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DATE OF INFO : 19 January 1962
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Following is a verbatim translation of a Resolution and Letter of the CC CPSU titled "The Anti-Leninist Schismatic Position of the Leaders of the Albanian Workers' Party". The Resolution is dated 19 January 1962 and the Letter is dated 22 January 1962, and both were classified "NOT FOR PUBLICATION" by the Soviets.

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Workers of All Lands, Unite!

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union
Central Committee

Not for Publication

Copy No. _____

The Anti-Leninist, Schismatic Position of the Leaders
of the Albanian Workers' Party

Letter of the Central Committee of the CPSU
to Party Organizations and All Communists
of the Soviet Union

Reference No. P 130

Two months after receipt, destruction
is authorized in local places--in the
CCs of the Communist Parties of the
union republics, kray committees and
oblast committees of the Party--
according to regulations.

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Workers of All Lands, Unite!

Communist Party of the Soviet Union

Central Committee

Not for Publication

RESOLUTION

of the Central Committee of the CPSU,

dated 19 January 1962

Letter of the CC CPSU to Party Organizations and All

Communists of the Soviet Union on the Anti-Leninist,

Schismatic Position of the Leaders

of the Albanian Workers' Party

The text of the letter from the CC CPSU to Party organizations about the anti-Leninist, schismatic position of the leaders of the Albanian Workers' Party (enclosed) is to be adopted.

The text of the letter is to be sent to primary Party organizations, and all members and candidate members of the CPSU, members of the Komsomol, and the soviet and trade-union aktiv are to be made familiar with the contents.

CC CPSU

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ON THE ANTI-LENINIST, SCHISMATIC POSITION
OF THE LEADERS OF THE ALBANIAN WORKERS' PARTY

Letter from the CC CPSU to Party Organizations
and All Communists of the Soviet Union.

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union considers it necessary to inform Party organizations and all Communists about the anti-Leninist position - a position hostile to the cause of socialism - which has recently been taken by the leaders of the Albanian Workers' Party (AWP).

As numerous facts indicate, the Albanian leaders are moving farther and farther away from Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, are openly revising the common approved line of the world Communist movement and are conducting schismatic activity within its ranks. They are sinking more and more deeply in the mire of nationalism and are trying to substitute an ideology of leftist opportunism and sectarianism which is alien to Communists for the high principles of Marxist-Leninist teaching.

Speculating in the anti-imperialistic aspirations of the broad masses of the people, by their leftist sectarian activities the Albanian leaders are undermining the unity of Communists who have broad democratic forces and thus are weakening the front of the battle against imperialism and reaction.

By means of pressure and repressions, the leaders of the Albanian Workers Party, Hoxha and Shehu, have elevated their anti-Leninist concepts to the level of the state policy of their country, aimed at disrupting the unity of the great socialist friendship and of the entire international Communist movement. They are conducting an isolated, adventurist foreign policy, refuse to work

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together with other socialist countries on the international scene, and interfere in every way with their efforts aimed at lessening international tension.

An outspoken anti-Soviet trend is characteristic of the present course of action of the AWP leaders. Never since the time of the struggle with Trotskyism have political leaders who call themselves Communists resorted to such vicious attacks on the great Party of Lenin and other fraternal parties as the Albanian leaders are now doing. By an intentional and step-by-step worsening of the relations with the CPSU and the Soviet Union, they have disrupted normal relations between Albania and our country. Recently, the activities of the AWP leaders clearly exposed their desire to tear Albania away from the world socialist camp and the Communist movement. By all this, the Albanian leaders damage the cause of world socialism and endanger the socialist gains and the vital interests of the Albanian people.

Guided by their highest international duty--to defend the unity of the socialist camp and the line of the world Communist movement--the CC CPSU considers it necessary to inform Communists about the schismatic position of the Albanian Workers' Party leaders.

1.

Until recently, relations between the Albanian Workers' Party and the CPSU and other fraternal parties were developing on the bases of the closest, comradely cooperation. The CPSU, all the Soviet people, as well as peoples of other socialist countries, always treated Albania with sincere friendliness and fraternal kindness and extended to her comprehensive, unselfish aid.

The very origin of the People's Republic of Albania is connected with the great victory of the Soviet Union over fascism in the Second World War. This historic victory

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created favorable conditions for the liberation of their country by the Albanian people from the fascist invaders, for establishing the rule of the people's democracy, and for building socialism in Albania.

After the victory of the people's democratic revolution, the Soviet Union extended comprehensive aid to Albania in building socialism, vigorously upheld her position on the international scene, and decisively defended her national sovereignty and territorial integrity. The Soviet government repeatedly stated that the Soviet Union would decisively come to the defense of Albania in case of a military attack on her. At a workers' meeting in the city of Tirana in May 1959, N.S. Khrushchev announced: "Whoever attempts to encroach upon the borders of Albania or of any other socialist country will have to deal with the entire might of the great socialist camp". At the initiative of the Soviet government, Albania became one of the members of the Warsaw Pact Organization, which reliably guarantees the security of all countries belonging to it.

The Soviet Union offered Albania credit on favorable terms and gratuitous economic and other aid in the sum of over 2 billion rubles (old currency). With the help of the USSR there were built and reconstructed in Albania about 80 industrial enterprises, which now represent the basis of Albanian industry. The Soviet government turned over to Albania as a gift 26 important industrial establishments and other units, outfitted with the most modern equipment. Considerable assistance was given by the Soviet Union to Albania in the development of her agriculture, science, and culture. Since 1951, 3,000 skilled Soviet specialists have worked in Albania. Among Albanian citizens, more than 3,000 specialists were trained in Soviet educational institutions. To strengthen the Albanian defense capabilities, the Soviet Union aided her in building her armed forces and in providing them with the latest combat equipment.

Albania also received considerable assistance from other socialist countries, specifically in the development of her mineral resources, in the construction of new

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industrial enterprises, in the development of agriculture, and in the training of specialists.

The assistance given to Albania is mentioned here not for the purpose of stressing the good deeds of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. We bring it up only to show the degree of respect and understanding of their international duty which was felt by the CPSU and other fraternal parties toward the Albanian people. Our only desire was to have Albania overcome as soon as possible the economic backwardness which she had inherited from the past and to become a flourishing socialist republic on the shores of the Adriatic.

Up to the middle of 1960, our relations with the leaders of the AWP were developing normally along all lines. The Albanian leadership constantly stressed complete unity of views with the CPSU and other fraternal parties on the basic problems of international politics and the world Communist movement, as well as on matters of mutual relations between our parties. Specifically, a complete unity of views of the CC CPSU and the CC AWP was recorded during Soviet-Albanian negotiations at the highest level in April 1957 and May 1959. Joint documents noted that Soviet-Albanian relations had always been based on Marxist-Leninist principles of proletarian internationalism, mutual respect and support, equality and noninterference in each other's internal affairs and on common goals and tasks in building socialism and Communism and in the struggle for the peace and security of peoples.

A joint Soviet-Albanian Declaration, signed in May 1959, stated: "During the time spent by the Soviet Party-government delegation in the People's Republic of Albania, representatives of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and of the Albanian Workers' Party exchanged views on the most pressing matters of their parties' activities and on the most vital problems of the present international Communist and workers' movement, and also discussed several problems relating to the mutual relationship between the CPSU and the AWP. Both sides stated complete unity of both parties on all matters which were discussed".

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It must be stated that even though there was a unity of views on basic problems, we saw also some negative sides in the activities of the Albanian leaders, and in a comradely manner, as is the custom with Communists, tried to help them remove the unhealthy phenomena. We called the attention of the Albanian leaders to the fact that it was necessary to conduct an ideological, thoroughly reasoned struggle against the Yugoslav revisionists, exposing their deviationism from Marxism-Leninism. We called attention to the erroneous positions taken by Hoxha and Shehu on the problem of the personality cult and on the inadmissibility of using unfounded repressions against leading members of the AWP. We proceeded on the assumption that on the basis of the unity of views with the entire international Communist movement, the Albanian leaders would be able to take the correct positions. We believed that when the Albanian leaders declared their devotion to Marxism-Leninism and their loyalty to the line of the world Communist movement they spoke sincerely, as becomes Communists. We supposed that they would value the friendship of the CPSU and the Soviet Union which has corresponded and now corresponds to the interests of building socialism in Albania and to the interests of the entire socialist camp.

However, as subsequent events brought out, the declarations by Hoxha and Shehu about a unity of views with the world Communist movement were hypocritical and of a double-dealing nature. The discrepancy between the views of the leaders of the Albanian Workers' Party and the common agreed line of the Marxist-Leninist parties became even more clearly evident in the summer of 1960. Their conduct in relation to the Soviet Union and other socialist states and their activities within Albania indicated more and more that the leadership of the AWP was renouncing its former positions and was turning to the dangerous path of provocations and schismatic activities. The unscrupulousness of the ruling clique of the AWP was becoming more and more apparent.

