

# “Albania is not Cuba.” Sino-Albanian Summits and the Sino-Soviet Split

Edited, annotated and introduced by Ana Lalaj, Christian F. Ostermann, and Ryan Gage

“Albania is not Cuba.” To most observers during the Cold War this statement would connote the sense that, in the scheme of Cold War geopolitics, Cuba’s peculiar role that brought the world to the edge of a nuclear conflagration differed vastly in significance and consequence from the historic understudy played by the secluded country on the edge of the Balkans. But in fact this statement by a Chinese Communist Party (CCP) politburo member to the Albanian ambassador in Beijing in 1961 meant precisely the opposite—comforting reassurance: “If imperialism dares to attack Albania, we will assist her with all our forces.”<sup>1</sup> Unlike Moscow’s allegedly weak response to the Bay of Pigs crisis, Beijing would not abandon its far-away ally, no matter how dire the circumstances. One may wonder whether Beijing would have lived up to such expectations if push came to shove. Yet the statement, at the end of a briefing by the Chinese official on the developments that had unfolded in Cuba, captured succinctly the remarkable importance that tiny Albania had taken on for the communist giant by the early 1960s.

Viewed from Beijing, the small and traditionally xenophobic Balkan country had actually much common with Cuba. And not just in size and population: as the Sino-Soviet alliance of the 1950s dissolved amidst mutual recriminations at communist gatherings and the withdrawal of Soviet advisors and economic aid, Albania emerged as China’s only but increasingly fervent ally in Europe. Much as Fidel Castro’s revolution had given the Soviet leaders a highly valuable strategic outpost in the US-dominated Western hemisphere, Enver Hoxha’s break with Moscow provided the People’s Republic a political beachhead at a neuralgic spot on the southern edge of the Warsaw Pact. Much as Moscow supported the infant regime in Havana with generous military and economic aid, Chinese leaders stepped up aid in grain, industrial material and know-how to the Albanians after the fall-out with Khrushchev. That this happened at a time of acute shortages and nationwide famine in the wake after the disastrous “Great Leap Forward,” reflected not just strategic calculations but deeper ideological considerations: Much as the Cuban communists’ zeal and actions seemed to appeal to Khrushchev’s revolutionary

romanticism, the Albanian communists’ open defection from the “revisionists” in Moscow likely validated and reinforced Mao’s ideological extremism and his eagerness to challenge the USSR for leadership in the communist world.

Albanian-Soviet relations had been on a path of decline from the post-1948 heyday of anti-Tito collaboration between Moscow and Tirana for some years. Khrushchev’s rapprochement with Belgrade in 1953-1955 and the de-Stalinization campaign launched at the February 1956 Twentieth CPSU Congress threatened a return to the postwar subjugation to the hated and feared Yugoslavs. At the April 1956 Tirana party conference ALP members demanded greater democracy in the inner life of their party organizations and asked their leaders to give up excessive privileges given the severe poverty in the country. Delegates also called for the rehabilitation of certain political figures and a change in relations with Yugoslavia. Though Stalinist leader Enver Hoxha was not named personally, the discussion constituted a severe criticism of his policies. On the second day of the conference, Hoxha launched a counterattack, forcing an end to the mounting criticism. Though he later made marginal concessions on Yugoslav policy and even exercised a certain degree of self-criticism at the Third ALP Congress in May 1956, he saw to it that within a short time many of his critics within the party were purged.<sup>2</sup>

Having survived the threat posed by the pro-Yugoslav Soviet policies, Hoxha was among the very first and the most violent in renewing the attack on Tito after the 1956 Hungarian Revolution. Here he soon found himself in company of the Chinese, who were undergoing a radical shift to the left in 1958. Not even a visit to Tirana by Khrushchev in May 1959 could stop the downturn in Albanian-Soviet relations.

During the June 1960 Romanian Workers Party Congress, the Albanian delegation, headed by the party’s no. 3 man, Hysni Kapo, refused to fall in line behind Khrushchev’s orchestrated attack on the Chinese. In turn Moscow refused the Albania’s request for emergency grain supplies, reinforcing doubts on Hoxha’s part that any further support from Moscow would be forthcoming.<sup>3</sup> After Bucharest Hoxha sent two letters to the Soviet leadership, complaining that Soviet Ambassador

---

*Dr. Ana Lalaj is the director of the Albanian Cold War Studies Center. Christian F. Ostermann is the director of the Woodrow Wilson Center’s History and Public Policy Program and has headed CWIHP since 1997/98. Ryan Gage is a CWIHP Assistant and a MA candidate at the Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies (SAIS).*



CWIHP Director Christian F. Ostermann, Tirana University Professor Ana Lalaj, Vice-Prime Minister Namik Dokle, and GWU Professor James G. Hershberg during November 2004 meetings hosted by the Albanian Cold War Studies Center.

Ivanov had allegedly questioned Albanian generals and officers on the allegiance of the Albanian Army and had apparently tried to gather information from party functionaries and cadres in Tirana, Durrës, Elbasan and other localities on the issues raised in the ALP's plenums. In return, Moscow withdrew its ambassador. Perhaps feeling that he had gone too far, Khrushchev urged the Albanians in August to attend the November meeting of 81 communist parties in Moscow to overcome the Bucharest dispute and "to exterminate the sparks of the misunderstanding born between us."<sup>4</sup>

Meanwhile, an Albanian government delegation participated in the PRC's national day celebrations in October 1960. The head of Albanian delegation, Deputy Premier Abdyl Kellezi, publicly praised the ideological rigor of the Chinese communists and Mao Zedong personally. Following the fallout with Khrushchev in Bucharest, Hoxha began to purge pro-Soviet personalities from the Albanian leadership, such as Liri Belishova and Koco Tashko. After those purges the Albanian leadership under Hoxha turned increasingly vitriolic in its attacks on Khrushchev. At the Hanoi congress of the Vietnamese Workers' Party, the Albanian delegate, Defense Minister Beqir Ballaku, strongly supported the Chinese position. The recriminations climaxed at the meeting of 81 communist parties. On 12 November, in a conversation with Khrushchev, Hoxha repeatedly revealed his ability to press the Soviet leader's buttons: "Why do you talk this way?" Khrushchev finally retorted with exasperation.<sup>5</sup> But Hoxha only stepped up his violent charges: in what was widely seen as a philippic, he decried Khrushchev's alleged wrongdoings in front of the assembled delegates: "while the rats could eat in the Soviet Union, the Albanian people were starving to death, because the leadership of the Albanian Labor Party had not bent to the will of the Soviet leadership."<sup>6</sup>

After the Moscow Conference, the Soviet leadership imposed a number of punitive measures on the Albanians for refusal to back the Soviet position: In December 1960, the Soviets cancelled grants and credits and cut off all trade. In April

1961 the USSR withdrew its advisers. In mid-1961 Moscow revoked scholarships for Albanian students in the USSR, later deporting all those remaining. Moscow's East European allies soon followed suit, curtailing much of the support they had provided to Albania since 1949 through COMECON. Soviet actions dealt the Albanian economy a severe blow: Tirana's third five-year plan (1961-1965) was contingent on Soviet aid, and its potential for success fell under serious doubt.<sup>7</sup>

The breakdown of Soviet-Albanian economic relations after Moscow quickly spilled over to the military relationship. Conflict over control of the Albanian-manned but Soviet-owned submarines stationed at the Warsaw Pact base in Vlorë led to the withdrawal of the Soviet submarines in June 1961, leaving Tirana to accuse Moscow of undermining its defense capabilities.<sup>8</sup> During the 3-5 August 1961 Warsaw Pact summit, called at East German leader Walter Ulbricht's request to discuss the closing of the Berlin border, the Albanian delegate was forced to leave on the first day: his Pact colleagues refused to recognize the junior Ramiz Alia whom Hoxha had sent in his stead in a show of contempt. On 19 August Khrushchev recalled Josef Shikin, his ambassador to Tirana, then, at the Twenty-second CPSU Congress in October 1961, engaged in long diatribes against the Albanian leaders (in two speeches on 17 and 27 October). The Albanians followed suit with a month-long media campaign against Khrushchev, headlined with a speech by Hoxha on 7 November widely broadcast by Radio Tirana. In the speech, Hoxha exhorted the Albanian people in now-famous words: "The Albanian people and its Labor Party will even eat grass if it is necessary in order not to be sold for 30 pieces of silver to imperialists."<sup>9</sup> Four days later, the Albanians addressed a letter to the newly elected Soviet Central Committee appealing to intervene against the "brutal and anti-Marxist actions of Khrushchev and his group."<sup>10</sup> The next month, the countries' embassies were shut down, and at the beginning of 1962, the Warsaw Pact and COMECON *de facto* expelled Hoxha's Albania.

As he sought to propel China towards a more radical path internationally, Mao Zedong sensed an opportunity in the growing Soviet-Albanian estrangement. Sino-Albanian solidarity was plainly emergent at the first open confrontation between Moscow and Beijing, at the communist-front General Council of the World Federation of Trade Unions in early June 1960. After the Bucharest meeting Mao swiftly stepped in to provide increased economic aid to Tirana as the faucets in Moscow all but dried up.<sup>11</sup> Despite dramatic shortages, widespread famine, and mass starvation at home, the PRC granted Albania what was considered to be the largest loan extended by the Chinese government up to that time. Aside from consumer goods (including wheat bought from France and shipped directly to Albania) and agricultural machinery, China agreed to provide the Albanians with a number of major industrial projects. In further evidence of the new commitment, the Chinese bought about 60,000 tons of Canadian wheat in April 1961, shipping it to Albania in May.<sup>12</sup> Within months, Albania would jump to the near top of the list of countries receiving development aid

from the PRC. Only North Vietnam, North Korea and Outer Mongolia owed more to Chinese largesse. As a result, between 1962 and 1965, Albania put into operation a number of industrial plants: major objects included hydro-electrical power plants on the Mati and Bistrica rivers, copper metallurgical plants in Kukes and Robik, a tractor spare parts plant in Tirana, a textile mill in Berat, and an oil refinery in Stalin City.<sup>13</sup>

Chinese and Albanian official statements and reciprocal visits of high officials emphasized the close alliance as an “everlasting friendship.” Despite the projected ideological congruity and fraternity in fighting “modern revisionism,” however, notable differences between the two governments existed, at least until the mid-1960s. Until the failure of the Sino-Soviet party talks in July 1963 and the final collapse of party relations in 1966, Beijing remained—at least intermittently—open to reestablishing unity within the communist camp (though only on Mao’s terms). Obsessed by a resurgence of Yugoslav influence in Moscow, Hoxha, by contrast, opposed any concessions to Moscow, resisted muting Tirana’s anti-Soviet polemics, and internally seemed to bemoan Beijing’s “unprincipled” position. Unlike important segments of the Chinese leadership, Hoxha was ready to burn all bridges to Moscow after the Twenty-second CPSU Congress. Hoxha also came to promote a more formal alliance of the (largely Asian) anti-Soviet left-wing movements and communist parties under Chinese leadership. His hard-line stance vis-à-vis Moscow notwithstanding, Hoxha, however, seems to have opposed Chinese calls for “rectification” of the border issue with the USSR, an issue that Mao raised publicly July 1964 and that would take the two countries to the brink of major war in 1969.<sup>14</sup> Nor did Beijing and Tirana see eye to eye on development strategies or aid levels. The Albanians demanded aid and credits far beyond what Beijing was prepared to give. The Chinese leadership also doubted the wisdom of Hoxha’s large-scale industrialization and modernization policies, and, by 1965, Chinese assistance to Albania was scaled back.

Yet for both China and Albania the other’s allegiance was crucial ideologically, psychologically, strategically, and economically. As time went on, Albanian and Chinese positions on domestic and foreign policy issues converged to a remarkable degree. Hoxha came to emulate the PRC’s “Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution” through Albania’s “Ideological and Cultural Revolution,” and in 1967 endorsed the Red Guard Movement publicly. Mimicking Mao’s revolution, Hoxha launched a movement against religion and religious institutions, with Albania being declared the first and only atheist country in the world. As in China, military ranks were abolished, intellectuals were sent to labor in the countryside, and political repression and violence became pervasive throughout the country. Internationally, both countries saw themselves in a two-front struggle against “imperialism” and “modern revisionism.” The Sino-Albanian “friendship” survived so long as the common struggle on the two fronts continued. Only in the wake of the Sino-American rapprochement in the 1970s did this close alliance unravel with the same fervor that had fostered its creation.<sup>15</sup>

The following documents from the Albanian Central State Archive in Tirana provide “fly-on-the-wall” glimpses of this remarkable relationship. Obtained by Ana Lalaj, director of the CWIHP-affiliated Albanian Cold War Studies Center in Tirana, after their release was requested by CWIHP Director Christian F. Ostermann and Professor James G. Hershberg during a visit to Tirana in November 2004, the memoranda of these confidential conversations chronicle the Soviet-Albanian split and the emergence of the Sino-Albanian alliance. Not only do these documents allow Hoxha’s Albania for the first time to make its own entry—archivally speaking—in the (*Bulletin*) pages of Cold War international history, the documents provide some of the most revealing evidence that has yet come to light on Beijing’s view of the world and its diplomacy during the early to mid-1960s and the Cultural Revolution. Dated between 1960 and 1967, the conversations cover a wide range of subjects—among them the Chinese Civil War, the Taiwan Straits Crises, the Sino-Indian conflict, the Chinese nuclear program and non-proliferation, Ho Chi Minh’s 1961 mediation attempt, Warsaw Pact meetings, Berlin, North Korea, the Indochina Wars, China’s relations with the non-aligned countries and Asian communist movements, as well as domestic crises in both countries. Future issues of the *Bulletin* and CWIHP website publications will feature additional documents as they become available.

## Notes

1. Information Memorandum on Meeting between the Albanian Ambassador to China, Reis Malile, and Comrade Dong Biwu, 21 July 1961. [Document No. 7]
2. William Griffith, *Albania and the Sino-Soviet Rift* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1963), 22–26.
3. Elez Biberaj, *Albania and China: A Study of an Unequal Alliance* (Boulder, CO: Westview, 1986), 28; Griffith, p. 41–42.
4. CALPA, Administrative Directory, F. 14, V. 1960, D. 2.
5. See “Hoxha vs. Khrushchev,” p. 190 of this *Bulletin*.
6. See Lorenz Luthi, *The Sino-Soviet Split: Cold War in the Communist World*, (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2008), p. 189.
7. Biberaj, 28.
8. Luthi, 202–203.
9. Zeri i Popullit, 8 November 1961.
10. Document 26 in Griffith, 335–346.
11. China had extended limited amounts of aid and credit since late 1954, when Beijing agreed to a long-term loan and provided Albania with wheat, silk, rice and sugar. See Griffith, 23.
12. Griffith, 79.
13. Biberaj, 60. China also took Albania’s side in the Vlorë controversy, seeing in Khrushchev’s actions another manifestation of great-power chauvinism. Luthi, 205
14. Though reasoned in ideological terms, Hoxha seems to have feared that Tirana’s endorsement of PRC territorial claims could prompt the Soviets to inspire Yugoslav or Greek pressure on Albania. Biberaj, 59.
15. See Roderick MacFarquhar and Michael Schoenhals, *Mao’s Last Revolution* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard Press, 2006).



## DOCUMENT No. 1

### **Memorandum of Conversation between Albanian Ambassador to the PRC Mihal Prifti and Soviet Ambassador to the PRC Stepan V. Chervonenko, 27 June 1960**

*[Source: Central State Archive, Tirana, AQPPSh-MPKBS-V. 1960, L14/1, D.20. Obtained for CWHIP by Ana Lalaj and translated for CWHIP by Enkel Daljani.]*

Today, on 27 June 1960, I had a conversation with the Soviet ambassador, Comrade Chervonenko, at his house. Below I am writing briefly the contents of the conversation.

For your information, before my return to Beijing, he had personally inquired about me with our secretary and had tried to find out whether, in our meeting with [Chinese Communist Party Chairman] Comrade Mao Zedong in the city of Hangzhou, we had any political conversations with him, and of what nature these conversations were. He had asked our comrade to notify him upon my return because he wanted to discuss something with me. Our comrade had replied that so far as he knew, our conversation with Comrade Mao was simply a protocol meeting by our comrades and that no political conversations took place during the meeting. Our embassy comrades do not know about our Beijing meetings with the Chinese leadership comrades. While our comrades were still in Beijing, the foreigners here were interested in knowing about the eventual talks we were going to have with the Chinese comrades and their interest grew even more after the events of the General Council of the World Unions' Federation (WUF) [in Bucharest in June 1960]. After consulting with Comrade Liri, I instructed our comrades that if they would be asked by foreigners, they should answer that [Albanian Party of Labor (ALP) First Secretary] Comrade [Enver] Hoxha's visit to China and to the other fraternal countries was simply a friendship visit by our president to these countries and that there were no political talks, nor would there be any. The Soviet ambassador was sick at the time of our comrades' visit and continues to be. He only leaves the house on rare and special occasions, such as the meeting organized on the 10th anniversary of the Attack on Korea [on 24-25 June 1960]. I met him then, and he tried to find out from me whether there had been any political talks with Comrade Mao. After I assured him that there had not been any political talks, he expressed the desire to meet with me because he also had something to tell me. I met him under these circumstances.

The contents of the meeting are below. After we left Beijing (7 June 1960) he had had three meetings with [CCP Central Committee (CC) Member and Secretariat] Comrade Peng Zhen. He told me that after we left Beijing, all the other Chinese leadership comrades also left, except for Comrade Peng Zhen. They all left for Shanghai, where on 8 June 1960 the Plenum

of the Chinese Communist Party's Central Committee (CCP CC) would start, and Peng Zhen had remained behind to oversee all matters in Beijing. On 8 June 1960, Chervonenko, at his own initiative and without authorization from Moscow, asked for a meeting with Peng Zhen and talked with him about the session-in-progress of the General Council of the WUF, which due to the insistence of the Chinese comrades was lasting on without purpose while the WUF itself was in danger of disunity. He said he had spoken to Peng Zhen as a communist and not as an ambassador of the Soviet Union. He had not been authorized to meet on the situation of the session and the dangers they posed, but had, nonetheless, asked Peng Zhen that the proceedings end as soon as possible, even if that meant approving a very simple communique containing only general statements.

"Peng Zhen," he said, "received me with a temper and told me that if the situation has thus deteriorated, we are responsible for this because we are the ones to have raised issues unilaterally. When I asked him what he had in mind, he referred to the communique by TASS on the Sino-Indian border dispute. I knew this issue well, because I started my tenure as ambassador in Beijing last October with talks on this issue. (Chervonenko had been a member of the Soviet delegation [in Sep.-Oct. 1959] attending the 10th anniversary of the establishment of the People's Republic of China and took part in the talks on Sino-Indian relations.) I told Peng Zhen that as a member of the Politburo of his party he should know about the talks held during the month of October on this issue and the letter that Comrade Mao wrote after the discussions. I told him that his posing the problem in such a way was a distortion of the truth and hypocritical behavior and asked that this be recorded exactly by the interpreter and that Comrade Mao be notified accordingly. He said that in last October's letter, Comrade Mao had accepted that our side had been right in the position on the Sino-Indian conflict it held during the talks." His talks with Peng Zhen lasted three hours. On the same day, [Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU) Politburo Member Viktor] Grishin (the president of the Soviet Professional Union) had also held talks on this issue with the Chinese comrades during the session. "In the evening," he said "I spoke to Grishin over any possible back-tracking on the language of the session documents. The next day, however, the Chinese comrades had withdrawn their opposition and had accepted all the documents as they were prepared by the session bureau."

On 15 June 1960 Chervonenko told me that he had had another meeting with Peng Zhen. This time Peng Zhen had requested the meeting and had invited him to his house. He said that Peng Zhen's demeanor this time had been completely different from the first meeting. "Peng Zhen told me," continued Chervonenko, "that he had just returned from Shanghai where he had had conversations with all the comrades and with Comrade Mao. He notified me that the Central Committee of their party had decided to send a delegation to the Romanian

Workers' Party [Third] Congress in Bucharest [20-28 June 1960], gave me the delegation member list and added that he would be leading the delegation. He also told me the opinion of the leadership of his party that representatives of 14 parties of capitalist countries, including representatives of the Communist Party of France, that of Italy and the parties of a few Latin American countries also be invited to the next meeting of the socialist sister parties. Since he intended to discuss this issue with our comrades in Moscow, he asked to go there 2-3 days before the meeting and for this he asked to fly with a special plane. I notified Moscow immediately of this and they agreed with everything. On our third meeting I notified him of this and told him that during their stay in Moscow, he and his comrades would be guests of the Central Committee of my party. Peng Zhen left for Moscow on 16 June. Aside from the comrades of the delegation, with him there were also eight functionaries of the Central Committee apparatus carrying many documents. The Moscow talks took place on 17 and 18 June, and [CPSU First Secretary] Comrade [Nikita] Khrushchev took part in them. He spoke to them about the unfair [sic] talks they had here with you and also on their positions during the session meeting of the General Council of the WUF. The talks continued for five hours and I expect details on them in the coming days. Judging by Peng Zhen's speech in Bucharest, they [the Chinese] have made a sharp turn."

Then he told me that the meeting of the representatives of our parties, slated to be held this time in Bucharest, would not be held since the Central Committee of the Polish comrades and the Central Committee of the Chinese comrades had their own meetings. With that meeting rescheduled for later we would only schedule a preliminary/consultative meeting to decide the place and time for the representatives' meeting, which could be held in Moscow on the occasion of the anniversary of the October Revolution. We would also have a meeting of the representatives of the Warsaw Pact countries.

Then he told me very confidentially that after we left Beijing, the Chinese comrades invited [Korean Workers' Party (KWP) General Secretary] Kim Il Sung; and Comrade Mao and other Chinese comrades held talks with him in the same spirit as our own Beijing talks. Kim Il Sung went from Pyeongyang directly to Shanghai by special plane. He told me this was information coming directly from their own people, because they had people in every airport both in Korea and here in China. "I notified Moscow immediately," he added, "and was instructed to show no interest whatsoever in their talks. In reality, the Chinese comrades have not told me anything about it and think that we do not know. On the other hand, Kim Il Sung, on his return from Pyeongyang, went immediately to Moscow and notified our comrades there of everything he had discussed with the Chinese comrades in Shanghai, and this is another thing the Chinese comrades do not know. Until now the Chinese comrades have not told us anything about their talks with Kim Il Sung. We'll see if they tell us anything tomorrow."

Then, speaking uninterrupted, he said, "What they have told you, that you are the first to learn about their opinions, is a lie. [PRC Premier] Zhou Enlai spoke about this same matter when he was in Mongolia. It should be noted that they have not spoken so openly about [these matters] with them but have, nevertheless, spoken to [Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party (MPRP) General Secretary Yumjaagiin] Tsedenbal about these matters." He told me that the Chinese have asked them for 130 or 300 tons of uranium (I do not remember the exact amount). I rushed a bit on this point. Thinking that they knew about it, I said "they have also unveiled their secret to us and told us that they will do all they can to get the atomic bomb." He did not know about this, so he asked very inquisitively, "They have told you this?" I answered positively. "This is a very bad thing," he said. "But this fact," he continued, "I know very well because I follow with much attention and care their activities in this matter. I am telling you that they have nothing in their basket in this matter and could not produce it [the bomb] before 1962. They could not test an atomic explosion because, aside from the uranium, they need many other components which they do not yet have. [PRC Vice Premier and Foreign Minister] Chen Yi had complained to the Czechoslovak ambassador when they met as he was leaving China that we are not giving them the bomb. (The Czechoslovak ambassador was transferred about a month ago. Here he told me that the counselor at the Czechoslovak embassy was an agent of the Intelligence Service and had contacts with the English representative here, and that was the reason he was transferred.) I repeat that they do not have the capacity to make it themselves. Even [French President Charles] De Gaulle had a hard time testing an atomic bomb, and France is still far away from what is called a genuine atomic explosion."

After this I asked him if he knew how to explain this change in position by the Chinese and if he knew whether the opinion presented to us was that of the entire Chinese leadership. I asked for his opinion on the fact that today, more and more, Maoism is being touted as the Marxism of the 20th Century.

He started by answering the last question saying, "I think the Chinese comrades accept that the October Revolution was truly an event of historical proportions on a worldwide scale. But they think that its influence has been larger over the European countries, while the Chinese Revolution, according to their opinion, also of worldwide importance, is more important for the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America, where the general conditions of those nations, such as poverty, illiteracy, etc., are more or less like those of the Chinese people. As a result, the peoples of these countries and the entire world's workers' and communist movement should take lessons from the Chinese Revolution. They should walk in its path and not in that of the October Revolution. Furthermore, after Stalin's death, someone should be at the helm of the entire world's workers' and communist movement. This person is Comrade Mao and the CCP. This is a case of the personality cult. They

are also pushing the theory that the more suffering, misery and poverty [exists], the more appropriate conditions there are for a revolution.”

The first question he answered as follows: “You might have noticed that Comrade Mao did not present an opinion on the matters brought before you. The same was true with (President of the People’s Republic of China) Liu Shaoqi who was mostly there to chair the talks, while the opinions were presented by Deng Xiaoping. It should be noted that Comrade Mao has mostly retired from managing the everyday state and party matters; all this under the pretense of health conditions. He is not in Beijing. He is traveling from one city to another, and this causes him to be out of touch with the issues and not to take part in solving the various problems. I may say that he has been informed in a very one-sided manner on the Soviet Union and only through the press. When I have met and talked with him about the situation in our country, he has been very interested and has asked numerous questions on other issues as well. This is not a good thing. The one who decides here is Liu Shaoqi. What he says is what gets done. Zhou Enlai has been marginalized from the decision-making. In this situation, Comrade Mao does not present opinions. He stands above everyone. They do not want to implicate him. He stands infallible and only reserves his opinion for decisive moments. Liu Shaoqi did not speak much this time because he is preparing to visit our and other countries this year. This is why only Deng Xiaoping spoke, but his opinions are those of Liu Shaoqi.

Responding to my question as to who was on Liu Shaoqi’s side he answered: “On his side are Peng Zhen, Deng Xiaoping, and (he mentioned someone else’s name, but I do not remember it). Liu Shaoqi is a very slippery (hypocritical) person. He is against us, against the Soviet Union.”

“And who is on the Soviet Union’s side?” I asked. He answered: “Gao Gang used to be on the Soviet Union’s side. I believe you have heard his name. (For your information, Gao Gang is mentioned in the 8th Congress of the CCP CC report by Liu Shaoqi, in the last chapter, on page 90 of the book *The 8th Congress of the Chinese Communist Party*, Tirana 1957.) Another friend of the Soviet Union is also someone else (he mentioned the name, but I cannot recall it) who for a long time has been elected to the Central Committee of their party, but who has never been allowed to visit the Soviet Union. Of all the actual and active Chinese leaders, the one who is on our side and stays closer to us is Zhou Enlai.” Since I immediately showed a puzzled face at this fact and asked him about it, noting that he had often described Zhou Enlai to me as the most obstinate [Chinese leader], he answered, “Yes, yes, Zhou Enlai. Despite his position on some matters, he is the person that stands closer to us, but he has been marginalized in current affairs.”

When I asked him why he [Zhou Enlai] had been marginalized, he answered: “When the current Chinese leadership came

to power, it thought that Stalin sought to change and replace it. It asked the most senior cadres to initiate a very anti-Stalin and anti-Soviet investigation. (I did not understand as to whether this was asked by the cadres when this leadership came to power or when the party rose to power.) Zhou Enlai has not signed the ensuing declaration due to its contents and stands as our best friend.” He led me to believe that the marginalization of Zhou Enlai from managing and decision-making was due to his being pro-Soviet Union and due to this last issue (the opinion on the last issue is mine).

Then I asked him who was on Comrade Mao’s side. He said, “Chen Yi and others are on Mao’s side, but they do not exhibit this and do not make decisions. The ones that make decisions are in Liu Shaoqi’s group.”

Then I asked him who Liu Shaoqi was. I mentioned that when Mao Zedong, [People’s Liberation Army (PLA) Commander-in-Chief and CCP Vice Chairman] Zhu De and others were talked about and written about during the Chinese People’s Army fighting against the Japanese and [Republic of China President] Jiang Jieshi [Chiang Kai-shek], Liu Shaoqi was never mentioned. He answered that Liu Shaoqi was the most influential person within the party now (I understand this to mean after Comrade Mao). He is the one who decides in all matters. By his hand and signature thousands and thousands of cadres and people had been killed in China.

To tell you the truth, I could not contain my surprise and asked, “How can this be explained?” He answered, “There is one wild card here, and it puts everything in motion. In my opinion, this card is Liu Shaoqi.”

I told him that these are very delicate and important matters and they should be straightened out. He agreed with me saying that this matter required prudence and self-control. He added, “For the reasons I mentioned earlier and because they do not fully understand our policy of peaceful co-existence, they are now raising these issues for the first time.”

Since he never mentioned Yugoslav revisionism, I purposefully stated that, “the Chinese are very tough and resolute toward the Yugoslav revisionists.” He answered, “In this case we should not only consider [Yugoslavian Communist Leader Josip Broz] Tito and his group, who in reality are agents of imperialism, but also the Yugoslav people. The Yugoslav people should not be left to fall more deeply under the influence of the imperialists. We should not allow this.”

Later the conversation moved on to the Yugoslav chargé d’affaires here in Beijing. He said, “Even though he has come to improve relations here, he still continues to look at issues through Western eyes.” I said: “What do you expect from him? He started his career in London and America and you yourself said that Tito is an agent of imperialism.” I spoke at length

about many issues of our relations with the Yugoslavs and he listened with interest.

After about an hour of conversing with him, I asked permission to depart, but he asked me to stay and started to talk to me about the internal Chinese situation. He said, "I have information that in northeastern China (Manchuria) there have been many deaths due to starvation." He stated his opinion that the Chinese comrades are having economic difficulties at this time and that if they would [only] ask for aid or loans, they would not have to face these hard times. "If they would ask, we would give them aid or loans," he said. "But they do not ask. Nonetheless, we are looking for ways to help our Chinese comrades. We are thinking about giving China new aid in light of the new situation, and this is important." He stated his opinion that the actual difficulties China faced were due mainly to the increase in consumption and this was true.

Then he said that until 1967 they would be giving China [aid amounting to] 14 billion rubles in the form of various equipment. 120 large economic enterprises would be built this year from this aid. The 14 billion [rubles] in equipment, if measured by internal Soviet prices, were actually worth 140 billion, or equal to Ukraine's current holdings.

When I asked why China, facing such difficulties, was [still] helping Mongolia and Vietnam with such large sums, he answered that this was due to the fact that China wanted to control these countries.

This, briefly, was today's conversation with the Soviet ambassador. At the end of our meeting he proposed that we meet and exchange opinions more often. I expressed agreement with this.

I forgot to say at the pertinent section of this report that he was interested to know whether we held any talks with the Chinese comrades when we visited Shanghai and whether we showed any particular interest in any issues while there. Actually, the conversation that [ALP CC Politburo Member] Comrade Liri [Belishova] had while departing from the Shanghai airport with Ke Qingshi, the Shanghai Secretary and member of the CCP CC Bureau, was noted by foreigners, including the Soviet consul.

I mentioned that the conversation between Comrade Liri and Ke Qingshi may have been noted, but the conversation actually consisted of nothing more than the issues we talked about here in Beijing of which he already knew. This is how I answered his question.

Typed by [Albanian Ambassador to the PRC] M[ihal] P[rifti].



## DOCUMENT No. 2

### Memorandum of Conversation with Comrade Zhou Enlai, 18 January 1961

[Source: Central State Archive, Tirana, AQPPSH-MPKK-V. 1961, L. 13, D. 1. Obtained for CWIHP by Ana Lalaj and translated for CWIHP by Enkel Daljani.]

#### WHAT COMRADE ZHOU ENLAI SAID TO US AT THE 17 JANUARY 1961 MEETING

I thank you for your kind words. I read the notes from your meeting with [CCP CC Member] Comrade Li Xiannian. The relations between our countries have continued to strengthen since the liberation and especially these past few years. Though you are a few thousand kilometers away, our work and interests coincide: Help each other and continue onward. Though our countries are different—one has a large population and the other a small one—the very spirit of our struggles is the same. We admire you because we have three things in common: *First*, you are very dedicated to the fight against imperialism and revisionism; *second*, we are undertaking the same efforts towards building socialism and communism in our countries; *third*, in our relations we both stay faithful to proletarian internationalism and Marxism-Leninism and show perfect unity. We will never lose as long as we keep high these three flags. Hence, we have a responsibility to help you, just as you help us by remaining steadfast on the shores of the Mediterranean. We must remain resolute on these three issues. If others also fight for them, we must support them too.

In the socialist camp there have been countries which lie close to imperialism: Korea, Vietnam, Albania, Czechoslovakia and Eastern Germany. Germany does not behave well towards you and us, but were they to go to war with Western Germany, we would help them. Tomorrow the [East] German delegation is coming here.

Within these next 10 days it is a good idea to arrive at some agreement in principle and choose the issues we will decide on.

I wanted to give you some clarification on issues you discussed with Comrade Li Xiannian.

In relation to economic cooperation we must keep in mind three main issues: *First*, you have a right to ask from us and we will give you all we can, but do not thank us; *second*, ask from us depending on your immediate need. Ask today for what is imperative. Ask tomorrow for what can wait. If we have it, we will give it to you. Meanwhile what we do not have, we will not say we will give to you because it would not be realistic. *Third*, we must manage our activities based on: a) proletarian internationalism, b) the current situation, [continued on p. 195]



## HOXHA VS. KHRUSHCHEV

### Report of the Meeting of the Albanian Labor Party Delegation with Leaders of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, 12 November 1960

[Source: Central State Archive, Tirana, AQPPSh-MPKBS-V.1960, L.14/1, D.24. Obtained for CUIHP by Ana Lalaj and translated for CUIHP by Enkel Daljani.]

Albanian delegation represented by: Enver Hoxha, [ALP CC Member and Ministerial Council Chairman] Mehmet Shehu, [ALP CC Secretariat and Politburo Member] Hysni Kapo, [ALP CC Secretariat and Politburo Member] Ramiz Alia.

Soviet delegation represented by: N. S. Khrushchev, [Soviet First Deputy Premier Anastas I.] Mikoyan, [CPSU CC Politburo Member Frol] Kozlov, [CPSU Department for Liaison with Communist and Workers' Parties in Socialist Countries Head Yuri V.] Andropov.

N. S. Khrushchev: You may start. We are listening

Comrade Enver: You have invited us. The host must speak first. There is a proverb in our country: "The host must take forty more bites after the guest is finished, and he must also speak first."

N. S. Khrushchev: We accept the Albanians' conditions.

In the name of the Presidium of the Central Committee I express my desire to find and understand the reasons that have brought about the deterioration of the relations between us. I do not understand what has happened since my visit to Albania in 1959. If you have been unhappy with us since then, I must be very dense and naïve not to have understood this. After I returned to the USSR I spoke to all the comrades about the great impression the warm reception by the Albanian people left on me. Besides nice words, we have said nothing (aside from a few jokes, such as the one about the poplars I made with Comrade Mehmet Shehu).

Comrade Mehmet: Certainly, jokes cannot influence our relations.

N. S. Khrushchev: I mentioned that joke because it was the only one I could remember. What are, then, the reasons for the deterioration of our relations?

Comrade Enver: If this is a preamble to our talks, it is another matter. The poplar joke has no place here. You saw how we all laughed when you spoke about the poplars.

N. S. Khrushchev: Then what other reason could there be? Why have you changed your attitude toward us?

Comrade Enver: It is not us but you who have changed attitude. We have had disagreements before, such as about the Yugoslavs, but the change in attitude happened after Bucharest [the Third Romanian Workers' Party Congress in June 1960, at which Khrushchev criticized the Albanian delegation] and it is all coming from your end.

N. S. Khrushchev: I want to make something clear. I thought that we had no disagreement about Yugoslavia. I am hearing for the first time that we have different positions on the Yugoslav issue. You have spoken much more than us on this matter, and we have written and expressed our opinion but always without passion. We have always held that the more they are talked about, the more their luster increases. And this has proven true.

Comrade Enver: We do not see it that way.

N. S. Khrushchev: I am talking about us. But that we have had different views on this issue is news to me. I hear it for the first time. We have held talks in Albania and you never raised this issue. I would like to ask you: What tone of voice should we use? You ask me questions and I answer you, but you are still brooding. If you do not want our friendship, please tell us so. We want a friendship with you, but a proverb of ours says that friendship cannot be forced.

Comrade Enver: We want to be friends forever. We would like to talk amicably. But this does not mean we have to agree on all issues.

N. S. Khrushchev: Who says we should agree on all issues? You are brooding while I try to plead with you. Three times we have invited you for talks. Do you want to doom our relations? I do not understand in what direction you are trying to lead the conversation. I want relations to go back to what they used to be. The Yugoslav matter, which you consider as contentious between us, we may set aside for the moment. That is not a principal issue.

Comrade Enver: The deterioration of relations between us after Bucharest was your fault. We have shown numerous documents to your comrades that attest to this fact. They should have relayed them to you.

Mikoyan: Yes, you have sent them to us. But the point is that you accuse us while we accuse you. Hence we must look to find the issues that can be resolved.

N. S. Khrushchev: I do not understand this very well.



[Hysni] Kapo and I did not have such disagreements in Bucharest. He said he was not authorized by the Central Committee to express his opinion on the issues then being discussed.

Comrade Hysni: In Bucharest I expressed our party's position. As to the need to wait for authorization from our Central Committee, I was only referring to the authority to sign the communique.

N. S. Khrushchev: That is exactly what I am talking about. Then Comrade Kapo said that the authorization from the Central Committee had been granted and that he would sign the communique.

Comrade Hysni: In Bucharest you pointed out that you found the position of the Albanian Labor Party (ALP) strange. You did this at the meeting of the twelve parties of socialist countries, as well as at the larger meeting of the more than fifty parties. The truth is that we expressed to you our party's position even before the meeting of the 12 parties. I spoke to Andropov about this. After he relayed this to you, you instructed him to relay back to the Albanians that they should think it over and try to change their position. When Andropov and I met, we did not talk about the Moscow Declaration, but about the issue of us supporting the Soviet material.

Andropov: I think this issue needs to be analyzed well as it is the second time it has been raised. Initially I met Comrade Kapo along with Comrade [Alexandru] Moghioros, member of the Romanian Workers' Party Politburo, in whose house we were holding the meeting. When I handed him our [information] report, I also talked to him about its contents. Comrade Kapo said that I should relay to Comrade Khrushchev that the Albanians agree with the Communist Party of the Soviet Union on this issue. I relayed it to Khrushchev. He said he did not expect a different position from the Albanians. Then Comrade Kapo asked to meet me again and talked to me about a letter he had in front of him saying he was only telling this to me. That night I informed Khrushchev about this. He instructed me to relay back to Comrade Kapo that we do not understand the Albanian position and to relay back to Comrade Enver Hoxha to think over this issue once more.

