, which they are waging against their executioners. . .

Therefore, in the struggle for peace, disarmament and social progress in the world; the socialist camp is not alone in facing the imperialist camp, but is in close alliance with

all the progressive peoples of the world, while the imperialists are isolated facing the socialist camp.

We are living at a time when we are witnessing the total destruction of colonialism, the elimination of this plague that has wiped peoples from the face of the earth. New states are springing up in Africa and Asia. The countries where capital, the scourge, and the bullet reigned supreme, are putting an end to the yoke of bondage, and the peoples are taking their destiny into their own hands. This has been and is being achieved thanks to the struggle of these peoples and the moral support given them by the Soviet Union, People's China and the other countries of the socialist camp.

Traitors to Marxism-Leninism, agents of imperialism and intriguers, like Josip Broz Tito, are trying in a thousand ways, by hatching up diabolical schemes, to mislead the peoples and the newly formed states, to detach them from their natural allies, to link them directly with US imperialism. We should exert all our strength to defeat the schemes of these lackeys of imperialism.

We are witnessing the disintegration of imperialism, its decomposition, its final agony. We are living and fighting in the epoch which is characterized by the irresistible transition from capitalism to socialism. All the brilliant teachings of Karl Marx and Vladimir Ilyich Lenin, which have never become outdated, as the revisionists claim, are being confirmed.

World imperialism is being dealt heavy blows which clearly show that it is no longer in its «golden age», when it made the law, as and when it wanted. The initiative has now slipped from its hands, and this was not because of its own wish or desire. This initiative was wrested from it not by words and discourses alone, but after a long process of bloody battles and revolutions which capitalism itself provoked against the proletariat, against the strength of

the peoples who were rising to smash the world of hunger and misery, the world of slavery. This glorious page was opened by the Great October Socialist Revolution, by the great Soviet Union, by the great Lenin.

Even now, when it sees its approaching doom, when it has strong and determined opponents such as the socialist camp and its great alliance with all the peoples of the world, world imperialism, headed by US imperialism, is mustering, organizing, and arming its assault forces. It is preparing for war. He who fails to see this is blind. He who sees it, but covers it up, is a traitor in the service of imperialism.

The Party of Labour of Albania is of the opinion that, in spite of the major difficulties we encounter on our way to establish peace in the world, to bring about disarmament and settle the other international problems, there is no reason to be pessimistic. It is only our enemies, who are suffering losses, that are and should be pessimistic. We have won, we are winning and shall continue to win. That is why we have always been optimistic and are convinced that our efforts will be crowned with success.

But we think that exaggerated, unrealistic optimism not only is not good, but is even harmful. He who denies, belittles, who has no faith in our great economic, political, military and moral strength, is a defeatist and does not deserve to be called a communist. On the other hand, he who, intoxicated by our potential, regards the opponents as mere gnats, thinking that the enemy has lost all hope, has become harmless, and is entirely at our mercy — he is not a realist. He bluffs, puts the peoples to sleep in the face of all these complicated and very dangerous situations which demand very great vigilance from us all, which demand the heightening of the revolutionary drive of the masses. not its slackening, its disintegration, decomposition and relaxation. «Waters sleep, but not the enemy,» is a wise saying of our long-suffering people.

Let us look the facts straight in the eye. World imperialism, headed by its most aggressive detachment US imperialism, is directing the course of its economy towards preparations for war. It is arming itself to the teeth. US imperialism is arming Bonn's Germany, Japan, and all its allies and satellites with all kinds of weapons. It has set up and is perfecting aggressive military organizations, it has established and continues to establish military bases all around the socialist camp. It is accumulating stocks of nuclear weapons and refuses to disarm, to stop testing nuclear weapons, and is feverishly engaged in inventing new means of mass extermination. Why is it doing all this? To go to a wedding party? No, to go to war against us, to do away with socialism and communism, to enslave the peoples.

The Party of Labour of Albania is of the opinion that if we were to say and think otherwise, we would be deceiving ourselves and others. We would not call ourselves communists if we were afraid of the vicissitudes of life. We communists detest war. We communists will fight to the end to smash the diabolical plans for war which the US imperialists are preparing, but if they declare war on us, we should deal them a mortal blow that will wipe imperialism from the face of the earth, once and for all.

Faced with the threats of atomic war by the US-led world imperialists, we should be fully prepared economically, politically and morally, as well as militarily, to cope with any eventuality.