At the Moscow Conference of Fraternal Parties in November 1960, Hoxha openly attacked the CPSU and other fraternal parties. In his unrestrained speech he slandered

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our Party and the socialist camp and tried to oppose the common line with his own leftist-sectarian views. There was no longer any doubt that the Albanian leaders, who for a long time had been dressing themselves in the toga of internationalists, had embarked on an anti-Leninist, nationalistic path. In signing the Declaration of the Conference of Fraternal Parties in 1957, it became clear that Hoxha and Shehu were resorting to cunning and double-dealing, without daring at the time to come out openly with their adventurist platform. Actually, they were already at that time in disagreement with the conclusions and evaluations of that historic document and, first of all, with the theoretical conclusions of the 20th Congress of the CPSU, which received the approval of the entire international Communist movement.

At the 1960 Conference, Hoxha spoke out openly against the line of the 20th Congress and the Declaration of 1957 in relation to the most important fundamental questions. Both in content and form, Hoxha's speech at the Conference was maliciously anti-Soviet and unscrupulous. The political subversive activity of the Albanian delegation failed shamefully. The position of the AWP delegation was decisively and angrily denounced by an absolute majority of participants of the Conference as being in conflict with Marxism-Leninism and with the interests of unity of the international Communist movement. At the Conference and after it, the outstanding members of the international Communist movement and veterans of the revolutionary struggle, comrades D. Ibaruri, W. Gomulka, M. Thorez, P. Togliatti, A. Novotny, W. Ulbricht, G. Gheorghiu-Dej, J. Kadar, T. Zhivkov, Y. Tsedenbal, M. Reimann, J. Koplénig, K. Bakdash, L. Prestes, L. Bouhali, I. Zakkariya, and others more than once exposed the schismatic activity of the Albanian leadership.

In a report at the 9th Plenum of the CC of the United Workers' Party of Poland in November 1961, Comrade W. Gomulka, criticizing the actions of the Albanian leaders, declared: "The adventurist policy, being conducted by the leadership of the Albanian Workers' Party contradicts the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism and the decisions

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adopted by Communist and workers' parties at the 1957 and 1960 Conferences, and it contradicts common sense". M. Thorez denounced the fallacious activities of the leadership of the Albanian Workers' Party just as strongly; in his speech on the occasion of the celebration of the 44th anniversary of the Great October Revolution he said that Hoxha, Shehu and other Albanian leaders "are conducting a sectarian and adventurist policy which puts them in opposition with other countries of the socialist camp and the entire international labor movement..." and "jeopardizes the future of the heroic Albanian people". At the plenum of the CC of the Rumanian Workers' Party which was held in November-December 1961, Gheorghã Gheorghiu-Dej commented that "the leaders of the Albanian Workers' Party are taking upon themselves grave responsibility for the course which they are following and which harms the interests of building socialism in Albania, the socialist camp, and the international Communist movement". The very same viewpoint was expressed by the plenum of the CC of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party in November 1961 which pointed out that by their schismatic actions the leaders of the AWP "... are playing into the imperialists' hands". Already more than 70 fraternal Communist and workers' parties have decisively condemned the anti-Leninist, schismatic views and actions of the AWP leaders.

What was the reaction of the leaders of the Albanian Workers' Party to the decisions of the world Communist forum and the opinion of fraternal parties? They ignored the comradely criticism and rebukes. While formally approving the Declaration of 1960 and hypocritically declaring their "loyalty" to this document, they actually, even after the Moscow Conference, continued to advocate their anti-Marxist views. After their return from Moscow, the AWP leaders concealed the truth about the Moscow Conference from the Albanian Communists. They deceived their Party and people, declaring that the Conference approved their "special" line. At the December 1960 plenum of the CC of the AWP, E. Hoxha and M. Shehu forced through a resolution which approved the conduct of the AWP delegation at the Moscow Conference. This resolution stated: "The Declaration fully expresses

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the true Marxist-Leninist line which our Workers' Party has constantly pursued both in matters of foreign policy, peaceful coexistence with countries with various systems and the struggle to secure and protect peace and in the building of socialism in our country, as well as in protecting the purity of Marxism-Leninism and strengthening the unity of the socialist camp and the international Communist movement". The history of the international workers' movement knows no precedent in the practice of such deceit by the leaders against their Party comrades.

II.

The Moscow Conference of 1960 played a prominent role in the cause of greater unity of the international Communist movement on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. The documents of the Conference, worked out in a creative atmosphere and in thorough comradely discussion, express the common positions of the fraternal parties on the basic problems of the current world development and their strategy and tactics. These documents, unanimously approved by all the participants of the Conference, became the single battle program for all Marxist-Leninist parties.

The year which has passed since the publishing of the Statement has given remarkable corroboration to the correctness of its conclusions. At the same time, reality has completely disproved the views of those people who, not understanding the trends of world development in the present era and the changes in the balance of forces in favor of socialism, became entangled in the tenets of dogmatic, sectarian nationalistic ideas.

During the above-mentioned period of time it became even more distinctly evident than before that the basic pivot of world development in the present historical stage is the peaceful competition of two world social systems--socialism and capitalism--during which socialism

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has been winning step by step one position after another from the old world and is becoming a decisive factor in the development of human society. During this past period the socialist system has increased its share in world production. The Soviet Union and other countries of socialist collaboration have carried out important measures to ensure the military superiority of the socialist countries over the imperialist states. The socialist countries possess a mighty force which can reliably protect the great achievements of socialism and thwart the schemes of the imperialist aggressors. The Soviet government, not by words but by deeds, renders powerful material and moral support to the national-liberation movement and advocates the right of independence of all colonial and dependent peoples. The Declaration to grant independence to colonial countries and peoples which was proposed by the Soviet government at the United Nations Organization was met with warm approval by the peoples fighting for their independence and by all progressive people. The concepts of this Declaration have turned into a magnetic force and support in the struggle of freedom-loving peoples for their independence and freedom.

The achievements of the Soviet people have made it possible to adopt a new program of the CPSU--a program for the building of Communism--and this program opens up great prospects for the growth of the power of the Soviet Union and the strengthening of the entire world socialist camp.

Following the course outlined at the Conferences of Fraternal Parties in 1957 and 1960, during the past year the international Communist movement has become even stronger and has achieved outstanding success in the struggle to strengthen world peace and to expand further the national-liberation movement and in the struggle to resolve basic social problems.

Are they not pitiful, these attempts of the Albanian leaders to cast doubt on the Leninist policy of the international Communist movement and to subject to revision the most important principles of the Declaration and Statement of the fraternal parties?

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Carrying the flag of sham revolutionism and hiding under a garish leftist phrase, the Albanian leaders are revising the most important tenets of Marxism-Leninism and replacing them with a sectarian, nationalist, and adventurist line. It is typical that the Albanian leaders attempt to create the impression that allegedly they differ with the CPSU only in their understanding of some problems. Actually, however, the AWP leadership has started a campaign against the common agreed positions of the entire world Communist movement. The Tiranian good-for-nothing theorists are ready to use unscrupulously any fabrications and dig up "arguments" from any source--so long as this helps them in their filthy aims of discrediting the Soviet Union and undermining the unity of the world Communist movement. They came out as spokesmen for the system of leftist opportunist views, which have nothing in common with the spirit of Leninism and which basically contradict the Declaration of 1957 and the Statement of 1960. The danger of this position taken by the Albanian leaders is that it affects not some private problems, but the very basic problems of current times, upon the solution of which depends the future of hundreds of millions of people. Let us dwell on some of these problems.

The question of war and peace. The CPSU and the fraternal parties believe that the problem of preventing a world war, which would bring incalculable misfortunes and sufferings to peoples, is the most urgent problem of our time. With the rise and strengthening of the world socialist system, because of outstanding successes of the socialist countries in the development of their economy, science, and technology, and because of the growth of the liberation movement, there have appeared new capabilities to resolve the most important current problems in the interest of peace, democracy, and socialism. From this the Communists draw the following conclusion: by the joint efforts of the world socialist camp, of the international working class, of the national — liberation movement, of all the countries opposed to war, and of all peace-loving forces, a world war can be averted. The result of the growing superiority of the forces of socialism over the forces of imperialism, and of the

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forces of peace over the forces of war is: that, even before the complete victory of socialism on earth and even though capitalism may still be found in part of the world, there will arise the real possibility of eliminating world war from the life of society. While struggling against the aggressive schemes of the imperialists, the Marxist-Leninists, in contrast to fascists, entirely and fully support just national-liberation wars, the sacred struggle of peoples for their freedom and independence.

The socialist camp is becoming an increasingly reliable shield which protects the peoples of socialist and other countries from the military ventures of the imperialists. It goes without saying that so long as imperialism continues to exist, the source and danger of war remain intact. No one doubts, that until universal and complete disarmament takes place, the socialist countries must maintain their defensive might at the proper level and in all ways help to increase the vigilance of peace-loving peoples. All the activities of the CPSU and the Soviet Union clearly show that this Leninist line is being carried out firmly and consistently and gives enormous results, which are recognized by the entire world.