Comrade Enver: This is nonsense. Our Central Committee has never agreed to the Bucharest Declaration. I have been in the loop with everything going on in Bucharest from the very start.

N. S. Khrushchev: This is not important. The issue seems to be that even before Bucharest you have not been in agree-

ment with us. Yet, you have failed to notify us of this, though we have considered you to be our friends. The fault with all this rests with me for having trusted you too much.

Comrade Mehmet: We ask Comrade Khrushchev to remember the conversations with us in 1957. You gave us your word as we wholeheartedly spoke to you about all the issues, including Yugoslavia. I spoke first, and then Comrade Enver spoke in more detail on the Yugoslav question. You listened and then after a rebuttal from Comrade Enver, you rose and said to us. "Is it your intention to take us back to the Stalin line?" This means that you knew all along that we see the Yugoslav issue differently. But if you remember, when you went to Yugoslavia in 1955, we answered your letter [saying] that we had reservations and asked the opinion of the Bureau of Information on the matter.

Mikoyan: This is exactly how it happened, but this never impeded our friendship. We ask why this happened after Bucharest.

N. S. Khrushchev: Tell us your opinion on why this happened?

Comrade Mehmet: Maybe you could tell us yours.

N. S. Khrushchev: You say that in the USSR the people who recently have come to power are young and inexperienced. Are you trying to lecture us? [ALP CC Politburo Member and Ministerial Council First Vice Chairman] Beqir Balluku has said to our officers, "Khrushchev expelled all the Bureau [Politburo] comrades, [CPSU CC CC Secretary] Malenkov, [Soviet Foreign Minister Vyacheslav M.] Molotov, [CPSU CC Politburo and Presidium Member Lazar] Kaganovich, [Soviet Premier Nikolai] Bulganin, etc." I have been so many years in this party; I do not know who is older than me here. Here is the letter that Bulganin sent me three days ago, if you would like to read it.

Comrade Enver and Comrade Mehmet: That would not be necessary. This is an internal affair of yours.

Andropov reading the Bulganin letter: (a short review of the letter) Greetings on the occasion of the anniversary of the Great October Revolution. The 43rd year of the Soviet order is characterized by great successes achieved by our country under the leadership of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union with you at its helm. We wish you and your family success and health. Friendly regards. Bulganin. Moscow, November 1960.

Comrade Enver: We are not interested in why you removed Molotov, Bulganin and the others from the

Presidium.

N. S. Khrushchey: We have informed you on this matter.

Comrade Enver: These are your own internal affairs. You know how you have relayed the information to us. Now to the matter of what you said about Beqir Balluku. While we were in Albania nothing of the kind had happened. If this has happened after we came here, then we will go to Albania and look this matter over. To throw around accusations simply because the old [officials] have been removed and replaced by the young is not right. This is your own internal organizational matter. If Beqir Balluku has said such a thing, we will take the appropriate measures.

N. S. Khrushchey: Unfortunately he has said it a few times.

Comrade Enver: Yes, but do you know what your own ambassador has said? Instead of mentioning many cases, I will mention one that is a military matter. He has put into the question to which side the Albanian army would swear allegiance.

N. S. Khrushchey: Who has he said this to?

Comrade Enver: To our generals, at the airport, in the presence of your general. Our officers replied that the Albanian army would remain faithful to the party and the socialist camp.

N. S. Khrushchey: If our ambassador has said such a thing, then that is sheer stupidity.

Comrade Enver: But this stupidity is political.

N. S. Khrushchey: This is every kind of stupidity.

Mikoyan: Maybe you are inferring that the ambassador's behavior is our official position?

Comrade Enver: One case of stupidity from one idiot may be forgiven, even if it is political, but when it is repeated many times it is official position.

N. S. Khrushchey: Yes, this is true.

Comrade Enver: Your ambassador has been the best friend to our party and to us on a personal level. He is not an idiot.

N. S. Khrushchey: If he has spoken so, he is an idiot.

Comrade Enver: His stupidity only came out after Bucharest. Why did he not do this for three years in a row? This is strange.

Mikoyan: It is not strange. He used to get information from you regularly and had not seen such a behavior from your part.

Comrade Enver: I think you said that he did not know about the disagreements between us.

Mikoyan: No, he did not, because this case was after Bucharest.

Comrade Mehmet: After Bucharest you thought we had betrayed you, so you said *dolloi* [Russian in original, meaning 'down with'] the Albanians.

Mikoyan: Comrade Enver told us that he used to tell everything to [Soviet Ambassador to Albania V. I.] Ivanov, but then stopped doing so. The behavior of the ambassador is a result of this. We spoke about this issue already.

Comrade Mehmet: How would you feel if our ambassador went to Stalingrad and started collecting information? Obviously you would not like it. And what is worse is that not only your ambassador, but even his people have behaved in such a manner.

Comrade Enver: If, as Mikoyan says, we have already spoken about these issues, then why are we still here? If, after we discuss these issues, we proclaim that we are not in agreement with you, then you may say that we already discussed them.

Mikoyan: But we already recalled our ambassador, why are you making an issue out of this?

Comrade Enver: OK, let's leave the issue of the ambassador aside. Now, look what you have written in the letter to the Chinese. This for us is a monstrosity.

Mikoyan: We have simply expressed our opinion.

Comrade Ramiz Alia: (Reading from page 46 of the letter). You publicly accuse us of anti-Sovietism.

N. S. Khrushchey: This is our opinion. Do not get angry.

Comrade Mehmet: You attack us, and we should not get angry?

N. S. Khrushchey: You accused me over our conversation

in [April] 1957. [Back] then, Comrade Enver spoke for two hours, while I kept my mouth shut. I spoke for five minutes and you interrupted me immediately, and then again and again. I said that you do not wish to listen and I could stop talking. Then you came to our Central Committee, said that what happened was not a good thing and [we] reconciled. Now you should let me speak. All four of you are interrupting me again.

We are sorry about what happened to these people. You do not believe us. I do not know Koco Tashko. I may have seen him before, but even if you showed me a picture of him, I would not recognize him.

Comrade Enver: If you would like a picture, we can bring you one.

N. S. Khrushchev: Why do you talk this way?

Comrade Enver: I apologize.

N. S. Khrushchev: You sent me the picture in which we are hugging. Maybe you burned that one. I keep mine at the Central Committee. I will keep it no matter what happens.

Comrade Enver: I keep mine in my children's room.

N. S. Khrushchev: When I was in Albania, I spoke a lot. You made me an Honorary Citizen of your capital and, I think, a representative of Albania in Moscow. I have served this task well. I have ordered that everything should be done in order that Albania becomes a garden. I know [recently ousted ALP CC Politburo Member Liri] Belishova much less than you do. I know that she is a member of the Bureau [Politburo], faithful to the revolution, a good communist. We heard that you expelled her from the Central Committee Politburo. We consider ourselves the guilty party in this. She told us about the conversation she had in China. [Soviet Premier Alexei N.] Kosygin told Comrade Mehmet [Shehu] about this when he was in the hospital. When Comrade Mehmet heard this, his face became white. Was this the reason for her expulsion? You want us to believe that this was done to strengthen our friendship[?] She was a strong woman. She told us openly what she felt. This is a tragedy. You expelled her because she was in favor of our friendship. This is why we wrote about this in the document.

Comrade Enver: Then you consider what is written here as just.

N. S. Khrushchev: Yes.

Comrade Enver: There are two issues here. First, it says

that we expelled a member of the Bureau undemocratically. Who told you that this was not done following democratic rules and Leninist norms, but, as you call it, through Stalinist methods? Secondly, you say that we expelled her for pro-Sovietism and deduce that we are anti-Sovietists. Could you explain this?

N. S. Khrushchev: We are people who know and stand by what we write. This is an act that we do not think will lead to the strengthening of our friendship. If you have come here with the predetermined objective of degrading relations instead of finding agreement, then tell us so as not to waste more time.

Comrade Enver: You did not answer our question. This material has been distributed to all the parties.

N. S. Khrushchev: Only to those parties the Chinese themselves gave it to.

Comrade Enver: We also have our point of view and it does not coincide with yours. You have asked us two or three times whether we want to strengthen or degrade our relations. We have come here to strengthen our friendship. But you do not accept any of your mistakes. You have criticisms of us and we have [criticisms] of you. You have criticized us openly and publicly as well as behind closed doors. You may even have more criticism. Tell us about it so that our Central Committees can know about it. Our Central Committee sent us to strengthen our friendship.

N. S. Khrushchev: Beqir Balluku has said to our military officers that Khrushchev is not a Marxist.

Comrade Enver: We have spoken to your comrades on the issue of the military officers. How could it be in our interest that our military officers at the [Vlora] base quarrel? You keep bringing documents that Comrade Beqir said so and so. You should look at your own officers. I told Comrade Mikoyan that your Rear Admiral in our headquarters is not a Rear Admiral.

N. S. Khrushchev: If you want, we could remove the base.

Comrade Mehmet: How did you arrive at that conclusion?

Comrade Enver: Then what Malenkov and [Supreme Commander of the Warsaw Pact Marshal Andrei A.] Grechko told us is true! Are you threatening us? If the Soviet people hear that you seek to remove the base from Vlora at a time when the Albanian people wholeheartedly asked for

it to defend Albania and the whole [socialist] camp, because Vlora will be burned before Sevastopol...

N. S. Khrushchev: Comrade Enver, do not raise your voice. Let's speak in turn.

Comrade Enver: If you remove the base, you would be making a big mistake. We have fought without bread, without shoes and...

N. S. Khrushchev: We also fought.

Comrade Enver: Yes, and you have fought *zdorovo* ['well'; Russian in original]. We are here thanks to how the Soviet army fought.

N. S. Khrushchev: You do not know that when the Warsaw Pact was being created [in 1955], Molotov insisted that Albania and the German Democratic Republic not be allowed to enter. "Why," he would say, "should we fight if Albania is attacked?" There are documents attesting to this. I said then that if Albania was not admitted, it would be swallowed whole, so we must admit it. If necessary, we would fight for Albania and for the Democratic Republic of Germany. Now we say that if you want, we can remove the base. The submarines are ours.

Comrade Enver: Yours and ours. We fight for you.

N. S. Khrushchev: But you spit on me.

Mikoyan: Who proposed that the base be created?

Comrade Enver: I did and I have asked for it since Stalin's time.

N. S. Khrushchev: You have no respect for me.

Comrade Enver: I defend the interests of my country. The base territory belongs to us, the submarines to you, and both of us belong to the [socialist] camp.

Mikoyan: It was Khrushchev who proposed that the base be created.

Comrade Mehmet: No, it was Comrade Enver.

Kozlov: We are saying that in our Central Committee this matter was brought up by Comrade Khrushchev.

Mikoyan: You proposed the base to Stalin, but he did not agree to it. And now you say that Stalin is a Marxist, while Khrushchev is not, and that he has not given anything to

you.

Comrade Mehmet: This is not true.

Mikoyan: Your tone says so. It says Khrushchev has given you nothing. We have discussed the base among ourselves. Khrushchev was not for removing the base. I said to him, "if our officers will quarrel with the Albanians at the base, then why do we need it?"

Comrade Mehmet: You have considered us enemies. Even here in Moscow you have undertaken intelligence operations against us. You know this well.

Mikoyan: In that conversation I asked Khrushchev, "Maybe the Albanians are angry because they want the base to be removed." Khrushchev said that the base was in a very suitable place, so we would be sorry to see it removed. "But, even though it is a good base," I said, "if it will cause problems, it is better to remove it." Our Central Committee is for keeping the base. Now we ask you. You also want it to remain [in place]. Very well then.

Comrade Enver: The way the matter was presented here, we should discuss it at [a meeting of] the Warsaw Pact. I want to point out that you have thought about this, while we never have. You say that if we want, you would remove it. Good relations between the Albanians and the Soviets have always existed at the base. Only after Bucharest have there been problems and they were caused by bad-tempered officers of yours. If you insist, we could request a Warsaw Pact meeting. We would lose the most. You would lose eight submarines, and Albania would turn to ashes. We are for keeping the base.

N. S. Khrushchev: You lose your temper. It is impossible to have a conversation with you.

Comrade Enver: You always say that we are hot-tempered.

N. S. Khrushchev: You always twist my words. Does your translator know Russian well?

Comrade Enver: I respect you and you should also respect me.

Mikoyan (talking to Comrade Mehmet about Comrade Enver): He always speaks with passion, while Khrushchev speaks calmly.

N. S. Khrushchev: [British Prime Minister Harold] MacMillan also wanted to talk to me this way.



Comrades Mehmet and Hysni: Comrade Enver is not MacMillan, so you should take back that statement.

N. S. Khrushchev: And where should I put it?

Comrade Mehmet: Put it in your pocket.

Comrade Hysni: How could you say that he speaks to you like MacMillan?

Mikoyan: He speaks worse than MacMillan.

Comrade Hysni (to the comrades of our delegation): I do not agree to continue talks under these conditions.

(Comrade Enver and the other comrades stand up to exit the room.)

Comrade Mehmet (to Khrushchev): You should know, Comrade Khrushchev, that Albania will always remain faithful to the Soviet Union and be a member of the socialist camp.

These notes were kept by the translator F. Gjerazi.  
This copy has not been edited, corrected or checked.

[signed]

and c) the course of action.

I read the notes from the meeting you had with Comrade Li Xiannian and the list of issues. These could be grouped into:

- 1) Commerce for 1961.
- 2) Long-term commerce and cooperation for the years 1961-1965, including specialists, farming mechanization, grain, research, etc.
- 3) Military matters

*My thoughts on the first issue:*

For goods we must give you 20 million rubles, while you give us 9 million rubles. There is a deficit of 11 million. Last year's deficit was 10 million for a total of 21 million. We think that for this year this is easy to solve.

On the other hand, from last year to June of this year we have given and will give you 190,000 tons of grains. During 1961 we will also give you 2,000 tons of rice, 3,000 tons of fats and 6,000 tons of sugar. All these come up to 60 million rubles and are included in the loan without interest that we have given you. We think that you should pay off the loan around 1971, just as we have done with the other socialist countries. If by then you will have difficulty paying, we could exchange letters and postpone the due date. If in 1981 you will still have trouble paying, the date could, with your request, be moved again to a later date. And if even after that you will be unable to pay, it is possible that we could write it all off. In fact, in order to postpone the 1971 deadline, you could [at any point] from now write a letter from the Central Committee, but this fact should be kept between us.

We also have a request by you for 85 different articles at a

value of 70 million rubles for 1961. We analyzed this request and can give you up to 60% of them. The other 40% we do not have. These last ones we will include in the new loan and not in the one for 55 million rubles. But these matters should be discussed with our vice minister for foreign trade.

Hence, you should for 1961 use 21 million rubles of the previous loan and around 100 million rubles as a new loan. This can also be published in the press.

*Thoughts on long-term trade and cooperation (second point):*

In relation to this point we have the following issues: *First*, 100 million rubles for farming mechanization; *second*, grains for 1962-1963 at about 350,000 tons (including rice, edible fats, and sugar) or around 100 million rubles; *third*, for the next four years you have requested 125 industrial plants (17 non-interconnected factories, 25 smaller factories advised by [ALP CC Member and Ministerial Council Vice Chairman] Comrade Abdyl Kellezi, and 85 plants [previously to be given] by the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia, etc.); *fourth*, you have requested from us [the substitution of] the Soviet specialists whose tenure is about to end; *fifth*, similarly, along the activity by Soviet specialists on geological research, you request our specialists to also work in those areas.

The above five issues are complex and not easy like the ones discussed in the first point (trade for 1961).

Our thoughts are that from these five issues the grain issue is the easiest to deal with. If you cannot provide them [grains] on your own, we will give them to you. For the other issues, which are complex, we must understand (explain) these points:

- 1) Will the above mentioned factories by the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia be given or not? Is that [decision] final?
- 2) If they will not give them to you, is your work going to continue as previously planned or not?
- 3) We must analyze to see whether we are able to solve all your issues.

We think that, as you also mentioned, the Soviets, the Czechs and others might not keep their promises or drag out the deliveries. We think it is fair to think so. But, at the same time, we think that announcing this immediately could be very damaging. Is this a suitable course of action after the Moscow meeting?

If the Soviet Union and the other countries will not deliver the factories, how can we undertake delivering them to you? At the moment we cannot express our opinion on that matter. We think that you could instead review your plans for these factories. For example: *first*, at the moment farming, irrigation, fertilizers, mechanization, etc. are the most important areas for you; *second*, the farming products processing industry for increasing living standards; *third*, minerals industry, including petroleum, to ensure cheaper foreign currency; *fourth*, heavy industry, smelting, communications, etc.; *fifth*, the construction of an industry for repairing factories. Could you take a closer look at the above issues? Our thoughts could be immature since we do not know your situation extremely well. You know it much better.

Is China able to give Albania all the 125 factories it is asking for and provide the mechanization of farming as well? Is its technological capacity able to give all you ask? On these matters we need a longer period of information exchange and better knowledge of the issues on our part. We cannot give you our complete thoughts within a period of ten days.

On long-term trade and economic cooperation we must decide on the course we should follow. At this moment we could decide the total sum of the loans we will give you. We could say that it will be used for the construction of the economy, construction of industrial works, mechanization of farming, grains, specialists, geological research, etc. But we cannot, at the moment, provide concrete details on how the loans will be used. This we will decide at a later date.

If you agree to all we said, I will notify our Central Committee so that the question of how many hundreds of millions of rubles [we will loan you] can be decided upon. Tell us how much you want. At this time we will sign just a non-specific agreement. We think that the presidents of the Planning Commissions should exchange thoughts and information so we can get a better idea on the above mentioned matters. Among the delegation that we will send to your [ALP] Congress will be a comrade who is knowledgeable in matters of economical planning to continue talks with you. On the other hand, you

requested that we send advisors to our embassy in Tirana. We will send them. At your Congress you could mention that China will help you, but without mentioning specific activities. Later, when the issues with the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia have been clarified, a delegation can be sent that can finalize specific details on all the matters.

*The military aid matter* is also very complicated. You are a member of the Warsaw Pact. It is the Soviet Union's duty to help you. We think that it is inappropriate for us to interfere in this matter. Yet, this does not mean that if the Soviet Union does not give you aid, we will not either. We must make a list of the needs for half of the army, 17,500 personnel. But we do not have some of the things you need. We do not, for example, have MiG fighters and Type 19 planes and we still do not have enough tanks. We think that we could provide over half of your needs. We will also notify you later of what we do not have. We need to find out the shape and model of the military uniforms and who will sew them. But this is not the main thing. What is important is that you are a member of the Warsaw Pact.

We think that you should discuss this matter again with the Soviet Union. We will also talk to them so that the relations with Albania improve and that they help you on military matters, because they still utilize Albania as their own port. Your talks with the Soviet Union and ours with them are in the interest of both countries. If these talks are not successful, then we will help you with what we have. If the Soviet Union will get back to helping you, we will stop furnishing you [military aid] because you are a member of the Warsaw Pact. And this does not mean that we do not protect you.

If [ALP CC Politburo Member and Ministerial Council Vice Chairman] Comrade [Spiro] Koleka will give his opinion on these matters, I will notify our Central Committee.

In short, our opinion on the three issues is this:

- 1) For 1961 we can decide on the loan amount and the equipment and can sign the pertinent agreements;
- 2) For long-term trade and economic cooperation we think that at the moment we should decide the amount of funds so that your Congress is not impeded [in its work]. It would be helpful if you talked to the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia again to find out if they will deliver the promised plants. You should seek to resolve these issues with them and between us the work will continue unhindered;
- 3) As to the matter of [providing] 50% of the needs of the army (food and dress), we should calculate the necessary amounts and also start preparatory work on the other matters.

Aside from those matters, we should discuss the matter of the [loan] figures that you want altered. The Central Committee

will notify you on this matter and I will also speak to the relevant organs.

(During the talks with Comrade Koleka, Zhou Enlai also said this :)

- It is not possible for us to secure goods, plants, etc. for you from Italy, France, Czechoslovakia, Soviet Union, etc.
- We will defer to the Soviet Union on the military aid matters because we cannot deliver military goods without Soviet and other socialist countries' ships. We do not have ships of our own for this.

*Note.* The Chinese side in the talks was represented by: The Politburo of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party member and Vice Chairman of the State Li Xiannian, Vice Minister for Foreign Affairs Zeng Yongquan, Vice Minister of Foreign Trade Li Qiang, Vice President of the Planning Commission Liu Min Fou, Vice-President of the State Economic Committee Chan Kuo Zhian, Vice Chief of Staff Chan Chun Siu and the Ambassador of the People's Republic of China to Tirana, Luo Shigao.

The Albanian side was represented by comrades: Mihal Prifti, Pupo Shyti and Shenasi Dragoti.

This report was compiled after the notes taken by the comrades attending the meeting were consulted and compared. Three copies of this report were printed. One copy was sent to Comrade Enver Hoxha, one copy is held by Comrade Spiro Koleka, and the third copy is kept at the embassy by Comrade Mihal Prifti.

The notes kept by our comrades during the meeting were destroyed.

The report was typed by comrades Mihal Prifti and Pupo Shyti.

Beijing, 18 January 1961



### **DOCUMENT No. 3**

#### **Memorandum of Conversation with Zhou Enlai, 2 February 1961**

*[Source: Central State Archive, Tirana, AQPPSH-MPKK-V. 1961, L. 13, D. 1. Obtained by Ana Lalaj and translated for CWIHP by Enkel Daljani.]*

30 January 1961

ON WHAT COMRADE ZHOU ENLAI SAID TO US  
(At the second meeting on 30 January 1961)

People present at the meeting: from the Chinese side it was the same group as in the first meeting. From our side there were Spiro Koleka and Mihal Prifti.

After we delivered the answers to the questions that the Chinese side had raised during the meeting of 17 January 1961 and requested the loan for 100 + 600 million rubles = 700 million rubles, Comrade Zhou Enlai pointed out that he had a question.

Zhou Enlai: Aside from the loan delivered on January 1959 for the years 1961-1965, you are seeking a new loan, is that correct?

Spiro Koleka: Yes.

Zhou Enlai: In other words, aside from the old loan of 55 million rubles you are also requesting a new loan of 600 million rubles.

Spiro Koleka: Yes, without including here the loan for 1961.

Zhou Enlai: Then you are requesting a total of 700 million rubles. We have an opinion on this matter. We are thinking of giving you 100 million rubles this year and for the years 1962-1965 a total of 400 million rubles. These figures were discussed in the Central Committee of our party. On this issue we have a few propositions (the translator used the word 'assumptions') to make to you. And these propositions are well-founded. And here it is where these propositions are based. They are based, as I also mentioned the last time we spoke, on your needs and our capacity.

I wanted to also add a few thoughts based on our experience and wanted to make a few constructive propositions for your country. I knew that in order to complete the third five-year plan you were in need of 800 million rubles. This fact we received from [Vice Chairman of the Ministerial Council and Member of the ALP CC] Comrade A. Këllëzi. We think that if this course is followed, it will not be easy for your country (economically) to accomplish such a task. We think that it is not easy for your country to burden the economy with such weight, because your resources, both above and below ground, and your working force cannot carry the load of (cannot cope with) such investments.

We think that all the socialist countries follow certain mutual rules. And what is this rule? This rule says that if farming cannot be achieved (its development), then the development of the industry is also hindered. Now let us look at how farming is doing and whether it is achieved. Are the grains, workforce, raw materials and market achieved? At the moment, neither you, nor we, or the Soviet Union have secured farming in

certain areas. For example, in the Soviet Union, the percentage of peasants is much higher than that of the United States of America. There are fewer farmers in the USA, hence, she is more advanced and the industry is more developed. In the Soviet Union the level of farming mechanization is much lower than that of the USA. Irrigation levels are also lower. The electrical energy is still not enough and the chemical fertilizer levels are much lower than those of the USA.

If Albania, a country with a population of only 1.6 million souls, will try to develop its industry at such [high] rates, will its agricultural capacity support such a heavy industrial burden? I also mentioned last time we spoke that agriculture has a particular priority. You must increase the efficiency of farming and secure grains without import. When you develop your agriculture, even if there are natural disasters, people will have bread to eat, which is why we advise that during the third five-year plan you ensure bread [grains] without import. In other words, to ensure that you produce all the grain you need, you must achieve an annual production not of 250 thousand tons, not of 400 thousand tons, but production of a total of 600 thousand tons. This way, for your population of 1.6 million souls you will have ensured 400 kilos of grains [per capita] per year. This will be used partly for basic nutritional needs, partly for seed, and partly for animals.

We know very well that ensuring 400 kilos of grains per person is not easy. For example, last year—a year of natural disasters—we only produced 250 kilos grains per person, in fact, even less. In your case, where the workforce is smaller, naturally a higher level of mechanization is needed, especially as you also need manpower for irrigation. To ensure success you need higher investments, more machinery and a faster pace of progress than us. This is the only way to solve the farming problem so that you can produce the necessary 400 kilos per person.

From agriculture you then could draw raw materials needed by the industry. When we speak of agriculture we also include husbandry and dairy production, fishing, the timber industry and other auxiliary resources. Thus, once these areas are well developed, industry will also develop, you will recover your initial investment and the people's living standard will increase. Once agriculture, along with husbandry and dairy production, fishing, timber industry, etc. develops, light industry will also develop and then you will have a real increase in production and prosperity.

You should seek to develop those areas of industry which have greater potential for growth and importance. You cannot assure the development of all areas of heavy industry. You should develop those areas of heavy industry where you can afford to use your workforce, which is not big enough to do everything. If you try to develop heavy industry, you should keep in mind the raw materials, workforce and equipment

needed, and the capacity on our part to give you the necessary technical aid and equipment. We know, for example, that you have petroleum. Petroleum needs equipment, technology and machinery to be exploited. For the next two, three years we are not able to help you with those, we simply do not have them. You need pipes and other equipment. We do not possess refining and processing equipment for petroleum. We import all such technology. If your ambassador would visit Harbin, he would see that our petroleum sits in large puddles. I am telling you now an economic secret of ours: we cannot move it from there because we do not have the necessary pipes.

I'll give you a second example. You need chemical fertilizers. We know that they are important for your agriculture and are sorely needed, but you should keep in mind that you do not have enough coal and we cannot furnish you the equipment. Even the smaller equipment we have, we have had to import, and as for the large factories we have, those are still in the experimental stage. So we cannot furnish you with what you need. You want to build a thermal power station with a capacity of 50 thousand kW, but for the time being you cannot get all the coal it needs. The same goes with petrol. Even if you could get the petrol needed for this, we do not have the necessary equipment and cannot help you with the technological needs either.

We think that the previous help you have received from the Soviet Union and other friendly countries in Europe has not been completely suitable to your conditions. We believe that if we follow the same course, you will move beyond your capacity.

You require a series of industrial factories; today you asked for a few new ones (he is talking about a few new factories, sixteen of them, that we saw in different countries. Some of these are non-interconnected plants and the others are from those advised by A. Kellezi). I have just seen the list. Naturally, it is a good thing that you have a desire for a lot of things. We also went through the same desires in the beginning just like you. But, I wonder, is it prudent to follow such a course? There must be ranking for such things. There must be a decision which should be constructed first and which later; which is more important and which is less [so]. You want to build many plants, but based on your workforce and your technicians, you are not able to achieve all of your goals and we are not able to help you with everything. We cannot make many propositions to you on the course you should follow, but let us see the situation in your country first-hand, let us familiarize [ourselves] with your economy, and then we can discuss these issues from better positions. Obviously, Albania is in a difficult situation. She cannot secure all it needs for herself, due to shortages in workforce and her geographical position which has her surrounded by enemies, so she is forced to ask for help from abroad. But we think that you should secure your common usage goods yourselves. You must secure yourselves on your own, because if you are blockaded from abroad, you



should have the capacity to produce all you need, as we might not be able to help you with such goods, which cannot be transported by plane.

We know very well that should you be provoked by others, you will fight to the end. We are certain of this. But in the next few years you need to develop your agriculture and light industry. These are our thoughts and propositions arrived at based on our 11-year experience. In the morning I spoke with our comrades, and we were saying that a large country has its difficulties, but a smaller one has its own as well. We understand you fully.

Now, what are the concrete steps we should take?

First. For this year, we should decide on the new loan for the goods discussed in the correspondence between Comrade Mehmet Shehu and me for the 190 thousand tons of grains and other food stuffs; these come up to about 66 million old rubles.

Second. For list number one we have analyzed the 85 articles you are requesting; those come to about 70 million rubles. For the moment, we can furnish you with goods of around 14 million rubles in value. We can produce about 30 million rubles more in goods this year, but we must first talk to the pertinent departments, because the planning for this year has been designed, and we need to find the appropriate raw materials for them, etc. Nonetheless, we should eventually be able to furnish you with about 60% of the goods on the list, though, for the moment, we are unable to do so. Hence, we cannot give you a concrete answer at this point. So, the grains and these other articles value about 100 million rubles. For the other years we will have a total of 400 million old rubles.

(Answering our remark that these goods have a value of 110 million rubles and not 100 million, the Vice Minister of Foreign Trade said that the list's value is less, so in total the value of 100 million is not surpassed.)

From your request for 100 million rubles for agricultural equipment and tools, for this year and the next we can only furnish you a small amount, because we do not have all of it. We also have a large deficit. If the next few years we are more successful, we will give you more and can fulfill a part of your requests. The 300 million rubles shall be used for the plants of the next few years, or about 70 million per year. They cannot be used for 1961; we cannot furnish you with the equipment.

As the comrades of the Planning Commission told me, and as the experience with Vietnam, [North] Korea and Mongolia has shown, we can tell you that it is not an easy thing to build all those factories. Many things need to be taken into account: securing the necessary workforce, equipment, etc. You could secure those things with this loan. Our equipment does not cost

much compared with the other countries, but this is a large volume of goods. We are concerned that you will not be able to use them and will have to push their usage into the next five-year plan. Vietnam went through the same thing. Though a country of 16 million, it is not able to provide 40 thousand workers for construction, because more are needed for other projects as well. The Vietnamese comrades asked that the deadlines for sixteen projects be moved forward, because they are not able to meet them.

In closing, I would like to say that we should sign a simple agreement, which says that we are giving you a loan of 500 million rubles for the period of 1961-1965. The agreement must say that through this loan our side is giving yours materials, equipment for complete plants, scientific materials, technical help, etc. As to the loan's actual use, we must make specific protocols. For the moment we will give you the 14 million rubles for the items on the first list. Let us not rush ahead for the others yet. Let us study the issues carefully. The money is yours. The agreement should be simple and clear. If you can spend this loan until 1964, we will take a look at it again. You can ask us again for 1965 and we will look at your request together as brothers. We should be in a better position to help you by then. It is not necessary that we include lists and details, such as the 16 factories we mentioned earlier, in this agreement. We could do that later. You can announce to your [ALP] Congress that China desires to help you. If we add to the agreement details of actual factories, we might fall into disagreement with the Soviet Union and the other countries that have pledged to help you. We should only mention the amount of the loan we are giving you in the agreement, so that we are fine politically as well.

Military matters. As I also said last time, we cannot help you here because until now you have not answered us whether we can mediate with the Soviet Union.

(Comrade Koleka expressed his regret to Comrade Zhou Enlai for the misunderstanding on this point. In order to straighten out this point, we note that all four members of our side did not understand that Comrade Zhou Enlai was seeking the opinion of the Albanian comrades "whether China should mediate or not with the Soviet Union on the matter of military deliveries to our army." It seems the translator did not interpret faithfully Comrade Zhou Enlai's thoughts, because all our notes were the same and that was what was sent to Comrade Enver.)

Now that Comrade Li Xiannian will go to Tirana he will speak to Comrade Enver Hoxha about this matter. As I mentioned last time, we cannot help you with weapons. The same goes for food and uniforms. We cannot help you with them, because if the Soviet Union finds out, they may misunderstand us. We cannot help you with other goods either, such as fuel. You know well that we do not have fuel and that we import it

from the Soviet Union. That is why we cannot give you fuel from the Soviet Union. The same with lubricant oils and spare parts, because a large number of them are from the Soviets and ours are not the same. Your army is equipped, fed, dressed—its overall level is—better than our army. In the future, if the Soviet Union will stop helping you altogether, it will be another matter. At the moment, we think that you can import the fabric, canned food and other items you need through your regular foreign trade... temporarily. You could use the old loan of 55 million rubles, buy the goods and process them in-country.

You can review these four points once again and let us know what you think. There is one thing we want: We desire to help you. We should carefully assess how to proceed so that we help the development of your economy and do not overload you.

Two of the comrades from the delegation coming to you are from the Planning Commission. They will assess there the matter of the two petrol engineers that you have requested. (This request was made in this meeting as the telegraph by Comrade Mehmet Shehu ordered.)

The two cipher comrades will also be part of the delegation. They will be staying at our embassy in Tirana. This should be completely secret so that no misunderstandings will arise.

I can tell you that this year, due to the natural disasters of the past two years, we will be importing 3 million tons of grains. We have authorized Comrade Li Xiannian to sign the necessary agreements with Canada and Australia. We will import 2.3 million tons of grains from there.

(Compiled out of the notes taken by Spiro Koleka and Mihal Prifti. Typed by Mihal Prifti in three copies, one of which was left under the care of Mihal Prifti.)

Beijing, 2 February 1961



## DOCUMENT No. 4

### Report on the Second Meeting with the CCP Delegation to the Fourth Congress of the Albanian Labor Party, 25 February 1961

*[Source: Central State Archive, Tirana, AQPPSH-MPKK-V. 1961, L. 13, D. 4. Obtained for CWIHP by Ana Lalaj and translated for CWIHP by Enkel Daljani.]*

#### REPORT

ON THE SECOND MEETING WITH THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF CHINA (CCP) DELEGATION THAT CAME

### TO OUR COUNTRY TO ATTEND THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE 4th CONGRESS OF THE ALBANIAN LABOR PARTY (ALP) ON 25 FEBRUARY 1961

The meeting was held at the office of the ALP CC First Secretary Comrade Enver Hoxha at 10 a.m. and continued until 2 p.m.. From our side the member of the ALP CC Politburo and the head of the Council of the Ministers, Comrade Mehmet Shehu, was also present.

Attending from the Chinese side there were the head of the delegation, Comrade Li Xiannian, comrade [blank; name not in original], and the interpreter.

After the greetings and everyone was seated, [Hoxha] took the floor:

Comrade Enver Hoxha: We finished our party's congress with success. What did you think about our congress? How did your visit to our country go?

Comrade Li Xiannian: Well, we saw that your leadership and the masses of your party hold the same positions.

After the congress we visited a few cities like Kavaja, Lushnja, Berati, Fieri and Vlora and we noticed the great changes that had taken place in comparison to 1954, the last time I visited Albania. Your industry and agriculture have progressed far ahead, and the Albanian people's living standards have improved considerably. Your people's enthusiasm is complete and visible everywhere. Your working masses' love for your party and for Comrade Enver Hoxha is extraordinary. You have progressed faster than us in these areas.

Comrade Enver Hoxha: No, you are further ahead than us. China is a very great country.

Comrade Li Xiannian: The ALP leadership and the Central Committee with Comrade Enver Hoxha at its helm are fully on the right course. All I have seen in your country is an indication of your just party line.

Comrade Enver Hoxha: We think that the 4th Congress of our party went well and was successful. There the determined unity of our party and its just, consistent and Marxist-Leninist line was fully confirmed. This fact has us convinced that in the future our party will successfully fulfill the promise it made to the people to execute fully the 3rd five-year plan and to resolutely defend Marxism-Leninism against all the internal and external deviators.

Some of the principal moments of the congress, where our whole party was represented, showed that our party is following the just course in these hard times that not only we, but

the whole internationalist communist movement are going through. I want to say that the just reactions of the congress prove that our party is resolute in executing faithfully the [1957] Moscow Declaration. The party now understands who is on a just Marxist-Leninist course and who pursues an unjust, opportunist and revisionist one. The reaction of our congress showed that in these very delicate moments the party knows how to keep the balance between its love, friendship and fidelity to the Soviet Union and the Bolshevik Communist Party of Lenin and the group of persons who follow the Khrushchev line, who can be rightly called opportunist revisionists, along with the other groups and elements who are now in the leadership of the communist and workers' parties of the socialist countries of Eastern Europe. We would like to say that our congress knew how to maneuver smartly and handle justly the challenge it faced.

On the other hand, our congress knew how to manifest very well our faithfulness and friendship to the glorious communist parties of the Soviet Union, of China and all the other parties—but mainly to the communist and workers' parties of Asia who are consistent and firm in the defense of Marxism-Leninism—to their just line and to the defense of the Moscow Declaration. This was clearly shown by our congress.

Our congress also showed our full faith in the fact that we are a great power and will successfully resist and emerge victorious over the dangerous, revisionist tide that has initiated a savage attack against the international communist movement. This is very important to us. Obviously, as the leadership, we understand its importance, but when the whole party understands it too, then the just position of our party and of our people's republic is strengthened immensely.

We have kept our party in touch with issues and have done so in all situations. We notified our party immediately of the course of events [at the Third Congress] in Bucharest [in June 1960]. We told our party the good side and the bad, how they accused us in Bucharest and in Moscow [in November 1960] and how the CCP defended us from those attacks. Hence, the delegates were prepared before they came to the congress and had a well developed political sense. The party is also very much in touch with the contents of Comrade Deng Xiaoping's speech. Thus, not only the leadership, but the masses of the party as well, know these issues and the situation very well.

The congress delegates did know what dirt the Czechoslovak delegation was cooking up backstage at the congress, but their reaction was quite just. The congress delegates smelled their intentions and reacted very justly and politically.

You probably noticed this yourself, but we are of the opinion that both the Soviet and the Czechoslovak delegations had taken it upon themselves, in cooperation with many of the other delegations, to sabotage our congress. It was very clear

that they had not come here with friendly intentions and to improve a bit the relations between our parties. The same could be said about the Polish, French, German, Italian, Bulgarian and Romanian delegations. Their intention was to attack our party and through it the glorious CCP, to attack our just views and to try and find some reason to accuse us of deviating from the Moscow Declaration. These were our thoughts on the first issue, the international situation.

Secondly, their immediate intention was to create a schism at our congress, in order to separate the leadership from the congress (meaning, the party) and if unable to achieve this, to create such confusion at the congress as to be able to use this later in their subversive activities.