We should prevent a world war, it is not absolutely inevitable. But no one will ever excuse us if we live in a dream and let the enemy catch us unawares, for it has never happened that the enemy is or is called *loyal**, otherwise he would not be called an enemy. The enemy is and remains

* French in the original

an enemy, and a perfidious one at that. He who puts his trust in the enemy will sooner or later lose his case. . .

The peaceful policy of the countries of the socialist camp has exerted a major influence in exposing the aggressive aims of imperialism, in mobilizing the peoples against the war-mongers, in promoting their glorious struggle against the imperialist oppressors and their tools. . .

But in spite of all this, many concrete problems which have been laid on the table, like the proposals for disarmament, the summit conference,² etc., have not yet been resolved and are being systematically sabotaged by the US imperialists.

What conclusions should we draw from all this? The Party of Labour of Albania thinks that imperialism, and first and foremost, US imperialism, has not changed its hide, its hair or its nature. It is aggressive, and will remain aggressive as long as it has a single tooth left in its head. And being aggressive, it may plunge the world into a war. Therefore, as we emphasized at the meeting of the Editorial Committee, we insist that it should be brought home clearly to all the peoples that there is no absolute guarantee against world war until socialism has triumphed throughout the world, or at least in the majority of countries. The US imperialists make no secret of their refusal to disarm. They are increasing their armaments, preparing for war, therefore we should be on our guard.

We should make no concessions of principle to the

2 In December 1959, Khrushchev, former head of the Soviet Government, who was for the settlement of major international issues with the chiefs of imperialism by means of discussions only, made arrangements through diplomatic channels for the calling of a summit conference with the participation of the heads of the governments of the USSR, USA, Britain and France. This conference was to have been held in May 1960, but it could not be held because of the sabotage by the US imperialists and the vacillating adventurist stand of Khrushchev.

enemy, we should entertain no illusions about imperialism. Believing to improve the situation we would make it infinitely worse. In addition to arming and preparing for war against us, the enemy is carrying on unbridled propaganda to poison the spirit and benumb the minds of the people, spending millions of dollars to recruit agents and spies, millions of dollars to organize acts of espionage, diversion and murder in our countries. US imperialism has given and is giving thousands of millions of dollars to its loyal agents, the treacherous Tito gang. It is doing all this to weaken our internal front, to split us, to weaken and disorganize our rear areas.

A lot is said about peaceful coexistence. Some even go so far as to assert such absurdities as that People's China and Albania are allegedly opposed to peaceful coexistence. Obviously, such harmful and erroneous views should be refuted once and for all. There can be no socialist state, there can be no communist, who is opposed to peaceful coexistence, who is a war-monger. The great Lenin was the first to put forward the principle of peaceful coexistence among states of different social orders as an objective necessity, as long as socialist and capitalist states exist side by side in the world. Standing loyal to this great principle of Lenin's, our Party of Labour has always held, and still holds, that the policy of peaceful coexistence corresponds to the fundamental interests of all the peoples, to the purpose of the further strengthening of the positions of socialism. Therefore this principle of Lenin's is the basis of the foreign policy of our people's state. Peaceful coexistence between two opposing systems does not imply, as the modern revisionists claim, that we should give up the class struggle. On the contrary, the class struggle must continue, the political and ideological struggle against imperialism, against bourgeois and revisionist ideology, should become ever more intense. While struggling consistently to establish

Leninist peaceful coexistence, while making no concessions on principles to imperialism, we should further develop the class struggle in the capitalist countries, as well as the national liberation movement of the peoples of colonial and dependent countries.

In our view, the communist and workers' parties in the capitalist countries should strive to establish peaceful coexistence between their countries, which are still under the capitalist system, and our socialist countries... But their task does not end there. In these countries it is necessary to promote, intensify and strengthen the class struggle. The working masses, led by the proletariat of the country headed by the communist party, and in alliance with the proletariat of the whole world, should make life impossible for imperialism, should crush the bases of its military and economic potential, should wrest from its hands its economic and political power, and proceed to the destruction of its old power and the establishment of the new power of the people. Will they do this by violence, or in the peaceful parliamentary way?

This question has been clear, and it was not necessary for Comrade Khrushchev to confuse it at the 20th Congress, and to do so in such a way as to please the opportunists. Why was it necessary to make all those parodies of Lenin's clear theses and of the lessons of the October Socialist Revolution? The Party of Labour of Albania is quite clear about and does not shift from Lenin's teachings on this matter. So far, no people, no proletariat and no communist or workers'-party has assumed power without bloodshed and without violence.

It is incorrect for some comrades to claim that they have assumed power without bloodshed, for they forget that the glorious Soviet Army poured out rivers of blood for them during the Second World War.