The conclusion regarding the possibility of averting war in our era which was reached by the 20th Congress and confirmed by international Communist forums in 1957 and 1960 opens up clear vistas before the peoples and guides them toward the unity of all peace-loving forces and to an increase in their vigilance and activity in the struggle against the aggressive imperialist policy and its basic force -- American imperialism. The correctness of this conclusion has been corroborated by the experience of the world-wide struggle of peoples in recent years. The stubborn attempts of the imperialist aggressive forces to kindle the flames of a new war, their aggression against Egypt and Lebanon, their schemes regarding Iraq, etc. -- all these were frustrated by the resolute stand of the Soviet Union, other socialist countries, and all peace-loving forces.

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The fact that war was successfully averted and that the Soviet people and the peoples of other countries could enjoy the blessings of peaceful existence is the result of the vigorous struggle by the CPSU and its Central Committee in building up the might of the Soviet state and in carrying out a Leninist foreign policy; and it is also the result of the activities of fraternal parties in all countries and the increased activity of peace-loving forces in the entire world.

The transformation of the world socialist system into a mighty factor in world development must be recognized even by the statesmen of imperialist countries. Even the President of the United States does not venture to speak of the military superiority of the capitalist forces. True, he still mentions the "balance" of the forces of capitalism and socialism on the world stage. But it is obvious to everyone that such a declaration represents an actual admission of the fact that imperialism has lost the dominant place in the present world.

These are the facts. But what do Hoxha and Shehu care about facts! Crudely distorting the position of the international Communist movement, they in essence reject the idea that it is possible to avert a new world war. They maintain that to admit such a possibility is to count on the "good intentions of the imperialist ringleaders," and to consider "that the nature of capitalism is changed," "to whitewash imperialism," etc. Although they verbally admit sometimes the possibility of averting a world war, the Albanian leaders actually feel that the resolution of the question of whether or not to start a war depends entirely on the will of the imperialists. What does such a position mean to peoples? It actually leads to resignation and hopelessness, and disarms the peoples. Such a position betrays the lack of belief of the Albanian leaders in the increased forces of socialism and peace, testifies to an overestimation of the power of modern imperialism, and actually indicates that all their assertions are nothing other than vacillating capitulation to world imperialism. Thus, one finds in words-- garish revolutionary phrases, and in deed -- petty bourgeois confusion and cowardice.

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The Albanian leaders would like to see Communists and all peace-loving forces accept the fact that war is apparently inevitable and fatally inescapable, and they want to weaken efforts to protect peace -- in other words, they want to let things drift and to leave the resolution of the problem of peace or war to the imperialists. It goes without saying that the Marxist-Leninist Parties will never do such a favor to the imperialists. The CPSU and other fraternal parties have expended and will expend all their efforts and energy in the cause of saving humanity from a new world war. The Soviet Union places its entire powerful force in the service of peace. It is the USSR, vigorously supported by other socialist countries and all peace-loving forces, which has suppressed in the past and will continue to suppress the aggressive aspirations of imperialism, and which will wage a tireless fight to resolve international issues in the interests of the peace and security of peoples.

The capitulationist line of the Albanian leadership is also evident in the problem of peaceful coexistence of states having different social structures. This is also understandable. He who doubts the possibility of averting war in our time casts doubt also on the possibility of the peaceful coexistence of states having different social structures.

On the basis of the actual world situation, the Marxist-Leninist parties consider that today there is only one choice: peaceful coexistence or devastating war. There is no other alternative. To quote from the 1960 Statement: "In a situation where the world is divided into two systems, the only correct and wise principle of international relations is the principle of peaceful coexistence of states with different social orders which was advanced by V. I. Lenin and which was further developed in the Moscow Declaration and Peace Manifesto of 1957, in the decisions of the 20th and the 21st Congresses of the CPSU, and in the documents of other Communist and workers' parties."

And what is the position of the Albanian leaders? Verbally, they recognize the principle of peaceful coexistence of states with different social structures, but they word their recognition in such a way and load it with so many re-

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servations and fabrications that only a blind man would fail to see that actually they are against this Leninist principle. Thus, Hoxha says that he, if you please, "has no objections" to the principle of peaceful coexistence, but he does not agree with those who "consider peaceful coexistence the general line of foreign policy of the socialist countries". But how can one combine one with the other: to accept the actual principle, but deny the necessity of putting this principle into practice? Actually this position indicates the deviationism of the AWP leaders from the Declaration and the Statement on the basic issues of international relations.

Hoxha ignores the Statement, in which the principle of peaceful coexistence is regarded as "the unshakable basis of the foreign policy of socialist countries". He proceeds from the concept of the fatal inevitability of armed conflict between the two world camps and actually excludes the possibility of maintaining practical peaceful relations between these camps and of settling controversial international issues by means of negotiations. In essence, Hoxha opposes the advisability of maintaining the necessary contacts between the leaders of the socialist countries and the political figures of the capitalist world and opposes the flexible foreign policy of the socialist countries. The Albanian leaders are attempting in every way to belittle the beneficial influence on the international situation of the foreign policy measures taken by the socialist countries and aimed at a peaceful settlement of unresolved international problems.

The Albanian leaders make much noise about being "consistent" fighters against imperialism. But if one looks at their practical deeds in the field of foreign policy, one can readily see that their "fight" against imperialism is limited to boisterous statements which, naturally, have no influence on the development of world events. Moreover, their irresponsible statements and, frequently, their adventurist activities complicate the exposure of the aggressive policy of imperialism, lead to an unnecessary straining of mutual relations with other countries, and give fuel to bourgeois propaganda for charges to be made against socialist countries. Here are just two cases.

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At the 4th Congress of the Albanian Workers' Party, Hoxha announced that Greece, Yugoslavia, and the American 6th Fleet allegedly had organized an attack on Albania. However, when the representative of the High Command of the United Armed Forces of the Warsaw Pact Organization requested an explanation and information from the General Staff of the Albanian People's Army, he was told that they had no information and that the very fact of the organization of an attack became known to them from Hoxha's report.

In April 1961, progressive Greek figures summoned a Conference of representatives of national committees for Balkan collaboration. The Greek government refused visas to the Albanian delegates for this conference. The participants made a protest to the Karamanlis government and expressed regret that the Albanian representatives would not be able to be present at the Conference. Instead of gratitude for this friendly support, the Albanian committee sent a rude telegram to the participants of the Athens Conference, and in it the committee stated ostentatiously that it would not recognize the decisions of the Conference. Progressive Greek political figures expressed bewilderment that the Albanian Communists would not support their measures, which were aimed at preserving peace in the Balkans.

In spite of the facts which are known to the entire world, Hoxha casts aspersions on the CPSU and other fraternal parties by maintaining that allegedly they "refuse to expose imperialism for the sake of peaceful coexistence", and that they supposedly interpret peaceful coexistence as being a "negation of the class struggle". This, of course, is provocationist fiction. Reality has proven irrefutably that the policy of peaceful coexistence meets the basic interests of all peoples, of all who strive for a durable peace and human progress. This policy helps strengthen the positions of socialism, the development of the class struggle of the proletariat in capitalist countries, and the national liberation movement. Is this not borne out by the fact that during the last six years alone, under the conditions of peaceful coexistence, 28 countries have thrown off the chains of

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colonialism and won their national independence? Is this not corroborated by the ever-increasing growth of the class struggle of the proletariat and the workers in the capitalist countries? In turn, the successes of the revolutionary class and national-liberation struggle help to strengthen peaceful coexistence.

Peace is an ally of socialism, as was correctly indicated in the Statement of 1960. The successes of socialism strengthen the cause of peace. The contention that allegedly under present conditions the principle of peaceful coexistence, as the general course of the socialist countries' foreign policy, means the "negation of class struggle", a refusal to "expose capitalism", and a refusal to support a revolutionary and national-liberation movement is nothing less than an intentional distortion of the facts of international development and is aimed at undermining the Leninist course of peaceful coexistence of countries with different social structures, a course which has already been proven by experience.

The policy of peaceful coexistence, which is being conducted by the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, and the vigorous struggle against imperialism, are finding the warmest approval of all peoples. No one can deny right now that the vigorous, flexible, and effective foreign policy of the countries of socialist cooperation is winning over to the side of peace, progress, and socialism more and more millions of people in all corners of the world. The strengthening of peace and the curbing of imperialism can be ensured only by strengthening the economic, political, and military might of socialist states which unite all the forces of the world revolutionary movement and by mobilizing the great masses of people for the struggle to prevent a thermo-nuclear world war.

The revision of the Statement of 81 Communist and workers' parties by the Albanian leadership is not limited to the problem of peaceful coexistence. They maintain a faulty position also on such a vital international problem as universal and complete disarmament. By their words, Hoxha

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and Shehu seem to go along with the proposals of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries regarding this problem, but actually they try in every way to discredit these proposals and to prove them unrealistic.

It is known that the struggle for universal and complete disarmament, under strict international control, is one of the most important issues of the present. Such a struggle has tremendous significance for mobilizing the masses against the threat of unleashing a new world war and for the durable peace and security of all peoples.