Third, they tried to stage provocations at the congress so as to cause some scandal that would allow them to leave.

We knew very well they would attempt this. It is of great importance that the congress understood the situation very well. It is of great satisfaction to our leadership that the situation did not influence the congress delegates. Their reaction was spontaneous, no internal directives were necessary.

The leader of this unfriendly activity was the Soviet delegation. But the main intriguer was Andropov.

Comrade Mehmet Shehu: He is a snake. He is not human.

Comrade Enver Hoxha: But the role of the greatest and most open provocateur was played by [CPCz CC Member Rudolf] Barak, the leader of the Czechoslovak delegation. He showed himself to be a dastardly provocateur. But they failed in their intentions. The congress gave them a punch and taught them a good lesson. It showed the steely unity of our party. There has never been seen such a unity within our party. This is supported by the fact that while in the previous elections there have been a few votes "against," this time, as you saw first-hand, not one vote was "opposed," there was perfect unity.

Comrade Mehmet Shehu: Our congress did this to spite Khrushchev and Barak. The congress delegates were furious with their subversive and provocative behavior, so all of them decided to vote without any objections.

Comrade Enver Hoxha: This was a terrible lesson for the revisionists. They saw that not only is it impossible to use intrigues and instill division, but that our party is tight and united when there are dangers threatening the party, the people and international communism. They themselves attest to the cohesion of our party with the CCP, which carries high the unsoiled flag of Marxism-Leninism. They saw this tightness on an international scale.

We think that our party's congress gave the revisionists a

good lesson in both the national and the international arena. During the first few days of the congress they would not even say 'good morning' to us. But towards the end of the congress, when they saw the determined unity of our party, [CPSU CC Secretary Petr] Pospelov and his people asked for a meeting with us. So we met with them.

Pospelov took out his notebook and—afraid of making a mistake—read out word for word what he had written, looking at Andropov from time to time. We think their coming here was an attempt to sabotage our congress. They did not mention our congress, nor the reports read there, nor the congress delegates' discussions or anything of the kind, as if nothing out of ordinary had been happening in Albania lately. (Comrade Li Xiannian laughs). But listen to this, according to them other more important events had taken place in the relationship between our countries. They claimed that one of our people while drinking *raki* in a restaurant had cursed Khrushchev next to a Soviet specialist. They also claimed that at the scene there were a few Soviets and one Czech as witnesses. Aside from that, they also brought up an issue claiming that we had searched the offices where Soviet geologists work. They also brought up some other issues that were so unimportant we don't even remember what they were. And after mentioning all these stories [Pospelov] concluded by saying that the friendship between our two sides and parties cannot be meaningful if Khrushchev is never mentioned and is completely set aside.

Comrade Mehmet Shehu: He had a problem with the fact that we did not applaud in Khrushchev's honor at the congress.

Comrade Enver Hoxha: He did not say this.

Comrade Mehmet Shehu: He did not say it, but he meant it.

Comrade Enver Hoxha: We, clearly and in an amicable way, told them our views on how our party sees the sacred friendship with the Soviet Union and Lenin's communist party and that our congress attested to this. We told them exactly where our party stands on this issue. We said how our people and party love and will sincerely love the Soviet Union, that we would never wish evil on the Soviet Union, because whoever does that, is wishing evil upon their own people. We also told them that should something happen to the Soviet Union, the Albanians would be the first to jump to its defense. We reiterated that those are just not words, but that we have shown in practice and will always prove this in any situation that requires it.

We told them how there were people in the world that because we consistently defend Marxism-Leninism, call us anti-Soviet, while the true anti-Soviets now pose as defenders of the Soviet Union. Khrushchev himself told me how [Polish leader Wladyslaw] Gomulka acts like a fascist, and

now Gomulka has become pro-Soviet and we have become anti-Soviet? But this does not split us. We know how much the people and the CPSU love us.

We reiterated that Albanians never break their promise and that we would continually strengthen and temper our friendship with the Soviet Union. As to Comrade Khrushchev, we did not interfere with the internal affairs of the CPSU. He is the leader of the Central Committee of CPSU, elected by their congress. We see him as such and we do not meddle in the internal affairs of a friendly party and nation. But he cannot knock out our leadership either. We told them that this fact must be clear to them.

Our friendship with the Soviet Union is not simply symbolic. This friendship we must temper in close cooperation with each other, but always the Marxist-Leninist way. But with whom shall we do this? Certainly we must do this with the Soviet leadership, we said, with Comrade Khrushchev, [Anastas I.] Mikoyan and the other Soviet leadership comrades, but on the basis of equality too. The Soviet Union is certainly much more powerful economically and militarily than we are, but both sides are Marxists, so the Soviet leadership should not think of us a small and poor people and seek to impose unjust views on us. This, we said to them, is how we understand cooperation, sincere, fraternal, in the Marxist-Leninist way.

They told us, and we agreed with them, that we have disagreements with the CPSU leadership, disagreements that are political, ideological, and actual. To say that these disagreements could disappear with a stroke of the pen would be lying to ourselves. They can and should only be smoothed over gradually, with goodwill and in the Marxist-Leninist way from both sides. They also say that we are in agreement on this course (Comrade Li Xiannian laughs).

As to the accusation that we have spoken ill of Khrushchev, we told them that those are slanderous accusations, and, in fact, their claims were discredited. We undertake office inspections two-three times a year everywhere because it serves to strengthen the care that our people put in the protection of state and party secrets. We do the same thing, two-three times every year, in the Central Committee apparatus. We do it in the petrol administration where Soviet comrades work with ours. We even did it in their presence after we obtained permission from their manager before we started. We told them that they also did the same in the Soviet Union. In fact, we learned this practice from them.

It happens in our offices that people forget important documents lying about in desks. We performed inspections in the petrol administration because it was ascertained that some Soviet specialists had hung secret maps on the walls. Other Soviets, instead of fulfilling their appropriate state duties, made special maps that have nothing to do with their jobs, claiming



that they have been asked to do so by Moscow. (Comrade Li Xiannian shows his surprise at this.)

Comrade [blank in original]: The Soviets have published special articles on the care that employees should take for the protection of state and party secrets.

Comrade Enver Hoxha: But they used our measures as a reason to fulfill their intention, e.g. the recall of the Soviet petrol specialists from Albania. We told them to stop this activity, because should we start with such blame, we could provide long lists of activities against our party and leadership by the Soviet people in Albania and in the Soviet Union.

Then we reiterated that in order to strengthen our friendship, both sides must show good intentions, but the Soviets have only done the opposite. We also brought up the matter of loans. We asked why they sought to stop the loans and why they tried to tie their issuance in the future to a trip by me to Moscow. These loans were decided bilaterally at the highest levels and the appropriate documents have been signed. Mehmet and I traveled to Moscow in 1959 for this matter.

Then why are you revisiting this matter, we asked. Is it for ideological and political reasons, or for other objectives? They said that there were no ideological or political reasons, that for these matters we had the Moscow Declaration, and any political or ideological disagreements could be solved on the basis of the Declaration. Then we asked why we should visit Moscow for a matter for which we already had an agreement. "We know why you want us to visit Moscow," we said. "You want us to kowtow."

Comrade Li Xiannian: Their mentioning of the Moscow Declaration as a basis for solving political and ideological disagreements is a good thing.

Comrade Enver Hoxha: Andropov said that a government was entitled to reconsider its prior agreements. We answered that the Soviet government could reconsider its agreements with the Yugoslav revisionists or the capitalist countries, but it should not do so for agreements it has with a socialist country like Albania and a Marxist-Leninist party like the ALP. Since you are eliminating the ideological and political disagreements, there is no reason why economic agreements signed from both sides should not be executed and the respective loans should not be granted.

We reiterated that though they might say that these were not the reasons for stopping the issuance of loans to us, we knew that in reality they were. We made it known that we would never trample on Marxism-Leninism. We would not go to Moscow to reconsider the agreements we have signed together. We consider them positively indisputable.

We also told them that we had never been and were not

against meetings and dialogue at all levels, including high-level talks, and we were still ready to meet with whatever official, including Comrade Khrushchev and other Soviet leadership comrades, but we would not meet about the matter of the loans for which we had already reached an agreement. We have openly said to Comrade Khrushchev that, though we may end up without bread or shoes, we would never trample on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and the honor of our party and people as you [Khrushchev] were asking us to do. We told them that it would be a great crime against Albania and a very serious disservice to the international communist movement if the agreements were disregarded and Albania did not get the loans, because not only were they important economically for our country, but they also had great importance from an ideological and political standpoint for the whole international communist movement. We said that if the loans specified by the bilateral agreements were to be issued accordingly, we would consider this a first sign of their goodwill for improving relations with our party and state. This is how we laid down the issue.

Comrade Li Xiannian: You have acted the right way.

Comrade Enver Hoxha: We told them how our Central Committee and government has written four, five letters to them on these issues and they have never answered. Is this normal, we asked? We told them that this was a sign of disdain by their government and the Central Committee of their party. Andropov interrupted saying that they had answered our letters. I told him that these answers he spoke of had to have been held back in some drawer somewhere, because our Central Committee never received any.

Then we mentioned how we had written to them on the issue of the problems with armaments deliveries described in our military agreements.

Comrade Mehmet Shehu: We are talking about the credit that the Soviet Union has not delivered for a while now on this area. After [the] Bucharest [conference] all the military deliveries have been stopped and all the bilateral agreements have also been suspended.

Comrade Enver Hoxha: We told them that this was a serious matter, because we were a member state of the Warsaw Pact, because we were a small country surrounded by enemy states, because many conspiracies were at work against our country, and that at precisely these hard conditions they were suspending deliveries. This was a serious matter for us and for them.

Comrade Mehmet Shehu: We also pointed out to them the fact that when the Indonesian marshal, [General Abdul Haris] Nasution, visited Moscow recently, within a week the Soviet Union conferred a loan of one million rubles for military equipment, etc. Meanwhile the Albanians, who had signed

agreements with the Soviet Union and were members of the Warsaw Pact, had stopped receiving deliveries.

Comrade Enver Hoxha: It is precisely so. Hence, we told them that these issues should be taken into account as soon as possible by the Central Committee of the CPSU and the Soviet government. The unfair treatment should cease and action should be taken so that we would receive what should be fairly given to us.

We told them that they ought not think that since China was also helping us, we did not need them anymore and they should not give to us. We reiterated that China has done her eminent internationalist duty toward us in these hard times, but that does not mean that you should not give to us. At this point we told them that China had given us a loan of 500 million rubles.

They had no answer to our arguments, so the conversation later steered to laughter and jokes. At the end I told them to give my regards to Comrade Khrushchev when they returned to Moscow. When I said this, Pospelov rose and said, "How could I possibly send him your regards?" He could not believe his ears. "Yes," I said. "Give him my regards." Then Mehmet asked that he give him regards too, and Comrade Hysni [Kapo] asked for same as well. "I will make a note of it," said Pospelov.

Comrade Mehmet Shehu: They saw this act as something extraordinary and unbelievable, as a success that they succeeded in wrestling greetings for Khrushchev from Enver Hoxha and Mehmet Shehu (Comrade Li Xiannian laughs.) In other words, the end of the discussion was a bit more light-hearted.

After they left Albania and as soon as they arrived in Budapest, based on the information we have received from our people, Pospelov told the Hungarian comrades that they had achieved more than they thought they would in Albania, while the Czech comrade said, "We're finally away from all that noise." Andropov added that the Budapest fog was better than the Tirana sun. He truly is a man of fog.

You, Comrade Li Xiannian, already had a good idea of our party's stance, but now, after the congress, have a much better picture of the strong and healthy situation of our party and people, their determined unity and their resolution in defending Marxism-Leninism and the freedom and independence of Albania.

Comrade Li Xiannian: (Nodding in affirmation). They are bound like flesh and bone.

Comrade Mehmet Shehu: Before the congress they were already bound like flesh and bone, but the hostile behavior of these provocateurs made them one, in other words the party and the people have merged into one.

Comrade Enver Hoxha: Our determination to defend Marxism-Leninism, to progress on the road laid by the Moscow Declaration, to strengthen and temper our friendship with the Soviet Union, the PRC, their glorious parties and all the countries of the socialist camp is unshaken. The matter of our unity is of great importance, and it is crucial to all of us. We will fight for the strengthening of our unity with all our might.

Our party's Central Committee and the party itself will never give the revisionists a leg to stand on so that they may fight against us. We will never take an unmeasured step which they could use against us. They are so uncouth that they could make a male donkey pregnant, meaning that they make things up.

We have been and will always be united for the defense of this important cause with the glorious CCP, with our dear friend Mao Zedong, for whom our party has very great love and respect, and we say this with all our hearts. We are proud of this relationship and have unshaken faith that in these very hard moments for international communism, together with the great CCP, with Comrade Mao Zedong at its helm, we are holding high the unsoiled flag of Marxism-Leninism, something that is of life-saving importance to the international communist movement and humanity as a whole.

We briefly presented our point of view in this matter. It is the opinion of the Central Committee of our party that international communism is going through an enormously grave crisis. A very strong revisionist current is pervading the international communist movement, creating grave and serious dangers. Tito's renegade, revisionist group is one of the main enemies of communism, and while he has been unmasked, he has not yet been destroyed. (Comrade Li Xiannian nods affirmatively.) But the N. S. Khrushchev revisionist group is much more dangerous. He poses a greater threat to the international communist movement because he has not been unmasked yet. His course not only breeds disunity, but is also a great danger to the peace and the international communist movement.

Comrade Mehmet Shehu: To the peace, of course, because the more disunited the socialist countries appear, the more courage and hopes are instilled in the imperialists, especially the Americans, to attack the Soviet Union, or at the very least, China.

Comrade Enver Hoxha: That is why we think that, first of all, the Soviet Union itself is in great danger, because the revisionist Khrushchev group is at the helm there. His plans are to weaken and ultimately liquidate the socialist camp, starting with the great Marxist-Leninist China, which is the foremost obstacle to revisionists and the unbending and resolute defender of Marxism-Leninism.

This is the reason why, besides considering this as our party's national duty, we consider it a great international task

to save our socialist camp and international communism from the subversive and rabid activities of Nikita Khrushchev, and, at the same time, to save the Soviet Union by gathering around the strong party that carries high the flag of Marxism-Leninism, the glorious CCP. This should be the internationalist duty of all parties that are consistent in their defense of Marxism-Leninism. (Comrade Li Xiannian nods in approval.) We should all be clear on this point. To us Albanians, to the Central Committee of our party, this point is perfectly clear and not even cannons could budge us from it, as we say in our language. But how could we achieve our objectives? By interfering in the internal affairs of Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, whose leadership has slipped away from the Marxist-Leninist course? Absolutely not! Only through our unrelenting stand for the defense of Marxism-Leninism, our political position against imperialism and modern and Yugoslav revisionism, and gathered as a perfect group around the CCP would we shed light on the eyes of those who have fell in darkness. As for those like N. S. Khrushchev, who are enemies to Marxism-Leninism, we harbor no hope of recovery.

Comrade Mehmet Shehu: We have lost all hope in N. S. Khrushchev and W. Gomulka, just like we had lost [hope] long ago in Tito.

Comrade Enver Hoxha: We, as I said before, will keep our poise and work strategically with them. Our party is in full agreement with all the positions of the CCP in ideological matters and in all the wider international matters. But your party's Central Committee and Comrade Mao Zedong should be certain that we Albanians will always fight to the end for this great cause. But we are a drop in the ocean. It is our opinion that the great and glorious task of the great Chinese people, of your party and its Central Committee, with Comrade Mao Zedong at its helm, in this very difficult situation that international communism is passing through, is to gather around itself all the other Marxist-Leninist parties in the struggle against the dividers [and] in defense of Marxism-Leninism. This is how we view this issue.

Our party's Central Committee is aware that this issue cannot be solved quickly. This will be long and complex, hard and knotty, and can be solved neither in a day, nor a year, nor 5 years.

Comrade Li Xiannian: Comrade Mao Zedong has foreseen that it will take 10 years.

Comrade Enver Hoxha: The renegade Tito has been in power for 13 years, and he continues there even though he has no missiles or hydrogen bombs, nor great economic potential, nor the great international authority that the CPSU has and in whose shadow Nikita Khrushchev operates. That is why we are fully in agreement with Comrade Mao Zedong's view that this will take a long time.

But you understand how difficult our country's situation is under these conditions. We are now surrounded not only by capitalist countries, but also by a second encirclement of friendly socialist countries, led temporarily by revisionist leaderships. The imperialists have struggled now for 17 years to destroy our party and fatherland. They will not give up their weapons and will continue their economic efforts with intensity, but to their ranks is now added the enemy activity of N. Khrushchev and his followers.

We know we are not alone. We have a faithful and resolute friend in the PRC, in all the Marxist-Leninist parties, and in the fraternal people of Asia. We have the support of the fraternal people of the Soviet Union and all the other socialist countries. All these are important factors in the defense of our country. But, practically, we are as Comrade Mehmet said; we dance before the mouth of the wolf. Hence, the policy of our Central Committee will be such that the wolf will not be able to close his mouth. We will achieve this by always being vigilant and ready militarily, politically, ideologically and economically, to destroy the plans of the capitalist countries and the hidden plans of the revisionist groups. Our party's Central Committee will be always vigilant in defense of our country and in the policies and strategies that we will follow in the current situation.

We will leave no tactical opportunity unexploited, but our strategy will not be exactly the same as Great China's strategy. Great China is a big country, very powerful. The enemies will certainly try to hurt it too, but they better think it over well, because she is a continent in itself. So before they start something, the imperialists and the revisionists better think it over. China cannot be hurt easily. Our party's Central Committee understands and finds it logical that the strategy and policy of the CCP CC in many issues is to lay a wide net. It does this because the great economical and political power of China allows it to do so, while our country does not have the same capacity.

I am trying to say that the CCP should understand us when our party's strategy is stricter, curter, and tougher.

Comrade Mehmet Shehu: This happens when the situation warrants it, and our strategy would be in line with your party's general policies and not in contradiction to it.

Comrade Enver Hoxha: Thinking that Albania is a small and lonely country, the imperialists will openly try to liquidate us, while the revisionist groups in the leaderships of the European socialist states, like those in the Soviet Union, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Romania, Poland, and the GDR, will do it secretly.

Comrade Mehmet Shehu: Their immediate objective is to liquidate Albania, not China.

Comrade Enver Hoxha: Hence, influenced by these condi-

tions, our strategies will be rougher, more resolute. In the current situation, the enemies that are trying to eliminate Albania also take into account the great potential of China's aid to Albania, especially its political and ideological help, despite its geographical distance from Albania. Our enemies cannot but take this powerful help into account in this important situation for the international communist movement and peace. It is of the greatest importance to us.

Now let us not talk of the imperialists that have surrounded us, especially the American imperialists and the Yugoslav revisionists, but let us turn our attention to Nikita Khrushchev's revisionist group and the other revisionist groups that stand at the helm of the European people's democratic nations. They have initiated and are waging an intense ideological and political war against our party and leadership. The Soviet press, led by the newspaper "Pravda," has stopped talking about Albania and its economic problems since the Bucharest meeting. In other words, they are politically isolating us in this field. On the other hand, ideologically, after the [November 1960] Moscow conference, people within their parties are slandering us and inventing all kinds of things about our leadership. We know what Gomulka has said and have information that the Polish press has also received orders to be silent on Albania.

Comrade Li Xiannian: At the Moscow conference, Gomulka invented a lot of slanderous things about the ALP.

Comrade Enver Hoxha: And now he has ordered his press to stop talking about Albania. The same is happening in the GDR, in Czechoslovakia, and in Romania. In Bulgaria, also led by a revisionist group which is in fact N. S. Khrushchev's faithful lackey, the Bulgarian press mentions Albania here and there due to the friendly relations that exist between the Albanian and Bulgarian peoples and the strong pressure from the base.

Comrade Li Xiannian: It seems to me that among the greetings by the communist and workers' parties of the European socialist countries, the ones by the Bulgarians and the Hungarians differed somewhat from the others.

Comrade Enver Hoxha: We think that in Hungary the situation is different. The Hungarian party and state leadership behaves well toward us. In Moscow, [Hungarian Prime Minister Janos] Kadar did not attack China and us like the others. We noticed this. When we returned home from Moscow, Comrade Mehmet and I passed through Hungary. The Hungarian leadership comrades displayed closeness and friendship toward us and we thanked them for it. Later, the situation became more favorable. In a reception of our ambassador to Budapest by the Hungarian prime minister, the prime minister said [that], "[the] Albanian leadership's tone in Moscow was necessary and indispensable."

Comrade Mehmet Shehu: When talking about the Moscow conference, the Hungarian prime minister, Ferenc Münnich, said that the Albanians' tone was indispensable in some cases.

Comrade Enver Hoxha: Then we had our 28 and 29 November holidays. The entire Hungarian press spoke of our country's successes. Meetings were held in every Hungarian city with the communists and the people. Many other indications of sympathy have been displayed by important Hungarian cadres toward our comrades. They have said to our people, "your line is just and we have great respect for your leadership. The Soviets also pressure us like they do Albania, but we have now learned from you how to stand fast." There is something happening in Hungary now. We are not sure what it is yet, but we are exploiting it.

The situation between the communist and workers' parties is an issue of great and grave ideological and political implications. [East German Socialist Unity Party General Secretary] Walter Ulbricht has openly said that the Albanians are dogmatic and sectarian. Hence, we know that from now on the ideological war against our party will get even tougher. This is what we forecast, even though in their press their propaganda talks about the "friendship" with China, etc. We think that the intention is to distance us from China, to isolate us, and to give the impression that while they do not want any disagreements, the Albanians are unreasonable people. This tactic is meant to deceive their parties by showing that the disagreements with China have been repaired, while with the Albanians this is impossible.

Comrade Li Xiannian: Before I came to Albania, the German Socialist Unity Party Politburo member [Hermann] Matern visited China [in January 1961]. In a conversation with Comrade Zhou Enlai they had a dispute over the Germans' slandering of Albania. Obviously, they also spoke of economic matters between the two countries, but the Germans' behavior is not pleasant in this area either. They had such a dispute that day that Comrade Zhou Enlai had become happy [possibly meaning "got drunk"] out of exasperation, something he does not usually do. (Laughter)

Comrade Enver Hoxha: They do use such pressure.

We have information from our people in the Soviet Union who meet with various Soviet employees. It seems that the majority of them shake hands with our people telling them that we are following a just course, that in party organizations the Soviet leadership is telling them that they have mended relations with China, that the Chinese comrades have understood their mistaken ways, but that the same is not happening with the Albanians. It seems that N. Khrushchev is looking to profit from the situation and gain time so that he may strengthen his revisionist position.



We think that Khrushchev, his revisionist group, and all the other revisionist groups at the helm of some of the parties are now in the first stage, the stage of strengthening of their position. They are waging a war to purge their ranks of undesirable elements. The second stage will be that of attack to liquidate all signs of Marxism-Leninism from their parties, the stage of liquidating all healthy Marxist elements. In this stage they will even resort to terror. In the third stage they will use provocations just like Tito does now. This is our Central Committee's forecast of the roadmap these revisionist groups will follow.

Comrade Li Xiannian: We have experienced the Soviet military provocations at our border. On our border with the Soviet Union more or less the same things happen that you describe, Comrade Enver, but we never made them an issue.

Comrade Enver Hoxha: The Soviet leaders will start an ideological campaign against us. But they will find a wall of steel in us. They saw the ideological and political unity of our party at our congress. Despite that, they will not back off, but will progress with their plans and will try to create diversions. But our party will not pull back one millimeter.

Now we will talk about the economic blockade that we foresee they will put in place against us. Seeing that they will never be able to break our party ideologically and politically, they will try to wage economic war against us, diversionary acts aside. They will try to damage our party and our people's republic through this course, hiding sometimes behind the mask of reciprocal help between socialist countries.

The fulfillment of our third five-year plan takes in these conditions a crucial importance for our party. The fulfillment of this plan represents to us not only an economic imperative, but a political and ideological one as well. But as you well know, our plan is supported through the loans that are given to us by the PRC and the other socialist countries of Europe.

Our third five-year plan is a concrete, dense plan, but one which is well thought-out and based on our current capabilities. If conditions would develop normally, this plan would not only be faced and fulfilled successfully, but we could even exceed its requirements. In other words, this could happen if the loans accorded by the socialist countries were given to us without impediments. We have signed agreements for this matter with all the countries and we have even specified the objects to be built in detail from the start of the project to the end of construction. Every detail has been included in these agreements, the necessary materials, the precise usage of the loan monies, etc. As I said before we have signed such agreements with all the European socialist countries, but the situation with the Soviet Union stands as we have already described to you.

Now a question arises: will these agreements be carried out or not? This depends on the relations we have with these coun-

tries and, obviously, the international situation. But we are certain that the leadership at the helm of the Soviet Union and the other European socialist countries, especially N. S. Khrushchev, will either freeze the loans or sabotage the process. We can only hope that they will not freeze the loans, because, as to sabotage, we are sure that is going to happen. Our hope stems from the political situation, which could force political opportunists to avoid freezing the loans. One such case that could aid us is the enormous help accorded us by the PRC.

As far as we are concerned we will never give them a reason to act against us. Hence, if the loans are frozen, they could only do this arbitrarily. China has helped us in the past and continues to do so. This will put them in a difficult situation and will uncover them if they cut the aid to us. This factor could force them not to cut aid to us. In any case they will sabotage us. We know that the Soviets will sabotage us further. The Czechs will do this after the Soviets because they have an interest in trading with us and need our chrome, copper and other minerals, and they are also better. Then the others will follow suit, though their loans are smaller and matter less.

The Central Committee of our party is prepared for what could arise. Hence, not only are we doing a lot of work in maintaining enthusiasm for the accomplishment of tasks, we are also preparing to overcome the difficulties. Our Central Committee is of the opinion that our just behavior will force them to give us the loans agreed upon.

As Comrade Spiro Koleka has told you, the loans we have been accorded are imperative for our five-year plan. We will fight with all our might to fulfill this plan and will successfully face all tricks that these groups will throw at us.

The most important objectives in this plan, which we think should receive attention and be achieved at any cost during this five-year plan are:

First is agriculture. In this area, as you know, we have progressed much and we will place more importance on it, especially in [land] reclamation, irrigation, new land reclamation, etc.

Comrade Li Xiannian: As we traveled we saw a lot of new land you had reclaimed.

Comrade Enver Hoxha: The main task of our agriculture is the production of bread in-country. That is why we agree completely on this issue with Comrade Zhou Enlai and the other Chinese leader comrades. We must produce our bread in-country completely at any cost, because the national and international situations are such that they make fulfilling this task imperative as soon as possible. Our party's Central Committee has been continually preoccupied with this problem in other five-year plans as well, and we returned to studying it more closely on the current one. Nonetheless, despite our effort and

desire, it is impossible to achieve producing bread completely in-country during this period. The Chinese comrades have given us considerable help, first, by delivering great amounts of grains in the first months, and, second, by doing it at great promptness. This action has been life-saving for our people. Our party and people will always be grateful to you for this fraternal and internationalist action.

Comrade Li Xiannian: This support is mutual. You also help us politically.

Comrade Mehmet Shehu: Our people say: "A friend in need is a friend indeed."

Comrade Li Xiannian: The situation should first be looked at from the point of Albania's being surrounded by capitalism.

Comrade Enver Hoxha: Your [promised] help with grain deliveries in 1961 is immensely great. We fully understand the sacrifices that the Chinese leadership is making, especially taking into account the difficult agricultural year you have also had. We have secured our bread for 1961 because of you.

For the next four years, 1962-1965 we will still be forced to import our bread. We have made the necessary plans to have in stock goods which will allow us to import about 315 thousand tons of grain using the clearing option.

Comrade Mehmet Shehu: We have sought to secure this amount of grains through the Soviet Union using clearing, but until now we have received no answer from them.

Comrade Enver Hoxha: We have also sought to do this from the other socialist countries, but if they will not come through with it, we also have barter [credits] at our disposal for importing it.

Comrade Li Xiannian: Comrade Spiro Koleka spoke to me about this problem the last time he visited China.

Comrade Enver Hoxha: Because we foresee different dangers ahead, we will need 400 [thousand?] tons of grains for the period of 1962-65. For example, if you had not helped us this year, there would be a great famine in our country. But we managed to overcome it.

Comrade Mehmet Shehu: We only had bread for 15 days.

Comrade Enver Hoxha: This is how our bread situation stands. In this area the increase of efficiency of agricultural crop production is imperative for the development of agriculture in our country. Since we do not have much new land at our disposal, this is the only way for us to produce our bread in-country. This forces us to build new chemical fertilizer factories. We have signed an agreement with the Soviet Union to help us

build a factory of nitrogen fertilizer along with a thermal power station slated for construction in the city of Fier. The Soviets know well that this is a key and vital problem for the development of agriculture for our country, so we foresee that they will either sabotage the project or not give it to us altogether.

Comrade Mehmet Shehu: For example, they could postpone the delivery of machinery to 1968.

Comrade Enver Hoxha: I will give you an example. When we did a refitting of the cement factory in Vlora last year, they dragged their feet in the delivery of a suitcase of electrical equipment (50 kg), causing us not to utilize the factory for 8 consecutive months.

Comrade Mehmet Shehu: According to the contract, this factory should have been operational by 1 June, but they held back those few materials on purpose after the meetings of Bucharest and Moscow. They finally delivered them at the end of December. Thus, our economy lost the considerable amount of 30 thousand tons of cement.

Comrade Enver Hoxha: Think what they could do with the chemical fertilizer factory. We plan to construct these factories. We will have them operational by 1965, but they might try to postpone them until 1968 or 1970. So that we would not be able to secure our bread even in the fourth five-year plan. This is one objective.

Another objective is that we plan to build a cement factory. If we do not build this factory, all the construction required by our third five-year plan will not be achieved. They sabotaged us for 8 months with one suitcase of equipment, and by causing this very important project not to be carried out, they will sabotage all the construction plans.

We have made an agreement with the Czechs to build a metallurgical plant for ferro-chrome production containing one super-phosphate factory with a capacity of 180 thousand tons of phosphate fertilizer per year. In the current situation they could also sabotage us, though the Czechs look to their own interest and could [sabotage] us at the same time. It is possible that they will also sabotage us. Nonetheless, we can very well hope that the construction of this project by the Czechs will happen.

Another matter we had is the construction of a smelting factory for iron-nickel, which would produce 30 thousand tons of processed metal a year. This object is not included in our five-year plan, but we see its construction as very necessary, because the European socialist countries will hold back metal article deliveries for which we have great need on this five-year plan. The usual parties from where we get these articles told us that they do not have them for us. So we have nowhere else to get them. This is why we think that this project's construction, though not in the plan, is necessary. It is imposed by the current situation.

Our party's CC asks you that, whether or not the European countries with which we have signed agreements give us these key objects for our third five-year plan, you deliver to the CCP CC and the Chinese people our request that within the loan you have accorded us, the PRC help us in constructing these objects. This means, first of all, the construction of a factory for the production of nitrogen fertilizers with the attached thermal power station and a capacity of 110 tons of fertilizer a year, as well as the other objects I mentioned earlier. In fact, if the Soviets do not evade responsibilities, we could build two nitrogen fertilizer plants, one with your help and one from the Soviets'. But the one thing that is very important is that we can assure the building of one factory of chemical fertilizers even if the Soviets sabotage us. You use coal for these factories, but we plan to use petrol or natural gas. That is why we ask from the Chinese comrades that they help us procure this factory under these conditions whether or not the Soviets build it as they have promised.

Comrade Mehmet Shehu: We ask this of you independently of the answer the Soviets may give us and without waiting for their answer.

Comrade Enver Hoxha: We value your help. This would be an enormous sacrifice for the Chinese comrades and we would be very grateful to you for it. If you cannot build this for us, since you do not build such factories that use petrol or natural gas in China, then we request that you mediate with the Soviets or the Czechs for a purchase or even with the European capitalist countries, such as Italy, which is close to us.

It is possible that the Soviets will come through and build this factory without any obstacles. In that case we would have surplus chemical fertilizers and we would have to export part of the production. Then through the profit from the export we would return to the Chinese comrades the funds used for the factory's construction.

Comrade Mehmet Shehu: If the Soviets will keep their side of the deal, economically for us it would be much more advantageous to process our petrol into chemical fertilizers and then export it, rather than just exporting it as petrol. So it is of great interest to us to build two nitrogen fertilizer factories even if [this occurred] at the same time.

Comrade Enver Hoxha: As to the necessary workforce and internal financing for these plants, we have the capability to cover it even though they would be outside the plan. The question is how to cover these large plants if our workforce is already slated to go elsewhere. We could do this because we have the workforce needed, but if we are hard pressed, we could even slow down the building of one of these objects. For example, we could slow down the one that the Soviet Union would give us and finish it in 1966 or 1967. But one of them must absolutely be finished by 1965.

As to the phosphor factory for the production of superphosphates, we ask that—within the loans you have granted us—you help us build two, three units with a capacity of 20-30 thousand tons each a year, for a total [production] of 30-70 thousand tons of superphosphates per year. This way we would be prepared for any dangers posed by a potential Czech sabotage, even though this amount would be only one-third of the phosphor fertilizers that we plan to produce in 1965 with the factory that the Czechs will build for us.

Comrade Mehmet Shehu: These factories can produce sulfuric acid in addition to the superphosphates, while the apatite we need to import from you using [the] clearing [arrangement].

Comrade Enver Hoxha: For the factory that the Czechs will help us build we have agreed that the Soviet Union will provide us with apatite.

Comrade Mehmet Shehu: Always provided that they do not sabotage us.

Comrade Enver Hoxha: The third factory that we need your help to build is one for cement [production]. We hereby also request that the Chinese comrades help us build a cement factory with an initial capacity of 100 thousand tons per year and a future production of 200 thousand [tons].

The fourth object is the construction of a factory for iron-nickel smelting with a capacity of 30 thousand tons of processed metal per year. While this will cause us to lose a [certain] amount of nickel for some time, we will accept this loss because no one is delivering any processed metal articles to us now. Even during the second five-year plan we have suffered numerous difficulties with the European socialist countries in the area of deliveries of processed metal articles.

Another great problem of ours is that of mechanization of agriculture. Within the 100 million rubles loan that you have granted us, we request that you look at the possibility of tractor deliveries for our agricultural needs.

We ask that all these projects we are requesting be included in the loan of 500 million rubles you have granted to us. Along this [line of] requests, we would also like to receive a few smaller factories, such as a paper mill, a few repair shops, etc. The specifics of those requests can be decided upon by the planning commissions of our countries. The five specific problems that we laid out above are vital for our country's economy and for overcoming the difficult situation in which the Soviets and the other European socialist countries have put us.

Finally, I also wanted to familiarize you with our military needs. The difficulties of equipping the military stand as I already notified you on our first meeting. The Soviets have suspended deliveries to our military. We have taken some measures

to revise drilling and exercise plans, have scaled back the planning for fuel and spare parts usage, have reduced the quotas for using munitions, etc. Now our party is mobilizing the military so that it may fulfill all duties given as efficiently as possible.

Even in this very vital area the Soviets are trying to exert pressure on us creating a very difficult situation for our army and military cadres. They seek to create discontent among our officers and to weaken our military's strength as a result.

We have agreements with the Soviets for an appropriate furnishing of our military with armaments and equipment, but they have suspended all deliveries. On this matter our government has sent a letter to the Soviet government. Yesterday we also sent a letter to Marshal Grechko, supreme commander of the armed forces of the member nations of the Warsaw Pact, in which Comrade Beqir Balluku makes the required annual report that we have sent every year as a member nation of this military organization, showing the moral-political and military readiness of our army. The letter also shows the armament situation in our country and the needs of our military. We point out in that report how the Soviet government has suspended military deliveries to our country's army. The report calls on Marshal Grechko, as supreme commander of the armed forces of the member nations of the Warsaw Pact, to mediate with the Soviet government to find a solution to this problem.

Now, Chinese comrades, you understand the great importance of this matter to us. Our party's Central Committee puts forward before the CCP CC and Comrade Mao Zedong our military's urgent needs for its infantry and artillery and the great importance that this matter has for our country's defense. We can take on the matter of planes, tanks, etc. later, but the matter of procurements of necessary equipment for the light armament of infantry and artillery units is, we think, of an urgent nature for any eventuality, for any danger posed from outside our borders, so that we may put in place a long resistance both as a regular army or as partisan units.

You mentioned that you think the Chinese comrades might mediate with the Soviets in this matter. Our party's Central Committee thinks that this might not be a bad idea, in fact, it might be a good one, but we think that this should be done after we get an answer, be it positive or negative, from the Soviets. In the case that they do not give us one, then we will officially approach you through a letter in which we will state that we have sent the Soviet comrades a letter and that they have answered [to the effect] that they will not supply us with armaments, and that hence we are asking the Chinese government to furnish us these materials. In this case the Chinese comrades would say to the Soviet comrades that the Albanians are requesting to be furnished with armaments and ask why they were not doing it. If you are not going to do it, then we will furnish them [with the requested materials]. The Chinese comrades will have a good reason to tell [the Soviets] that we

should help defend Albania and that if they were not going to give them the weapons, we would.

Comrade Li Xiannian: When Comrade Liu Shaoqi went to Moscow, he said to the Soviets that in the event that they did not help Albania, we would denounce them. When the Soviets told Comrade Liu Shaoqi that they would not help Albania, Khrushchev also added that they would give the Albanians everything for which there is a signed contract.

Comrade Mehmet Shehu: Khrushchev has lied to Comrade Liu Shaoqi. He should not be trusted because he lies a lot. As soon as he said goodbye to Comrade Liu Shaoqi, he immediately suspended all military aid. That is why we can have no trust in such military aid.

Comrade Enver Hoxha: We thought that they would step back if they took China into account. Were it not for the help that the PRC gives us, we should have been preparing for the mountains [partisan warfare].

Comrade Li Xiannian: We see your cause as our cause.

Comrade Enver Hoxha: We thank you very much. That is what we wanted to say to you, Comrade Li Xiannian. We have been asked by our Central Committee to speak openly to you about these matters and we ask you to personally transmit our requests to Comrade Mao Zedong.

Comrade Li Xiannian: All that you have told me, Comrade Enver, I will personally transmit to comrades Mao Zedong, Liu Shaoqi and the other comrades of our Central Committee.

Comrade Enver Hoxha: Also transmit to comrades Mao Zedong, Liu Shaoqi and the other comrades of the CCP CC that they have a faithful friend for life in the mold of the Marxist-Leninist way in the ALP and the Albanian people. Tell your leadership comrades of your party that the comrades of the Chinese delegation, with Comrade Li Xiannian at their head, gave our party and congress immense help. The presence of the CCP delegation has contributed enormously to the great strength manifested by our congress and all our people. This has instilled in our party and people great faith that we are not alone and that Marxism-Leninism is unconquerable.