Our Party thinks that, in regard to this matter, we

should be prepared for both eventualities, and we should be well prepared, especially, for taking power by violence, for if we are well prepared for this, the other possibility has more chance of success. The bourgeoisie may allow you to sing psalms, but then it deals you a fascist blow on the head and crushes you, because you have not trained the necessary cadres to attack, or done illegal work, you have not prepared a place where you can protect yourself and still work, or the means with which to fight. We should forestall this tragic eventuality.

The Party of Labour of Albania has been, is and will be for peace and peaceful coexistence, and will fight for them in a Marxist-Leninist way, as Lenin teaches us, and on the basis of the Moscow Declaration. It has been, is and will be striving actively for general disarmament. On no occasion, not for one moment, will the Party of Labour of Albania cease waging a political and ideological struggle against the activities of the imperialists and capitalists and against bourgeois ideology. It will not cease waging a stern, relentless and uncompromising struggle against modern revisionism, and in particular, against Yugoslav Titoite revisionism. There may be comrades who reproach us Albanians with being stubborn, irascible, hot-headed, sectarian, dogmatic, and whatever you like, but we reject all these false accusations and tell them that we do not deviate from these positions, for they are Marxist-Leninist positions.

They say that we are in favour of war and against coexistence. Comrade Kozlov has even put this alternative to us Albanians: either coexistence, as he conceives it, or an atomic bomb from the imperialists, which would turn Albania to ashes and leave no Albanian alive. Until now no representative of US imperialism has made such an atomic threat against the Albanian people. But here it is, and from a member of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, and to whom?

To a small heroic people who have fought for centuries against countless savage enemies and who have never bent the knee, to a small people who have fought with unprecedented heroism against the Hitlerites and Italian fascists, to a party which stands loyal and consistent to the end to Marxism-Leninism. But Comrade Frol Kozlov, you have the wrong address. You cannot frighten us into submitting to your misguided will, and we never confuse the glorious Party of Lenin with you, who behave so badly, with such shamelessness, towards the Albanian people and the Party of Labour of Albania. The Party of Labour of Albania will strive for and support all the correct and peaceful proposals of the Soviet Union and other countries of the socialist camp, as well as of other peace-loving countries.

The Party of Labour of Albania will exert all its strength, use all its rights and carry out all its obligations, to strengthen the unity of the socialist camp, a Marxist-Leninist unity. It is absurd to think that small socialist Albania wants to break away and live outside the socialist camp, outside our fraternity of socialist peoples. Albania is indebted to no one for its presence within the ranks of the socialist camp; the Albanian people themselves and the Party of Labour of Albania have placed it there with their blood and sweat, their work and sacrifices, with the system of government which they have established, and with the Marxist-Leninist line they pursue. But let no one even think that because Albania is a small country, because the Party of Labour of Albania is a small party, it should do what someone else says when it is convinced that this someone is mistaken.

As I said earlier, the Party of Labour of Albania thinks that our socialist camp, which has one common aim and which is guided by Marxism-Leninism, should also have its own strategy and tactics. and these should be worked out

jointly by our parties and states of the socialist camp. Within the ranks of our camp we have set up certain forms of organization of work, but it is right to say that these have remained somewhat formal, or to put it better, they do not function in a collective way, for instance, the organs of the Warsaw Treaty and the Council for Mutual Economic Aid.³ Let me make it quite clear. This is not a question of whether we, too, should be consulted or not. Of course, no one denies us the right to be consulted, but we should hold meetings for consultation. We raise this problem on principle and say that these forms of organization should function at regular intervals, problems should be taken up for discussion, decisions should be adopted, and there should be a check-up on the implementation of these decisions.

The further development and strengthening of the economies of the socialist countries has always been and is the main concern of our parties and governments, and constitutes one of the decisive factors of the unconquerable strength of the socialist camp.

The construction of socialism and communism is proceeding at a rapid rate in our countries. This is due to the great efforts of our peoples and to the reciprocal aid they render one another.

So far, the People's Republic of Albania has given economic aid to no one, first, because we are poor, and second, because no one stands in need of our economic aid. But within proper norms, we have made and continue to make every effort to give the countries which are our friends and brothers some little help through our exports.

3 Set up in January 1949. At the end of February of the same year the PR of Albania became one of its members. From an institution for reciprocal aid, with the coming to power of the Khrushchev revisionist clique in the Soviet Union the Council for Mutual Economic Aid (Comecon) degenerated, too, becoming an instrument for the achievement of the socialimperialist aims of this clique.