The peoples of the socialist countries, as well as all the peoples of the world, sincerely wish and are trying to achieve disarmament. Back in the 19th century, F. Engels called disarmament the guarantee of peace and pointed out that it was possible. As a practical task, the slogan of disarmament was first made by V. I. Lenin. At the Genoa Conference in 1922, the Soviet delegation advanced a proposal for complete disarmament, or, if the imperialists would not agree to this, for partial disarmament.

Universal and complete disarmament under strict international control is one of the most complex issues of international life. The stronger the socialist countries, the more effective their policy; and the greater the involvement of the masses in the struggle for disarmament, the closer the peoples will be to realizing their goal. Those who really want to fight against the imperialist policy and who strive to strengthen the international positions of socialism and democracy cannot but be in favor of disarmament and of abolishing the destructive weapons which can annihilate people. In such a struggle, the socialist countries find support from the overwhelming majority of the peoples of the world.

It is necessary to go to the utmost limits of bitterness and ill-intent to maintain, as Hoxha does, that allegedly the Soviet Union is suggesting to the socialist countries and to the peoples fighting for their national independence that they "effect unilateral disarmament" and "remain defenseless" in the face of the imperialist aggressors who are armed to the teeth; that allegedly the USSR "demands the disarmament

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of a socialist state surrounded by enemies on all sides, such as is the People's Republic of Albania". Such monstrous fabrications are not indulged in by even the most inveterate foes of Communism. Everyone knows that the Soviet Union is proposing universal and complete disarmament of all states -- both imperialist and socialist -- under strict international control.

The Albanian leaders contrast the policy of peaceful coexistence and the proposals for universal and complete disarmament to the tasks of the struggle of peoples for national liberation. They maintain that allegedly the struggle for disarmament will impede and weaken the peoples' national-liberation movement. But it should be quite clear that the peoples of the colonial countries, as well as all other peoples in the world, would only profit if the imperialist countries were to favor the universal and complete disarmament proposed by the Soviet Union. Socialism and progress do not need a war between states in order to attain victory in the struggle against capitalism and reaction. Only imperialism and its extremely aggressive circles are interested in the armaments race, because without arms they are powerless to oppose the aspiration of the peoples of the world for freedom and a better future. In fighting for universal and complete disarmament, the Soviet Union and all socialist countries at the same time give all-around aid to peoples in their struggle against imperialism.

In distorting the position of the Soviet Union, and other socialist countries on the issue of disarmament, the Albanian leaders apparently try to camouflage their negative attitude toward the specific measures taken by the socialist countries aimed at lessening international tension.

The leaders of the AWP try to cast aspersions on precisely those foreign policy actions of the Soviet government and other socialist countries which represent the practical expression of the principles of peaceful coexistence. Let us cite a few cases.

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In his speech at a session of the Albanian National Assembly in October 1960, Shehu spoke out against the Polish draft resolution at the 15th Session of the UN General Assembly which had been approved by the representatives of all the other socialist countries; the document dealt with creating conditions which would be conducive to reaching an agreement on universal and complete disarmament. The leadership of the AWP also rejected proposals by Bulgaria to strengthen the peace and good neighbor relations in the Balkans. In the fall of 1960, the Albanian press ignored the Soviet proposals on universal and complete disarmament and the Declaration on granting independence to the colonial countries and peoples which were introduced by the head of the Soviet government, N. S. Khrushchev, for discussion at the 15th Session of the UN General Assembly.

The Albanian leaders also take a special position, different from other socialist countries, on the German issue. As is known, the Soviet government proposed signing a German peace treaty, and on this basis to normalize the situation in West Berlin in order to lessen the tension in the center of Europe, strengthen the international positions of the GDR, put a period to World War II, and curb the rebirth of West German militarism. The Soviet government insisted and still insists on a speedy resolution of the German issue, perceiving in this a vitally important condition to the strengthening of peace in Europe and in the entire world.

At the same time, as the government of the USSR declared, the actual date for signing of the German peace treaty would not be of such great importance if the Western powers would show readiness for a peaceful settlement of the German issue.

The firm and clear position of the Soviet government on the German issue has already brought large results in strengthening the positions of the GDR on the international scene and has received the unanimous approval of all progressive society everywhere. With the support of the socialist countries, the government of the GDR carried out measures on 13 August 1961 to close the border between the Western and the Democratic sectors of Berlin; this was a serious blow to the schemes of West German and other imperialists and an important step toward a peaceful settlement with Germany.

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As for the Albanian leaders, they also take an irresponsible position in regard to this matter. Hoxha makes it appear as though the Soviet Union is delaying the signing of the peace treaty because it allegedly is afraid of imperialism. Now, you take the Albanian leaders, he boasts, "they never were and are not now afraid of imperialism". Yes indeed, here is a "fearless hero". But this is in words only. Actually, the Albanian leadership refused, in a cowardly manner, to accept any responsibility at all in connection with the German question. Disregarding the agreed opinion of the fraternal socialist countries, members of the Warsaw Pact, Hoxha did not attend the Conference of First Secretaries of the Central Committees of Communist and Workers' Parties in August 1961 to discuss and work out a common position on the German issue. The participants in the Conference correctly evaluated such conduct on the part of the Albanian leadership as a desire to evade responsibility in resolving the issue of the German peace treaty. Moreover, when the Conference had worked out and published an appropriate communique on the German issue, the Albanian leadership concealed this document from the people. But to make up for this, it published its own separate statement, thus indicating disagreement with the common political line of the socialist countries, members of the Warsaw Pact.

Lately, the Albanian leaders have completely refused to fulfil their alliance commitments arising from the Warsaw Pact, have stopped informing the High Command of the United Armed Forces of the Warsaw Pact concerning the combat readiness of the Albanian army, and have ostentatiously ignored the representative of the High Command. They deprived him of even the rudimentary conditions for work and recently demanded that the High Command representative of the United Armed Forces of the Warsaw Pact leave Albania. At the present time the representative of the High Command of the United Armed Forces of the Warsaw Pact has departed from Albania. Thus, the leaders of the AWP have in fact broken Albania's last ties with the Warsaw Pact Organization. I

The Albanian leaders also took the path of directly ignoring the Council of Mutual Economic Assistance (CEMA),

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of which Albania is a member. This is evidenced by such facts as the absence of the Albanian representative to CEMA at its regular meeting which was held in Moscow in September 1961, and then the outright refusal on the part of the Albanians to participate in the work of the 15th Session of CEMA which was held recently in Warsaw.

In this way, the "theoretical" concepts of the Albanian leaders have a quite definite practical goal: to try to discredit the strategy and tactics of the struggle which all the Communist and workers' parties are waging against imperialism and for the triumph of socialism and to slander the foreign policy activities of the CPSU and other fraternal parties of the socialistic countries directed toward preserving and strengthening peace in the entire world. It is precisely for this reason that they direct their blows primarily against the new conclusions and positions in the strategy and tactics of the Communist movement which have been worked out by the fraternal parties in recent years and which were reflected in the 1957 Declaration and the 1960 Statement.

The Albanian "theorists" are now furiously attacking the CPSU and other Marxist-Leninist parties on the question of forms for the transition to socialism. The thesis about the variety of forms for the transition to socialism which was formulated by the 20th Congress of the CPSU was approved by the entire international Communist movement. As underlined by the fraternal parties, this thesis has enormous significance for working out the correct strategy and tactics of the international Communist and workers' movement and is a further development of the Marxist-Leninist theory of socialist revolution.

The 1960 Statement stressed that the working class and its vanguard -- the Marxist-Leninist Party -- strive to carry out a socialist revolution by peaceful means. The realization of this possibility would correspond to the interests of the working class and of all people and to the national interests of the country.

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Under modern conditions, in several capitalist countries the working class, headed by its own vanguard, has the opportunity to unite the majority of the people on the basis of a workers' and popular front and of other potential forms of agreement and political cooperation of various parties and public organizations, to achieve state power without a civil war, and to ensure the transfer of the basic means of production into the hands of the people. Supported by the majority of the people and giving a decisive rebuff to opportunistic elements not capable of rejecting the policy of conciliation with capitalists and landowners, the working class has the opportunity to inflict defeat on the reactionary, antipopular forces, to win a strong majority in parliament, to convert parliament from an instrument serving the bourgeois class interests into an instrument serving the working people, to promote a broad nonparliamentary mass struggle, to break down the resistance of the reactionary forces, and to create the necessary conditions for the peaceful implementation of a socialist revolution. All this will be possible only by means of a broad, continuous growth of the class struggle by the workers, the peasant masses, and middle city strata against big monopolistic capital and against reaction, and for profound social reforms and for peace and socialism. At the same time, the Statement clearly and definitely indicated that under conditions in which the exploiter classes resort to the use of force against the people, it is necessary to have in mind another possibility, namely the nonpeaceful transition to socialism.

The Albanian leaders distort the stand of the CPSU, alleging that the 20th Congress proposed only the use of peaceful means for the victory of the working class; and with unparalleled pretentiousness they assume the right to determine for all Communist Parties which path they should choose in the struggle for socialism.