We always believe, particularly now, that the unity within our camp and especially the determined unity between our two parties, the ALP and CCP, is one of the most important necessities for little Albania's freedom and independence and in the interest of the socialist camp.

Comrade Li Xiannian: It is one of the most important requirements for the defense of the international communist movement.



Comrade Enver Hoxha: We also see this matter in this way.

Comrade Mehmet Shehu: Communism in Asia is a huge block around the CCP that walks in the Marxist-Leninist path, while in the ocean of European revisionism Albania is just a small rock facing huge waves.

Comrade Enver Hoxha: But we will never give in.

Comrade Li Xiannian: On your island the red flag flies pristinely.

Comrade Mehmet Shehu: This is why the relations between this Marxist continent and our little, lonely island are so important for our country, as Comrade Enver pointed out. We know, as Comrade Enver said, that we are not the ones to decide the fate of Marxism-Leninism. This is your prerogative, that of the CCP and the great PRC. That is why your help to our country is crucial. On this subject we have another request and we have been asked by our party's Central Committee to deliver it to you: Protect your leadership. Protect Comrade Mao Zedong and the other comrades.

Comrade Li Xiannian: Do not worry. Our party [leadership], just like yours, is closely linked with the party rank-and-file, as is the whole party with the people. But even if some renegade appears as has happened before, he will not be able to damage the party leadership at all.

Comrade Enver Hoxha: It is precisely so.

Comrade Mehmet Shehu: The revisionists' hopes rest with people like Tuk Jakova, Liri Belishova and Peng Dehuai and company.

Comrade Enver Hoxha: The parties now led by revisionist groups will not tolerate them for much longer. We know, for example, what goes on in Bulgaria. When the Moscow Declaration was publicized for analysis by the masses, the party Central Committee ordered that no communist should discuss its contents and, furthermore, no questions should be asked. But an entire party can never be silent and forget such activities, never! (Comrade Li Xiannian laughs.)

After returning from the Moscow conference, the party leaders in Bulgaria did not dare say one bad word about your party. And in party meetings, despite orders that no discussion or questions take place, turmoil ensued. And, according to information we have, in the party activity in February in the city of Ren, or some other area, a general rose and asked for clarifications about the situation with China, "because," he said, "after Bucharest you told us that much is going wrong." The party delegate to the meeting said that all is well now with China. "But you told us that in China they were building a cult of Mao," said the general. "It is true," said the delegate, "They do

have a cult of Mao Zedong in China." (Comrade Li Xiannian laughs.) The general pointed out that while Mao had previously been both the party chairman and president of the Republic, he was now only the first secretary of the Central Committee. He asked, "And where is this cult of personality of Mao when Khrushchev, who was previously only a First Secretary of the Central Committee, later also became prime minister?"

Comrade Mehmet Shehu: He has even tried to become president. (Comrade Li Xiannian laughs.)

Comrade Enver Hoxha: Then another attendee rose and asked whether the party stood by the opinion that Stalin had had no leadership skills and that he had in fact not been the one to lead the Soviet Union during WWII. The delegate not knowing what to say had answered that while they could not say that Stalin was completely devoid of leadership skills, he had had an array of marshals and Central Committee members to lead the war and had managed the war issues together with all of them. Then the person who asked the question said, "And then where is Stalin's cult of personality if he had led so democratically and managed the most pressing issues for the people consulting with a group of cadres?"

I want to point out by this that our cause is just and that we have faith that the other parties will not tolerate these revisionist groups at their helm for too long. And we ask that you communicate the points of view we have laid out before you to Comrade Mao Zedong. We have spoken openly to you. There may be issues which we do not see clearly and correctly, but we ask that you help us to see them appropriately. Comrade Mao Zedong is one of the greatest comrades of the international communist movement, one of the comrades with the widest of revolutionary and party leadership experience, so we are eternally ready to take his criticism and advice and look them over and study them with the greatest care. He should never hesitate to confront us with these criticisms.

Comrade Li Xiannian: In a friendly way, of course.

Comrade Enver Hoxha: Yes, in a friendly way. We will keep in regular contact with the comrades of the Chinese embassy here in our country so that they can be fully in touch with our problems and situation. We will keep close contact with them. Furthermore, when possible, please keep in mind the establishment of an aerial direct route Tirana-Cairo-New Delhi-Rangoon-Manton-Beijing.

Comrade Mehmet Shehu: Obviously, we mean: whenever you see it possible. We understand that this is not so easy to do.

Comrade Enver Hoxha: We would like to have such a direct route.

Comrade Li Xiannian: At the moment this is not possible.

(They laugh). Do you have anything else to add?

Comrade Enver Hoxha: No, that was it.

Comrade Li Xiannian: Neither does Comrade Mehmet Shehu?

Comrade Mehmet Shehu: Nothing further from what Comrade Enver Hoxha brought forth.

Comrade Li Xiannian: Then I would like to say a few words.

This time I came here with the task of greeting your steadfast, Marxist-Leninist party's 4th Congress. I thank you from the bottom of my heart for the warm reception extended to us everywhere we went. I deeply thank all the comrades, especially Comrade Enver Hoxha, for the high praise of our party and Comrade Mao Zedong.

It is surely my duty to transmit faithfully your words and the results of your congress to comrades Mao Zedong, Liu Shaoqi, Zhou Enlai and the other comrades of our party's Central Committee. Our people and the entire party understand and know well your party and Central Committee, with Comrade Enver Hoxha at its helm, as a strongly Marxist-Leninist party. Our party and the entire Chinese people fully support your people and party in these extremely difficult conditions, surrounded from all four sides by enemies, this country of small people and size who continue to fight a dedicated and resolute struggle against the imperialism and revisionism represented by the Titoist clique.

We were extremely happy when we saw with our own eyes how the proceedings of your 4th Congress were held in high spirit. The relationship between the leadership and the party rank-and-file and that between the party and the people were manifested to be close and unbreakable at the congress. So we have to come to the conclusion that Marxism can be defended not only in a big country, but in a small one as well. We saw this very clearly during this visit to your country.

Your people, led by the party, hold high the flag of Marxism-Leninism—a flag that is perfectly red—on the eastern shores of the Adriatic. Not only the Chinese people, but the peoples of the entire world should defend this same flag you defend.

As to the relations between the countries of the socialist camp, Sino-Soviet relations and the Albanian-Soviet relations, the question that arises is, "Have these relations improved after the discussions of the Moscow Conference?" Our desire is that they improve, but the objective state of the facts does not allow us to see this issue as we desire. Comrade Enver was right when he said that this struggle was long, complex and difficult. This is also the conclusion that our party has drawn.

For these relations to improve considerably three or five years might not be enough. Maybe more are needed. Obviously, our desire is that there be no quarrels in our large family, but the principles of Marxism-Leninism must be defended stubbornly. Our strategies might be different, but the principles we defend are the same.

Comrade Enver Hoxha: I agree. It is precisely so.

Comrade Li Xiannian: Just as you pointed out, Comrade Enver, just as your party says, Marxism-Leninism cannot be traded for goods. It is the ultimate truth. It is the ultimate science. Hence, we must fight with all our might to defend it despite the sacrifices we might be required to make. On the other hand, we must raise high our flag of unity in the struggle against imperialism, the flag of unity of all the parties of the socialist camp. In particular, we must raise high the flag of unity with the Soviet Union, the people and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

The defense of Marxist-Leninist principles is our highest priority. The strengthening of the unity between our countries is also a high priority, because this unity is a defining factor for the socialist camp, for the entire international communist movement, and for the vital interests of humanity. Nonetheless, this unity must be based in the principles of Marxism-Leninism. For this, all the nations of the socialist camp need to be treated as equals. The principle of mutual, fraternal help needs to be applied among them, be it between the large countries or between the large and the small ones, be it between the parties that have already gained the seat of power and between those that have yet to achieve this.

Comrade Mao Zedong has said that there is no help without benefit; that everyone's pitching in is mutually beneficial. The ALP has raised the flag of Marxism-Leninism high in the resolute struggle against imperialism and modern revisionism. This is why this struggle is very important for the peoples of the socialist camp and the entire world. This is also very important for your party, for your Central Committee, with Comrade Enver at the helm, and for your people. Your fighting spirit was clearly apparent during your congress.

When we spoke about you during the dinner held by the Soviet leaders Kozlov and Suslov for our delegation [passing] through Moscow, I was thinking about this issue and understood that the dinner they held was an unusual one. This is why when the CPSU delegation spoke at your congress we listened attentively and with interest, but saw that not a word was spoken about the just leadership of the ALP CC with Comrade Enver Hoxha at its helm. We are very sorry for this fact. We do not understand which party's congress they came to attend.

Comrade Mehmet Shehu: They, Chinese comrades, came to our congress with one intention in mind, to bring down



Inside the Albanian Central State Archive, Tirana, during a visit by a CWHIP delegation in November 2004

our leadership. They came to buy hair and left clean-shaven [Editor's Note: Albanian proverb meaning to fail at something and lose more in the process] (laughter).

Comrade Li Xiannian: Now, I would like to say a few words about Sino-Soviet relations. Our greatest desire is to improve these relations. As I said before the improvement of these relations does not depend solely on us, but we want to show our friendship to the Soviet people and communists.

Comrade Enver Hoxha: You are right.

Comrade Li Xiannian: In our hearts we know well who those leading the CPSU today are. They are people of the kind that never fulfill their obligations to agreements they have made with us. Our approach is to ask them to fulfill their obligations. At the same time, we are prepared to go forward even without their help should it not be forthcoming. On the other hand, not to ask for their help would not be prudent on our part. Now, should they not give us their help, what should we do? We must always follow the just course. For example, when the Soviet leaders ordered the departure of Soviet specialists from China, Comrade Deng Xiaoping said that we should accept this, but this Soviet action caused a lot of damage to our economy. Nonetheless, we fought resolutely for the defense

of our principles and for the preservation of our unity. After the Moscow Conference we called the plenum of our party's Central Committee and decided on this course of action.

I also wanted to say a few words on the economic relations between our two countries. Comrade Spiro Koleka spoke at length on this matter to me when I was still in Beijing. Comrade Zhou Enlai has expressed his opinion on your requests. We have a lot of interest in the matter of your agriculture's production of bread in-country. On this matter we also weigh your country's situation. If the situation changes for the worse, we will not be able to send you grains even if we have them. What, then, should be done about this issue? We must seriously think about solving this problem.

Before we left Beijing, comrades Liu Shaoqi and Zhou Enlai told me to communicate to you the opinion that the industry in your country be built on the basis of small and medium objects, since for your country's conditions and capabilities this course would be the easiest and with the fastest effect for your economy. Such an industrial policy would give a great advantage to your economy. Obviously, this is just a suggestion. You know your situation better than us. Our country's experience in the past eight years has shown that small and medium objects can be built and produce profitably faster than large ones. Nonetheless, this is an internal matter of yours.

Comrade Mao Zedong directed and requested me to tell our Albanian comrades openly that we will fulfill your requests and help you with everything we can. In case our technical means do not allow [us to do so], we will openly tell you that we cannot help you. Should our technical means allow [us to assist you], we will make every effort to fulfill your needs. This is what the chairman of our party's Central Committee told me. We know that the Soviet Union is much more technologically advanced. We still have a lot of deficiencies in comparison, but if, for example, next year we will have the technical means of assisting you in building an object, we will not hesitate to extend our help.

Now, let us come to the specific objects that Comrade Enver spoke about. I have brought an economist with me with the specific intention of consulting him. You want to build a nitrogen fertilizer factory that uses petrol or natural gas. Very well, but we do not have such plants and cannot help you with the construction of such an object. But we could help you with the construction of the thermal power station. The comrade economist that has come along says that Albania has coal, though not of high quality. Can this factory use coal instead?

Comrade Mehmet Shehu: The use of coal is not advantageous for us. It costs too much. The advantage of using petrol is, however, bigger.

Comrade Li Xiannian: Your point of view on this matter is very reasonable and we understand it, so we will analyze this

matter and give you an answer.

Comrade Mehmet Shehu: If we would build this fertilizer factory to work with petrol or natural gas rather than coal, we would be independent from others. From Gomulka, for example, from whom we would have to get coal. This way we could solve the bread problem. If we don't build these two fertilizer factories, we would not be able to produce our bread in-country in the fourth five-year plan or even in the fifth.

Comrade Li Xiannian: A comrade from your State Planning Commission told us that you have lignite, and our economist took a look at it and said that it may be utilized, but this is a matter we should study. We are still not very clear on the quality of your coal.

Comrade Mehmet Shehu: We think that the PRC could get such a factory for us by buying it in the Western capitalist countries like Italy, France or England, and it may cost around \$25-30 million. I think that Czechoslovakia or East Germany are also willing to build it for us with dollars. The countries of people's democracies and even the Soviet Union buy chemical factories from Italy. Getting this object would be life-saving for us. Chemical fertilizers are vital to us for the production of bread in-country.

The conclusion of your party's Central Committee that we should build economically viable small and medium objects in our country is right, but this particular object is vital to the production of bread. Our agriculture cannot progress without it. We have all the necessary conditions for the production of bread, except for two conditions on which we are dependent from abroad: chemical fertilizers and agriculture mechanization. The fulfillment of these two conditions, meaning on the fourth five-year plan, will truly allow us to think of producing bread in-country. This is why we placed such importance on this matter and, as Comrade Enver said earlier, why we ask you to review this matter carefully.

Comrade Li Xiannian: At the moment, our technological capability does not allow us to help you with the construction of a factory that uses petrol or natural gas. We have plans to build a small experimental factory that uses petrol or natural gas. We can look more closely at your proposal of buying such a factory from Italy.

Comrade Mehmet Shehu: Buying from Italy is very advantageous to us, because it is very close.

Comrade Li Xiannian: I cannot say a word about this matter, but I will inform our Central Committee and we will give you an answer.

We are able to build the second factory for the production of superphosphates for you. We are also capable of building

the sulfuric acid section of this factory. The problem for you will be in securing the raw material for this factory, apatite. This matter should be considered carefully. But we could look at Comrade Enver's idea of securing apatite from Morocco more closely. We have very good relations with Morocco. They have offered us apatite, but we do not need it, because we have enough of our own. If we import some amount of apatite from Morocco, we are only doing it because we are doing it in the interest of the national liberation movement in Africa.

We will also not have any problems with our support for the construction of a cement factory. You said that you are looking to build one with a capacity of 200 thousand tons and want to build it in two phases. My opinion is that you should instead build a series of smaller factories with a total capacity of 200 thousand tons.

Comrade Mehmet Shehu: OK. We will study the economic advantages of this [suggestion] and give you our opinion.

Comrade Li Xiannian: You can study it, but know that this is my personal opinion.

We are also capable of building for you a factory for iron smelting with a maximum capacity of 30 thousand tons per year. During our travels in the south, Comrade Spiro Koleka and I exchanged an array of ideas, because he and I are specialists in the same field. Comrade Koleka emphasized that the main problem with such an undertaking will be finding the necessary supplies of coke. When I asked him where you would find coke, he said that you would have to import it from Poland or secure it from other countries. I told him that we can look at the possibility of building such an object with our help.

At the same time, I proposed Comrade Spiro Koleka the matter of building an electric oven for residual iron smelting.

Comrade Mehmet Shehu: We now export these iron residuals, but if we would build the iron-smelting factory, it would be advantageous to build in this factory an additional section for iron residual smelting as well. Then this job could also be done in-country.

Comrade Li Xiannian: We have the necessary technical means to help you with mineral extraction, mineral enrichment, iron smelting and metal foliation. The only big problem for you is finding the coke.

Regarding the military matters you brought up, we will notify our Central Committee immediately. Comrade Spiro Koleka has handed us the appropriate lists of military deliveries. A part of those needs we will fulfill for you through clearing [arrangements]. Though using clearing [arrangements] does not mean we will be able to fulfill all military delivery needs. We have



told Comrade Spiro Koleka that we do not have some of the military materials contained in your list, so we will not be able to deliver them to you. We are able to deliver to you ammunition and clothes, but as to fighter planes and other such equipment, we do not yet have them.

Comrade Mehmet Shehu: Supplying our infantry with ammunition is a more urgent need for us.

Comrade Li Xiannian: As to what you said, that we should approach the Soviet Union for these matters, we will do as you ask.

Comrade Mehmet Shehu: We have asked for grain from the Soviet Union and have yet to get an answer. We have asked for a total of 300 thousand tons of grain from the socialist camp nations through clearing [arrangements], while for an additional 100 thousand tons of grains we do not satisfy the clearing requirements. In that case, if we do not get all the grain supplies we need, could we rely on you to secure all the bread necessary for the four years from 1961 to 1965?

Comrade Li Xiannian: It is possible, but Comrade Spiro Koleka made a request for only 300 thousand tons of grains. And now you are asking for 100 thousand more. Personally, I think that there should not be any hurdles to delivering this additional amount, but before we can give you a definitive answer, I must inform our Central Committee about this request. As you well know, we are also having difficulties with grain, but we also keep in mind that the Albanian comrades are heroically fighting the struggle for the defense of Marxism-Leninism against imperialism and revisionism without thinking of the hardships this may cause, so our duty is to help you.

You mentioned that you would use our foreign currency to buy chemical fertilizers in the West?

Comrade Mehmet Shehu: We did not exactly say that. It would not be prudent to buy chemical fertilizers in the West with your foreign currency. This currency would only be used to buy the machinery needed for the construction of a factory for nitrogen fertilizers that utilizes petrol or natural gas from the West in case you could not build it for us. We would not buy chemical fertilizers from the Soviet Union or Czechoslovakia using foreign currency, let alone buying it from the West. We would like to build a nitrogen fertilizer factory using the foreign currency you have given us through the accorded loan. We could buy this factory from Italy or from some other capitalist country in the West.

Comrade Li Xiannian: We will study this issue, and if we are able to do it, we will send you an answer.

Comrade Mehmet Shehu: If at all possible, look at this issue favorably because this concerns our bread.

Comrade Li Xiannian: I also wanted to talk about issues relating to technical-scientific cooperation. Two of our economists who came with me here visited the knitwear factory in Korca, and seeing that this factory's products were of low quality, suggested to me that we should help you. So, if you so desire we could send some specialists that could immensely help your people to increase immediately the quality of your product there.

Comrade Enver Hoxha: We agree that specialists can come here for our tricot needs, and would also like to ask if you could take a look at the possibility of doing the same for our petrol and geology needs. You, a large country, certainly have very large needs for geological activities and petrol. We, on the other hand, have no such specialists to help in these areas so necessary for us. We should at least have some Chinese specialist comrades help us with the inspection of the machinery and the accompanying documentation we will receive from European countries.

Comrade Li Xiannian: We do not have much experience in the field of petrol, but as for tricot our experience is broad.

Comrade Enver Hoxha: Then, please, send the tricot specialists immediately.

Comrade Li Xiannian: Before I set off for Albania, Comrade Zhou Enlai told me that the signing of economic agreements with Albania is the first step. Now the most important matter is how these agreements will be carried out because the geographical distance between our countries is very large. This will require that we communicate through numerous telegrams. This is not bad in itself, but for the sake of carrying out these agreements faster, would it be possible to have a few Chinese economists working in our embassy in Albania?

Comrade Enver Hoxha: Please send them whenever you wish. In fact we have even asked for such a thing.

Comrade Li Xiannian: You could also send a group of economists to Beijing or a delegation of your State Planning Commission employees to meet and have talks with comrades at our State Planning Commission and the appropriate departments to decide how to proceed with the delivery of the loan.

Comrade Enver Hoxha: This is a very prudent proposal and we are in full agreement with you on this issue also.

Comrade Li Xiannian: We do not think that it is necessary that this delegation contain a supervisor comrade. It will be sufficient that the comrades that come with the delegation be State Planning Commission employees.

Comrade Enver Hoxha: As to the matter of the economic specialists you will send to your embassy, I think you could

also send an additional good person or two specializing in petrol or geological research. In our country a number of large Soviet teams of about 120 people have been working for the past two, three years. But we have noticed that at all the points they have told us to drill for petrol, we have found none, while the ones to which our specialists have directed us have yielded petrol. We have spent hundreds of millions [of rubles] in this field and have had no results. We have also raised this concern with the Soviet government. Please read again the report of our party's Central Committee that I presented at the congress, at the section concerning our petrol efforts. There we allude to this matter and blame these teams. This is why we consider your sending one or two such able people from you as indispensable to us.

We have indirectly learned that our country also possesses radioactive minerals. We will now see the report we will receive from the Soviet teams. This is why we also sent the samples to Beijing so that you may analyze them for us. You understand the importance of finding such minerals would have for our country. Bringing such people to your embassy here is not objectionable to the Soviets either, so appearances are kept.

Comrade Li Xiannian: I thank you for the information you have given me.

Comrade Enver Hoxha: We also thank you in the name of our Central Committee.

Comrade Mehmet Shehu: When can we send these people to Beijing?

Comrade Li Xiannian: Whenever you decide to [do so]. We speak as between brothers.

Comrade Enver Hoxha: I had another matter. We are having a dinner for the Chinese comrades tonight. What do you think, should we publicize this meeting in the press or only the dinner?

Comrade Li Xiannian: We are of the opinion of only making the dinner public. I wanted to say to you that this time it was my duty to return the visit to Comrade Hysni Kapo who came to China last year. We were busy and I was late in doing it, but now that duty is fulfilled. Now, by the order of the Central Committee I must depart from here on 28 February.

Comrade Enver Hoxha: We are sorry you are leaving so early.

Comrade Li Xiannian: Now it is possible to come here more often.

Comrade Enver Hoxha: You should come for vacation.

Comrade Li Xiannian: I told Comrade Spiro Koleka that this time I came with three tasks: first, to attend your congress, second, to return Comrade Hysni Kapo's visit, and third, for a vacation.

Comrade Mehmet Shehu: The vacation task was not fulfilled.

Comrade Enver Hoxha: We do not record the vacation part and keep this case open. (Happy and sincere laughter.)

Comrade Li Xiannian: I have not reached an agreement with Comrade Spiro Koleka on this matter.

Comrade Enver Hoxha: Comrade Spiro is right. You should come again to Albania and should even send other comrades here to rest and to get to know our country.

Comrade Li Xiannian: This is also what Comrade Spiro Koleka said to me, that I should rest. I said to him, "You and I are both economists and we must get to know each-other's country well, so you should come to visit us too." But he only remained silent.

Comrade Enver Hoxha: He was displaying such behavior because he did not agree with you not resting a bit while here in Albania.

Comrade Li Xiannian: Now Comrade Enver Hoxha does not accept that I have fulfilled my third task either.

Comrade Enver Hoxha: You have fulfilled your first two tasks, and marvelously so, but the third is completely undone.

(After these last words there is plenty of laughter and happiness. That was the end of the meeting.)

Proceedings note-keeper

Haxhi Kroj



## DOCUMENT No. 5

## Information Memorandum, Zhou Enlai's Comments, 9 March 1961

[Source: Central State Archive, Tirana, AQPPSH-MPKK-V. 1961, L. 13, D. 21. Obtained for CWIHP by Ana Lalaj and translated for CWIHP by Enkel Daljani.]

## INFORMATION

ON THE MEETING WITH THE HEAD OF THE STATE  
COUNCIL OF THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA,  
COMRADE ZHOU ENLAI ON 8 MARCH 1961

On the above date Comrade Chen Yi, minister of foreign affairs of the People's Republic of China (PRC), summoned the titulars and chargés d'affaires of the socialist countries. In this meeting Comrade Zhou Enlai informed us as follows:

Comrade Ambassadors and Chargés d'Affaires, we often meet but have never had the opportunity to speak in detail. This meeting was organized by Comrade Chen Yi for the purpose of discussing our situation. You are aware of this matter through our 9th Plenum press communique. Other topics of the communique concern the friendship within our socialist countries, the strengthening of unity between the CCP, the CP of the USSR and all the other countries of the socialist and international communist movement, the Moscow Conference of the 81 communist and workers' sister parties and the call extended to all the peoples of the world from this conference. I will not speak of these matters to you. I will only speak in detail about our internal situation and the state of affairs created after the 9th Plenum. You all know well that our country has gone through very difficult and unparalleled times due to the natural disasters of the past two years—especially last year's. These disasters befell us gradually and not all at once. The plentiful harvest of 1958, the most favorable year for agriculture, helped immensely to overcome the difficulties of 1959. But last year, our agriculture underwent unheard of damages in many areas of the country. I am now 63 and do not remember such natural disasters. While a century ago such disasters also befell our country producing millions of victims, this time, thanks to the measures taken by our party and government in the past two years, a normal life for our people has been ensured despite the great disasters. The natural disasters of the past two years have been varied [in nature]. Some areas have been hit by droughts, some by flooding, others by hurricanes, and yet others by waves of destructive insects. These disasters created serious difficulties and only five areas escaped with less suffering. Those areas that achieved good harvests are far and mainly in border regions, hence, we had difficulties in transporting their produce into the damaged areas. In the northern area of China where the farmed area is large and the population density is high, such as in the provinces of Shandong, Liaoning, Shanxi,

Hebei, etc., they have had great droughts and other disasters, while in southwestern China, such as in Hunan province and others, last year the disasters have been even more serious.

As a result of the facts I mentioned above, the agricultural production of the past year has been much lower than that of 1959. In a previous meeting we have had, I remember saying to you that for the year 1960 we expected to equal the harvests of 1957, but the opposite happened. Due to the reasons I mentioned before, the production of 1960 was only 60% of the amount forecasted by that year's planning. This figure concerns grain production. The second matter is cotton production. This area is of great importance too, because grains and cotton are the bread and cloth of our people. This area suffered great disaster too in the past year. In the fields of Hunan, Anhui, and others, known as cotton producing areas, production has been far lower than our forecast. While in 1958 we harvested 2 million tons of cotton, last year we only reached 1 million tons, or only half. The same situation exists in the areas known for cultivating mainly tobacco. These are limited areas as a result of feudalism and colonialism, which developed this plant only in limited areas, such as Shandong, Anhui, Guizhou, etc. The same situation has befallen meat production. As a result of the decrease in fodder production, the numbers of livestock fell considerably, especially the number of horses used as work-force in rural areas. The slim harvests of the fall, in particular, caused great difficulties and negatively influenced the development of the light industry and partly the development of the heavy industry since it is also partly dependent on agricultural production. Nonetheless, as you well know, due to the Great Leap of development jumpstarted by 1958, the planning for industrial production has been achieved and it has even been exceeded in the [area of] heavy industry.

If we would not have had the disasters mentioned above, our five-year plan would have been surpassed in all areas. As you well know, our motorized capacity in agriculture is smaller compared to the other socialist countries. We are undertaking rapid measures to increase our agricultural motorized capacity based on the Great Industrial Leap, though we still need a few years to fully achieve this. Our party and government have explained the situation caused by these disasters to the people and the people have mobilized with faith in their strength to overcome these difficulties, because they know that their economic standards during the years of liberation have been steadily increasing. We are confident that we will overcome all obstacles.

In order to have a good harvest this year, our party and government have undertaken numerous measures in order to achieve a satisfactory summer harvest during the first half of the year and fall harvests at the same levels. This year some areas have seen rains and snows and we expect better weather later. Nonetheless, we expect new difficulties and new droughts in some other areas. The question that arises is: What shall we do if we face new natural disasters this year? Thanks to the mobi-

lization of popular masses we are taking all measures needed to overcome the difficulties. This is the third year of great difficulties in agriculture and during the last two years we gained considerable experience in our struggle against natural disasters. Hence, this year, thanks to the three red banners, we are better prepared. This year we have built big and small reservoirs, are opening many wells, are cleaning canals, are increasing agricultural mechanization and are improving our transport infrastructure. Despite all this, even if we still do not achieve good harvests this year, we are well-prepared to face all difficulties.

I will now go to another political matter. You know that our 9th Plenum communique points out that the number of those opposed to our party's line is quite small. This is the active number, but there are many more that only wait and see. Only 11 years have passed since our country's liberation, but two thousand years of feudalism, colonialism, etc. have influenced the people's conscience, both in the rural and urban areas. As a result, 40 million people in rural areas and 10 million in urban areas make up the numbers of those I mentioned above. Our party has always undertaken measures for their re-education and the results have been very positive. A good number of them have a desire to be re-educated. In the future our party will continue to undertake such measures. It should be said that such elements with such views exist also within our party, but, naturally, their numbers are very limited. The class enemy elements are happy with our temporary difficulties and rise up and act. The same goes for the reactionary elements abroad and imperialists who have been energized in their work against us, sending their elements into our country. They have even sent different agents to work with the communists and the youth, but we have eliminated them. This is the reason that our party forcibly stresses the issue of strengthening our vigilance, and this has also been mentioned in our 9th Plenum's communique. As always, our party is working at full strength to enlighten our masses so that they may understand the situation and overcome the difficulties. This has helped us immensely.

We made plans with the socialist countries expecting good harvests for 1959 and especially for the second half of 1960. For example, in the first half of the past year our side fulfilled satisfactorily its obligations, while for the reasons explained above those obligations remained unfulfilled, especially for grains, oil, canned foods, fruit, etc. As a result of the situation, the size of our export deficit with the Soviet Union is up to 1.5 billion old rubles. The same is happening with other fraternal countries. As it is apparent, the export to the Soviet Union and other fraternal countries of Eastern Europe of agricultural commodities will be decreasing this year and not only are we unable to make up last year's deficits, but this year's export plan will have to be reduced. Our delegation to Moscow has discussed this fact, and I have also mentioned this to the Soviet trade delegation that visited here. So, as a result of the situation our imports from fraternal countries will not be what we have asked for. Hence, the great natural disasters that befell us have

made things more difficult for other fraternal countries as well, by decreasing our exports to these countries and our imports from them. But we are fraternal countries and know and understand each other's difficulties. Limiting our exports, especially on food items, to the Soviet Union, Bulgaria, Romania, Poland, Hungary, Czechoslovakia and Germany would be of immense help to us to overcome our difficulties. Despite these great difficulties we have not asked the fraternal countries for grains. Trade talks continue on these matters in Moscow between us and the Soviet Union, while with Bulgaria a trade agreement was signed, though it is about half as large as before. Once more, Comrades, I would like to reiterate that this is enormously helpful for us to remedy our internal situation. For this we thank our fraternal countries not only in our name, but also in the name of our party and our people. Last year agriculture was not favorable in other countries too, such as in the Soviet Union, but the People's Republic of Albania has had particularly great difficulties. Still, the Soviet Union has helped other countries too. In relation to the matters I discussed above, we are trying to remedy the situation and have taken measures to import grains. For example, we have signed agreements with Canada and Australia to import 2.6 million tons of grains for our internal needs. We have also signed an agreement with Burma for a half million tons of rice and others with other countries for different items, though those are not for our internal needs. We are trying to ensure even more grain sources and for this we are continuing talks with capitalist countries. But to procure the grains we need foreign currency, and we will export our products in order to support grain imports. In the past ten years we have never imported grains, on the contrary, we have exported. We will try to make sure, if we can, that we import 4-5 million tons of grain. This allows us to only fulfill our needs for two weeks or a bit more—it is only 5-6 kg per person—but we do not rely on imports to overcome our difficulties. We rely on our internal strength.

I want to reiterate that the capitalist countries try to exploit our temporary difficulties at every chance and spread all kinds of gossip as if we are not steadfast, are not strong, etc. so as to decrease our country's influence in the eyes of the world. They are also trying to impede the purchase of the grain and its delivery here. But we know this very well and all the difficulties will be overcome and we cannot accept their "help." If they get in the way of the deliveries of grain here, I declare to you that this is not dangerous for us. Spring is coming and in our southern and other areas we will replace food items with surrogates. Hence we are calm and resolute in facing every difficulty. In front of the unity of our camp the imperialists will fail. They try to exploit our temporary difficulties, while their own difficulties are insurmountable; the unity between our countries gets stronger everyday and the anti-imperialist and the anti-colonialist struggle in Latin America, Africa, etc. gets tougher.

Please notify the governments and parties of your countries about all I have said. We have difficulties, but we will over-



come them. We inform you of the situation so that the parties and governments of our fraternal countries know the difficulties with our exports during the past year and this one. The outlook for our agriculture's future is bright and our economy will also get stronger in all areas, as will the cooperation and unity between our fraternal countries. Hence, the temporary difficulties that have befallen us should not give rise to misunderstandings. Otherwise, the faith in our structure may be lost.

(This is what Comrade Zhou Enlai said and then he asked us whether there were any questions on the issues he discussed. At this moment, the Bulgarian ambassador, Panchevski, rose and said, "We thank Comrade Zhou Enlai, the Chinese party and government very much not only for informing us in detail on their internal situation, but also for the measures they have undertaken to overcome these difficulties. We are mindful and understand your difficulties and have full trust that you will successfully overcome them."

Beijing, 9 March 1961

Halil Zeneli



## DOCUMENT No. 6

### Memorandum of Conversation, Comrade Abdyl Kellezi with Comrade Zhou Enlai, 20 April 1961

[Source: Central State Archive, Tirana, AQPPSH-MPKK-V. 1961, L. 13, D. 6. Obtained for CWIHP by Ana Lalaj and translated for CWIHP by Enkel Daljani.]

At the meeting there were also present: from our side, Comrade Mihal Prifti, from the Chinese side the comrades Deng Xiaoping, Luo Ruiqing, Vice Premier of the State Council and Chief of Staff, and Wu Xiuquan, Deputy Director of the CCP CC International Department. In the lunch that was given after the talks there was also Comrade Tan Zhenlin, member of the Political Bureau of the CCP CC and dealing with agriculture issues, as well as Comrade Li Xiannian.

Comrade Zhou Enlai: We took a look at the minutes of the meeting between Comrade Mehmet Shehu and Comrade Luo Shigao that they had after the meeting of the Warsaw Pact's Political Consultative Committee that was held in Moscow. In addition, we have also seen the minutes of your meeting with Comrade Li Xiannian. Comrade Mao Zedong and Comrade Liu Shaoqi are not here and we still do not know when they will be back, and that is why we requested this meeting. Today we have a party meeting to attend, too.

Comrade Abdyl Kellezi: (Took the floor and expressed thanks for the great help that was given to us.)

Comrade Zhou Enlai: There is no reason to thank us. In brief, I can tell you that since the Moscow Conference (he was referring to the conference of [November] 1960) the relations between our two parties and our two countries have been strengthened even further, because we have often exchanged thoughts, and because, as you also mentioned, what we have to say we say it to each other. These past few days we also received the report by Comrade Liu Xiao on the meeting of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Pact and are of the opinion that the positions, letters and the discussions of the CPSU and of the Soviet government, and especially of Khrushchev, are incorrect. They are in contradiction to the principles of last year's Moscow meeting, accepted by all the parties. Particularly incorrect was the decision over the naval base which was accepted by a forced majority. They, as Comrade Abdyl Kellezi mentioned, entered into the inter-governmental jurisdiction. It is a well known fact that all this is in contradiction to the Marxist-Leninist principles. As far as your side is concerned, in our opinion the behavior of Comrade Beqir Balluku was correct. As to the relations between Albania and the Soviet Union since the Moscow Conference and until the Warsaw Pact meeting, whenever we have had the chance, we have suggested to the Soviet comrades that these relations should be improved. We think that the larger responsibility falls to the CPSU because it is a big country, and these relations have deteriorated because of them.

During the days that the Moscow meeting was being held, comrades Deng Xiaoping and Peng Zhen spoke to many Soviet comrades about this. This was reiterated once more by Comrade Li Xiannian when he passed through Moscow on his way to your congress. And lately, during the latest meeting in Moscow, Comrade Liu Xiao (ambassador of the PRC to Moscow), whenever he has had the chance, has again spoken to the comrades of the CPSU CC.

During the proceedings of this latest meeting, since we are only observers, we did not read any speeches. We took the position of not reading any speeches. This was as a silent protest against the blackmail and the unreasonable attacks that Khrushchev waged against Albania. In fact there were also some other observers, such as those from Korea and Vietnam, who took the same position of silence, approving the Albanian position. We did not applaud Khrushchev. If we are given the chance again, we would continue to keep this attitude toward them. We are convinced that the leadership of the ALP CC and the PRA government have taken the correct position and the CCP and the PRC government stand on your side.

As you also say, we support and stand on the side of those that follow the principles of Marxism-Leninism. Since the CPSU CC proceeded incorrectly and unfairly toward you, we are against them. I believe you know well the situation of our relations with them. Starting from the year 1958, in fact since 1957, we have entered into polemics with them. And especially

during the period of 1959-1960 we have exchanged very bitter polemics. The polemics reached its climax at the beginning of the second half of last year.

If we should speak of thanks, it should be us thanking you, because you took a brave stance at the [June 1960] Bucharest meeting and it was you defending us, a task that was not easy. We have a greater capacity of helping you, than you do us because we are a larger party and you are a smaller one, are situated in Europe, and are a member of the Warsaw Pact. From today onwards we will continue to exchange our points of view because we are Marxists. It should be noted that our opinions are sometimes incorrect, and that is why we need to exchange opinions. As Comrade Mao Zedong says, we must stay with the truth and correct our mistakes. This would be the most correct position to take, to look at our mistakes and to correct them. Not only are some of the leaders of the CPSU not on the side of truth and do not correct their mistakes, but they do not even accept them. This is not according to the Marxist-Leninist principles. This must be dealt with seriously.

Now let us talk about the economic assistance.

[Discussion of economic issues omitted; full text available at [www.cwihp.org](http://www.cwihp.org).]

[Zhou Enlai:] We are of the opinion that the Moscow Conference of the 81 Parties was a great success and it has developed even further the spirit of the 1957 Conference. Of course, this has happened as a result of our work of keeping with the principles of Marxism-Leninism, as a result of the efforts of the CCP and the ALP and of many other parties. But we cannot say this without including [sic] the CPSU and some other parties because they have revisionist points of view, but when faced with the truth they cannot accept this reality. During these past four years we have been able to finish two very important documents: The Declaration of 1957 and that of 1960. These are a common program for the international communist and workers' movement; they are our banner and weapon in our war; these weapons help us in the war against imperialism and against the modern revisionism in the defense of Marxism-Leninism and in the construction of socialism, and that is why we need to value deeply, and carry and raise high this banner. Whenever someone drops this banner and distances himself from the Moscow Declaration, he allows us to criticize him. When this weapon is held by our hand, then the errors will not be able to raise their heads, because we will raise this weapon high and they will lower their heads. It is precisely because we have this weapon that we are strong and on the side of rightness. The events taking place attest to this. The development of the events in our times proves our thoughts on the Declaration and not that of Khrushchev, who claims that we live in a time where we do not need weapons, wars and militaries.

And this time, at the Moscow meeting, Khrushchev did

not mention this anymore. On the contrary, he pointed out that importance must be placed on the navy, aviation, nuclear submarines. He spoke about the strengthening of the defensive force of the Warsaw Pact, etc.

Comrade Abdyl Kellezi: But he also wants to close the naval base in our country.

Comrade Zhou Enlai: Everyone is laughing about it and is saying that they think he will not close it. And what do the new events in Cuba tell us? They show that there is no difference between Kennedy and Eisenhower. If there can be any discussion about any differences between the two, then the difference is this: When Eisenhower came to power, he ended the war in Korea; but when Kennedy came to power, he started the war in Cuba. The war in Korea was started by Kennedy's party and was ended by that of Eisenhower. Kennedy is developing military preparedness even further. And if there is another difference, it is this: Eisenhower and Dulles openly followed the policy of "open war," while Kennedy on the surface appears as a person of peace but in reality has increased armaments. Not three months had passed before he showed his true face. Comrade Mao Zedong has said, "sometimes the criticism of the comrades and even of the masses do not have an effect on a comrade, but the acts of the enemy will have an effect if the comrade is still a revolutionary and a Marxist." According to our opinion, the leadership of the CPSU and Khrushchev may not have any differences in their ideology and their working style, but we cannot say that they will not be influenced by all of this movement of the masses and the people if they are Marxists. And that is why in this case he could not pass on sending a letter to Kennedy and making the declaration (on the events in Cuba). On this he did a good job and we support him. I believe that you also agree.

Comrade Abdyl Kellezi: We do.

Comrade Zhou Enlai: It seems to us that the situation in Cuba will develop even further. In this situation Kennedy shows his true face, and the entire world is learning that America has organized and manages this war against Cuba. As far as we know, the revolutionary Cuban government is prepared, and it may even be able to cope with this situation on its own, but since this is a war cooked up by America itself, it will not back down easily. If all the countries rise up and give America a strong punch, then it may back down. As I said, the war on Korea was initiated by Kennedy's party and continued for three years until Eisenhower's party ended it. When one party cannot continue a war, then the other party comes in and ends it. We like a Khrushchev expression from his letter that says approximately, "do not think that it is possible to speak with one country about the establishment of peace and in another to ignite the world on fire."

Kennedy's circles have understood this and say that they

are willing to cooperate in Laos for the reestablishment of peace and that they are willing to carry out the UN resolutions in Congo for the normalization of the situation.

I had a meeting on this issue with the Soviet embassy's chargé d'affaires, because the ambassador is not here. I told him that we must look at the possibility of starting up another situation in another country as well. They are making the situation difficult in Cuba, so we go ahead and start another in a place more suitable for us. We speak up and condemn them in the UN. This should also be happening elsewhere, outside the UN.

He told me that the Cuban government has told the Soviet ambassador that the landing was done with American ships and planes. They must have been using an aircraft carrier, because the planes went and returned within 20 minutes. We can document this because we know how far Cuban land is from the territory of other countries, like Guatemala, etc.

But the war might continue for a long time, and that is why we need to be prepared. Of course, both you and we are far away from Cuba and cannot help her, but we could help her through the Soviet Union, because the Soviet Union has ships and other equipment. It is our opinion that at the last meeting in Moscow the issue of the Soviet Union not helping the other socialist countries so that they may also develop militarily was also left unresolved. The Americans have helped the others, not to mention here France and England. They are also helping Japan, have helped Canada, and Canada is helping India to develop atomic and nuclear weapons. We think that the Soviet Union should help the other countries so that they may also have atomic weapons, nuclear submarines, etc. When Comrade Deng Xiaoping was in Moscow, he said that if all the socialist countries had nuclear weapons, peace would be even more guaranteed. And this is a very simple thing. Why does Khrushchev not accept this? He wants the monopoly of nuclear weapons. Well, it does not matter; we will work on our own.

[*Editor's Note:* The notes change into third person from this point on] He [Zhou Enlai] spoke about the situation in Laos and said that [Laotian Prime Minister Prince] Souvanna Phouma cancelled his trip to the USA because of the attack on Cuba. He presents his character as a wavering individual, but said that we must still keep contacts with him because there are progressive elements in his government that cooperate with the Pathet Lao. Then he said that the situation in Laos is developing to the favor of the partisan forces. Then he said, "We can influence the situation not only in Cuba, but also in Laos. In the world there exist and are being fought local wars, but a world war does not come from this."

He noted that he had had a meeting with the Mongolian ambassador who had just come to Beijing, and he had said that the situation in Congo has now been stabilized, despite the fact that the country is isolated. Nonetheless, the situation there

looks good.

[*Editor's Note:* The notes switch back to first person.] About the situation, I think that in diplomacy we can use strategic words but we must also prepare for war in practice.

We are Marxist-Leninists and we see that the course of events confirms our forecasts. This will also convince the others, and that is why we must keep high the Moscow Declaration.

The leader comrades of our party and government, relying on the lessons of Comrade Mao Zedong, started off in unity and through the necessary war [sic] we want to arrive at a new unity. We have come up with our own method through the war experience of our party. You know well that we have also had enemies and have fought against various currents within our party. From this long struggle within our party we have gained our own experience, according to which:

- 1) In the struggle against the enemy we do not speak first but second. We do not raise the issues but allow the adversary to do so, because through this he uncovers himself. After this we answer our adversary. This tool is more powerful. We defend the truth, and by defending it the masses and the others that do not see clearly, little by little are enlightened and come to our side.
- 2) We keep high the banner of unity. Often the opposite side does not keep this banner high, such as in Bucharest against us and now in Moscow against you. They do not keep the banner of unity high and through their stance wanted to expel us from the camp and make us kneel. But we understand their intentions and in Bucharest we fought our own war and presented our own points of view. For example, we signed the Bucharest Declaration, but we also distributed our own declaration.

At the Moscow meeting of November 1960, they conceded and we did the same and, finally, the Declaration was signed. Comrade Mao Zedong tells us to keep high the banner of unity. The intention is to bring the masses of the party and the people to our side, because when we have them on our side, it is more difficult for the enemy.

- 3) Confronted with the issues we must keep a correct stance. We say that we must speak openly and carefully. Sometimes we take this course: You speak and yell loudly, and I say nothing. This is a silent protest. For example, Comrade Beqir Balluku, when he spoke, said to Khrushchev, "Will you let me continue, or not?" This was a good protest.

- 4) We must deal with restraint both in the war against the enemy and in the internal struggle between the parties. We do not say our entire piece to the end, because the situation cannot develop in only one manner. There can be two, three, or four ways it can develop. For example, Khrushchev says his final word first, but the situation does not develop as he thinks, and so he has to pull back and change course.

Comrade Deng Xiaoping: Such is his position when dealing with the naval base [at Vlora]. He deals without restraint. He said that he would liquidate the base, but this must not be done. Under these conditions the decision that was taken has no value. We must deal with restraint. As far as the base goes, we must require that the existing agreement is honored. This base lies in Albania, and that is why Albania should have command of it. For example, Albania says that we must improve relations and the base must be strengthened. This is fair.

Comrade Abdyl Kellezi: He says that he will remove the base, but we say no.

Both of them: They are saying that they think it will not be removed, because it should be kept.

Comrade Zhou Enlai: Of course, the enemies realize that there are differences between China and the Soviet Union and between Albania and the Soviet Union, but they do not know what these differences actually are. That is why we need to analyze these issues step by step and with restraint. For example, Khrushchev always goes into battle personally, but we do not follow this course. We sent comrade Peng Zhen to Bucharest and we sent Comrade Deng Xiaoping to Moscow. We hold back the other comrades. We keep Comrade Mao Zedong and Comrade Deng Xiaoping in reserve for later.

Comrade Liu Shaoqi, when he went to Moscow, told Khrushchev, "Why do you continually go personally to other countries? Let the other comrades go and prepare the situation and then you can go." We saw then that many Soviet comrades liked this idea of ours, but in Moscow it was Khrushchev again who came out. That is why we say that Khrushchev's method of thinking and his style of work are difficult to change. Nonetheless, we do not say that his politics will not change, because the development of the situation and the pressure from the people and the party will have an influence on him.

We think there are a few possibilities here:

- 1) You should continue your struggle with determination. We will help you in this struggle and you, through your struggle, will influence the other parties. But, nonetheless, a bad outcome may not be avoided.

Comrade Deng Xiaoping: This would not be a very big or a

difficult outcome. Should it happen, we will help you with all our strength.

His words were approved by Comrade Zhou Enlai, who then continued: We will show the enemy, his party and the other sister parties his mistakes and weaknesses and force him to answer for those mistakes.

We will try and change him and will not make concessions on these points of view. We think that whenever we have the chance, we will speak again with the Soviet comrades to see if relations with you can be improved. As far as the military assistance, we think that we should wait a little longer until he [Khrushchev] answers you with a letter. After this, we will say that we will temporarily help Albania. You will also talk about this with Comrade Mao Zedong.

If the other socialist countries really do not help you, we think that we should make some adjustments to the proportion of assistance you receive. We think that the field of agriculture should be the primary concern of these adjustments. And when we do this (meaning the socialist reconstruction of the country), we should take into account all the variables, such as the work force, the raw materials, etc., etc.

Comrade Deng Xiaoping: Comrade Zhou Enlai mentioned all the issues and these are the opinions of every one of us. They are the opinions of the Central Committee of our party. I would only like to mention two issues.

- 1) One is the problem of the internal relations within the socialist camp. As you well know, Bucharest was a struggle against us. You found yourselves in the flames of the fire, drew the fire of the battle upon yourselves, and that was a good move. You showed bravery. Marx was also the brave type. All of the Marxists are the same. They are not afraid of prison, or of internment, and not even afraid of death. They follow this road out of their own free will. Then, at the Moscow Conference, both our parties were in the line of fire. After the Moscow Conference, their fire was directed back against you. It seems like the fire against us is a little bit softer, maybe because we are a larger party. But, in fact, they direct their fire not only against you and not only against us both. It seems like this issue is here to stay for a long time. As I speak, I may also repeat things a few times. During the Moscow Conference I did not have the chance to meet comrade [Albanian Party of Labour (ALP) First Secretary] Enver Hoxha and had a lot of meetings and talks with Comrade Hysni Kapo. The same with Comrade Liu Shaoqi, most of whose meeting were also with Comrade Hysni Kapo. The opinion that this is an issue that will take a long time is a common opinion of both our parties. But we are on the side of justice. Justice is with us, and this is essential. But even formally we should always be just. We should owe nothing. In fact, they owe us, but this struggle will be



long, and that is why we should operate in such a way that both formally and in actuality justice should be on our side and they should owe us. Let us look at the naval base, for example. You are on the side of justice. You should request that the relevant agreement be respected. You should keep repeating this and say nothing else, until you find out what he has to say. We think that the method that Comrade Beqir Balluku used was very correct. If you get mad, then why shouldn't I? If you curse, then why shouldn't I? This makes them think.

It seems that this struggle will be a long one, which is why detailed and careful work is required here. I am convinced that we have common points of view and that there are no misunderstandings between us. We immediately understand all your materials. For example, the case of the five girls we understood immediately, because we also had our own experience with this issue. During the Moscow Conference, Comrade Hysni Kapo gave me a list and told me...[illegible]

We are convinced that your opinions are correct and we cannot fathom how small Albania could be the perpetrator against the big Soviet Union.

We recognize the truth at first sight. The issue is how to organize our work. We used to have a good coordination with Moscow. Of course, they have attacked you unfairly during the last meeting and the way you retorted was good. We did not speak. We will look to find out the right time to speak.

We have mentioned this issue many times in the coordination commission and Comrade Liu Shaoqi has spoken officially to Gomulka. We told them that they should not act in such a way toward Albania and that Albania is right in this case. In his greetings, Comrade Liu Shaoqi spoke about twelve socialist countries. He said that from Albania to Vietnam and from Germany to Korea there should be complete unity, and whoever destroys this unity shall be committing a historic crime. We will always repeat this position.

This time we only sent our ambassador to the meeting of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Pact, while to other meetings we have sent a delegation. They understand our position. We had instructed our ambassador that if the meeting's proceedings were in order, he could read a greeting, but if there would be anything spoken against Albania, he should be silent. Sometimes, when you do not hold a speech, it weighs more than if you say something. This does not mean that we did not take a position in Moscow. They owe you and the entire communist movement. We will be speaking out, but when or how we are going to do this, is an issue that we must look over carefully. For example, he [Khrushchev] has not decided to remove the base, and even if he does so, [we have] to prevent him from doing so. But we will try so that he does not. This is in your favor and that of the entire socialist camp. That is

why we will carefully study the issue of when we will speak out about this. We will also weigh its effect. It may be that the events in Cuba have some sort of benefit for you. Of course, should they not back down, there should be a retreat position. This is our opinion for the moment. Of course, when we speak out and what we will say will be discussed with you first. For the moment, we are being silent. But, of course, on such an issue, one cannot stay silent forever.

- 2) The second issue has to do with the matter of economic assistance. Should they decide not to help you, it will be our duty to do so, because you have given a great assistance to the world communist movement. This is what we say: We will help you with all the capacity we have. If there are some things which, right now or in the near future, we cannot help you with, we will tell you so. These are issues which have to do with the development and technological stage in which we find ourselves. These are issues which we should solve in stages. There are some objects which we are not able to build right away.

We think that in the field of economic cooperation you should operate in such away that for the next 100 years the responsibility falls on them. Whatever you can solve, solve it with them, keeping justice always on your side. The rest we can look at together. But in your conditions, the way to solve these issues (the construction of socialism) is a big deal. We also raised these issues with the Cuban comrades when the general secretary of the party was here and we exchanged opinions with them. Comrade Mao Zedong said, "first of all, you should keep and strengthen the people's police force. Second, you should change their one-sided economy and develop the agriculture." Now in the development of their economy they are keeping this in mind. Instead of planting only sugar cane, they will also develop the production of rice and other cultures. Now they have a 300,000 [men] strong people's police force, which serves as a guarantee for them. Can the [Soviet] missiles [stationed in Cuba] really be used? This is not an easy thing, because a world war could be ignited, while local wars have always existed and will continue to exist. Today, a people's police force is more important than a regular military. It is possible that the enemy can occupy all the main cities, but the war will be continued in the rear by the people's police force.

Of course, such advice is not for Albania's conditions, because all the people are behind you. For you important is the issue of reconstruction and this should be the basis of your work.

Your agriculture has a relatively high potential, and this is an important issue. The development of industry should have at its base the development of agriculture. First we should fill our bellies and then comes the rest. As for the other issues, you can see to them yourselves, because you

have enough experience. In general, though, developed industry with underdeveloped agriculture becomes a hindrance. For example, every year we supply the province of [Manchuria] with 1.6 billion tons of grains. There are also examples of other provinces where work in various industrial projects has been suspended. We now have to slow down the building of industry to develop our agriculture. In the next three years we will not see a visible development of our industry. We will mainly place the most importance on the development of agriculture.

When you go back to Albania, please tell Comrade Enver Hoxha that we will help you with all our strength, with all we have, but we will not be able to fulfill all of your needs.

(As Comrade Zhou Enlai and Comrade Deng Xiaoping finished their speeches, Comrade Abdyl Kellezi asked for permission to speak and spoke as follows.)

Comrade Abdyl Kellezi: Comrade Zhou Enlai and Comrade Deng Xiaoping presented their opinion that we have common points of view and have no disagreements. We are convinced of this because we found each other on the same page in Bucharest without any previous planning. We found ourselves holding the same positions in defense of Marxism–Leninism. The Central Committee of our party is completely convinced that we have common points of view when it comes to the defense of Marxism–Leninism, because both you and we are on a just course, because between us there have not been and there are no disagreements.

We were not caught unprepared in the meeting of the Consultative Committee because our leadership had foreseen that there might be some kind of attack against us there, which actually happened. You had also foreseen that there might be an attack against Albania. Nikita Khrushchev, backed by the rest of them, elevated the issue of ideological disagreements to the level of inter-state relations.

We did not start the fight at the meeting of the Consultative Commission. The speech by Comrade Beqir Balluku was correct and principled; it had been approved by the leadership of our party. Our speech relied on the Moscow Declaration after the Conference of the 81 Communist and Workers' Parties of 1960, in which, the need for the strengthening of the militaries of the countries of the Warsaw Pact and the dangers that American imperialism presented were mentioned; the activities of the imperialists, Kennedy, and of the Belgrade revisionists were unmasked publicly; the need for the strengthening of our military was stressed, etc. In other words, that speech was correct and principled.

Nikita Khrushchev, on the other hand, and the rest of them attacked Albania and, as you well know, presented shameful declarations and arguments against our country and our party.

The fabrications and the slander on the issue of the naval base are ignoble. Nothing has happened at the base which has been done purposefully by us. (Comrade Deng Xiaoping interrupted here and said that they had heard about the case of the five Soviet women that had been stopped by the police and that the Soviets had used such methods against them too.) The reason for their attack is not this event, but what happened in Bucharest, and we said this openly at the meeting. It is a fact that since Bucharest they have started to sabotage the readiness of the base and of the military; they have not completed supply deliveries of any goods and we have raised this issue with them time after time. They requested that either only Soviet personnel be stationed at the base, or else it be removed. We explained that the base was constructed at the initiative of the ALP CC and in agreement with the CPSU CC and that there is a signed agreement on this between us and the Soviet government. We told them that we would never agree to remove the Albanian personnel from the base, and that if they wanted, they could remove the base, but I also said that it would be a violation of the signed agreements and that they would be held responsible to their [own] people, to the world communist movement, and to history. The removal of the base damages Albania, the Soviet Union and our entire socialist camp, but we defend and will continue to defend our country in every situation. We told them that if they would remove the base, we would help them and would not hinder their work, but that we think that the base should be strengthened instead. They also delivered a letter to us, but our delegation did not answer them on the spot. It was a letter by [Warsaw Pact Supreme Commander Andrei A.] Grechko and we only answered it after they asked us for an answer. In other words, it was not us who started the fight. It was they who started it, and we answered as we should have. It was they who trampled on the Moscow Declaration of the 81 Parties.

Khrushchev said that the Albanians are trying to overthrow him and other things. This is absurd and anti-Marxist, but he thinks of himself as someone who has taken under his wing and defends the enemies of the ALP. How is it possible that the ALP could seek to overthrow the secretary of another party? It is not our business. Who is and who remains the secretary of a party or another is only the business of the communists who are members of that party. But we do say openly to Khrushchev that he should have nothing to do with the traitors of our own party. He should not interfere with the internal business of our party, because we do not allow anyone to do this. So, we did not initiate an attack. Khrushchev did, and we gave him the counterpunch. In this situation Khrushchev is the one who is trampling on the Moscow Declaration. Our party has fought and will continue to fight for the execution of the Moscow Declaration and we are convinced that both our parties will always be the ones to hold high consistently that banner, and they will be left to hold the other banner, the banner of opportunism and revisionism.

They came to our Fourth Congress and trampled on the Moscow Declaration. We, on the contrary, continued with the congress's proceedings in the spirit of the Moscow Declaration, on which you have been briefed by Comrade Li Xiannian. They tried to find some crack in our work, but were disillusioned, because our party showed itself to be monolithic. It was said here that this struggle will be long because this is an ideological struggle. We agree that it will be a long one, that patience is needed, and that we will prevail. We are presenting to you our opinions ... [illegible] ... it says that our position is correct. For example, Cuba, Laos, Congo, etc. show that justice is on our side. They do not want to change, and the reason is that this issue is not simple. It is an ideologically anti-Marxist point of view. He says we have the missiles, we tell him that it is not only the missiles that matter. The people must be armed, they must be vigilant, the military must be strengthened, and imperialism must be unmasked. Then he says that we must remove the base from Albania. In the meeting of the Warsaw Pact the danger was not American imperialism, it was Albania and its naval base. Thus, here we see two opposing theories, two ideologies. Patience is necessary, and our party thinks so too. As our people say, "The tree cannot be felled in one strike."

The comrades here said that you did not speak at the meeting in Moscow, just like the others that were there as observers did not speak either. But you are on our side and you support our stance. We know that your ambassador had instructions not to speak and that he spoke outside the meeting. We know that you will speak up when you think it necessary and will not stay silent forever. We believe what you say. You know it better when, what and at what level you will speak up. We are confident that when you deem it necessary, you will speak up and this you know better. We are confident that we have common points of view in our just and principled struggle.

Comrade Zhou Enlai spoke on the need for the stocking up of reserves and for the preparation of people for good days and for bad days. We are realists. We understand that we may also face difficult days ahead, but we are not afraid of them. We have, as always, prepared the people and will continue to do so, with the slogan, "In one hand the pickaxe, the other the rifle." As far as the reserves in grain, fuel and other materials are concerned, the Central Committee has kept them in mind, but the conditions have not been favorable and we have not had any surplus in those materials to build up any reserves. We are taking serious measures. Thus, for example, the members of the Central Committee and the government have gone in teams in plant after plant around the country in order to economize the material and financial funds and in a short time we will devise a plan on the strengthening of the regimen of frugality, which will help in the creation of our reserves[...]

[...] but they will fail in this and in it the great assistance that you gave us played a very important role. There are also nuances, for example, the Hungarians did not make it difficult

for us. The Czechs, merchants that they are, might not break the agreements with us, because they would rather trade the goods, especially the iron and the copper they get from us. We agree to trade with them. But there is one thing that is clear; they are trying to sabotage our five-year plan.

As to the matter of military assistance, I have also told Comrade Li Xiannian that since the Bucharest events they have not sent any more supplies and are not even thinking of sending them. They also want to destroy the base. Once again, on this issue, they showed themselves to be in opposition to the Moscow Declaration and with the signed agreements. After the Moscow meeting (of the Warsaw Pact), our representative requested from the Soviet side that they decide on the materials and equipments that should be sent to Albania for the military. The Soviet representative asked him whether the answer that Khrushchev and Grechko gave us was not enough for us. In other words, they are not going to send any supplies for the military.

This was also indicated by the work of the commission that made the decision of how the munitions would be produced and the difference between its decision and the list of the equipment that we asked to receive from the Soviet Union. They asked that the supplies be bought 50% through clearing and 50% through a loan plus annual interest. We opposed this and it was removed from the protocol. Chinese comrades, we do not ask for the fulfillment of the list. We only ask for the munitions from it.

(Then it was agreed that the competent comrades set off for Albania to deal with this issue, because the Chinese comrades are willing to help us and the defense minister will be the point person on their side. Comrade Abdyl Kellezi thanked them once more for their readiness to assist us and emphasized once again that what we were asking for is needed to create what Comrade Zhou Enlai advised about, the creation of necessary reserves for bad days. Comrade Abdyl Kellezi told them that our entire party and our entire people would fight for the defense of our fatherland, for the defense of their revolutionary victories, for the defense of Marxism–Leninism. He assured them once more that all what was said he will faithfully transmit to Comrade Enver Hoxha.

Comrade Zhou Enlai said that the next day there would be a great rally for Cuba where there would be 100,000 people attending, and hundreds of thousands more would be listening from public squares. He invited us to attend this rally and Comrade Abdyl Kellezi gleefully accepted the invitation.)

Comrade Abdyl Kellezi: Comrades, you said that there is no reason for us to thank you. You have to forgive me but we thanked you because we, first of all, have to fulfill the instructions that Comrade Enver Hoxha gave us. Furthermore, this is something that we deeply feel in our hearts and we cannot

keep it inside. You are helping us in an unprecedented manner, as true brothers. We come here to you and we ask that you forgive us for continually bothering you and making so many requests. We are saying this like communist friends and brothers and you should do the same and tell us openly what your capabilities are and where you can help us. We will never forget this internationalist assistance. Just like you understand us when we come and openly seek your assistance, we also understand you when you say to us that this is something you have, or something you do not have but which you will try to maybe give to us a bit later. We understand that sometimes it is difficult for you to say no to us, but we also understand that you are doing what you can and more, because you are taking from your own table to give to us. This is an internationalist behavior. We are also very confident that when you tell us that a certain factory, for example, shall be delivered to us on that date, which may not be very suitable for us, your apparatus, following your orders, will work hard to deliver it before the deadline.

(Comrade Zhou Enlai intervenes here and said that there may also be technical difficulties or some materials, like steel for example, due to shipping problems may be delivered after the deadline. Comrade Abdyl Kellezi added that such things may happen in life, but that we understand each other and that what is important is that our unified forces will be put to use to execute the tasks that await us. He also added that we have no doubt about this. Comrade Zhou Enlai said that it may happen that they could give us something which may not be completely perfect and may have some problems. He said that if that happens they would plead with us to send it back. Comrade Abdyl Kellezi added that we will solve everything like communists and that... [illegible].

After the conversation lunch was served during which a warm conversation ensued, various toasts were made to the friendship, to both our parties, to both our leaders, Comrade Enver Hoxha and Comrade Mao Zedong, and to the defense of Marxism–Leninism.)

Conceived by A. K. and M. P.

Typed by T. F.

Three copies were produced, two of which were handed to Comrade A. K. and the other to M. P.



## DOCUMENT No. 7

### Information Memorandum, Meeting between Albanian Ambassador to China Reis Malile and Comrade Dong Biwu, 21 July 1961

*[Source: Central State Archive, Tirana, AQPPSH-MPKK-V. 1961, D. 22. Obtained by Ana Lalaj and translated for CWIHP by Enkel Daljani.]*

No. 38 Secret

Contents: Information on the meeting with Comrade Dong Biwu

### TO THE MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS TIRANA

On 18 July, I arrived in Beijing to start my new duty. The next day I paid a visit to the vice director of protocol, Ji Pengfei, and to the deputy minister of foreign affairs, Zhen Yongquan. On 20 July, I handed the credential papers to the vice president of the PRC, Comrade Dong Biwu, a member of the [CCP CC] Politburo and one of the founders of the CCP. The usual formalities were quite simple, in fact, following the local protocol, the speeches were not even read. Their texts were exchanged before the ceremony according to protocol.

Comrade Dong Biwu received me in a very friendly manner. During the conversation, I initially conveyed to him the greetings from Comrade Enver Hoxha, Comrade Mehmet Shehu and Comrade Haxhi Lleshi, as well as the thanks from our people, our party and our government for the great help that is given us by the PRC. He thanked me for the greetings and at the same time asked me to transmit our leadership comrades his most sincere greetings. As to the matter of the thanks I transmitted, he received them almost completely silently. Then he spoke at length on the development of the PRC, on the achieved economic plans, the development of industry, agriculture, and culture, and on the difficulties that are faced at the moment in the country's economy due to the natural disasters. He said that these disasters have forced them to even make changes in their economic planning and now the primary attention has turned to agriculture. "We," he said, "for many years have been able to secure our bread in-country, but this year we imported it and will be forced to import it for a few more years in the future." He added that due to the natural disasters, they have been forced to postpone the publishing of the plan for this year, but that very soon the Assembly shall convene and the plan shall be published. Later he spoke with admiration about our party and her unwavering Marxist-Leninist stance and added that "the Albanian comrades work well."

I thanked him for the kind words that he said about our party and assured him that nothing will make it waver from



the correct course. I spoke briefly to him on the achievements in our country, and, wanting to steer the conversation toward the problems that preoccupy us, I mentioned to him that at the moment the enemies of our country have increased their attacks and that some individuals who act like communists in their behavior against us, are in fact playing the enemy's game. Comrade Dong Biwu said, "You are right. The same situation is also happening with us. What is happening to you today, has been happening to our party and country for several years now in various forms and means." After this, I informed him in brief about the anti-Marxist stance of the Soviet leadership against our party and people, listing many actual facts. "The Khrushchev attempts," I said, "to isolate our country politically, economically and militarily and to force our party to kneel have not and will not produce any results."

Comrade Dong Biwu answered that the Albanian comrades have worked and continue to work very well. He continued, "Last year, when Comrade Haxhi Lleshi and Liri Belishova were visiting here, we had talks with them and told them our points of view very openly. But when we saw the negative behavior of Liri Belishova, we did not continue our talks with them." I told Comrade Dong Biwu that the behavior of Liri Belishova was not the stance that our party takes and that for her points of view, Liri Belishova received the answer she merited from our party. Comrade Dong Biwu said that in reality, "we heard the points of view of the Albanian comrades very openly during the Bucharest meeting, where their party fought with bravery in the defense of Marxism–Leninism. We did not know what the Albanian comrades would say in the Bucharest meeting, but when they defended us, this had the effect of encouraging us even more to continue our struggle with all our might. We have not had any backstage talks with the Albanian comrades at the meeting in Bucharest. Neither did we have any secret meetings with them. This was done with the only intention of not letting Khrushchev and the others say, 'Look, the Albanians and the Chinese have reached an agreement from before on what their position would be.'"

On the issue of the removal of the Soviet military naval base from Vlora, Comrade Dong Biwu said that, "When the Soviet Union notified us that they were going to close the military base, comrades Zhou Enlai and Deng Xiaoping told the Soviet ambassador here that the Chinese government and Communist Party were not at all in agreement with such a decision and that this measure would only succeed in making the enemies of socialism happy." "This issue," said Comrade Dong Biwu, "we also brought forth in the meeting of the Central Committee of the party and the Central Committee approved the correct position of Comrade Zhou Enlai and Comrade Deng Xiaoping on this issue. We later also answered in writing to the CPSU and to the Soviet government and also notified the ALP by letter. We told the Soviet comrades that the pressure that they are exerting on us about the removal of the Soviet specialists from China after Bucharest caused us great damage, but that

the removal of the military base from Vlora was a very great damage to all the socialist countries. The stance of the ALP on this problem and on others is generally very correct. Its position is strong. They (he is talking here about Khrushchev and the others) do not know how to distinguish who is a friend and who is an enemy."

Later, I spoke to Comrade Dong Biwu on the measures that the Soviets have taken regarding our cadets, about the Soviet press that is completely silent on Albania, as well as about the [musical] ensemble and the sports team that were not accepted there. All this is happening at a time when the relations of the Soviet Union with the US are broadening, when the visits by American artists and athletes to the Soviet Union are many, while the Albanian artists, who would not threaten the Albanian-Soviet friendship or socialism, are forbidden to enter into contact with the Soviet people. Comrade Dong Biwu answered that, "they have done the same thing against us, too. We used to publish the magazine "Druzhiba" here and in Moscow. After the Bucharest meeting, the Soviets stopped the publishing of this magazine in Moscow, while at the same time in Moscow there were many American magazines and other publications of the Western countries being distributed. From this it is clear that they do not know how to distinguish friend from foe."

"In the socialist camp and in the world communist movement there are many great forces and many distinguished comrades, who with determination defend the principles of Marxism–Leninism. In this movement there are more healthy internationalists than there are opportunists. What is happening today should not surprise us. The German people have given birth to the distinguished leaders, [Karl] Marx and [Friedrich] Engels, but it should also not be forgotten that Germany is also the birthplace of [Karl] Kautsky." (He was talking also about the concrete example of the Soviet Union, which is the birthplace of Lenin and Stalin, but from where Khrushchev has also come out.) Comrade Dong Biwu then continued, "Marxism–Leninism is not afraid of the difficulties it faces. History itself shows how, over the years, all the opportunist streams in the world communist movement have been destroyed. This is shown by the experience of the First International, that of the Second International, as well as the struggle against all of the opportunist streams later, including here the Titoist Yugoslavia today as well as the other opportunists. From the experience until now, it appears that the healthy forces have always prevailed over the others."

Then, Comrade Dong Biwu spoke in brief about how the true Marxists understand the concept of peaceful coexistence, and while speaking of the Khrushchev persona, he said that this year his behavior seems a little better than it did last year. As an example of this he brought up his speech at the Military Academy in Moscow, "which," he said, "was a good speech. There he speaks of the arming against imperialism. This we sup-



**Tracking the Dragon: US National Intelligence Estimates on China 1948-1976, November 2004**

CWIHP Conference Participants Yang Kuisong (East China Normal University) and former CWIHP scholar Li Danhui (Beijing University)

port because it is in agreement with the Moscow Declaration.” “Regarding what Khrushchev is doing to Albania,” I said to Comrade Dong Biwu, “it seems that Khrushchev is not thinking of becoming a better person. And as far as his speech at the Military Academy in Moscow goes,” I said, “we will see whether he will keep to his words, because he is used to saying one thing today and another tomorrow.” Comrade Dong Biwu laughed out loud and said, “You are right.” “In reality,” he continued, “with its stance toward Albania, the Soviet government has opened the doors for the American imperialists in Albania. But imperialism cannot attack Albania, because the international conditions do not allow it to. Despite the fact that the Soviets withdrew from the military base from Vlora, in time, the Albanian people will strengthen this base again relying on their own forces. Some time ago, Albania, in its war against fascism did not have weapons, but the Albanian people took their weapons from fascism and fought it with them. Today the conditions are much better because, among other reasons, Albania also has a good foundation in industry and agriculture. Furthermore,” added Comrade Dong Biwu, “Albania is not Cuba. If imperialism dares to attack Albania, we will assist her with all our forces.”

In the end I thanked Comrade Dong Biwu for the very warm reception and for the feelings of sincere friendship that he expressed directed at the people and the party.

THE AMBASSADOR  
(Reis Malile)



**DOCUMENT No. 8**

**Information on the Meeting with Comrade Chen Yi, 27 July 1961**

[Source: Central State Archive, Tirana, AQPPSH-MPKK-V. 1961, D. 22. Obtained by Ana Lalaj and translated for CWIHP by Enkel Daljani.]

Beijing, 27 July 1961

No. 41 Secret

Contents: Information on the meeting with Comrade Chen Yi

TO THE MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS  
TIRANA

On 25 July 1961 I was received for a meeting by Comrade Chen Yi, member of the CCP CC Politburo, [and] Vice Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs of the PRC. In the meeting, comrade Zeng Yongquan, the deputy minister of foreign affairs, was also present, as well as some other officials of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. At the beginning I delivered to Comrade Chen Yi the greetings from the leadership comrades of our party. He thanked me and asked how they were. I answered, “They are very well. They are better than they have ever been before.” Comrade Chen Yi laughed out loud and said, “That is correct. Very well.” Then he told me that he was very well informed about our present relations with the Soviet Union, at which point I spoke to him in brief about this issue and told him that, “the Soviet leadership has used all the methods at its disposal. Except for the pressures, which have been continuous, they have also initiated a [policy of] military, political and economic isolation toward us, but they have not been successful. We will see what they will do in the future.” Comrade Chen Yi answered that, “the Soviet leaders will try to make Albania kneel and to lower China’s prestige, but they will not be successful. The Albanian proverb—better be dead on your feet than alive on your knees—has now become popular throughout China. They have isolated both our countries and call us dogmatic, but in reality the majority of the rest support us because the right is on our side. The war and struggle temper the person. Without war and without struggle the person becomes a revisionist.”

Then I asked Comrade Chen Yi how the Geneva Conference on Laos had proceeded. Comrade Chen Yi answered that “the issue of Laos is a serious problem and it is not simple to solve. The imperialists are dead-set on their positions. The cooperation with the Soviet comrades in Geneva was good, to a certain degree, but the Soviets are not too keen on consulting. They come up with their own approaches and insist on them. This is what actually happened with their approach to the Laos issue in Geneva. There the Soviets did not openly speak against American imperialism. As far as the Soviet negotiations with the Americans on the dis-

armament issue, etc. are concerned,” Comrade Chen Yi said that “despite the lengthy discussions, the Americans will not back down from their position on these issues.”

Later the discussion on how we understand the issue of the assistance by the Soviet Union was opened. At this point I pointed out the issue of assistance as a tool of pressure by the Soviets against our country. Comrade Chen Yi said that their approach on this issue was a mistake. He added that when he was in Moscow, on his return trip from Geneva, he had spoken to [Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei A.] Gromyko regarding the assistance that the Soviets gave to the Indians. “I asked Gromyko, ‘what do you think of the position of India. Will it ever come to our side?’ Gromyko answered, ‘Under these conditions India will never come to our side.’ So I asked him again, ‘Then why are you helping India with large sums at a time when it does not support our policies?’ Gromyko just shrugged his shoulders.” Comrade Chen Yi then continued, “This policy is unusual. On the one hand they give the Indians money, and nothing comes of this because the Indians support the imperialists. On the other [hand], they ask for money from us, the Chinese. “To us,” he said, “the Soviet Union has given economic assistance to the tune of a total of about 5 billion rubles, plus three billion more rubles for armaments. They are asking for all those back. We suffered casualties in Korea. When we left, we left behind all our armaments with a total value of more than \$600 million and for this we did not ask of the Korean comrades the smallest payment. The Soviet leaders understand the issue of assistance in the most unusual way.”

Comrade Chen Yi also spoke in brief about the situation in China. He said that that the drought in China was unusually severe and that they were having great difficulties. In answering my question of what is happening with the wheat they were going to buy from Canada, since the Americans have been exerting pressure on the Canadian government not to deliver the wheat to China, he said that it is true that the Americans are exerting great pressure, but that, despite this, “we will get our wheat. The Canadians will give it to us. We trade with a lot of countries and we also buy from all the capitalist countries, even from the Americans—through third parties—even though the Americans say that they do not want to have trade relations with us.”

In the end, Comrade Chen Yi, in a very determined way and with optimism, reiterated once more that we are very strong and that we will win, because the right is on our side. Aside from our two parties, there are also a large number of other parties which are expressing a very healthy behavior. He enumerated a list of communist parties of Asian countries (which showed a consistent stance in the Moscow Conference) including here the Workers’ Party of Vietnam, too.

THE AMBASSADOR  
(Reis Malile)



## DOCUMENT No. 9

### Information on the Meeting with Comrade Zhou Enlai, 21 August 1961

[Source: Central State Archive, Tirana, AQPPSH-MPKK-V. 1961, D. 22. Obtained for CWIHP by Ana Lalaj and translated for CWIHP by Enkel Daljani.]

THE EMBASSY OF THE PEOPLE’S REPUBLIC OF  
ALBANIA

BEIJING

21 AUGUST 1961

No. 58 Top Secret

Contents: Information on the meeting with Comrade Zhou Enlai.

TO THE CC OF THE PRA  
TIRANA

On the evening of 21 August 1961, I was called to a meeting by Comrade Zhou Enlai and he spoke to me about the visit by Comrade Ho Chi Minh to Moscow. At the beginning, he told me that today he had received a telegram by their ambassador in Tirana, through which the ambassador notified him of the particulars of the meeting he had had with Comrade Enver Hoxha. Of this conversation, Comrade Zhou Enlai notified me in brief.