In his report on 7 November 1961, Hoxha, distorting the facts, alleged that at the 20th Congress of the CPSU the possibility of a peaceful means of revolution "was raised almost to an absolute". Of course, this is nonsense. It

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would not even be worth mentioning if the Albanian leaders were not trying to mislead poorly informed people in this way. Talk about "absolutizing peaceful means" was needed by the Albanian "theorists" in order to deny the working class any practical opportunity to use peaceful forms to win power. They also openly revise the Statement by 81 Communist Parties, which states clearly that the potential for peaceful means of revolution exists in several countries. Under cover of outwardly revolutionary phrases the Albanian leaders oppose the use by the working class and its Marxist-Leninist parties of the means that most fully correspond to the actual conditions in a given country, and for that reason are the most effective means for having the working class win power.

Unceremoniously and impudently the Albanian leaders are taking it upon themselves to judge the provisions of the programs of the Communist Parties in the capitalist countries. The Albanian "theorists" lecture and scold the Communist Parties of Italy and France for not excluding the opportunity to use peaceful forms under certain conditions in the struggle for socialism.

Hoxha seriously thinks that from Tirana, it must be "more evident" to him in which country of the world and by which means the revolution should be carried out.

The question of the means by which the working class comes to power in a certain country is a specific question. It can be resolved only by taking into consideration the whole aggregate of social-political conditions, the external situation, and other conditions. Therefore, the 1960 Statement of the Communist Parties pointed out that the ways of assuring victory by the working class are determined independently by each fraternal party, being guided by the great teachings of Marxism-Leninism.

Here, as in other questions, the Albanian leaders clearly demonstrate a lack of understanding of the nature of the modern era and an underestimation of the power of the socialist camp, the increased influence of the world Communist and

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workers' movement, and of the active role of the Communist Parties in the capitalist countries in the struggle for democracy and socialism. At a time when the CPSU and other Marxist-Leninist Parties are following the great Leninist principles -- revolutionary boldness in combination with revolutionary flexibility and comprehensive evaluation of the actual conditions -- the Albanian leadership is lecturing the Communist Parties of the entire world, pretending to be genuine defenders of Marxism-Leninism. In reality this conceals an unscrupulous policy directed toward using any means to slander the CPSU in the eyes of the fraternal parties.

The question of the struggle against revisionism and dogmatism has great significance for strengthening the unity of world Communism. The documents of the world Communist movement stress two dangers in the Communist movement: the danger of rightist opportunism and revisionism as the main danger, and the danger of dogmatism and sectarianism. The CPSU and all Marxist-Leninist Parties are consistently waging a struggle against any signs of opportunism. The entire theoretical and political activity of our party is visual proof of this.

Everyone knows what a serious contribution our party made to the work of the ideological rout of revisionism, including Yugoslav revisionism. Speaking at the 7th Congress of the Bulgarian Communist Party in 1958, N. S. Khrushchev said: "modern revisionism is a sort of Trojan horse. Revisionists try to corrupt revolutionary parties from within, undermine their unity, and introduce disorder and confusion in Marxist-Leninist ideology". The speeches of Comrade N. S. Khrushchev at the 20th, 21st, and 22nd Congresses of the CPSU and at the Conferences of Marxist-Leninist Parties are widely known, and they contain well-founded, crushing criticism of modern revisionism. Having lost all sense of responsibility, the Albanian leadership ventures to repeat that the CPSU is not combatting revisionism and that the main burden of this combat is being borne by the AWP.

The hysterical campaign waged by the Albanian leaders

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has nothing in common with the genuine struggle against opportunism. Instead of well-reasoned criticism of the theoretical roots and fundamentals of revisionism, the leaders of the AWP subsist on crude abuse. With their dogmatic and nationalistic position they actually aid the development of revisionism, which draws upon the narrow-minded dogmatic position of the Albanian leaders for arguments for its running attacks on Marxism-Leninism. Being incapable of attaining the level of genuinely thorough criticism of revisionism, the Albanian leaders use their clamorous speeches against revisionism to kindle chauvinistic passions and nationalism in their country.

At the same time, Hoxha and Shehu carefully conceal the facts about the active struggle of the CPSU against revisionism. It is significant that in publishing the biased account of the Draft Program of the CPSU, the Albanian press omitted those very parts which contained criticism of revisionism. The same tactic was employed in relaying Radio Moscow transmissions in Albania. In presenting the summary Report of the CC CPSU at the 22nd Congress, the Albanian press omitted the criticism of revisionism contained in the report. With the aid of such unscrupulous methods, the leaders of the AWP are trying hard to create a wrong impression of the CPSU and its struggle against revisionism.

Proceeding from their narrow-minded, leftist opportunistic positions, the Albanian leaders use the struggle against modern revisionists as a method to revise the goals of the world Communist movement and the conclusion of creative Marxism-Leninism. Having cast aside all restraint, the leaders of the AWP have resorted to brazen accusations of "revisionism" against the CPSU and other Marxist-Leninist Parties.

The experience of our party and other fraternal parties shows that the struggle against opportunism may be successful if it is conducted on two fronts -- against revisionism and against dogmatism, and if it is conducted from the position of creative Marxism-Leninism.

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Characteristic of the actions of the AWP leaders is that they do not see the danger of dogmatism and sectarianism in the international Communist movement and do nothing to criticize it. There is nothing surprising in this. If they really supported the Marxist-Leninist stand and were really guided by the interests of the struggle against opportunism, they would first have to subject to criticism their own dogmatic and leftist-sectarian mistakes which, in actuality, represent the reverse side of reformism and revisionism.

Having started with a dogmatic denial of the new conclusions and principles effected by the world Communist movement concerning the most important contemporary questions, the Albanian leaders have proceeded to a direct revision of the creative Marxism-Leninism which was reflected in the 1957 Declaration and in the 1960 Statement. Thus in their attacks on creative Marxism-Leninism, the Albanian leaders actually close ranks with the revisionists.

III.

The fallaciousness of the anti-Leninist views of the present Albanian leadership becomes even more obvious in view of the position taken by them regarding criticism of Stalin's personality cult. This too is not accidental. Whoever tries to defend the personality cult inevitably rises to the defense of anti-Leninist deviations that are engendered by it in the field of the theory and practice of building socialism and in the development of the international Communist movement. The Albanian leaders not only defend all the ugly manifestations of the personality cult but try to evaluate the actions of the fraternal parties and of the entire international Communist movement precisely from the viewpoint of those formulas and principles of Stalin which have been repudiated in practice.

The question about the personality cult is not only history. It has important significance for working out and carrying out the correct line in the present and in the future. Everyone now sees what an enormous influence the de-

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nouncing of Stalin's personality cult at the 20th Congress of the CPSU had for the development of the Communist movement. Overcoming its consequences decisively not only had a very beneficial effect on the life of the CPSU and the Soviet nation, but it helped to eliminate those abnormalities and aftereffects which existed in the relations between the Communist and workers' parties, and thus helped to unify even more all the parties on sound Marxist-Leninist principles.

One can only regret that the Albanian Workers' Party, through the fault of its leaders, found itself outside this beneficial process. Contrary to the general line of the world Communist movement, which unanimously approved the measures of the CPSU for overcoming the personality cult and its difficult consequences, the Albanian leaders, especially recently, have ostentatiously lauded the name of Stalin, giving credit to him alone for all the successes and victories of the Soviet people.

They fraudulently represent the criticism of Stalin's personality cult as an attempt "to slander a whole glorious era, an era of the building of socialism in the Soviet Union". Such an assertion is a twisted fabrication of the bourgeois ideologists and revisionists, as though the personality cult stems from the nature of the Communist social system. The only difference between the bourgeois ideologists and the Albanian leaders is that the former emphasize the alleged "degeneracy" of the social system of the USSR, while the latter identify everything negative and bad produced by the personality cult with the socialist system itself.

In his attempt to discredit the line of the 20th Congress of the CPSU at all costs, Hoxha has even resorted to uttering the monstrous fabrication that allegedly "the struggle against Stalin's personality cult was used . . . to debunk Leninism and to prepare the soil for revising Marxism-Leninism". Even the most inveterate opportunists did not venture to make such statements. Even in the camp of our enemies there is a clear understanding of the significance of the denouncements by the 20th and 22nd Congresses of the CPSU of Stalin's personality cult and of the elimination of its consequences for the

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socialist cause. The struggle against the personality cult sharpens our ideological weapon and makes it even more menacing in the struggle for the ideals of Communism. It was precisely after exposing the personality cult that the ideological influence of Leninism on the historical development of the world grew immeasurably. Only biased people are unable to see this.

The question arises: why do the Albanian leaders praise Stalin's personality cult? Why do they attack so furiously the measures taken by the CPSU and the other fraternal parties to eliminate all its consequences?

The reason is that the anti-Leninist ideology of the personality cult underlies the entire present fallacious line of the Albanian leaders. They are trying to do everything in their power to preserve a situation in Albania in which it would be possible to violate all standards of party and state life without checks and with impunity to satisfy their own interests. The abnormal manifestations of the personality cult may be seen there everywhere. In disregard of generally known facts, Albanian propaganda persistently represents Hoxha as the sole founder of the Albanian Workers' Party, even though in reality he was not among those older figures who were present at the beginnings of the Communist movement in Albania.

Now, when the Communist movement has denounced Stalin's personality cult, it is amusing to see people like Hoxha and Shehu straining vainly to represent themselves as infallible "leaders" in the Communist movement. Their references to V. I. Lenin's sayings about the role of leaders and their authority sound blasphemous coming from their lips. Just as heaven is removed from earth, so are Hoxha and Shehu removed from Lenin's modesty, Lenin's unpretentiousness, Lenin's style of collective leadership, and his constant striving to consult people and to take into consideration in his own work the experience of the masses and the experience of the international working class.

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The arbitrary rule and coercion created by E. Hoxha and M. Shehu has resulted in the disappearance from the political scene of almost all the individuals who created the Albanian Workers' Party, and many heroes of the liberation struggle of the Albanian people against the German and Italian fascists. How tragic was the fate of Nako Spiru, the hero of the liberation struggle, the fighting leader of Albanian youth, and a member of the Politburo of the CC/AWP. In 1947, groundless charges were made against him by Hoxha and other members of the Politburo for supposedly being an "enemy of the party and the people". Fearing reprisal, N. Spiru committed suicide. The case of N. Spiru is not an isolated one. The question of the violation in the AWP of Leninist standards of inner-Party life and of reprisals by the leadership against honest Communists were raised sharply even at the 1st Congress of the AWP in 1948. Even then it was noted in the decisions of the congress that "military police methods" flourished in the Party and that inner-Party democracy was openly defied. A graphic illustration of the situation in the Party at that time is indicated by the fact that all the Party organs, starting from the bureaus of the primary Party organizations up to the CC, were not elected, and their numbers were either appointed or coopted. "Thus", it was stated in the resolution of this congress, "control by the Party masses over the leading organs of the Party was absent". The congress noted with indignation that the Party was "under the control of the state security organs". The Albanian Communists decisively censured these methods and demanded that the leadership strictly observe the standards of inner-Party life. But these legitimate demands were not put into practice by the leadership of the AWP.

Soon after the 20th Congress of the CPSU, in April 1956, the delegates of the Tirana city Party conference again sharply criticized the leadership of the AWP for abuse of authority. The acuteness of the situation at this conference is revealed by the fact that the delegates refused to listen to the speech of Balluku, a member of the Politburo, and demanded that an explanation of all these questions be given personally by E. Hoxha, who had to speak three times. Under pressure by the

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Communists, E. Hoxha had to admit that the propaganda of the personality cult in the AWP "weakened Party work and also weakened to a certain extent the role of the masses and the guiding role of the Party". Frightened by the discontent of the Communists, E. Hoxha and M. Shehu promised to "correct their mistakes". Later on however, they treacherously dealt with those who dared to express dissatisfaction with their criminal acts.

Recently, the Albanian leaders have "legalized" the practice of arbitrary rule. In 1960, the decree, "On Internment and Exile as Administrative Measures", was published. In accordance with this decree, a special commission of "five" ("pyaterka") may subject any person to internment or exile without a trial or inquiry. The goal of this decree is to combat all citizens who are objectionable to the Albanian leaders, to create a state of fear in the country, and to prohibit any criticism of E. Hoxha and M. Shehu. New information is constantly arriving from Albania concerning the arrest of persons who do not approve the line of the leadership. A system of surveillance and denunciations is spreading in the Party and country, and nationalistic passions and hysteria are being enkindled. In 1960, many prominent members of the AWP were expelled from the Party and were subjected to repressions. Among them were Liri Belishova, a hero of the partisan war and a member of the Politburo, Koco Tashko, a veteran of the international Communist movement and one of the founders of the AWP, and others.

Recently, everything the Albanian leaders say, write, and, particularly, do, shows that they put their own group interests above the interests of the Party and of all the Albanian people. They became afraid that the development of socialist and inner-Party democracy might bring about a questioning of their position as leaders and their personal welfare. Admitting the correctness of the criticism of Stalin's personality cult would mean for E. Hoxha and M. Shehu a condemnation of their own shameful methods of directing the Party and country and would signify their complete bankruptcy.

The anti-Leninist views of the Albanian leaders on the

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most important questions of our time and their fallacious political course show quite obviously that they are sinking ever deeper into the quagmire of nationalism and opportunism. The Albanian leaders have crossed the line which separates misconceptions and mistakes from ill-intentioned provocative actions aimed at undermining the unity of the socialist camp and the entire world Communist movement. They have now become the most zealous and open spokesmen and champions of all the unhealthy and harmful phenomena which the personality cult introduces into the international Communist movement.

IV.

Facts show that the most important component of the present policy of the Albanian leadership is its anti-Soviet trend. Speaking out against the general political line of the socialist camp and the international Communist movement, the leaders of the AWP direct their hostile attacks primarily against the CPSU.

The development of events during the last two years shows quite obviously that the Albanian leadership deliberately, and step by step, conducted matters toward the deterioration of Soviet-Albanian relations and the isolation of the Albanian Workers' Party from other Marxist-Leninist parties. Apropos of nothing which the CPSU and the Soviet government did and despite their avowals and assertions, the Albanian leaders trampled the basis of Soviet-Albanian friendship, thus showing how little they value it.

At present, a malicious, slanderous campaign is being developed in Albania against the CPSU and the Soviet Union, and its goal is to undermine confidence in the great Party of Lenin and to create hostility toward our country and our people. Not daring to state the truth regarding their differences with the CPSU and other fraternal parties, the Albanian leaders try their best to be crafty and shifty and resort to dirty methods borrowed from the arsenal of various renegades and other enemies of Marxism-Leninism, thus operating on the principle of all slanderers -- slander, slander, and someone will believe it.

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For example, the Albanian leadership broadly disseminated slanderous fabrications which alleged that the Soviet government reacted favorably to the plans of Greek reactionaries to annex the southern areas of Albania. Meanwhile, the Soviet government has repeatedly and openly announced its decision to prevent this encroachment. To clarify the position of the Soviet Union on the question, the newspaper "Pravda" on 12 March 1961 published an article "Greece in the Clutches of NATO". When reprinting this article, the Albanian newspapers deliberately left out the very part which decisively condemned the territorial claims of Greek reactionary circles on Albania and which stressed that the Albanian borders were guaranteed by the entire might of the Warsaw Pact Organization.

With the same improper goals in mind the Albanian leaders circulated the canard that the Soviet Union intended "to starve Albania to death" by refusing to assist it with grain. This canard was circulated at the time when the Soviet Union not only completely fulfilled its commitments to deliver grain to Albania but, at its request, sent 30,000 additional tons of grain. In accordance with its treaty commitments, the Soviet Union did not stop supplying Albania with grain even in 1961. In the first half of 1961, the Soviet Union fulfilled its yearly commitment, having supplied Albania with approximately 50,000 tons of grain.

Recently, completely unbearable conditions have been created in Albania for Soviet people. The advice and recommendations of Soviet specialists working in Albania were ignored, and insulting statements against the Soviet Union were permitted in the presence of Soviet people. Matters went so far that in January 1961 the Albanian authorities began to carry out searches of the areas where Soviet specialists worked; moreover this was done in a deliberately crude manner in an attempt to lower the dignity of the Soviet citizens. In 1961, a group of geology specialists was in Albania, working to complete a geological map of Albania. The Albanian administration stopped issuing them work documents and stopped inviting them to technical conferences, and this virtually paralyzed their entire work. When the Soviet specialists ex-

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pressed their bewilderment concerning this behavior toward them, the chief geologist of the Albanian Ministry of Geology and Mines informed a representative of the Soviet Embassy that he "did not understand" the motives behind the geologists' continued stay in Albania.

In January 1961, Minister of Geology and Mines Carcani requested an extension of the stay of the Soviet petroleum specialists, who were scheduled to return to the Soviet Union upon the expiration of their contract. The Soviet organizations approved this request, and the Albanian authorities were notified about this in good time. However, on 7 February 1961, the director of the Albanian Petroleum Combine demanded that the Soviet specialists "depart for Tirana within three days to proceed to the Soviet Union". The Albanian authorities did everything to force the Soviet government to recall the Soviet specialists from Albania.

Completely abnormal conditions were created for the work of the Soviet Embassy in Tirana. Violating elementary standards of international law, the Albanian authorities did everything possible to hamper the work of the Soviet diplomats and to place them in conditions of isolation. The ambassador of the USSR in Tirana was actually deprived of the opportunity to fulfil the commissions of his government, because the leading officials of Albania systematically avoided meetings with him. The Soviet Ambassador was sent to secondary officials, thereby ostentatiously underlining the lack of respect for our country.