Comrade Zhou Enlai told me that today he had had a meeting with the Vietnamese minister of foreign affairs, Comrade Ung Van Khiem, who on his return from Geneva passed through Beijing on his way to Hanoi. Comrade Zhou Enlai told me that he had talked with him about the issue of the visit by Comrade Ho Chi Minh. Comrade Ung Van Khiem knew about the Khrushchev position as well as our party’s position on this visit. He had told Comrade Zhou Enlai that initially Comrade Ho Chi Minh was not planning on coming to Albania. There must have been some misunderstanding about this, because he first wanted to go to Sochi and then to Tirana. The intention of Comrade Ho Chi Minh was to fulfill his mission through unofficial channels. “If,” Comrade Ung Van Khiem had continued, “he would have followed the request by the ALP that he come to Albania in November at the helm of a party delegation, then his travel would not have had an unofficial character anymore, but would have been official.” After the second telegram that he received from the ALP CC, Comrade Ho Chi Minh went to Sochi and met twice with Khrushchev. Comrade Ung Van Khiem told Comrade Zhou Enlai that he was not aware of the details of what had been talked about in these meetings and that one of these days Comrade Ho Chi Minh would be returning to Hanoi. This was the information in brief that was given to Comrade Zhou Enlai by the minister of foreign affairs of

Vietnam. Later, Comrade Zhou Enlai presented to me his opinions on this issue as follows:

“Our opinions,” he said, “do not differ from those that Comrade Liu Shaoqi expressed in the meeting you had. In the beginning we thought that the visit by Comrade Ho Chi Minh would have the effect of lowering the tensions in the relations between the ALP and the CPSU, but of course the principal problems would not be solved by it.”

“Now,” he continued, “the war against imperialism is sharpening; we must join all our forces; the problem of the peace treaty with Germany and the issue of Berlin must be resolved. The US sent their Vice President Johnson to West Berlin; England and France have increased their troop presence in West Germany. The situation in Laos is sharpening even more, as well as in the area of Taiwan, where the Americans are increasing their activities. In Congo, the imperialists are increasing their control. American imperialism until now was obstructing the French imperialism in Africa, but now it is helping it in Algeria and elsewhere. When they increase the international tensions, the imperialists operate in a united fashion, even if only temporarily. In this very serious situation all the socialist countries must get together and strengthen their unity, and that is why we thought that the visit by Comrade Ho Chi Minh could have helped in smoothing the disagreements, but not in the essential solving of the problems.”

“We have also had some concerns that maybe Comrade Ho Chi Minh could have wanted to make the visit at the urging of by the Soviets, but Comrade Ho Chi Minh says that this idea was of his own initiative. We had had some hope that he could have smoothed out the situation, but it seems that he could not do anything about it.”

“We hope that you will continue to remain cold-blooded—as you have done so far—composed, and will have the initiative in smoothing out the disagreements. Let them (Khrushchev and friends) make provocations; let them try to isolate you; let them undertake subversive actions against us. One day all these will be known and the truth shall be on our side. We must always let them be the first to say things against us, because as a Chinese proverb says, ‘Be not the first to start, then win.’ We are able to discount their attacks with very strong arguments.”

“Now, in this actual case, Khrushchev will speak badly of the ALP to Comrade Ho Chi Minh, even worse than before, but by this he will unmask himself. We have a multitude of facts to answer him with. As far as the disagreements that we have had with the CPSU, our tactic has always been to let Khrushchev say the first word, but this does not mean that we are backing down. By being the first to speak, they showed to everyone who they are and how crassly they act toward us. We had a stronger basis from which to discount their attacks and to argue better about our position and the other parties could

judge from a better position about which side the truth favors. Despite the influence that Khrushchev wields over the other parties, this tactic will cause them to see the truth better.”

“We are making all efforts to explain to the other parties the situation surrounding your party and its correct stance.”

Later, Comrade Zhou Enlai told me that he had spoken to the minister of foreign affairs of Vietnam about the conversation that he and Comrade Liu Shaoqi had had with Comrade Ho Chi Minh before he had left for Moscow. He had asked the minister of foreign affairs of Vietnam to inform the general secretary of the party, Comrade Le Duan and [DRV] prime minister, Pham Van Dong, as follows:

(Below I will enumerate the opinions presented by Comrade Zhou Enlai to the minister of foreign affairs of Vietnam about the visit by Comrade Ho Chi Minh.)

- 1) “Comrade Ho Chi Minh’s desire was positive, but it seems that he was not well-informed about the state of relations between the ALP and the CP of the Soviet Union, and that is why his method is not very suitable. As a result, it is not very likely that it will produce any results. On the contrary, it is possible that it will lead to new provocations. In fact, Khrushchev could now say to Comrade Ho Chi Minh, ‘Look, we received you and greeted you, but the Albanians did not.’ This,” added Comrade Zhou Enlai, “could damage the prestige of Comrade Ho Chi Minh.”
- 2) “To be able to reconcile Albania with the Soviet Union,” Comrade Zhou Enlai had said to the minister of foreign affairs of Vietnam, “is more difficult than reconciling China and the Soviet Union. This is so because the CCP is a large party, because China itself is a very large country, and because should the relations between these two countries should be severed, it would be of grave international consequence. As a result, when trying to reconcile China and the Soviet Union a compromise can be achieved while preserving the principles. This was apparent, for example, in the Moscow Conference where the CPSU backed down on three of its points and we accepted the formula on the 20th Congress. But the Soviets would not do the same with Albania. They think that the ALP is small, that Albania is very small, and use pressure to debase them at all costs; otherwise the Albanians would severely damage its prestige, which would have the effect of the other parties in Europe not obeying to the ‘stick that keeps the order.’ But we understand well,” continued Comrade Zhou Enlai, “that the ALP, despite its size, is tough, it defends the principles with determination and does not give in. And they (Khrushchev and friends) would not back down, because the ‘stick’ would lose its power. That is why reconciling Albania and the Soviet Union is harder than reconciling China and the Soviet Union, and, as a result, why the visit



by Comrade Ho Chi Minh may increase the disagreements, instead of lessening them.”

- 3) “Before the present situation, all the disagreements between the ALP and the CPSU had a collegial character, an internal party character. That is why if the concrete reasons could be looked at more closely, they could have been solved easily through bipartite talks, but the Soviet Union made two very grave mistakes: a) It removed the military base from Albania, along with the specialists; and, b) Khrushchev did not agree to let the Albanian delegation take part in the proceedings of the Moscow meeting of the Warsaw Pact on the issue of Germany. These are principal and very important mistakes. What we are dealing with here is a great truth and a small truth. By removing the military base, the Soviets openly revealed our disagreements to the enemies. In the second case, that of the Warsaw Pact meeting, if the CCP had not insisted that the ALP be included in the final communique, the pertaining document that would be published after the meeting would also have openly revealed our disagreements to the enemies. These stances weaken our position toward the enemy. This means that the Soviet Union is wrong in this case. Is Albania more afraid of the Soviet Union, or is the Soviet Union more afraid of Albania? It cannot be fathomed that the ALP is trying to overturn Khrushchev’s rule, but he (Khrushchev) is undertaking diversionist activities to overturn the leadership of the ALP. The Soviet Union is mobilizing the parties of the socialist countries of Europe to attack the ALP and this is making the Yugoslavs happy. In that case, the Albanian comrades are right to doubt Khrushchev’s intentions. How could Comrade Enver Hoxha and Comrade Mehmet Shehu have gone to Moscow in this situation? These facts show that Khrushchev carries the principal responsibility.”
- 4) “I,” continued Comrade Zhou Enlai, “told the minister of foreign affairs of Vietnam, that if Comrade Ho Chi Minh will follow the Khrushchev advice and go to Albania, he should in no way exert any pressure on the Albanian comrades. If Khrushchev asks from Comrade Ho Chi Minh to invite Comrade Enver Hoxha to the Soviet Union or to a third country for talks with Khrushchev, Comrade Ho Chi Minh should refuse to do this. (Comrade Zhou Enlai pointed out that he had told this to him because the minister of foreign affairs of Vietnam had said that Comrade Ho Chi Minh had initially not made any plans about going to Albania.) We must understand the position that the Albanian comrades find themselves in. In the face of these great pressures, they react strongly and quickly.”
- 5) “Initially, we thought that the Comrade Ho Chi Minh visit could have brought some kind of relaxation, despite the fact that the principled problems could not be solved by it. This did not happen. ‘What are the perspectives of the relations between the Soviet Union and Albania?’ asked the minister

of foreign affairs of Vietnam. I told him,” said Comrade Zhou Enlai, “that the Albanian comrades think that Khrushchev will utilize the 22nd Congress of the CPSU [in November 1961] to attack Albania. (This is based on an opinion that I had expressed in a conversation with Comrade Liu Shaoqi.) This opinion of the Albanian comrades has some validity based on the fact that it has happened a few times before, such as at the Bucharest meeting where our party was attacked. This is a very conceivable perspective. We also do not exclude another possibility. After the 22nd Congress, there will be a conference of the ministers of foreign affairs on the issue of the peace treaty with Germany. At that time we will be in a very embittered situation and in a state of war with the enemy. If we are divided, how will we be able to fight the enemy? This situation may force Khrushchev to stop his attacks against Albania; it may even bring about a softening of the animosity.”

“The relations between the Soviet Union and Albania cannot be fixed right away. Is it possible that Khrushchev would publicly admit his mistakes? It is a very hard thing. Is it completely impossible? We will have to wait. The Albanian comrades are on the side of good relations; a softening would be a good thing. It would be such from the position of its necessity for the common struggle against imperialism, but not in the interest of the strengthening of Khrushchev’s position.”

“We must be patient and wait. We must be mature, because this is how we will achieve our objective. Nonetheless, we must also be ready for the other eventuality. If the provocations and attacks against us start, then we (the CCP) will answer to them. But our objective is the strengthening of unity.”

“What I mentioned here,” said Comrade Zhou Enlai, “I said to the minister of foreign affairs of Vietnam and asked him to convey it to the general secretary of the party, Comrade Le Duan, and the prime minister, Pham Van Dong, who are cool-blooded, far-seeing people. Comrade Ho Chi Minh is well known all over Vietnam, but his words and declarations are not always approved of by the other comrades in the Political Bureau, or in full agreement with their opinions. At the Moscow Conference, Comrade Le Duan was in full agreement with our points of view. Comrade Enver Hoxha and Comrade Mehmet Shehu,” Comrade Zhou Enlai said to me, “must be aware of this point.”

Comrade Zhou Enlai asked me to transmit all of the above to the Central Committee. He also added, “What I have said so far are my personal opinions. I have not consulted the other comrades, because the time was not available and they are not even in Beijing, but I believe that they would agree with me since this is the party line on these issues. In the light of the new situation, I clarified further the thoughts that Comrade Liu Shaoqi expressed to you on the meeting you had with him.”

During the conversation, while replying to the thought I had expressed that Khrushchev cannot change his opinions and his demeanor, Comrade Zhou Enlai said that “it is possible that Khrushchev can change his opinions and his demeanor, if the situation and the fact that he is facing imperialism and cannot fight on two fronts are taken into account.”

In the end, on the persona of Comrade Ho Chi Minh and on the issue of the lack of results on his mission, Comrade Zhou Enlai said that, “we may be facing two possibilities: a) the multiple attacks by Khrushchev against Albania may cause a reaction and discontent on the side of Comrade Ho Chi Minh against Khrushchev, and b) Comrade Ho Chi Minh wanted to come to Albania, but since he was not successful in this at this time, this may instill in him discontent with the ALP, but this will not last long. It is not possible that Khrushchev will be able to turn the entire Workers’ Party of Vietnam against you.”

(Since the plane to Moscow is leaving in a few hours, we are writing the notes that we took from the above meeting for you in a bit hurried fashion and as we had taken them in short-hand, without being able to sort through them very well.)

THE AMBASSADOR

(Reis Malile)

[Signed]

[Seal of the Embassy of the PRA, Beijing]



## DOCUMENT No. 10

### Information on the Meeting with Comrade Chen Yi, 29 August 1961

[Source: Central State Archive, Tirana, AQPPSH-MPKK-V. 1961, D. 14. Obtained by Ana Lalaj and translated for CWIHP by Enkel Daljani.]

#### INFORMATION ON THE MEETING WITH COMRADE CHEN YI

Following, in brief, we are writing on the conversation that Comrade Chen Yi, Politburo member and minister of foreign affairs of the PRC, had on 29 August 1961 with [Albanian Ambassador to the PRC] Comrade Reis Malile. (Since Comrade Reis Malile left urgently and unexpectedly for Vietnam, we are writing the notes of the conversation with Comrade Chen Yi as they were kept by Comrade Gaqo Pojani, who also assisted in the above-mentioned conversation.)

“We are very happy for the correct and determined position of the ALP, Comrade Enver Hoxha and Comrade Mehmet Shehu. The correct position of your party is in the interest of the entire socialist camp. The fact that you are not and

will not pull back from your position in the face of the pressures and the blackmailing is also the correct course and a great contribution. The position of the ALP in differentiating between Khrushchev, the CPSU and the Soviet people is correct. Your silence, avoiding of the open revelation of contradictions and of all the blackmailing and the pressures exerted by Khrushchev, is also correct. If in the future Khrushchev will speak openly against Albania and about the disagreements that exist (he is talking about the possibility of the expulsion from the Warsaw Pact and the eventual attacks that may openly be directed toward us in the 22nd Congress of the CPSU), then your opinion that you should openly answer to this situation is also correct.”

“The ALP and the Albanian people have been strengthened and become steelier by all the unfair actions and the pressures of Khrushchev. They (the leadership of the CPSU) act in an unfair way in their intentions of making the ALP kneel and become docile. Their position is in open opposition to the lessons of Marxism–Leninism. In their rapport and relations with the imperialists, they make compromises. The same goes for Yugoslavia. But toward Albania, which is a socialist country, they make no effort to reconcile.”

“The ALP, if it continues to stay on a course like the one it has followed so far, will undoubtedly be successful. You have acted very correctly against their intentions. They want to subordinate a small nation and base this on the wrong notion of being a large, powerful and rich nation.”

“I fully support your stance against the Soviet Union. On this issue (the guarding of the principles) we also stand in such a determined position.”

Answering to the thanks by our party and people for the large assistance that the CCP and the Chinese people give us delivered by Comrade Reis Malile, Comrade Chen Yi said, “As to what you said about the assistance that you receive from us, that is an international duty and it is imperative that we act this way. You said that the assistance that we are giving to you is a life-savior to you, but in this case we are acting according to the principles of Marxism–Leninism and against those that are trying to change them.”

“Do not be scared by any pressure against you, because your course is the correct one. We will criticize the CPSU not whether it is strong or not, not whether the Soviet Union is a powerful country or not. We will criticize it because of the incorrect course that it follows.”

“We have said to the Soviet comrades that they are wrong in hating the ALP simply because it has criticized them. It is a grave mistake on their part to want people who they expect to always applaud them. Either way, the more time that passes, the clearer it will become to the peoples of the world who has

the correct course. I will transmit to the Central Committee of our party all that you said and there is no doubt that they will be happy about your position.”

+ +  
+

Later on, Comrade Reis Malile asked about the positions of Comrade Ho Chi Minh in China on his way back from Moscow and about what he thought about his not going to Albania.

“I will give you the information that you asked for and would ask you to, please, communicate it to the ALP. It is possible that my information will be useful to you on your trip to Vietnam. I accompanied Comrade Ho Chi Minh for three days and spoke with him on this topic.”

The words by Comrade Ho Chi Minh:

“When I heard that the Albanians postponed the date of my visit, I became unhappy. Whatever the situation, the Albanians should have accepted my visit. I tried to reconcile the Albanians and the Soviet Union. I made this effort in the interest of unity, so that it may become stronger. My intentions were not to find out who was wrong and who was right, because such a thing is hard to solve at this stage in the rift. This initiative was my own and not one of the Vietnamese Party.”

“When I was in Moscow, Khrushchev said to me that, ‘we are willing to arrive at an agreement with the Albanians, if they would return the two submarines to us and send a delegation to Moscow for discussions.’”

“I have now made all of my efforts to strengthen the unity and to reconcile the Albanians and the Soviet Union. In the future, such attempts should be taken by the Chinese comrades. Please transmit this proposal to the CCP CC.”

The words of Comrade Chen Yi spoken to Comrade Ho Chi Minh:

“The Albanian comrades had good reason to postpone the date of your visit there. Today they find themselves in a difficult situation, under continuous pressure and blackmail on the part of Khrushchev. Toward Albania, he holds an incorrect stance and follows an incorrect course. You should have understood the situation the Albanians are in.”

“If you had gone at such a situation in Albania, this would have meant that the Albanians and the ALP are kneeling before Khrushchev and that would not have been fair. You were seeking to convince the Albanians to move away from their incorrect course, despite the fact that they have done nothing wrong.”

“If you cannot see the differences that exist between the position of the Albanians and that of the CPSU; if you do not want to differentiate between the two, then the Albanians do not have to support you. The unification between the small and the big under such conditions cannot be successful.”

“How could it be possible to solve all these disagreements if we do not put our Marxist–Leninist principles first?”

“You are an old comrade of the international communist movement. You should have first talked to Khrushchev about his mistakes and criticized him, and then go to Albania. This is how your visit would have been successful.”

“Why should the Albanians send a delegation to Moscow and not the Soviets [to Albania] since they are the ones that have been unfair to the Albanians? You should have told Khrushchev that he should send a delegation to Albania first. As far as the issue of handing over the two submarines, they, as it is well known, on the basis of recognized protocol, belong to the Albanians. Nonetheless, this is not a contentious issue in the disagreements that have sprung up. When compared to the current relations between the Albanians and the Soviets, the issue of the submarines is a very minor thing. The Soviet Union has many submarines. What problems can the two submarines in Albania cause?”

“The lack of recognizing the mistakes and the refusal to send a delegation to Albania means that Khrushchev acts contrary to the lessons of Marxism–Leninism. He visited plenty of capitalist countries and Belgrade and said very nice things to them. Why then does he not do the same thing for the Albanians? This is where a friend is distinguished from an enemy. During the last meeting in Moscow, Khrushchev expelled the Albanian delegation from the proceedings saying the ALP was not at the sufficient level. You should have said to Khrushchev that what he is doing to the Albanians, even the imperialists have not done.”

“Do you know that Tito is trying to destroy the PRA and the ALP? And Khrushchev is telling the Albanians that they should not fight Tito. This is an incorrect course. Stalin did a good thing by ripping Tito’s mask off and fighting him as a traitor of Marxism–Leninism. Why were the naval base and specialists removed from Albania leaving her exposed in front of the imperialists? How would you have acted if such unfairness was done to Vietnam? He is trying to do the same to China too, but as you know we are a big country and here he has not had any success. In such a situation it is Albania that should absolutely be supported, not Khrushchev. If we would support Albania, we would be helping in the strengthening of unity; the opposite action would weaken it. You know well that the CCP has spared no efforts for reconciliation, but Khrushchev does not listen.”

“Now in the international communist movement there has

arisen a tendency much like the one that exists in the UN. There the majority of the capitalist states support the USA because it is the most powerful, the biggest and the richest state and do not take into account the devilish intentions of American imperialism. Such a thing is also happening in the international communist movement. In the Moscow Conference of the 81 Parties, the majority of them supported the CPSU because it is the strongest, the biggest and the richest without taking into account its grave mistakes.”

“The truth is on our side even though we are few. The right is not always with the strongest, the richest or those that are greater in numbers.”

“Imperialism is undertaking all efforts to divide and destroy the socialist camp. It is using the tactic of exerting pressure at the edges of the camp, such as, for example, in Hungary, Germany, etc. You can see what is happening in the German Democratic Republic. The war has yet to start and a few million people have already escaped to the West.”

“You must understand, Comrade Ho Chi Minh, that the Albanians honor you and have a high regard for you as an old comrade of the international communist movement. One should not get mad at them. The Albanians are very determined in their correct course. If the need presents itself, they are willing to fight until the last man.”

+ +  
+

“All the issues that I brought up to Comrade Ho Chi Minh, I mentioned because I wanted him to realize his mistakes in relation to the visit. For this reason, I also told him that at the moment the comrades of the CCP CC are busy with other problems. If fact, I half joked and told him that he and I are not of the sufficient level to discuss such issues. During this conversation Comrade Ho Chi Minh said that he had made a subjective mistake in the manner in which he had acted.”

“During the conversation I noticed that Comrade Ho Chi Minh’s points of view had changed somewhat. At the beginning he was saying that only the Albanians are wrong in this, while later he was also saying the Soviets are also wrong. Nonetheless, as far as criticizing Khrushchev, he did not do it and was silent.”

“I would ask you to transmit to Comrade Enver Hoxha and Comrade Mehmet Shehu that the party of Vietnam is not fully in agreement with Comrade Ho Chi Minh’s points of view and his method. I ask you that you keep these points in mind in your relations with them. On the other hand it must be said that Khrushchev has been able to influence Comrade Ho Chi Minh. Hence it is necessary that you think how to draw in Comrade Ho Chi Minh and explain all the problems about which he is

in the dark. It would be a good thing to ask Comrade Ho Chi Minh to come to a visit to Albania in the near future, with the intention of drawing him in and showing him all the unfair activities that are done to you. He is a good and old comrade, but has some incorrect points of view and wavers.”

“It would be a good thing if you went to Vietnam and explained the main issues to them and the unfairness by the leadership of the CPSU. I think that Khrushchev will not declare open war upon Albania in the 22nd Congress. If he is going to do it he will do so after the congress. It would be very favorable to keep Vietnam on our side in this situation. The struggle against Khrushchev’s incorrect points of view will be a very long one, and we must have patience to see it through.”

“You, Comrade Reis Malile, must go to Vietnam for the [DRV anniversary] celebrations. If you encounter any trouble in terms of transportation to Vietnam, for example, for lack of sufficient time, then you may ask us and we will put a special plane at your disposal.”

Beijing, 29 August 1961

(Gaqo Pojani)

[Signed]

[Seal of the Embassy of the PRA, Beijing]



## DOCUMENT No. 11

**Memorandum of Conversation between Deng Xiaoping, [CCP CC Liaison Department Director] Wang Jiaxiang, Hysni Kapo, and Ramiz Alia, 19 June 1962**

*[Source: Central State Archive, Tirana, AQPPSh-MPKK-V. 1962, L14, D. 6. Obtained by Ana Lalaj and translated for CWIHP by Enkel Daljani.]*

THE FIFTH OFFICIAL MEETING BETWEEN  
THE DELEGATION OF THE ALBANIAN LABOR  
PARTY AND THE DELEGATION OF THE CHINESE  
COMMUNIST PARTY (HELD AT THE HEADQUARTERS  
OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE CHINESE  
COMMUNIST PARTY, AT 9 O’CLOCK IN THE  
MORNING, ON 19 JUNE 1962)

Comrade Deng Xiaoping: We apologize that during the past three days we have been very busy and have not been able to meet with you. A meeting with Comrade Mao Zedong in Beijing has been planned for you in a few days from now.

Comrade Hysni Kapo: That would be a very good thing.

Comrade Deng Xiaoping: Until when would you be able to



extend your stay in our country?

Comrades Hysni Kapo and Ramiz Alia: This is an issue we can discuss together.

Comrade Deng Xiaoping: You also expressed the desire to visit some of the regions in our country, so we are of the opinion that we can continue our talks when you return from those visits. Would you like to visit Tianjin or northeastern China? Either way, when you return, Comrade Mao Zedong will have also returned, we can then keep in contact and arrange to talk with you. The Central Committee of our party has not yet even invited you to break bread together. (Laughter)

Some of your comrades would like to visit Shanghai and the cities of the south. This is something you can also do as you depart from Beijing during your trip back to Albania. This is what we think, but you should also give us your opinion on this. We will manage the matter of the visits according to your desires and opinions.

Comrade Hysni Kapo: Everything is dependent on the time we have and the course of our travel.

Comrade Deng Xiaoping: We can talk about the course you will take on your way back.

Comrade Wang Jiaxiang: My personal opinion is that when you return to Albania, an airplane of ours should take you to Rangoon. From there you could use an airplane to go through the countries of the West. Yet I personally still think that (and of course, you will make the final decision yourselves) the principal comrades of your delegation should once again use a ship for their travel. The rest can return by air via Rangoon, where we can take them with our own plane. We do not have a plane that can take them further. I am only thinking of security for the principal comrades.

In the future we are planning on creating an air route between Beijing and Cairo, and then to your country, but for the moment we have no route of the kind.

Comrade Deng Xiaoping: Are you also thinking of such a route?

Comrade Hysni Kapo: We have not thought of such a route because we do not have the capacity.

Comrade Ramiz Alia: Even the plane that goes through Albania at this moment belongs to a Dutch airline.

Comrade Hysni Kapo: We are not planning on creating such a route, because as you well know we are not able to do this. The plane that comes now to Tirana follows the route of Tirana—Beirut—Rangoon and only comes once every two weeks.

Comrade Deng Xiaoping: Has it [your return flight] been set already?

Comrade Hysni Kapo: Yes, there will be a flight on 25 June and another on 11 July. We, the principal comrades of the delegation, have been instructed by our Central Committee that we are able to travel by plane, after we also consult with you and if we all find it suitable together. The reason is that sea travel takes too long and, furthermore, our ship, due to the nature of the cargo it is carrying, will not stop anywhere. If we return to Albania from China by air, our coming here will surely become known no matter which route we take.

Comrade Deng Xiaoping: It would not matter if it becomes known. We have no opposition to whichever route you take to return. As to our steps, we will take you all the way to Rangoon, and there we will get you tickets for your trip to Albania. So if you think it prudent to return via that route, we are not opposed to it.

Comrade Ramiz Alia: You should still keep in mind, comrades, that if we take this route back, the Western countries will start to talk, because we will have to ask for visas from Burma, the United Arab Republic, and Italy.

Comrade Deng Xiaoping: This does not bother us.

In the future, as Comrade Wang Jiaxiang said, we are planning on creating an air route to Cairo. Now we are making contacts with the English for the purchase of airplanes, because, due to the fact that many people come to China from southern countries, the single air route that we have with the north is not nearly enough. That is why we also need an air route in that direction. The point in time when we will decide to start it will be decided later. Either way, the plane on this route will not stop in India, because the situation may get complicated, in fact, it will not stop in Ceylon either.

Comrade Hysni Kapo: Are you planning on creating the route this year or the next?

Comrade Deng Xiaoping: We are still in negotiations with the English over the price of the planes. We are actively working on the solution to this issue.

Since our last meeting, you have brought up a few issues. I think that we should not talk about some of them today. The comrades responsible for dealing directly with specific issues will inform you in the next round. As to the issue of the international organizations of the masses, we have the expert here, Comrade ... Yi [the name is obscured but is probably Liu Ningyi] and he will speak to you, but I think he will not give you very good news. (Laughter.) In order to talk about such issues, the activity of such organizations must be observed in the field. What do you think?

Comrade Hysni Kapo: As to what has happened in the past in these organizations—at least in those in which we have taken part, such as in the meetings of Stockholm, of Moscow, of Berlin, etc.—we are fully knowledgeable, but that has always depended on what our delegations have been able to gather information on. So if there are further specific items, you may inform us about them.

Comrade Ramiz Alia: Our people do not take part in the executive organs of these organizations, so if there are some things which you deem necessary for us to be informed about, you may tell us.

Comrade Deng Xiaoping: As to our positions on issues, we do not intend to change them and nor is it necessary that we do. Also, as to the matter of the coordination of the activities of both our sides, this is also an issue that can be easily solved. Comrade Liu Ningyi will talk to you about the meeting that will be held in Moscow on the issue of disarmament and peace. We do not intend to send any high-level delegation to this meeting; the delegation will probably be headed by Gao Dun, not a member of the party. We initially intended to have Comrade Liu Ningyi go, but now we think we might not send him. Our position toward this meeting is neither warm nor cold.

Our plan on the issue of the nitrogen fertilizer plant called for Comrade Zhou Enlai and Comrade Li Xiannian to speak to you about it when we discussed the domestic situation. This is an economic problem. I just wanted to say that our side has some difficulties with such a plant.

Comrade Wang Jiaxiang: Especially on the technical side, because natural gas will be used as a raw material for this plant.

Comrade Deng Xiaoping: We are now keeping contacts with the Italians in working on a solution to this problem. The Italians are telling us that they have given their technology to the Americans and cannot sell it to us, but they have not been outrightly curt about this. But we are able to find many ways to solve this problem in the capitalist world. If we buy it [the technology], for you this issue becomes much easier to solve. We also have a lot of natural gas that goes to waste. Either way, we are actively working to solve this issue that preoccupies you so much.

Comrade Hysni Kapo: This [plant] is an object that in the state economic planning sector preoccupies us very much, especially as it concerns the development of our agriculture, and that is why we wanted to discuss it with you. We know that on your end there is much interest in relation to the Italians, but we wanted to know what the possibilities and perspectives are on this issue, because it is the main objective of our third five-year plan. We agree to discuss this issue when we talk to the comrades that you mentioned.

Comrade Deng Xiaoping: This issue preoccupies us as well. The way that we produce the fertilizer is not economical. Our annual production is less than two million tons, and so we are forced to import fertilizer from the capitalist world. This year we are also foreseeing the importation of over one million tons. All the socialist countries have a deficit in the production of fertilizers. The USSR has only recently started to produce more fertilizers. Furthermore, the complete construction of such a plant is difficult; it takes time, at least three years. That is why it will be difficult for you to construct such a plant within this five-year plan. We are not experts, but I do know that if coal is used as raw material, the task will become easier.

Comrade Hysni Kapo: In the talks that you have had with the Italians, they said that such a facility can be constructed within three years. In the talks that [Central Committee member] Comrade Abdyl Kellezi has had with your comrades, it was foreseen that such an object can be constructed before the end of 1966 at the latest. The deadline has yet to be set, however, since that was just an exchange of thoughts.

Comrade Deng Xiaoping: We will discuss this issue specifically. Comrade Li Xiannian knows this issue better.

Another issue that you have presented to us is that of our participation and position in the meetings of the organizations and institutions of the 12 socialist countries. The organizations of the socialist countries have diverse characters. For example, in the meeting[s] of the Warsaw Pact we take part only as observers.

Comrade Hysni Kapo: The Economic Council [Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (COMECON)] and the Warsaw Pact have another character.

Comrade Deng Xiaoping: In the organizations of the socialist countries that have such a character, like the Economic Council [COMECON] and the Warsaw Pact, we have not taken part, in fact we did not even send any observers to the last meeting.

Comrade Hysni Kapo: Before these meetings were called, you had also asked us whether we had received an invitation or not, and we have not had any concern in relation to your position.

Comrade Deng Xiaoping: Both these organizations are of the same character. We will also not take part in them in the future.

The cultural organizations have a different character. These are organizations of a temporary or permanent nature. A permanent organization is, for example, that of the military, the Sports Society of Friendly Armies. We have wrangled with them on the gathering of this Society, which should have been

held in your country, and we have informed you about that. Now the struggle in this organization continues. We think that it is possible that we will not take part if this changes the existing rules of the organization. We will only take part on the condition that the existing statute of the organization is not changed and that Albania is also invited to take part in it.

But there are also organizations of a temporary character. You are not a member of the railroads organization. We also decide our position toward these organizations depending on their character. For example, we did not take part in the gymnastics challenge in which the socialist countries and some European countries took part. There are also certain temporary meetings in which the representatives of the socialist countries and of some capitalist countries take part. Such an organization is that of weight-lifting.

A permanent organization of the socialist countries does not exist, except for that of the military.

Comrade Hysni Kapo: Perhaps our intentions in asking these questions have not been understood. As to COMECON and the Warsaw Pact, we did not even ask any questions about them, because no issue to be discussed has arisen from the correct position that your party and government have taken toward these organizations. After the chilling of relations with Albania, the possibility of our participation in these organizations was severed. Not only have we not taken part in these organizations, but we have not taken part in the commissions either, and we know full well that even in the future, every position taken from your party and government toward these organizations shall be the correct position.

As to the issue of the organizations of the twelve socialist countries, we agree with the classification that you make as those of a permanent or of temporary character. But we wanted to add that for both the temporary ones and the permanent ones or for the meetings that are held for the consultation of the representatives of the twelve socialist countries, we are, naturally, ready in principle to take part if we are invited. If they do not invite us, we are sorry, but there is nothing we can do about it. But when eleven socialist countries are invited and Albania is left aside, this is done intentionally to let the world know that Albania has been expelled from the socialist camp and that it is not a socialist country. I say this because there is a tendency in the meetings of the temporary or permanent organizations and in the consultative meetings of the various institutions to leave Albania aside. So, we wanted to tell you that when there are meetings of the organizations of the twelve socialist countries, whether they are temporary or permanent ones, we agree to take part if we are invited. Had they invited us to take part in the organization of the railroads, we would not take part, not because we are against such a meeting, but because we have nothing to discuss on this particular matter since no such problems exist in our country. But when they do not invite us, we

consider this as an affront towards us by the organizers of the meeting. Here we simply wanted to express our point of view on the participation in these meetings.

The position of your party on this matter is very clear to us; it has always insisted, and continues to do so, that in all the meetings of these organizations all 12 socialist countries take part and not only 11 of them. We know that your party and government have requested the participation of Albania in the meetings of the temporary and permanent organizations.

Comrade Deng Xiaoping: On these issues we do not have any opposing viewpoints; we agree with your point of view. Our position, as you also mentioned, has been and will remain the same: without an invitation for Albania to participate, we will not participate in these meetings either. If there are meetings where the participants include other states, such as Yugoslavia, we will also not take part in them either.

You said that if they invite you, you would take part in these meetings. Then it is easy to tackle this issue together. If, as in the case of the Sports Society of Friendly Armies, they do not invite you, or invite Yugoslavia or India, we will not take part.

Another question you raised was that of the international issues that are being discussed between our countries and the Western countries. We have a general opinion on these issues. Among them there are three issues: disarmament, the cessation of nuclear weapons testing, and the issue of Berlin. The socialist countries have not reached an agreement with the Western countries on any of these three issues. This, of course, does not mean that there can be no agreement on partial issues, but on the main problems the positions of the Western countries, especially of the US, are very clear. They will not retreat one bit from their position.

Comrade Hysni Kapo: That is so.

Comrade Deng Xiaoping: [Nikita] Khrushchev, on the other hand, makes concessions at every step. But due to the fact that the Soviet Union is a great power, he only makes concessions up to a certain point. He cannot go any further, because further concessions would not be approved by the Soviet people, by the peoples of the entire world; some of his concessions would not be approved by the countries of Eastern Europe either. Furthermore, the US is limited to a certain degree as well, because they have their own contradictions with the English, the French, and the leaders of West Germany. But there are some issues on which no agreement can be reached, such as, for example, the issue of disarmament, especially over the so-called full and general disarmament. We have never fallen for this. It is just strange to think that the imperialists will ever agree to disarm.

Comrade Hysni Kapo: In other words, to surrender their

weapons.

Comrade Deng Xiaoping: Only with the fist will the proletariat ever destroy imperialism.

Comrade Hysni Kapo: (With sarcasm) But the imperialists are good-hearted and will disarm.

Comrade Deng Xiaoping: So, disarmament is an impossibility. They may make some noise in some way or form, or on some partial agreement. For example, [if] the Soviet Union [were to] reduce their military by some hundreds of thousands of soldiers, it is possible that the US might also do the same, but such a thing would be a token move; in reality this would not mean a decrease in armaments, on the contrary, it would be an increase in armaments, because they will reduce the army by some [number of] people, but increase the quality of their armaments. It is thus impossible to achieve an agreement on disarmament.

As to the proliferation of nuclear weapons, we think that no concrete achievement can come of it. This can happen only when more socialist countries are in possession of nuclear weapons and when they have absolute superiority over the imperialist countries; only then might the imperialists accept such an agreement, but as of now an agreement on the proliferation of nuclear weapons cannot be reached. In fact, at the moment, even a cessation of nuclear weapons testing cannot be reached. Look at what happens: when they [the West] cease their tests, the Soviet Union starts them. Now the US has started them too. How can the talks on the cessation of the testing of such weapons go forward under these circumstances?

On the issue of Berlin, we also have the problem of the old borders of the East. On the issue of Berlin, N. Khrushchev has made many concessions, but the US insists on two points: on the occupation of West Berlin by Western forces (they will not concede on this point), and we also have the issue of the passage corridor into West Berlin (the imperialists will not make a concession on this point either, while N. Khrushchev has already conceded to a certain degree on it).

Comrade Wang Jiaxiang: N. Khrushchev's concessions will go as far as an agreement to an occupation regime in West Berlin by the military forces of the Western countries. In fact, such an occupation regime already exists there at the present. Even if the government of the USA agrees to remove the occupation regime in Berlin, [West German Chancellor Konrad] Adenauer will not agree to it.

At the same time, the issue of the old borders in the East is even more complicated. Could Poland and Czechoslovakia agree to a change of the borders [that were] decided in the Potsdam agreement? The USSR itself would not want the borders of Kaliningrad and its region to change. But Adenauer will not make concessions on this point. There is also a

party in West Germany, the party of the refugees. There are around three million refugees who have left the eastern part of Germany, and they are organized.

Comrade Hysni Kapo: The three million are only those in Germany and do not include those of Poland and Czechoslovakia, etc.

Comrade Deng Xiaoping: In the rest of the world the fiercest aggression is represented by American imperialism, while in Europe, on the issues of Berlin and West Germany, Adenauer is the fiercest one.

Comrade Ramiz Alia: We would like to exchange opinions on this matter. It is possible that N. Khrushchev will come to a compromise with the Americans only on the issue of Berlin? For example, West Berlin could be allowed to become an occupied area by the UN, which in fact would mean the Americans, and control over the corridor could be entrusted to the German Democratic Republic. From a political standpoint this would be considered a success by N. Khrushchev. With such a move imperialism would make a concession to N. Khrushchev to win his support, while, as a solution to this issue, it would only be partial, as it would only cover Berlin, and the problem of a peace treaty for Germany would be postponed. Could such a possibility, for example, ever occur?

Comrade Deng Xiaoping: It cannot be ruled out, though it would not be easy. Adenauer would not agree to it, and furthermore [General Secretary of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany Walter] Ulbricht would most likely not agree either. But again, such a possibility cannot be entirely ruled out. Should it ever come to fruition, such a possibility would not be a success for N. Khrushchev. No! He thinks that West Berlin should become a free city and the peace treaty for Germany should be signed. Without the signing of a peace treaty, N. Khrushchev will not be able to see good days. In what position would this put East Germany? Should this possibility happen, the prestige of the USSR would suffer heavily in the eyes of the world. So while this possibility cannot be entirely ruled out, the fact that the USSR is a large and powerful country means that it is not going to be easy for this to happen. N. Khrushchev and his cohorts want to make concessions, but they do not find it easy. On the other hand, even making concessions does not mean that the issues would be resolved; it does not mean that the imperialists would give them much in return.

Comrade Hysni Kapo: (With sarcasm) And the peace treaty can wait, as far as N. Khrushchev is concerned; he has plenty of time to solve this issue; and the measures that were taken at the Berlin Wall, according to them, showed their great power.

Comrade Deng Xiaoping: His point of view is entirely different from that of the entire world, including here even the capitalist world. By his acting this way, the capitalist countries



will create a view of the USSR as weak. If he continues to make constant concessions, N. Khrushchev will automatically and continuously be unmasked.

Comrade Hysni Kapo: We have similar points of view on the disarmament matter, the cessation of nuclear weapons tests, and on Berlin. Though we know it is political blackmail, the proposal by N. Khrushchev for a non-aggression pact between the countries of NATO and those of the Warsaw Pact has caught our attention. And though it is only a political maneuver, the proposal by the Poles at the UN for the prohibition of those countries that as of now do not have nuclear weapons from ever having them—in other words, to keep the status quo and allow only those countries that already have them—has also caught our attention. We do not consider the proposal about a status quo in the matter of military bases to be fair either because it is well known that only the US has such bases in other countries. Do these proposals, perhaps, have the goal of causing imperialism to shift its attention into striking another area, Asia? This is the reason we brought this issue up. What are the intentions of imperialism in Asia where we know that its main objective is the People's Republic of China? These thoughts have gone through our minds when considering the concessions and proposals that we see being made and which appease imperialism in the other areas, but urge it to shift its attention in the direction of Asia. We ask this question only so that we may be clear, because for us no matter where the attack against the socialist countries is made, the pain will still be the same. That is why we want to discuss this issue.

Comrade Deng Xiaoping: On the proposal for the signing of a non-aggression pact between the countries of NATO and those of the Warsaw Pact we were in agreement, but this does not mean that such a thing will ever be realized. We have also proposed the signing of such a pact with Japan.

Comrade Hysni Kapo: But we consider this proposal alongside the other issues that I mentioned.

Comrade Deng Xiaoping: It is impossible that this non-aggression pact will ever be signed. We are in agreement with N. Khrushchev on the matter of the non-aggression pact only because of the fact that this proposal is a tool for unmasking imperialism when it answers that it does not agree. I think that neither the Soviets nor the Americans ever seriously considered that such a thing can ever be achieved. The Americans themselves say that if other issues can be solved, this can be solved too; in other words, they are putting conditions on it. It is also difficult to achieve an agreement that nuclear weapons not be given to others.

Comrade Hysni Kapo: We are convinced of this.

Comrade Deng Xiaoping: For example, France will not agree to such an agreement. It has started to conduct testing of

nuclear weapons and asks the US and the UK to give it the new technologies for the development of such weapons. The concessions that France makes to the UK on the issue of inclusion into the Common Market [European Economic Community], is done with the intention of obtaining the new technology for the development of nuclear weapons. West Germany also seeks the technology for the development of those weapons. But even if they do not give West Germany this technology, it is capable of developing it on its own. The English did the same exact thing; the Americans did not give them the technology, they developed it on their own. There will certainly be many states in the capitalist world which will possess atomic weapons, including West Germany; in fact, in addition to such states as Sweden and Switzerland, Japan and Italy will possess them as well. Everyone is actively working to achieve such a thing. The small countries, such as Sweden and Switzerland, will of course not be able to achieve it completely, but they will have some partial success, enough to sell it to others, because they are born peddlers. In their world you cannot restrict them from doing such things.

And why should something like this not happen in our world? We are also actively working to achieve this. We have told the Soviets a long time ago that on the matter of nuclear weapons we will not be part of the obligations that they may put on themselves. In the international peace organization we have declared that we will not honor the obligations that others will place on themselves on this issue.

Comrade Wang Jiaxiang: We also declared there that if the countries that already have nuclear weapons do not retreat from producing them, why should we take on such obligations? We are in favor of the complete liquidation of such weapons, but we will cease producing them only if everyone ceases also.

Comrade Deng Xiaoping: Now I would like to speak about the situation in Asia. According to our opinion, the primary attention of the US is now centered on Europe. This position of theirs has not changed and will not change; their primary arrows are [pointed at] the USSR. When we spoke the last time on this issue, we said that this is an objective issue and will not change. The US guided missile bases are directed primarily at the USSR, though some of them, of course, are directed at our country. We are a country that does not have nuclear weapons, while the Soviet Union has them. Should a war start, the primary danger to the capitalist countries would be the Soviet Union, as long as China does not possess many nuclear weapons. This is what defines the strategy of the US. Of course, after the Soviet Union, the greatest danger to the capitalist countries comes from China. The bases in the East are not all meant for us, but [are] also against the Soviet Union, while at the same time they are against us too [sic]. This is the general situation. This does not mean that American imperialism will not increase its aggression and will not take various concrete measures against China. It can be said that the process

of encirclement of the USSR by the US has been completely finished, while in Asia, according to our opinion, the work still goes on toward achieving the same results. Such a system has yet to be completed in Asia.

During these last two years it is clear that the American imperialists are helping two forces in Asia: Japan and India. These two forces have yet to form completely. The attempts by the American imperialists to increase the power of India are due to the fact that India is very populous, while Japan is both populous and technologically advanced. Of course, lesser countries of South Asia and Indochina are also included in this plan. Their specific measures are intended to help India become a great power, but its body is very weak. In other words, they are trying to shift India from a policy of neutrality to the side of the American imperialists. Should something like this come to fruition, it would be a blow not only to China, but to the Soviet Union as well. When they help India, they offend Pakistan. The public opinion in Pakistan is now on the side of a change in the government policy, and now Pakistan has a good position towards us. This has yet to be achieved completely. It would take a long time to achieve it.

Further away in the East, the American imperialists are building a defensive line from Thailand, to Cambodia, to South Vietnam. Thailand has always been a country where the American imperialists have sought to establish their presence. Using the situation in Laos to their advantage, they have now sent a few thousand American troops to Thailand. But the Americans' business in South Vietnam is not going well, because even [South Vietnam President] Ngo Dinh Diem, in his own way, is now working in opposition to the US. The partisan struggle, especially in South Vietnam, has now developed greatly. For a long time now the American imperialists have lost control of Cambodia.

Comrade Hysni Kapo: Does this mean that, due to the difficult situation in this region of Asia and the trouble developing in Laos, the situation in Vietnam and Thailand, etc., there is no possibility that the imperialists will escalate the situation?

Comrade Deng Xiaoping: It is possible that it will be escalated, but it will not be a wide-scale conflict.

Comrade Hysni Kapo: In other words, no conflict of a wide scale could be expected in this area at the moment.

Comrade Deng Xiaoping: At the moment we do not see it that way. But we have said many times that a partial war in the East cannot be ruled out, though this cannot be easily achieved. We have been shown this by the events of the Taiwan Strait [in 1958] and the issue of Laos. The American imperialists today have no interest in widening the war in Laos, because they think that it is not in their favor. The Korean War is still a fresh lesson for them. The American imperialists are trying to create

an aggressive bloc in East and Southeast Asia, with Japan as its nucleus, including also South Korea and Jiang Jieshi [Chiang Kai-shek], but until now they have not been able to achieve this. The Japanese are suffering economic difficulties. Lately a lot of talk is coming from there about trade with China; in fact [Japanese Prime Minister] Ikeda [Hayato] himself has spoken about it. The ruling classes in Japan are not showing any interest in the creation of such a bloc, in which South Korea and Jiang Jieshi are included, because such a thing would be a heavy burden on Japan.

In order for a war to be started in the East against us, it can come mainly from three points:

From the west, India. But no war can start from India. How can a war be waged in an area that has no people? Can a struggle between a few hundred people be called a war? It is very difficult to use a division at the border with India. That is why a war from this side is very difficult to wage. Our existing military units in the border areas with India are fully sufficient at the moment. If they attack, the Indians could take some areas from our land, but they would be mainly snowy mountains, places that are completely uninhabitable.

Another war point against us could be opened from Indochina, but the terrain there is also not suitable for warfare. That is why the American imperialists are not increasing their presence in Laos, because it is not a suitable area for them from which to wage war. If the war starts further south, it will be easy for us to break through to Laos. Nonetheless, such a possibility cannot be completely discounted, it could happen.

In the east, another point for war could be in Korea. The American imperialists have been there, they know the terrain, [but] they also know that the forces of North Korea and our main forces are situated in that area, so it will not be easy for them.

Aside from these areas, another point to start a war against us would be in the Taiwan Straits. In this area the war has to come from the sea, but this place is not easy for our enemies either. Can American imperialism use Jiang Jieshi for such a war? Lately we have noticed that Jiang Jieshi is making attempts at achieving this, in other words, he is trying to start a counterattack against the continent. He has done some serious preparatory work towards this end, but he only has about half a million people for this job. His infantry counts around 400 thousand troops, and he has 300 planes at his disposal to use against us.

But why does Jiang Jieshi think he should undertake such a move? He thinks that we are in a difficult situation. But in his army, from the vice commanders of companies down to the simple soldier, he no longer has people from continental China as he used to before. If he does not undertake his attack against the continent at this time, he will never have another hope for such an attack in the future. That is why Jiang Jieshi has been

making preparations for a counterattack since the beginning of the year.

He has made preparations for an attack against the continent, but in the US there are two schools of thought on this issue. One is that of the Department of State, which holds that there is no hope in such a move. The other is that of the Pentagon, where some people agree with the idea of an attack by Jiang Jieshi. At least until now, we see no resolution by the US for such a thing.

Should an attack start against China, American imperialism may give aid to Jiang Jieshi with some ships with the intention of solving the problem of supplying his army. But we have also made our own preparations in this direction. We are thinking that it would be a good thing to make some concessions to the army of Jiang Jieshi, so that he may put around 200 thousand troops on the mainland, the best part of his army; let him occupy a piece of land and then eliminate him completely. We are thinking about such a move.

But we are faced with another problem: should we preserve or liquidate Jiang Jieshi. If we liquidate 200,000 of Jiang Jieshi's soldiers, his regime would fall and American imperialism would achieve its objective of the so-called "Two Chinas." The weakening or the liquidation of Jiang Jieshi would mean the occupation of Taiwan by the American imperialists. The American imperialists support some forces that call for the liquidation of Jiang Jieshi, for the reasons I mentioned. In this light Jiang Jieshi is our friend against the "Two Chinas." [That is why our intention is to preserve Jiang Jieshi.] We fight so that his intentions may never be achieved, and at the same time we make sure that he is not heavily damaged. You can thus see that a counterattack against the continent is not an easy thing.

Comrade Hysni Kapo: Could you speak to us a bit about the present situation in Laos? We have a general idea, but would want to have a better picture of the situation in this country.

Comrade Deng Xiaoping: We agree with the formation of the coalition government in Laos. To this end we have exchanged some thoughts with the Vietnamese comrades, with those of Laos, and with the Soviets. Our reason is that we think that with the creation of a coalition government in Laos, the forces of the US will be forbidden to enter the country. The most important thing is to gain time for Pathet Lao to strengthen its work with the masses (it commands around 40% of Laos's land, without including here the area of [Prince] Souvanna Phouma). There are still a lot of difficulties with the formation of a coalition government, and that is why the achievement of an agreement on Laos does not mean the creation of a coalition government.

Now a question arises: Will the coalition government be approved by the traitorous parliament? In the next few days

there will be a struggle on this point there, and in the future there will be struggle every day. The direction of the talks means that in reality a "cart with three horses" will emerge there. The UN also uses such a term, "a cart with three horses," which means that each participant has the right of rejection (a veto) of the proposals of the other participants. The coalition government is an empty thing. Now each of the sides there is doing its own thing, and that is why there are and will be difficulties in finding a solution to the issues there. That is why the formation of the coalition government in Laos is the start of the new struggle, which will be even more complicated than the armed war, because all three sides will want to profit from this chance to increase their power; to strengthen as much as possible their position.

[...] There are only two solutions to the normalization of the situation in Laos. Should the conclusion of the situation be the elections, which is one of the solutions possible for the internal situation in Laos, [Prince] Souphanouvong will win, and not Souvanna Phouma or Phoumi Nosavan. But will they agree to such a conclusion? The greatest prestige in Laos is commanded by Souphanouvong, so a troika will only work there for a short time.

We must now strengthen our position there and then we can progress further; in other words, we must make the necessary preparations for the further strengthening of our position there and at the same time boycott [sic] the entrance of the armed forces of the USA in Laos.

Comrade Hysni Kapo: We are now clear on the situation in Laos. Could you tell us anything about the non-aligned countries? You told us something about the attempts undertaken by American imperialism to move India away from neutrality, but there are also other non-aligned countries, who work under the guise of neutrality. I am talking about those countries that have a unified cause with American imperialism.

Comrade Deng Xiaoping: I would like to say a few more words on Laos, before I speak about the issue you just asked about. Will the creation of the coalition government be achieved? This will become clearer in the next few days. Without the creation of this government, victory in Laos will not be worth very much. On this matter, our point of view is very different from that of N. Khrushchev. N. Khrushchev considered the agreement for the creation of the coalition government in Laos as an example of how to achieve agreements with the Western powers through talks. We are far apart from this point of view of N. Khrushchev. Either way, the distancing of the USSR from the attempt to solve the issue of Laos is in our interest.

As to the issue of the non-aligned countries, in some of the areas of the East, they have a good position; their relations with us are not bad. For example, Cambodia has good relations

with our country. There are instances when they speak badly of us, but in general they behave well toward us, especially Sihanouk, who treats us well. He thinks that on the matter of preserving Cambodia's independence he can rely on us and that we are friends of his. Cambodia is afraid of Ho Chi Minh, of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, because during the revolution the territory of Cambodia was under the control of Ho Chi Minh. But Cambodia is most afraid of the USA, and that is why they mostly scold the Americans.

The USA wants to create a defense line that would include Cambodia, Ngo Dinh Diem, and Thailand. These last two are trying to also include Cambodia in their group.

On a Western course, a non-aligned country is Burma, which has very good relations with us. The signing of the agreement for the border dispute was done by [Chairman of the Revolutionary Council and Prime Minister of Burma] Ne Win, and not by [Burmese Prime Minister] U Nu, who only signed the agreement at the end. Now Burma is ruled by a military government. The military coup that happened in Burma deposed U Nu, the friend of [Indian Prime Minister Jawaharlal] Nehru. It may be said that for a while the military government will maintain good relations with China, better yet than what we had with U Nu. But in the future, this government will pose a danger for us. That is why, according to our analysis, this government is good, and is also not good. Either way, at the moment our country's relations with Burma are very good. There is division at the heart of the Burmese military; one side wants to follow a pro-Japanese orientation, another, including Ne Win, wants to continue on the path of neutrality and wants Burma to have good relations with us. The government of Ne Win does not get along well with Nehru and Thailand, and this struggle has already started. Now in Burma there are attempts to create a united party.

Further west of us is Nepal. This is an anti-Indian country. The King of Nepal keeps good relations with us; he is not bad, and at his own initiative we solved the Sino-Nepalese border issue definitively. In Nepal they will build a paved road toward our Tibet. In other words, Nepal is looking to disengage itself from Indian control. Nepal is also getting along well with Pakistan. The Nepalese know well that we have nothing against them and that the threat to their country comes from the Indian direction.

We keep neutral relations with Iraq; they are neither warm, nor cold. The problems in the Arab world are very complicated. Both [Egyptian President Gamal Abdel] Nasser and Iraq are trying to establish their own hegemony over the Arab world. The Soviet Union has made considerable investments in Iraq, but Iraq's relations with us are not bad either.

The United Arab Republic also has good relations with us. The new Syria's relations with us are not bad either. We have

neutral relations with all these countries. Our policy with these countries is not to interfere in their internal matters. I also want to point out that Nasser does not have very good relations with the Soviet Union.

Some African countries have very good relations with us, such as Guinea, Mali, Ghana, etc. [Ghanaian President Kwame] Nkrumah is not a leftist element; Mali and Guinea. [...]

Also, those countries in Africa that have some form of formal independence keep good relations with us. The peoples of these countries trust that China is anti-imperialist, that it actively supports their struggle for full independence, and that China does not undertake subversive actions against them.

In general, these are our relations with non-aligned countries.

Our relations with Indonesia are very good, because the Communist Party of Indonesia has done a lot of work in this direction. The problems left to us by the past, such as the issue of the Chinese immigrants in Indonesia, were solved through efforts by both sides. Our country is one of the first that came out in support of the Indonesian people's national liberation war.

As to the relations with the European countries, you already know the situation.

In Yugoslavia, some time ago, a meeting of the chairmen of the non-aligned countries was held.<sup>1</sup> There were also a few leftists in this meeting, such as Sukarno, the representatives of Mali, of Cuba, and of Guinea, though [Guinean President] Sékou Touré did not go there himself. Nasser and the representative of Ghana also took a good position at that meeting. The worst position taken there was by India and Burma of U Nu, who is a pro-Indian element. The relationship of U Nu and Nehru was like the relationship between the student and his teacher. U Nu would ask for Nehru's opinion for all the most important matters. Despite this, U Nu has not interfered in Sino-Indian relations. But Ne Win is different from U Nu; Ne Win is anti-Indian. [Next in line] after Ne Win in Burma is the Brigadier General An Ti, who is not of good character, he is pro-Japanese.

This is what I had to say.

Comrade Hysni Kapo: We consider as very interesting this analysis of Comrade Deng Xiaoping and will make sure to transmit it to our Central Committee. I wanted to add that there is plenty of interest in our country on the part of the Arab countries; in fact some countries in Africa are also interested in our country.

Comrade Deng Xiaoping: You are a Muslim country, so you could do a lot of good work with the Muslim countries of



Africa.

Comrade Hysni Kapo: We are getting a few requests for experience-sharing from some of the African countries; they ask for help with specialists and want to send students in our country. We will see what kind of assistance we could give these countries within our capacity, always keeping in mind the objective of strengthening the relations with these countries following a correct course. We also keep in mind what Comrade Deng Xiaoping said to us about not interfering in the internal affairs of other countries; we do not have diversionary objectives. Having as a starting point our common objectives in the struggle against imperialism, we have used this point of view and continue to do so in our relations with the Arab countries, as well in those with the African countries. As far as the Yugoslav revisionists' position toward these countries, it is well known that they are trying to be active in them. We always keep this in mind in our work. Wherever it is possible, we fight, with our staunch position, against the activities of the Yugoslav revisionists in these countries. They are waging a struggle in general in Africa, but also against us in particular, but we are working hard with these countries so that they may understand what our true position is.

Comrade Deng Xiaoping: You are standing on correct ground. It may be possible for us to increase our work in Africa, because we do have bases there, such as in Algeria. Our relations with Yemen are also very good. The King of Yemen is better than the revisionists.

Comrade Hysni Kapo: In our work in these countries we are finding difficulties with propaganda tools. We will look more carefully at our capacity for activity and if necessary, we will also come and talk to you and if this is something that is of interest to both of us, you might even help us in this area. In fact, you already help us very much with propaganda tools, not only with radio equipment, but with plenty others, such as magazines and other literature of ours, which is published for distribution to other countries.

Comrade Deng Xiaoping: It has been our experience that when working with African countries, one thing is of great importance: the people in Africa are very sharp, because they have been feeling the yoke of imperialism for a long time. That is why it is not an easy thing to gain their trust. First of all, the African trusts only [people] who do not interfere in his internal affairs; then trust is added if one does not take anything from them. I am talking here especially about us as a great power. That is why we do not rush in our actions toward them; we do not make many gestures, and always take into account their difficulties. We also wage our propaganda activity at such a level as it may be acceptable to them, at a level which they themselves will accept. We feel that it is correct to work this way. If one rushes in his work, if one shows a lot of activity toward them, they may develop doubts about you.

Comrade Hysni Kapo: It is so, we agree.

Comrade Deng Xiaoping: That is our opinion on these issues.

What must we talk about now, the relations between our two parties?

Comrade Hysni Kapo: We want the communication between our two parties to be more frequent, because it would be that much better.

Comrade Deng Xiaoping: That is correct. We have no opposing points of view on that. We have had plenty of contacts through our ambassadors. The difficulty with us is in the exchange of visits by the leaders of the two parties, but little by little we will also create the conditions for this too. It will be that much better when we solve the problem of communication [travel] and we are actively working on it. When we thought about this, we were not thinking only in terms of the need for better relations with Albania, because, aside from you, we also have the issues of Africa, Europe, and of Latin America. It is necessary for us to also have an air route in the southern direction. Either way, it will take some time for the establishment of such a route.

Comrade Hysni Kapo: What Comrade Deng Xiaoping said is correct; the best course for relations between our two countries at the moment is through our ambassadors. Nonetheless, many issues can be better solved through direct contact.

Comrade Deng Xiaoping: That is why it is better to have direct meetings.

Comrade Hysni Kapo: Not only should we have them, but these meetings should be as often as possible. Who would not like to meet face-to-face?! First of all, because it is good for work matters, but also because it gives us a chance to see each other.

Comrade Deng Xiaoping: These are precisely our feelings, too.

Comrade Hysni Kapo: I also had another question. We do not know anything about the conclusions of the latest meeting of the Economic Council [COMECON] and of the Warsaw Pact of the socialist countries of Europe.

Comrade Deng Xiaoping: We do not know anything either. They have only communicated a few unimportant things to newspaper correspondents. We were expecting that they would discuss, for example, the letter that the CPSU Central Committee would send to us. They must, of course, have discussed economic cooperation amongst them. This is indicated by a short notice we received from them in Russian. We just

received it, and it has yet to be translated. We will give you a copy of it. But this material was only sent to us as a formality. Something of interest from that meeting is that Mongolia took part in the Council of Mutual Economic Assistance meeting.

Comrade Ramiz Alia: How do the comrades see this; what were the objectives for it?

Comrade Deng Xiaoping: The intention is to open a door for the socialist countries of Asia in the East as well and to exclude Albania. But it must be noted that the Economic Council [COMECON] is not the same thing as the Warsaw Pact. We have not said anything about this matter; we are turning one deaf ear and one blind eye toward it. They have also extended an invitation to us to take part in the meeting of the Economic Council at an observer level.

Comrade Ramiz Alia: And despite this you did not take part in it. It seems that they are inviting you to prepare the terrain and so that they are able to say later, whenever the time is most profitable, look who is not on the side of cooperation.

Comrade Deng Xiaoping: We do not pay much attention to that, but you have a right to protest because you are members of COMECON.

Comrade Ramiz Alia: As you have seen, our government has made a declaration on the meeting of COMECON, as well as on the Warsaw Pact.

Comrade Deng Xiaoping: Our position toward these things is not to pay much attention to them, and we have only published a very small and unimportant note in the newspapers about these meetings. If you give them more attention, their importance increases.

I think this is sufficient conversation on these matters for today; we will have more time to converse. You will talk to our comrades about your plans in China, in other words, whether you would like to make visits outside or remain in Beijing. As you return from your visits, we will invite you for a dinner.

(Recorded by stenograph)

1. *Editor's Note*: Reference to the September 1961 Belgrade summit of the Non-Aligned Movement.



## DOCUMENT No. 12

### Memorandum of Conversation, Hysni Kapo and Ramiz Alia with Zhou Enlai, 27 June 1962

[Source: Archives of Foreign Ministry of Albania (AFMA), V. 1961, D. 165. Obtained for CWIHP by Ana Lalaj and translated for CWIHP by Enkel Daljani.]

#### MEETING

OF THE COMRADES HYSNI KAPO AND RAMIZ ALIA  
WITH THE CHAIRMAN OF THE COUNCIL OF STATE  
OF THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA, COMRADE  
ZHOU ENLAI, AT 11 A.M. ON 27 JUNE 1962

(At the meeting our side was also represented by our ambassador to the People's Republic of China, Comrade Reis Malile, who also took the notes appearing below.)

From the Chinese side the following were present: Comrade Chen Yi, deputy chairman of the council of state and minister of foreign affairs; Comrade Zhou Enlai, deputy chairman of the council of state; Comrade Wu Xiuquan, deputy director of the Central Committee [International Department] of the Chinese Communist Party; and Comrade Luo Shigao, PRC ambassador to the People's Republic of Albania.

Comrade Hysni Kapo: We have been received very warmly at every place we have visited around your country. I take this opportunity to express the gratitude of our party and people for everything that the Communist Party of China, the PRC government, and the Chinese people have done for our party and people. I would also like to transmit to you the greetings of Comrade Enver Hoxha and Comrade Mehmet Shehu, who wanted to come themselves, but could not make it for the reasons you already know.

Comrade Zhou Enlai: I thank you for the kind words you expressed for our party, government and people, as well as for the greetings of Comrade Enver Hoxha and Comrade Mehmet Shehu. We, just like you, are preoccupied with the health of your comrade leaders, Comrade Enver Hoxha and Comrade Mehmet Shehu, because they are at the forefront of a difficult struggle against the imperialists and the revisionists. The Chinese party and people greatly admire your resoluteness; our hearts are continuously trained on you and we understand very well the situation you are currently facing. That is why it is a good thing that Comrade Enver Hoxha and Comrade Mehmet Shehu stay behind in Albania to lead this struggle. This is how our party and people also operate; they do not allow Comrade Mao Zedong to leave the country, while the rest of us can. In the world the imperialist enemies still rule, in fact over an area larger than that governed by socialism. In many countries the reactionaries rule and in some socialist countries the revisionists, who follow in the footsteps of the imperialists, are in

power. It is why, in these conditions, the movements of our leadership comrades must be careful.

But in the work of a party there is also a division of duties; some must stay behind to conduct their duty within the country's borders, and others must at times leave the country. Travel to the fraternal socialist countries must be conducted, but if the need should arise, we must also go to the enemies. How can you catch the tiger, if you do not go to his lair? For justice, for the truth, and for Marxism-Leninism, we must not hesitate, even to enter a bonfire. So we must also go to the enemy's home. You, the Albanians, are such people. We are also of the same kind. For example, in the year 1950 comrade Wu Xiuquan went to the UN and took part in the proceedings of the Security Council. Jiang Jieshi's representative was also there. Comrade Wu Xiuquan did not go there with the hopes of changing American imperialism, but with the goal of letting the working masses of the world understand our position; he went there to raise our banner and to win the opinion of the world, and this was done despite the fact that the situation was difficult, since the war in Korea had only started three months previously.

During the civil war we have fought against Jiang Jieshi [Chiang Kai-shek], but at that time we were also dealing with the issue of the war with Japan, which preoccupied us. It was easy for Jiang Jieshi to strike at the Japanese. But during the time that we were fighting against the Jiang Jieshists, we were also conducting talks with them to gain unification of all the forces of the country in the war against the Japanese imperialists. Even after the capitulation of Japan, the units that were led by Comrade Chen Yi and Comrade Li Xiannian continued the war against Jiang Jieshi, while I continued talks and conducted negotiations with him. Later, I called those comrades and all three of us talked to the enemy, the Jiang Jieshists and the Americans. This shows our experience. Though we were fighting against the Jiang Jieshists, we were also talking to them.

In the war against the Japanese we had three slogans: To fight against the Japanese and never capitulate; to preserve our unity and avoid division; and to progress forward steadfastly and avoid retreat. Jiang Jieshi could never oppose our slogans; he would not dare say that I want to capitulate or that I am against unity. By following this course, we thus won over the masses and isolated the Jiang Jieshists. We only had one adventure in this sector when Comrade Mao Zedong went to Chongqing. This was a mistake by Stalin. In the telegram that Stalin sent us, he said that if Comrade Mao Zedong did not go there, the Chinese nation would be wiped out and [Stalin] advised us not to continue the civil war. Can this not be called interference in our internal affairs? Either way, we respected his advice. Comrade Mao Zedong went there, but we continued the war. Later the war was interrupted and we used the time to strengthen our army, but when Comrade Mao Zedong returned to Yan'an, Jiang Jieshi restarted the civil war.

Still, even after this, we continued the talks with them. The delegation stayed in Nanjing until they were expelled. We did not leave before being expelled, though the building where our comrades were staying in Nanjing was surrounded by spies, but we dared to stay there because we knew that the Chinese people and party were behind us and because we were convinced that we would win.

When our struggle for the liberation of the country was nearing a victorious end, Jiang Jieshi once again asked for talks with us. We accepted [his] proposal and [his] delegation came to Beijing. The conditions that we presented to [his] delegation were accepted by the delegation, but not by the government of Jiang Jieshi, because the Americans did not agree to them. So we continued our drive south. In the white books [sic] published by Kennedy, there are many documents on this event.

The policy of our party is that we have two ways of achieving victory. The first way is through revolution. We are for armed war against the enemy. But we also have another way of doing this. We also do not refuse peaceful struggle. The only thing is that this must be supported by armed war. We have waged legal and illegal wars. We have great animosity toward the American imperialists, but in Warsaw we talk with their representatives. Even now we do not exclude the possibility of talks with Jiang Jieshi if he would like to send a delegation here. This is our tactic; this is Leninism. In the struggle that Lenin waged against the Second International, the division came only after [Karl] Kautsky published the book "Wilhelm II." Lenin fought against him though he was in the minority. This has entered the tradition of our party since Comrade Mao Zedong came to its helm.

So we use two revolutionary methods and our experience has shown this to be effective. This is our experience in the struggle against imperialism, as well as in the struggle against modern revisionism. This is also how we have acted with India. Though our relations with India are now tense, we always leave the door open for talks. India is placed in a difficult position, because while we are for talks, they are against them. In order to have talks, India requested preliminary conditions—that we pull back—while we do not ask for any preliminary conditions, though this does not mean that during the meeting we would not set our conditions. This is how we gain the initiative. The conflict on the Sino-Indian border started in the year 1959 and in 1960 this conflict became more grave. We then invited [Indian Prime Minister Jawaharlal] Nehru for talks, he answered negatively and asked that Comrade Zhou Enlai go to Delhi for talks. At that time, the spirit of the official Indian leadership was hostile toward us; in fact the pictures of Comrade Mao Zedong and Comrade Zhou Enlai were torn publicly there. Despite this, Comrade Mao Zedong and the Central Committee of our party decided that in that situation I should go to Delhi for talks. This placed Nehru in a passive position. We then posed six conditions to him for the solution

of the Sino-Indian border problem, which they [India] did not accept, but which they could also not dispute.

The struggle against the modern revisionism should also follow this course. Though there have been two meetings of the communist and workers' parties in 1957 and in 1960, Khrushchev does not change his revisionism; he now has the majority in the international communist movement; some peoples and some sister parties are now following him. In this situation we favor meetings so that we can defend our correct positions there and put N. Khrushchev on the defensive. He (N. Khrushchev) does not dare publicly to oppose the principles of Marxism-Leninism and the need for unity in the international communist movement. This is how we can hold in our hands the banner of Marxism-Leninism and that of the Moscow Declaration.

Now we, as the minority that understands Marxism-Leninism correctly, must work hard so that the masses of the party and of the peoples know the truth well, and then united with them, we can fight for the truth. To achieve this, time is needed as well as a long struggle, but in the end the undecided elements and the rightists will eventually come to our side too. In our struggle we must not only unify the leftist elements but the centrists as well, and even the rightists. In this way we will cause the decomposition of the revisionists. That is why we must not only fight against the revisionists in the ideological sense, but also in the international meetings of the parties, waging in them a continued and resolute fight. Of course, all that I am saying is drawn only from the experience of the struggle of our party. We place this experience before you for judgment, using the principles of Marxism-Leninism as a starting point; you may then decide for yourselves. We always admire the manners of fighting your party uses, but at the same time we also present to you our party's experience of struggle and implore you to transmit this and our other thoughts to Comrade Enver Hoxha and Comrade Mehmet Shehu.

As to the other sister parties of Asia, such as the Communist Party of Indonesia, the Korean Workers' Party, and the Vietnam Workers' Party, we think that their tactics are quite correct, as the delegation of our party that held talks with you previously also indicated. We must keep in mind that revisionism is now in power in many countries. The revisionists have severed diplomatic relations with you, and because of what they have done they are in a passive position. With these actions that he takes, N. Khrushchev does not gain any favor in the world. There are also some parties that think like N. Khrushchev, but that do not follow him, such as for example the Polish party that did not sever diplomatic relations with Albania. Keeping this in mind, you now have the initiative in hand.

The peoples require that we have unity, that we have good relations with each other in the socialist countries. In the relations between the socialist countries, diplomats must be care-

ful, because they represent their government, the people and their desires in the country where they have been assigned. You are in a positive situation not only in the area of diplomatic relations, but you are in such a position in the area of trade relations as well. We also have trade relations with the imperialists; in fact, we may do even more trade with the countries that have revisionists at their helm, but this must be done on the basis of the principle of equality and in the interest of the peoples. We desire to see that you develop trade with the socialist countries of Europe and with the Soviet Union. Such a thing will have a great influence on the peoples of these countries; it will be in the interest of all the peoples of socialist countries.

In relation to [Albania's] economic problems, you expressed here your gratitude for the help we have given you. I am really sorry that the truth is that we do not have the ability to fulfill each and every one of your needs. We understand your condition well; you are a small country that cannot solve all of its problems, but we are certain that your country has an ancient tradition of perseverance in overcoming your difficulties and, based on your own forces, you will move forward. In this spirit, we try to fulfill our duty as much as possible in assisting to the development of your economy, but you must, first of all, rely on your own forces. For as long as your economy is not walking on its own feet, we will not be comfortable.

While we are on the topic, I would like to inform you about our economic situation. China used to be a backward country, with a very weak economy, much weaker than even pre-revolutionary tsarist Russia. After our victory, our economy's period of recovery was not very long, though the war very much destroyed our country. In our first five-year plan we did some initial work. In our second five-year plan, based on the specific situation in China, we laid down the general course for the construction of socialism. Our course of the three banners is a correct one. As to our industry, it is weak. We have constructed some plants in this sector, but we have yet to develop a full system for the production of all those items we need. A proverb says: I have the piano, but I do not have the violin. For example, in a plane production plant we cannot produce all the plane parts we need because we do not possess certain kinds of steel, in particular special steels for the production of MiG-17s, MiG-19s, and MiG-21s. During all these years we have achieved some results, especially in conventional armaments, but are not yet able to produce everything.

Comrade Chen Yi: This has been dependent also on the assistance that the Soviet Union has given us during the past 10 years. The assistance that the Soviet Union has given us has not been complete. For example, we produce training aircraft, but no helicopters. For the production of planes, we are forced to buy some of the parts from the Soviet Union. We produce televisions and movie equipment, but we have to buy some of the parts from the Soviet Union. We will need time before we



are able to produce them on our own.

Comrade Zhou Enlai: The level of mechanization in our country is still low; that of electrification is low as well. We are able to produce equipment [domestically] and during the last few years the number [of these products] has grown, but we are still unable to produce some key items; we are forced to import such things. Now we do not possess precision machinery; we will need time for those.

In addition, the industrialization of the country also requires advanced agriculture, otherwise, the people cannot be supplied with foodstuffs and the raw material industry cannot be supplied with all it needs, either. During the last three years we have faced several natural disasters. This year our agricultural [production] will also not fare very well. As to summer production, this year's harvest will be lower than that of last year, because some places suffered from floods, while in other parts of the country we had severe droughts. As a result of the drought, it is possible that agricultural production will not be good in general. We had planned to have higher agricultural production this year, but no longer have hope for such an achievement, so this year we will once again be forced to import grains. This presents us with the problem of the procurement of the necessary foreign currency. We will buy only 10 tins of grain per capita, but this will mean that we will buy several millions tons of grain. The recovery of some of the industrial plants [works] this year will be slow. We have done some work toward the increase of agricultural production; we have decreased the number of clerks and workers and have sent many of them to the farms.

Our market this year is better; we are seeing the initial results, but we will need a lot of time for the recovery of agriculture. Our industry was also hurt badly from the recall of the Soviet specialists.<sup>1</sup> The Soviets did not consult with us on the recall of the specialists. As a result, thousands of specialists immediately left their work in the field. But this was, at the same time, a trial for our country so that we may draw lessons on how to walk on our own feet. We do not complain why others do not help us; China is a large country and we must increase our capacity to produce.

The modern revisionists have created great difficulties for us, but the greatest difficulties for us come from the imperialists, because the greatest part of our border is shared with countries that are on the side of imperialism. For a long time now, the imperialists have coaxed these countries to form a crescent-shaped enclosure around China, but until now this has not happened yet. Now, American imperialism, seeing our difficulties, is inciting Jiang Jieshi against us, with the intention of having him attack the continent.

(After this Comrade Zhou Enlai explains the situation on the basis of the notice given by the Xinhua news agency, and then

continues): We unmask the intrigues of the American imperialists and have undertaken military measures. If Jiang Jieshi should dare to attack us, we will eliminate him. We unmask the American imperialists through our propaganda on these issues. We also told them during the talks in Warsaw<sup>2</sup> that if an attack should happen, [the Americans] will not escape from the responsibility.

On this issue there are two possibilities. Keeping in mind our warning to them, the American imperialists and Jiang Jieshi might not undertake anything. But they might still try their hand at an attack and in that case we will liquidate them completely.

We wanted to inform you about our situation. We have been born with difficulties and that is how we are growing. The same thing that is happening to us is also happening to you—you were born with difficulties and with difficulties are growing.

In our third five-year plan we will continue to strengthen the defense and the economy of our country, and, in the end, we will once again walk with a great leap. Keeping in mind all the above, with a feeling of sorrow we say to you that in the economic relations between our two countries it is possible that we will not be able to fulfill our obligations to you before the deadlines. You are not an economic delegation, but I still wanted to inform you of this.

As to the trade volume for 1962, it will reach 52 million new rubles. Of this amount, it is certain that 36 million new rubles, or 67% of the agreement, will be realized. In the amount that will not be realized, the following items are included:

- 1) We cannot supply you this year with the grain that has yet to be delivered for the year—a total of 55,000 tons. The same goes for 900 tons of crude oil. It is possible that we will not be able to supply these articles to you. We wanted to consult with you on this.
- 2) As to the goods which we should supply to you by purchasing them from other countries, they are not certain. The majority of them we will be unable to give to you, such as the lubricants, for example. The same goes for the goods we will procure from capitalist countries; since we do not have foreign currency, we will not be able to give them to you.
- 3) For some objects which we do not produce on our own, and which are not very necessary, we wanted to consult with you about them.

So, for this year we will not be able to fulfill the agreement we have with you. There is very little hope that the amount will reach over the 36 million new rubles.