In continuing their provocative line to undermine Albanian-Soviet relations, the Albanian leaders did not stop at such a provocative measure as demanding that the staff of the Soviet Embassy be reduced almost threefold. Meanwhile, very recently the staff of the Italian diplomatic mission in Tirana was increased twofold with the approval of the Albanian leaders. The demand of the Albanian authorities was in the nature of an ultimatum. It actually meant the liquidation of our Embassy in Albania. Under these conditions, the Soviet government could do nothing else but recall its diplomatic personnel from Tirana.

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The Albanian authorities have also adopted a course of unconcealed provocations toward Soviet military personnel, located on Albanian territory at the request of its government in accordance with the decision of the Warsaw Pact Organization. The leading military officials in Albania became so insolent that in their conversations with Soviet officers they permitted themselves to defame the work of the CC CPSU and of the Soviet government. They completely paralyzed the collaboration of Albania in the Warsaw Pact Organization. The Soviet government repeatedly pointed out the abnormality of such a situation. However, the Albanian leadership ignored all the warnings and continued deliberately to exacerbate the situation and to provoke incidents between Soviet and Albanian military personnel. In order to prevent a possible conflict, the Soviet government was forced to recall its military personnel from Albania. Until their very departure, the Albanian authorities did not stop their provocations, started new quarrels and conflicts, and even went so far as to seize piratically some of the Soviet military-technical property.

The latest anti-Soviet provocation by the Albanian authorities was the expulsion under police escort in January of this year of a large group of Soviet women citizens who had married Albanian students and military personnel. This unparalleled arbitrary act was characterized even by the reactionary press of the West as an "act of cruelty by the Hoxha regime".

The Albanian leaders interpret the principles of proletarian internationalism very strangely. If you listen to them, then the only duty of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries is to give Albania gratuitous economic and other aid, and Albania's only right is to demand such aid.

The Albanian leaders demand a "special" position for Albania in the socialist camp and "special" privileges that they allegedly earned "by their consistent struggle to protect the positions of socialism in this corner of the Balkans and by their struggle against imperialism and revisionism". They contend that the "socialist countries which are stronger

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economically and which give economic and material aid to other socialist countries are doing nothing more than fulfilling their international obligation".

Moreover, the Albanian leaders consider it possible to abuse the CC CPSU and the Soviet government in every way, including the most unscrupulous ones, to wage a struggle against our Party and its line, and at the same time to insist that the Soviet Union continue to give economic and other aid to Albania. Such a comprehension of the principles of proletarian internationalism not only contradicts the Marxist-Leninist approach but, to put it simply, does not fit into the framework of ideas about basic decency and honesty.

The Albanian leaders lay special stress on this argument: Albania, they say, is a small country and the AWP is a small party, and the requirements from a small party should be less. They constantly argue that the other parties, and primarily the CPSU, must exhibit special concern for the small Albanian Party and be particularly tolerant toward the leaders' actions. One should like to ask these people how, in their opinion, one must act if the representatives of a small party commit very infamous deeds and wage an impudent campaign of falsehood and calumny against the "big" party, thereby rendering a great service to all the enemies of Communism and inflicting great damage on the unity of the world Communist movement. Is it also necessary in this case to show Christian long-suffering and meekly present the other cheek for a blow?

But proletarian internationalism makes its demands on all parties -- both large and small. It does not make exceptions for anyone. All the Marxist-Leninist Parties must show equal concern to have their work based on Marxist-Leninist principles and to serve the interests of strengthening the unity of socialist countries and of the entire world Communist movement. And if the large party must give special attention to see that the principles of equality of rights are consistently carried out between all detachments of the Communist movement, then the small party must be particularly careful

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to prevent the ideas of petty-bourgeois nationalism from penetrating into its ranks. V. I. Lenin once pointed out that the social-democracy of a small nation must "fight against petty-nationalist narrow-mindedness, exclusiveness, and isolation, to take account of the whole and the universal, and to subordinate private interests to common interests". It is this very requirement which has been most disregarded by the Albanian leaders, who have trampled the principles of proletarian internationalism and who implant nationalistic views in their party about its "special" position and "special" rights. In the Communist movement there are no special privileges, and there can be none, for any party, whether it be large or small. The requirements which are dictated by the unity of its actions are equally obligatory for all.

The CC CPSU, just as the Central Committees of the other fraternal parties, was worried by the behavior of the Albanian leaders and took all measures to normalize relations with the CC of the Albanian Workers' Party and to eliminate in the initial stage everything that could hinder the development of fraternal friendship between our parties. We hoped that the leaders of the AWP would understand the error of their line and would reestablish friendly relations with the CPSU and other Communist Parties. Twice in August 1960, the CC CPSU appealed to the Albanian leaders with the proposal to organize a meeting of representatives of the two parties. The letter of the CC CPSU addressed to the CC AWP on 13 August 1960 stated: "It would be correct and timely to extinguish the spark of misunderstanding that has arisen to prevent its flaring up If the CC AWP shares our viewpoint and does not object to an exchange of opinions, we are ready to meet with a delegation of your Party at any level and at any time that is convenient for you." However, the Albanian leaders declined to meet with the representatives of the CC CPSU.

At the time when the delegation of the AWP was in Moscow for the Conference of the Fraternal Parties in November 1960, the CC CPSU again proposed that talks be held. At our insistence such talks were started, but Hoxha and Shehu behaved in a provocative manner and ostentatiously stopped the meeting and thus broke off the talks.

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In December 1960, the Albanian leaders rejected our proposal for conducting talks at a higher level to discuss economic problems. In February 1961, representatives of the CPSU at the 4th Congress of the AWP once again conveyed to the Albanian leadership the proposal of the CC CPSU to organize a meeting of the leaders of the two parties, but this proposal was not accepted either. On their side, not once did the Albanian leaders propose to organize a meeting between the leadership of the two parties in order to normalize relations.

The Albanian leaders ignored the collective opinion of the fraternal parties. Hoxha and Shehu ostentatiously refused to participate in the work of the Political Advisory Committee of the participant governments of the Warsaw Pact and did not come to the Conference of the First Secretaries of the CC of Communist and Workers' Parties in August 1961, thereby showing their complete unwillingness to settle relations with the CPSU and with all Marxist-Leninist parties.

Moreover, the leadership of the AWP began to make open advances toward the imperialists, deliberately exhibiting their special line in the Communist movement and flaunting anti-Soviet attacks. This became apparent at the 4th Congress of the AWP, which can only be assessed as an attempt by the Albanian leaders to contrast their vicious, anti-Leninist policy to the general line of the world Communist movement.

Even then, the bourgeois press started to proclaim, in many different ways, that the leaders of the AWP were taking different positions from other Communist Parties.

In January 1961, the Associated Press Agency transmitted the following: "Enver Hoxha and his delegation left Moscow before the end of the Conference. This was interpreted as an indication that the decisions of the Conference did not satisfy them." The British newspaper Sunday Express on 15 January 1961 wrote that for more than a year the leadership of Albania has openly supported "the concept of an aggressive foreign policy that runs counter to the Moscow line of peaceful

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coexistence". The British newspaper Scotsman on 19 May 1961 noted: "The Albanian government burnt its bridges behind it in its relations with the Soviet Union." The newspaper Daily Telegraph on 3 June 1961 stated that in Albania "the campaign against Russians has reached its culmination during the last few weeks". And finally, on 20 June 1961 the British newspaper Daily Telegraph and Morning Post wrote: "In the Balkan Communism of Hoxha there is nothing that would interfere with his turning in the direction of the Western powers."

As can be seen, the imperialists began to make serious calculations on using the Albanian leadership for their provocative purposes and did not even conceal these plans of theirs.

It is known that at the 22nd Congress of the CPSU the position of the Albanian leaders was subjected to fundamental criticism, and again the readiness to normalize relations with the Albanian Workers' Party on the basis of Marxism-Leninism was stressed; and another attempt was made to call upon the leaders of the AWP to return to the path of friendship with the Soviet Union, the CPSU, and with other fraternal parties and countries.

The open subjection of the fallacious position of the Albanian leaders to criticism by our Party was based on the fact that they had drifted away from the Communist movement not on some secondary question but on the most important questions of principle, which had been formulated in the Declaration and Statement of the fraternal parties, and they had distorted Marxism-Leninism; secondly, that the leadership of the AWP had gone over to open schismatic and hostile activity directed against the CPSU and the Soviet nation and against the fraternal parties and socialist collaboration; thirdly, that all other means of influencing the leaders of the AWP had been exhausted in order to settle the differences by means of consultations and talks.

Unfortunately, it must be noted that the Albanian leaders not only did not listen to the voice of reason and to the collective call of the fraternal parties, but went even farther in their provocative, schismatic activity.

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The anti-Soviet campaign in Albania spread with particular force during the days that the 22nd Congress of the CPSU was in session and after its conclusion. In answer to the appeal contained in the Report of the CC CPSU -- to reject its erroneous views and return to the path of unity and close cooperation in the fraternal family of socialist countries, to the path of unity with the entire international Communist movement -- the Albanian leaders replied with the provocative statement of the CC AWP on 20 October 1961. In this document, which in its anti-Soviet tone and contents surpassed the concoctions of the yellow capitalistic press, the Albanian leaders cast monstrous aspersions on our Party and country, and they spoke with the language of the angriest enemies of the CPSU and the Soviet Union.

The anti-Leninist, anti-Soviet platform of the Albanian leaders in its most repulsive form was presented in Hoxha's speech in Tirana on 7 November 1961. Hypocritically taking great pains to express his "love and friendship toward the Soviet Union", at the same time Hoxha tried to present the matter in such a way as though the leadership of the AWP was in disagreement only with the CC CPSU and the Soviet government. He tried to deceive his people by maintaining that ostensibly the CC CPSU and the Soviet government have one line and the Soviet people another. As before, Hoxha and Shehu would like to receive assistance and support from the Soviet people and at the same time defame the work of the CC CPSU and the Soviet government.

How low the Albanian leaders have fallen, if they are not ashamed of such provocative methods! The enemies of socialism have resorted to such methods before, and each time their calculations burst like soap bubbles. The provocative work of the present Albanian leaders will also end in a scandalous failure.

V.

What is the danger of the course that the Albanian leaders are conducting now and are trying to force on the international

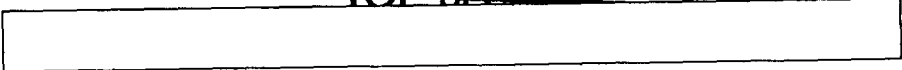
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Communist movement? Of course, it is not only a matter of the persons of Hoxha and Shehu, whose influence should not be exaggerated. The matter is in the harmful trend of which they are the carriers. The policy of petty-bourgeois nationalism, dogmatism, and sectarianism, if it is not combatted decisively, is capable of inflicting serious damage not only on this or that Party, but also on the world Communist movement. If its danger is not revealed and unmasked, this policy may become dangerous for the future of the world, democracy, and socialism.

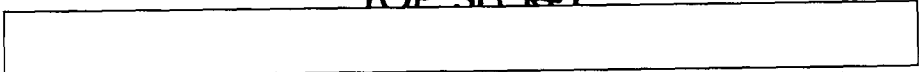
In the history of the world Communist movement it has happened more than once that during sharp turns, when life urgently demanded a further development of the theory and tactics of Communism and new creative and bold decisions, the unhardened and least mature figures were found to be unprepared and came out in defense of everything which was repudiated by reality, and in this way performed a favor for the enemies of the working-class cause.

The 20th Congress of the CPSU and the 1957 and 1960 Moscow Conferences of Fraternal Parties opened new prospects for further world-wide historic successes of the Communist movement. In this situation, when bold revolutionary decisions were required, within the ranks of the Communist movement, there were people who did not understand the entire historic significance of the changes taking place. Continuing to grasp at the old in order to fence themselves off from reality with formulas, they took the path of struggling against the creative development of Marxism-Leninism. The Albanian leaders were spokesmen for such attitudes, and they showed themselves to be unstable Communists, not understanding the theory of Marxism-Leninism, incapable of rising to the point of understanding the common basic interests of world socialism, and ignoring the collective experience of the Communist movement.

Openly deserting the principles of proletarian internationalism and causing serious damage, first of all to the Albanian people, the Albanian leaders:



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-- defy documents that were worked out collectively by the entire Communist movement at the Moscow Conferences;

-- behave arrogantly and scornfully toward the opinion of the vast majority of the Marxist-Leninist parties, which denounced the anti-Leninist position of Hoxha and Shehu at the 1960 Moscow Conference, in the speeches at the 22nd Congress of the CPSU, and also at the plenums now being held of the leading organs of the fraternal parties on the results of the 22nd Congress;

-- approach relations between socialist countries from nationalistic positions, look upon the assistance of the Soviet Union and other socialistic countries to Albania as a sort of compulsory duty of these countries, and do not raise the question about their own contribution to the common cause of the socialist camp;

-- undermine the unity of the socialist camp, actually refusing to cooperate with the other socialist countries in the Warsaw Pact Organization and in the Council of Mutual Economic Assistance;

-- rudely violate the principles of relations between the fraternal parties, displaying Pharisaism and double-dealing in their relations with them; interfere in the internal affairs of the fraternal parties, trying to spread slanderous anti-Soviet libel among their members. They divulge confidential correspondence between parties, falsify its contents, giving food to imperialist propaganda for its anti-Communist speculation;

-- conduct an unbridled and irresponsible campaign of lies and malicious fabrications against the CPSU and against the Soviet Union, thereby weakening the combat front against imperialism.

International unity and solidarity is the holy of holies of the world Communist movement, the most important legacy left to it by Marx, Engels, and Lenin. The Communist movement

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is strong because of its singleness of ideology, singleness of will, and singleness of action. In raising their hand against these principles, the Albanian leaders expose themselves as narrow-minded nationalists, dogmatists, and sectarians, apostates from Marxism-Leninism and the cause of the international working class. The 1957 Declaration and the 1960 Statement of the fraternal parties pointed out that dogmatism and sectarianism in theory and in practice, unless a consistent struggle is waged against them, may become the main danger at some stage of development of the individual parties. We have before us just such an example, where dogmatism has become the main danger.

Dogmatism, sectarianism, and nationalism are the result of petty-bourgeois influence on the proletariat. Characteristic features of leftist opportunism are subjectivism in evaluating events, rejection of the creative development of Marxism-Leninism, a noisy ultra-revolutionary spirit, and an attempt to jump over stages and artificially accelerate the rate of historical development. Dogmatism and sectarianism in the AWP feed on the class political immaturity of certain strata of the Party, which are subjected to strong pressure by the petty-bourgeois masses. It also feeds on leadership which is out of touch with reality, which does not understand the complexity and contradiction of the modern historical situation, and which is unable to comprehend all the processes of world development as a whole.

Only creative Marxism-Leninism, which is waging a consistent struggle against revisionism, as well as against dogmatism, is the powerful ideological weapon of the international Communist and workers' movement. It provides the movement with answers to new problems which are presented by reality. It helps to see and take into consideration correctly the progress and changes occurring in the development of world history, and it helps to work out new tactics for the revolutionary struggle on the basis of a thorough analysis.

The building of socialism in Albania, just as in any

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other country, may be successfully carried out under the indispensable condition in which the progressive and conscientious part of the working people -- the working class and its vanguard, the Marxist-Leninist party -- will purposefully and consistently wage a struggle against the forces and traditions of the old society and against nationalistic, anti-democratic and other vestiges of capitalism. With the victory of socialism, the vestiges of nationalism do not disappear by themselves. Moreover, if a fundamental and consistent struggle is not waged against these vestiges, they may even become stronger. Therefore, proper leadership of the Party in the cause of building socialism must assume to educate the working people in the spirit of socialist internationalism and to imbue in the people of each socialist country an understanding of the deep organic bond of national interests with the common interests of the entire socialist camp.

The Albanian leaders have buried in oblivion the great Marxist slogan -- "Workers of All Lands, Unite!" Rather than taking countermeasures against nationalistic sentiments, they are, on the contrary, trying to cultivate and agitate them, Speculating in the nationalistic feelings of the people who were under a foreign yoke for a long period of time and on these people's trust in socialism, by deceit and demagogy the Albanian leaders are trying to obtain justification for their shameful policy in the eyes of the workers. They exploit the punitive organs created to fight the foes of socialism in order to strengthen the power of a small group of people and to punish all those who do not agree with their policy.

However, such methods of party and government leadership have nothing in common with socialism. They are alien to the spirit of the Communist Party and the spirit of Leninism. They inevitably discredit socialism in the eyes of the broad masses of people who, as things progress, will see more and more clearly how much of an impediment the foreign policy of Hoxha and Shehu represents to the development of a country along the way to socialism.

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We are convinced that sooner or later the Albanian Workers' Party will put an end to the unhealthy growth of the personality cult, arbitrary rule and lawlessness, and will return Albania to the path of friendship and cooperation with all countries of the world socialist system. Proof of this is found in the outstanding traditions of the Albanian Workers' Party and the Albanian people in their struggle for freedom, independence, and socialism. We are certain that the heroic Albanian people, for whom the Soviet people feel most sincere friendship, will march alongside all the fraternal peoples of the great socialist friendship.

* * *

The struggle for the correct line and unity of the international Communist movement is a struggle for Marxist-Leninist ideas which are sacred to us and for the principles of proletarian internationalism; it is a struggle for the Leninist course charted by the 20th and 22nd Congresses of our Party. We will not yield on this issue to the Albanian leaders or to anyone else.

The CPSU will continue to carry high the banner of Marxism-Leninism, will fight any manifestations of opportunism, revisionism, and dogmatism, and will be irreconcilable with nationalism, the most dangerous foe of socialism.

In this lie the indispensable condition and surest guarantee of success in the struggle for peace, national independence, democracy, and socialism.

Central Committee of the
Communist Party of the Soviet Union

22 January 1962

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