When [Vice Chairman of the Council of Ministers] Comrade Abdyl Kellezi was here,<sup>3</sup> we discussed these objects. After we

discussed them further, and based on the production capacity of our country and the conditions of yours, we are of the opinion that until the end of the year 1964, with great travails, only 10 objects can be implemented; the other 19 objects can be categorized as such:

For the nitrogen fertilizer plant, Italy refuses to give us the necessary technical data, so that object could not be secured. The same goes for the glass factory. For the other 17 objects, we think that you should build them later than the planned deadlines, in other words, you should extend them to sometime in 1966 and 1967, and even later. We are not able to build them by the deadline, because we are short on equipment. The same thing is also going on with Vietnam and the other countries to which we have promised assistance; we are forced to extend the deadlines with all of them. Of course, this may bring some difficulties to you, but we must take responsibility for this. On the other hand, we think that, judging from your workforce, you will not be able to fulfill all the construction required. This is our opinion, but your government does not accept this. You have announced these objects in your five-year plan, but the plan can also be amended and there are plenty of examples of this. Comrade Stalin has said that a suitable plan must be amended often. And now N. Khrushchev, as well as other socialist countries, amend their plans.

In a few words, we are bringing you some difficulty in the economic relations between our countries. This is a truth that troubles us. We know that you have not come to China for this matter, but we beg you to transmit this matter to the ALP CC. We will cooperate through the Albanian embassy with the group of Albanian specialists that have come here.

Comrade Hysni Kapo: You evaluated correctly the position of our party and the care that it must pay to its leadership. The CCP is very correct to thus protect Comrade Mao Zedong who is not only yours, but also of the world communists, who see in him an eminent leader of the international communist movement. Comrade Mao Zedong is the son of your people and your party, but all that he has done for Marxism-Leninism belongs to us all.

Comrade Zhou Enlai: The same goes for your struggle and your leaders, who are also ours.

Comrade Hysni Kapo: We understood well all that you said to us. All those parties that are led by Marxism-Leninism in their struggle, are the same in one way or another. To a certain degree, as far as our conditions have allowed, our party, during the war, has tried to draw in all the masses.

(Further on, Comrade Hysni Kapo describes the policy of our party toward the National Liberation Front, and then continues): During the course of the national liberation war we have also entered into negotiations and talks with the heads of the reactionary organizations with the intention of drawing the masses

into the war effort. Of course, when it becomes necessary, we must also go to the enemy to talk. A proof of this is the course of your party and its correct line. To a certain degree this is very similar to our country. In 1946, the People's Republic of Albania was recognized only by the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia. The imperialists were organizing plots even at the UN and only the Soviet Union defended Albania there. A delegation of our country also went to the UN then to unmask American imperialism and its lackeys. This is similar to what you said that we must go to the lair of our enemy and strike him there. We all know what imperialism is, though should it become necessary, we know that we must also talk to our enemy.

We also have other examples that show the policy of our party in this area. The position of Greece toward the People's Republic of Albania is well known. (Then Comrade Hysni Kapo explains the relations of our country with Greece, and continues further): Despite the enemy stance of the Greeks, the ALP and our government have continually taken steps for the amelioration of our relations with Greece. (Further on Comrade Hysni Kapo explained the stance of Yugoslavia toward our country and our efforts to achieve normal relations at the governmental level, and on this, Comrade Hysni Kapo said, we have applied the principle that one must also talk to the enemy as a starting point.)

Our relations with the countries of the communist family are completely different from the relations we have with the countries that are ruled by other social systems. Within our family the Leninist rules and principles must always be respected. These rules and principles have been thrown away by N. Khrushchev. It is a fact that our party was publicly attacked as being traitorous, as anti-Marxist, etc.

Comrade Zhou Enlai: The Second International also accused Lenin of being a traitor, as an agent of imperialism, etc., but he still took part in the meeting of the Second International because not all of the mass of communists saw its errors. According to our opinion, in the midst of the international communist movement, as well as between the socialist countries, the talks are necessary. N. Khrushchev made a big mistake by not inviting Albania to the 22nd Congress of the CPSU. The attacks that he initiated against you at that congress unmasked him.

In the meeting of the Warsaw Pact [Political Consultative Committee] that was held in February of 1960, N. Khrushchev called Comrade Mao Zedong a "discarded shoe" (an old boot). This made us very happy, because by this N. Khrushchev showed that he is a revisionist. He has been slandering us for a long time now, but we nevertheless went to the 22nd Congress of the CPSU. The speech I read at the congress, at the behest of the CC of our party, was soft but with effect on the world. Our participation in the congress did not add to the weight of N. Khrushchev, but to that of the ALP. The participation of the

other sister parties that stand on correct ground did not add to the weight of N. Khrushchev. Marxism-Leninism allows us to follow the above-mentioned tactic in the midst of the international communist movement as well, to take part in the unmasking of the enemies. We would be isolated without our participation in the meetings.

Comrade Hysni Kapo: I thank Comrade Zhou Enlai for the speech that he read at the 22nd Congress of the CPSU in defense of the ALP and of Marxism-Leninism.

Comrade Zhou Enlai: The thanks you express are not necessary. The speech I read was necessary and it was held in the interest of the preservation of Marxism-Leninism.

Comrade Hysni Kapo: When we speak of the Soviet-Albanian disagreements, the issue is not only the disagreements themselves, it is an issue of Marxism-Leninism. We were hit at the 22nd Congress of the CPSU, but the arrows were intended for somewhere else as well. (Here Comrade Hysni Kapo explained how these blows were also directed against the CCP.)

Comrade Ramiz Alia: The handle of the hammer falls on Albania, but the head strikes China.

Comrade Zhou Enlai: Yes, it is so. The main blow is directed against China. We have a proverb here that says: Let us strike at the oak, so that the mountain can hear.

Comrade Hysni Kapo: Had N. Khrushchev invited us to the 22nd Congress, we would have taken part. The attack he initiated against us at this congress has neither frightened us, nor made us any weaker. In Albania there is a unity that has not been seen before in either the party or the people. His attacks have strengthened us even more. The correct line of our party has played a role in this regard, [but also] external factors, the struggle of the sister parties in the defense of Marxism-Leninism and, above all, the struggle of the CCP, its assistance and international solidarity.

Comrade Zhou Enlai: The main help is the internal factor.

Comrade Hysni Kapo: (Explains the issue related to the unity within our party, then continues on to say that) ... we agree with what you (Comrade Zhou Enlai) said that Lenin, despite the division between the parties in the Second International, continued to take part in its meeting. (Further on, Comrade Hysni Kapo pointed out the situation at the [June 1960] Bucharest meeting.

Comrade Zhou Enlai: Your support for our party at the Bucharest meeting was pivotal.

Comrade Hysni Kapo: Both you and we knew before-

hand what N. Khrushchev would bring up at this meeting and despite our participation. In addition, we also participated in the Moscow meeting [in November 1960] despite the difficult situation that had been created there. We took part there not because we thought that N. Khrushchev might change his thoughts and his stance, but because it was necessary for us to discuss the problems of our family. We should not have given the upper hand to the enemy by taking the first step in that direction. And N. Khrushchev stepped on the norms of the relations between the parties and of the [1957] Moscow Declaration; he organized the open attack on the ALP at the 22nd Congress of the CPSU.

(Further on Comrade Hysni Kapo describes the unequal situation in which our party has been put after the 22nd Congress of the CPSU and the situation it would have faced had it gone to the meeting; later he explained the reasons for which the position of the ALP is correct and pointed out that the CCP stands on other conditions. He then said that on all the principal issues both of our parties stand on similar grounds and our points of view only differ on the issue of the meeting. But, Comrade Hysni Kapo continued, we will transmit your thoughts to the Central Committee of our party. We have been led by the spirit of the friendship and sincerity that ties us every time we have expressed an opinion here.)

You, Comrade Zhou Enlai, spoke here about your economic situation. We are two bodies with one single heart; every difficulty of yours is felt by us too. We understood by the explanations that you gave that you placed your heart in our hand and did not keep any secrets from us. We understand very well the measures that you have taken.

We are not empowered by the Central Committee of our party to talk with you about economic problems; the leadership of our party has entrusted us with discussing only the issue of the nitrogen fertilizer plant and only to see where we are regarding the deadlines for the objects. As to the issues that you brought forth, we cannot express any opinion, but we think that the changes that you propose will bring extremely grave economic and political hardships to us, such as, for example, the failure to fulfill the agreement on bread supplies. We would never want to cause you to have less bread than us, but considering the conditions in which we find ourselves, we would ask that this issue, as well as the others, be looked at one more time.

(Further on, Comrade Hysni Kapo speaks in more detail to Comrade Zhou Enlai about the imperative need for procuring grains and shows the real basis on why we asked for them. He also pointed out the need for deliveries of oils, of tubes, etc. Comrade Hysni Kapo then said to Comrade Zhou Enlai that we understand the intent of your point that we must walk on our own feet, but because of the economic conditions of our country we are not able to achieve this at the moment, but we

have mobilized all the working masses for the complete fulfillment of all the tasks of the 3rd five-year plan.)

Comrade Zhou Enlai: (Spoke once again and said that we should tap into our reserves.)

Comrade Hysni Kapo: (Pointed out that we have very few reserves; that they are only enough for a time of war; and that in fact even from those we have already taken out for the first three months of the year with the hope that we could replace them with the assistance from China.)

The decrease in the number of objects from 29 to 10 that you would like to do is very troublesome for us. You expressed the opinion that our plan might be overloaded. You have also expressed this opinion to [First Deputy Premier] Comrade Spiro Koleka. We analyzed all these issues one by one at the Politburo and came to the conclusion that we have the power to construct all the objects that we have included in the plan. Comrade Abdyl Kellezi was sent here exactly for the conclusion of the agreements. The signing of the agreements with you calmed us because the objects that we will receive from you are the foundation of our third five-year plan for industry and if we could be given them, we have the power to build them. The failure to receive 19 objects would be a very damaging thing for us and that is why we plead with you to reconsider this issue. We will report to the Central Committee of our party about your point of view on this, but we can tell you beforehand that we know the situation and the effect that such a measure would have on us would be very grave.

As to the nitrogen fertilizer plant, it was known for a while that it would come from other countries. If the Italians will not provide it, let us look somewhere else to see if it can be found, because agriculture is also vital in our country and nitrogen fertilizers play an important role in agriculture.

(Further on, Comrade Hysni Kapo gives general information on the agricultural situation in our country. If we do not secure nitrogen fertilizers, he says, we will always have to import our bread. The change of plan will be a very grave thing for us to bear, especially when considering our political, economic, and geographic position. Comrade Hysni Kapo then pointed out our great needs in the area of strengthening our defenses and gave some details about the armed forces of the countries that surround Albania. He also pointed out that despite the economic weight that the armed forces place on the country, they are necessary for the security of our fatherland.)

Comrade Zhou Enlai: I am aware of some of the things that you pointed out, but there are also some new things. First of all, on the issue of defense, I had known the information from the talks I have had with your comrades from the military delegations. Whatever potential for military materiel assistance we have had, we have given to you, and we will continue to do

some part in the future.

We are convinced that the heroic Albanian people, led by the party will withstand all the enemies that will dare to attack your country. The issue here can be compressed into two main problems for you: [illegible] ... fertilizers. We cannot fulfill the grain plan. For this year could you use some amount of grain from the military reserves? Whenever we will have freed foreign currency, we will replace all you use. The amount of grain that you would receive this year, we will give to you next year. We would like to help you with chemical fertilizers, but we are not able to solve the technical side of the production of the nitrogen fertilizers. The Italians refuse to give us the technology.

Comrade Li Xiannian: We are still trying to procure it from the Italians.

Comrade Zhou Enlai: We will still try to achieve something with the Italians. We assure you that whenever we manage to get the patents, we will first of all help you and then we will look into our needs. But if they do not give it to us, there is nothing we can do. We will also ask [PRC Foreign Minister] Comrade Chen Yi to talk about this issue with the Italian firm MOTAI when he goes to Geneva [for the conference on Laos]. The faraway water cannot put out the fire that is nearby, goes a wise proverb of our people. Even if we get the technology, we will need 2, 3, or even more years before we can start producing [nitrogen fertilizers].

Comrade Hysni Kapo: (Points out that in no way can the small reserve of grains intended for the military be touched and gives an explanation of our country's great need for the nitrogen fertilizer plant. Then he adds that the gasification shop construction can be postponed for later, but that the other shops must start to be built now.)

Comrade Zhou Enlai: We do not have the experience for this. This can only be done after we receive the documentation from the Italians.

Comrade Hysni Kapo: Let us at least start building the thermal power station that will supply energy to the nitrogen fertilizer plant since we know the capacity it must have.

Comrade Zhou Enlai: This also cannot be done. (Then he insists again that the nitrogen fertilizer plant needs a few years to be built) and you have an urgent need for chemical fertilizers. So I will speak with the comrades in the government so that we may furnish you with some next year and then do that again and again until the plant is constructed. 10,000 tons of chemical fertilizers spread on the fields will add 30,000 tons of grain. These are the proportions that we will use to supply you for the fulfillment of your needs.

Comrade Hysni Kapo: (Asks one more time that all the



issues that Comrade Zhou Enlai brought forth be reconsidered once again.)

Comrade Zhou Enlai: The thoughts that I brought forth to you are realistic. I think that we must share all the blessings and the misfortunes with each other. We will supply you with chemical fertilizers in the coming year; we will also give you the grain at that time. In the coming year we can give you up to 15,000 tons of chemical fertilizers.

[...]

What I have presented here is the reality, and we implore you to transmit it to the Central Committee of your party and to your government. Most needed for you are the fertilizers and the grains; the industrial objects can be postponed. The most important thing is the agriculture. I say this once again because I know that this issue is worrisome for you.

Comrade Hysni Kapo: (Points out the great worry that such a thing causes us.)

Comrade Zhou Enlai: I was in northeast China trying to solve the bread problem. Many industrial and very important centers there we have closed, and the workers have all been sent to work in the fields.

Comrade Li Xiannian: We are responsible for all that we have said to you today, especially I who made promises to you. These last days I looked at the list of objects. We see that after they are all built, you will have a great need for a large workforce for them. By pulling all these forces from the village, your agriculture will become weaker.

Comrade Hysni Kapo: (Explains that we already have these forces and that the problem has been well studied from all sides.) If the problem we face is that we cannot build the objects due to technical shortcomings, that is another thing, but as to the necessary workforce for the construction and then for the operation of these objects, we can procure it.

Comrade Zhou Enlai: The main thing are the technical shortcomings; we simply are not able to [provide] it [the technology]. We are your good friends, but we are also poor; we accepted your requests only after great deliberation.

Comrade Hysni Kapo: For us it is better to have a poor friend who is good, such as we have in the CCP and the Chinese people, than to have a rich friend who seeks to stick a knife into your back.

1. *Editor's Note:* The Soviet Union abruptly withdrew its scientific and technical advisors from Albania in July 1960.

2. *Editor's Note:* The Sino-American ambassadorial talks first opened in Geneva in August 1955 and continued, after being sus-

pended in December 1957, in Warsaw, Poland.

3. *Editor's Note:* An Albanian trade delegation, led by Kellezi, arrived in Beijing on 22 December 1961.



## DOCUMENT No. 13

### Memorandum of Conversation, ALP Delegation with Mao Zedong, 29 June 1962

[Source: Central State Archive, Tirana, AQPPSh-MPKK-V.1962, L. 14, D. 7. Obtained for CWIHP by Ana Lalaj translated for CWIHP by Enkel Daljani.]

#### THE MEETING OF THE DELEGATION OF THE ALBANIAN LABOR PARTY WITH THE CHAIRMAN OF THE CHINESE COMMUNIST PARTY, COMRADE MAO ZEDONG, AT THE CITY OF WUHAN, AT 5:00 P.M., ON 29 JUNE 1962

Chairman Mao Zedong received our delegation at the city of Wuhan. He had come out to the outer door, where he received the delegation. After the participants took their seats at the sitting room, Chairman Mao Zedong asked Comrade Hysni Kapo how the delegation had enjoyed their time during the days of their stay in the People's Republic of China, Comrade Hysni Kapo, after answering the question asked by Comrade Mao Zedong, said:

"I would like to first of all express the joy of the delegation of our party for the possibility it was given of meeting with you personally, Comrade Mao Zedong. We value immensely the sacrifice you are making by expending a very valuable part of your time to receive us. We thank the CC of your party from the bottom of our hearts and especially you personally for this chance you have given us."

Comrade Mao Zedong: Welcome.

Comrade Hysni Kapo: When we left Albania, the CC of our party and Comrade Enver Hoxha personally, asked us to bring you the most heartfelt greetings of our party, our people, of the CC, and of Comrade Enver Hoxha to the fraternal and friendly people of China, your glorious party, the leadership of your party, and to you personally.

Comrade Mao Zedong: I thank you very much.

Comrade Hysni Kapo: At the same time, we would like to express the deep gratitude of our people and party to the Chinese people, their Communist Party and its leadership, with you at its helm, for the extremely great, internationalist, and universal assistance that your people and party have given and are giving to our people and party during these hard moments

we have been going through lately under the conditions of the geographic encirclement by the imperialists and their lackeys, the modern revisionists.

Comrade Mao Zedong: We must be the first to thank you because you stand at the front line, because you live under very difficult circumstances, and you fight in defense of Marxism–Leninism. This is a very valuable thing; it is more valuable than anything else. You did not fall under the strikes from the batons of others.

Comrade Hysni Kapo: We did not fall because we have good and faithful friends. We are proud that we are linked by such a great friendship with the fraternal people of China, and that in our struggle we have found and have next to us the glorious Communist Party of China, with you at the helm, Comrade Mao Zedong, a dear person not only to the Chinese communists and people, but also of our party and people and of the entire world proletariat.

Comrade Mao Zedong: The entire world supports you in your struggle, all the revolutionaries support you; everyone is on your side except for the imperialists, the reactionary bourgeoisie, and the revisionists.

It is very significant that your country was recognized even by Cuba, and precisely after the [October 1961] 22nd Congress of the CPSU. Cuba established diplomatic relations with you not before, but after the 22nd Congress. Cuba did this at a time when it finds itself in a very difficult situation; a time when it cannot avoid relying on the Soviet Union for many things. That is why I say that this is a very meaningful sign. At present, despite the fact that the leaderships of many parties stand on the side of the revisionists, the situation within these parties, nonetheless, changes continually.

The fact that the imperialists even today exploit many oppressed peoples is an objective reality. Two-thirds of humanity is now under the yoke of imperialism and capitalism. Does this mean that all these peoples will perhaps not fight on the side of the revolution? We say that they will lose their desire to wage a revolution only when they are no longer under the oppression of the imperialists and the reactionaries of the various countries. This is a fact that is visible by all; it is not a lie when we say that the imperialists and the reactionaries are still oppressing all these peoples. Sooner or later all the oppressed peoples of the world will definitely wage a revolution.

It will be very hard for the revisionists to continue ruling over the people in the countries where they are in power for one thousand or one hundred years. We see from now that the revisionists are not calm and they are very afraid of Stalin; Stalin terrifies them, though he died a few years ago. But the revisionists are also very afraid of Albania. The position that they take toward you can be explained in that light, otherwise

why would they expel you by not inviting you to take part at the 22nd Congress of the CPSU and attacking you publicly? They did not invite you to their congress and attacked you in your absence. Such a move is not allowed by the Moscow Declaration. Even if we suppose that Albania has erred, then a meeting of all the communist and workers' parties should have been called to discuss this issue together. But N. Khrushchev is afraid; he is very afraid of such a meeting. He has proclaimed at his own decision that you have erred, and he did this in the name of the party. The source of this behavior is the 20th CPSU Congress in which he proclaimed his war on Stalin. But we know well that the war that N. Khrushchev is waging against Stalin is a war that is waged on Marxism–Leninism. This is the essence of all the activity of the revisionists.

Revisionism, as a movement, took power in its hands in some countries after the death of Stalin. We did not understand this right away, but gradually; perhaps it was also understood by your party in this way. After the death of J. V. Stalin, the revisionists took measured steps. So, by looking at their activity, we understood well who they were. After the death of Stalin they expelled Molotov and his friends and continually waged a cleansing of the cadres that were not on their side. At the center this cleansing ran up to 50%, while at the base it went up to 70%. So, in this manner, a great change was achieved.

At the beginning we did not foresee the effects that would flow from the spirit of the 20th Congress. Later the 21st and the 22nd Congresses were held. From them we saw that N. Khrushchev was not calm; he once again showed that he is very worried about Stalin. That is why he once again attacked Stalin at the 22nd Congress until he achieved his goal of removing Stalin's body from the mausoleum and burning it. But we know well that N. Khrushchev is not so much afraid of dead people; he is afraid of the living, he is afraid of those that support Stalin. Is it possible that N. Khrushchev, after he attacked Stalin, after he removed his body from the mausoleum and burned it, created better days for himself? What do you think of this?

Comrade Hysni Kapo: When we rely on the teachings of the always victorious Marxism–Leninism, whatever move that N. Khrushchev does will never give him good days.

Comrade Mao Zedong: That is correct. He seems to have been taken over by many devils from all sides.

Albania was not in the past a center of attention of all the peoples of the world; then your country was only known as one of the 12 socialist countries, but now, after the 22nd CPSU Congress, Albania is at the center of attention of the majority of the peoples of the world. Is it not so?

Comrade Hysni Kapo: It is so.

Comrade Mao Zedong: Such a phenomenon also appeared in our country. During the 22nd Congress, we published the speeches and the articles of their press that were full of attacks against Albania, but we also published the materials of your party. But the great majority of our people centered their attention on the speech of Comrade Enver Hoxha that was held on 7 November 1961. We did not make any comments or clarifications about this speech, but in our country all those that are able to read the newspaper read the speech of Comrade Enver Hoxha with much attention and more than 90% of them valued it very correctly. Did this also happen in your province? (He directs his question at the first secretary of the party committee of the province of Wuhan, who was also present at this meeting.)

The First Secretary of Wuhan: That has also happened in our province.

Comrade Mao Zedong: (Directing his question at the ambassador of the People's Republic of Albania, who is also a member of the delegation of the People's Republic of Albania.) Comrade Malile, when did you come to our country?

Comrade Reis Malile: At the end of July of last year.

Comrade Mao Zedong: Have we met?

Comrade Reis Malile: Yes, we met when you received the Albanian economic delegation in January of this year.<sup>1</sup>

Comrade Mao Zedong: That is why I do not know you that well, because I have only met you once. What about the other comrades of the delegation, have I seen them before?

Comrade Hysni Kapo: (After he introduces all the comrades of the delegation.) No, all the other comrades come to the People's Republic of China for the first time.

Comrade Mao Zedong: How is Comrade Enver Hoxha's health?

Comrade Hysni Kapo: He is very well, thank you.

Comrade Mao Zedong: What about Comrade Mehmet Shehu?

Comrade Hysni Kapo: He is also very well.

When we received the letter from the CCP CC signed by you, Comrade Mao Zedong, that invited a delegation of our party to China, the desire of the comrades of the leadership was for Comrade Enver Hoxha to come himself, but such a trip, in the very difficult conditions that have been created around us, is a desire that has become impossible to realize.

We greeted the invitation that you sent, Comrade Mao

Zedong, as a very important matter. Comrade Enver Hoxha himself instructed us that during the exchange of thoughts with the delegation of your country we should express everything that our party thinks. It was a great joy and satisfaction for us that during the exchange of opinions with the delegation of your party, led by Comrade Deng Xiaoping, as well as at the other meetings that we have had with other Chinese leadership comrades, the unity of our points of view in all the principal issues that preoccupy our two parties was confirmed. We left Beijing with the impression that the talks held between the two sides are very valuable and beneficial and we will report to the CC of our party the points of view of your party. At the same time, we will specifically inform the CC of our party of your advice and thoughts from this meeting.

Comrade Mao Zedong: Very well, there is plenty of time to think. We are not afraid of anything for as long as the truth is in our hand. We are convinced that the truth is in our hand. We knew it at the Meeting of the 81 Parties in Moscow, too; though we were in the minority the truth was on our side. Since ancient times the truth has always been on the side of the few. In the beginning, Marx and Engels were alone. They were just two people, but with what speed their ideas were spread out! Leninism was not in the majority in the beginning either. In 1903, when the 2nd Congress of the Russian Social Democratic Workers' Party was held in England, Lenin won the majority with much difficulty, but after the congress he once again was left in the minority until the time of the Revolution in 1917 when the situation changed once again as the St. Petersburg soviet secured more than 50%.

The revisionists and N. Khrushchev unmask themselves with their activities. The work that N. Khrushchev does makes the imperialists happy and not the peoples of the various countries, including here the Soviet people, too. I think that the majority of the Soviet people are not happy with the activities of the revisionist group of N. Khrushchev. They are unhappy from the war that N. Khrushchev has waged and wages on J. V. Stalin.

The peoples of the Soviet Union are also unhappy with the war that N. Khrushchev and his group are waging on the ALP and the CCP. This unhappiness grows continually. In China, our party, which was founded in 1921, at the beginning found the support of only a few people too. There were only 12 delegates in its 1st Congress, who represented only a few tens of party members, a total of 57 people. The declaration or the decision taken by this congress did not draw the attention of many people, but the facts show that our people gradually understood the line of the party; they absorbed Marxism little by little.

Our people have had two kinds of teachers: One kind of these teachers are Marx, Engels, Lenin, and Stalin. The other kind is the various imperialists and Jiang Jieshi. If the teach-

ers of the second kind did not exist, the revolutionary conscience of our people would not have been born; they would have never been able to understand Marxism, if they had not been oppressed by the imperialists and Jiang Jieshi. Perhaps the same thing happened in your country too; in the beginning only a few people should have believed in Marxism, but with the oppression exerted on the people by the enemies, they start to understand the course, to be clarified, and gradually to believe in Marxism. At the present time, the teachers of the second kind are the imperialists and the reactionaries of the various countries.

In a way, the revisionists are to us the second kind of teachers. On the struggle against the revisionists the people could not be clear on many issues. The modern revisionists are today playing the same role that the old revisionists, such as Bernstein with Kautsky in Germany and Plekhanov in Russia, played in the past. The old revisionists also brought forth the idea of the peaceful transfer to socialism, without revolution. So the theory of the peaceful transfer of power to socialism is not something new, it is an old theory.

The true Marxists of the time had many things to do; they were forced to fight against revisionism. Leninism, the Party of the Bolsheviks, the communist parties in the various countries of the world, and the Third International were born in these conditions, and then the revolution developed further. From one socialist country that existed before World War II, and that country was the SU, now there are 12 socialist countries. With the exception of Mongolia, the other 10 new socialist countries were born during or right after World War II. This is the dialectics of history; in the world everything has changed and will continue to change. Here I am talking about materialist dialectics. N. Khrushchev will not change all the Marxists and turn them into revisionists.

Comrade Hysni Kapo: It is so. What you have said is very correct; those that become revisionists are the undecided, only those that are not true Marxists.

Comrade Mao Zedong: Yes. Now we live at a time when the others are cursing at us. We have been and are being cursed at by the imperialists and the Jiang Jieshiists; later, along with them, we had and have [Indian Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru and [Yugoslav President Josip Broz] Tito cursing at us; now we have N. Khrushchev cursing at us, too. We are used to being damned by our enemies. The damning actions by the revisionists are malignant, as are for example their political pressures toward us, the severing of relations, etc., but they do not scare us. These are the kinds of activities they engage in.

Comrade Hysni Kapo: It is so. Neither their damning, nor their pressure will scare us. As you said, with these things that they have done and continue to do against us, after all the cursing at us and their attacks, they only managed to get the name

of our party to be heard and followed all around the world.

Comrade Mao Zedong: It is so.

Comrade Hysni Kapo: You know that our population is small; for many centuries our people have lived under the yoke of the foreigners, but they have never kneeled before them. The only friends they had at those times were the rifle and the mountains of Albania, in fact even the mountains were at those times the property of the feudal owners and the rich people, and the rifles had flints. Nonetheless, despite the conditions ... [a few illegible words] ... of theirs, the rifles are very good and, above all, they have their party that leads them on a correct course; they have faithful friends who assist them. When I say that our people are not alone but have good friends, I am talking about the Chinese people, the glorious CCP, the peoples of the socialist countries, the Soviet people, as well as all the peoples of the world.

Our party, Comrade Mao Zedong, despite the rabid attacks by N. Khrushchev and those in the parties of the socialist countries of Europe that follow him, has never considered N. Khrushchev to be identified with the Soviet people and the Soviet communists. Neither the Soviet Union, nor the Soviet people, or the party of Lenin, are the property of N. Khrushchev. The Soviet party and people are educated by Lenin and, as you also said, the time will come when the revisionists will end up in the same place as their predecessors. This is what history teaches us.

On what you said that we should not be afraid of meetings, I would like to say that our party, like your party, knew what the situation was when the meeting of the parties was held in Moscow back in 1960; we knew that we would be in the minority there, and yet, despite that, we went to this meeting (both of our parties), we spoke there and fought together, alongside many other parties.

Comrade Mao Zedong: The same has happened in Bucharest [at the RWP Congress in June 1960] too.

Comrade Hysni Kapo: There we were in an even smaller minority.

Comrade Mao Zedong: We were attacked openly there and we were not prepared for it.

Comrade Hysni Kapo: We consider the words and the advice that you have given us here, Comrade Mao Zedong, to be extremely valuable.

Comrade Mao Zedong: I would like to invite you to have dinner tonight. Are all the Albanian comrades here?

Comrade Hysni Kapo: We thank you very much. We told



you that we have had extremely good impressions from the talks with your delegation, [see Documents #11 and #12] but allow me to bring up only one issue, because for what I would like to talk about we are kind of worried. I am talking about our economic problems that we recently discussed at the last meeting with the Chinese leadership comrades in Beijing. We expressed our points of view on this issue to the comrades in Beijing, so I do not want to go at length; I only want to ask you whether the issue that was presented to us could be revisited one more time, because if what we were offered happens, difficult conditions will be created for us. Of course, we will fight to withstand and overcome them, but given the situation that our country is facing, I think that these issues should be revisited once more.

We understand your situation, on which we were briefed by the comrades in Beijing. We saw everything here; you placed your hearts in our hands. We saw a friendly atmosphere with all the comrades with whom we conversed. But the economic issues preoccupy us very much. This is all I wanted to say to you.

You should be convinced that our party, as always, will fight for unity and for the ever deeper embedment of an ever greater love for the Chinese people and your party. These are two things that we will continually strengthen in our communists and people. Our comrades in Tirana impatiently wait to be informed on the exchange of thoughts that we have had with you and will carefully listen to all we will inform them on.

We told Comrade Deng Xiaoping, as well as Comrade Liu Shaoqi, on behalf of the CC of our party that whenever you see it suitable, we await the arrival of a delegation of the CCP to Albania and assure you that it will be received with great joy by our people and party.

Comrade Mao Zedong: Very well, it is a good thing.

On the economic issue that you mentioned, Comrade Hysni Kapo, I am not informed in detail, because I have yet to read all the material. When I return to Beijing, I will speak with the comrades about it.

Comrade Hysni Kapo: What I have told you, Comrade Mao Zedong, we have also told to the comrades in Beijing; they listened very attentively to us. But we just wanted to say it to you as well.

(After the talks Comrade Mao Zedong posed for a picture with the comrades of the delegation of the ALP and then invited them to have dinner with him. The dinner was had in a very warm atmosphere.)

(Recorded by stenograph)

+  
+ +

During the dinner the friendly conversation of Comrade Mao Zedong with the comrades of our delegation continued.

Comrade Mao Zedong emphasized that we must show vigilance against the revisionists, because they are able to prepare surprises. He said that, “for us N. Khrushchev’s raising of the issue of the personality cult of Stalin at the 20th CPSU Congress came as a surprise. He had read a report on the struggle against the ‘cult of personality,’ on the basis of which a very short resolution was adopted on the issue. This all happened after the daily agenda of the congress had finished, and after the new Central Committee of the CPSU and N. Khrushchev as a new first secretary had been elected. Only later did he inform the delegations of the sister parties. The delegation of the CCP was informed by N. Khrushchev himself. He tried to convince us of the ‘grave damages’ that Stalin had made. They call it a ‘provocation’ that in China Stalin’s portrait is hung on walls. Yes, in our country, in Tiananmen Square, twice a year, on 1 May and on 1 October, Stalin’s portrait is hung, alongside the portraits of Marx, Engels, and Lenin. Neither of those four is alive, but the people want them there. If we do not hang the portrait of Stalin, the people will admonish us.”

Comrade Hysni Kapo added that “it is the same in Albania too. You were right earlier, Comrade Mao Zedong, when you said that both our parties and our people are like a single brain; they have a single heart.”

Comrade Mao Zedong then said that “there are also many bourgeois elements that are not in agreement with the accusations that N. Khrushchev makes against Stalin, they do not believe them. They say that they are not convinced that, for example, Stalin was a coward during the World War II, as N. Khrushchev is propagandizing. Furthermore, the removal of his body from the mausoleum and its cremation was not well received by the people.”

Comrade Hysni Kapo and Comrade Ramiz Alia added that this had never been seen in history. “The monuments of the tsars of Russia, from Ivan the Terrible to Peter I and others, who have done a thousand and one evils to the people, have not been removed, while the monuments, and even the body of Stalin, were liquidated.”

Comrade Mao Zedong then said that during a meeting that he had had some time ago with Comrade Abdyl Kellezi, he had asked him, “is the grass growing in your mountains in Albania after N. Khrushchev spoke badly of you? Comrade Abdyl Kellezi answered that it was growing well. I told him that ours in China was also growing just fine, too. The thing is that some people, especially in the small countries, are very afraid of N. Khrushchev and his group. Some are afraid that division might

follow, because in their parties there are also elements that are for the line of N. Khrushchev. For example, the comrades of the CP of Indonesia are afraid that N. Khrushchev might unleash the reactionaries against them. Ho Chi Minh is afraid that, if N. Khrushchev expelled Albania today, he may tomorrow expel Vietnam too. In a meeting that Ho Chi Minh had with me, I asked him, why are you afraid? In our country, in China, the grass is growing just fine even though N. Khrushchev is attacking and fighting us. If you do not believe this, go have a stroll around our mountains and see with your own eyes. I told him that he should not be afraid, because whatever happens, the grass will grow just fine in Vietnam too.”

Amongst other things, Comrade Mao Zedong said that the former Korean ambassador to the Soviet Union did not return from Moscow; he had stayed there. “We also have a few elements in our country that support the line of N. Khrushchev; the rightist elements ... [a few unintelligible words] ... Pen De Huai in the party.”

“We also have maybe two or three people in our party too,” added Comrade Hysni Kapo.

“I know,” said Comrade Mao Zedong, “you had Liri Belishova. She has also been here in China.”<sup>1</sup>

Comrade Hysni Kapo took the floor once again, saying, “We had noticed something and have followed her activities very closely. During her [June 1960] trip to China, she secretly went to the Central Committee of the CPSU. During her return from China she, keeping this a secret from Comrade Haxhi Lleshi, went and met with [Frol] Kozlov. It seems that she received new instructions, but they were useless because the Meeting of Bucharest had already happened.”

Comrade Hysni Kapo also pointed out that, “The Soviet leadership tried to hold in the Soviet Union our students that were there for studies until before the 22nd Congress of the CPSU.” Comrade Ramiz Alia added that, “Despite the great attempts by N. Khrushchev’s people to attract our students using girls and promises, or by threatening them with their security organs, they only succeeded in keeping three or four people out of 1,500 students that we had sent to the Soviet Union. This was the result of all their attempts.”

“This,” Comrade Mao Zedong said, “is a victory of yours.”

Comrade Hysni Kapo pointed out, “In the struggle against the revisionist group of N. Khrushchev the unity of our people around the party has been strengthened like never before. This is perfectly shown by the glorious results of the elections for the People’s Assembly; only 37 people in all of Albania voted against it. Such a unity had never been seen in our country. The mobilization of the working masses is also at a high level. In fact, even many of the nationalists, which were not on our side,

have been swept by a patriotic feeling and are now in support of our party and power.”

“In China, too,” added Comrade Mao Zedong, “a good part of the nationalist bourgeoisie supports our party.”

Comrade Mao Zedong said, amongst other things, that “The delegation of the CCP at the 22nd Congress of the CPSU, had seen [former USSR Premier Nikolai] Bulganin there, who was a delegate. He did not have a car; he was walking.”

Comrade Hysni Kapo told how, “During the days of the Moscow meeting of 1960, the delegation of our party had had some meetings with the Soviet leadership, who were trying to compel our delegation not to speak at the Moscow meeting. Kozlov, Mikoyan, Suslov, Pospelov, etc. came to the headquarters of our delegation then. They said that they were ready to give anything to Albania, including wheat, machinery, credit, etc., leaving no doubt that in return they expected the delegation of our party to keep their mouths shut at the meeting. Comrade Enver Hoxha answered them that we do not sell our principles, neither for wheat nor for credit.”

“Then,” Comrade Hysni Kapo continued, “a meeting was held with N. Khrushchev [on 12 November 1960, see *Hoxha vs. Khrushchev*, p. 190]. He tried to convince us that Stalin had committed errors and great crimes. He pulled out a letter and said, ‘Please read what Bulganin writes on the matter of the errors of Stalin.’ Then he added, ‘I get thousands of such letters.’ Comrade Enver Hoxha answered that we do not need to read a letter from Bulganin to get to know Joseph Stalin. The conversation turned sour at this meeting and N. Khrushchev, talking to Comrade Enver Hoxha, said, ‘I can better get along with [British Prime Minister Harold] MacMillan than I can with you.’ Comrade Enver Hoxha then answered to him, ‘We have no doubt that you can better get along with MacMillan than you can with us.’”

Here Comrade Mao Zedong cut in and said, “Perhaps he does not get along so easily with MacMillan.”

During the conversation Comrade Mao Zedong, amongst other things, pointed out that there is a phenomenon that is often visible: “In periods of revolution, the leftist deviations are more apparent, while in peaceful period, the rightist deviations are more prevalent. For example, in China, Gao Gang and Peng Dehuai came out with their rightist opportunist points of view exactly during peaceful periods. This shows that revisionism is not a phenomenon of chance.”

Comrade Ramiz Alia added that, “at the present time, the revisionist tendencies are more popular in the developed countries (for example, Italy or elsewhere). So revisionism has its own social base.”

Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out that, “[Italian Communist leader Palmiro] Togliatti and his friends are now predicating the theory of the ‘structural reforms.’ This is an entirely opportunistic theory, because these ‘structural reforms’ do not touch in the least the economic base of the capitalist system, while not touching the most important part of the superstructure at all. They think that they will take the reigns of power in their hands using a parliamentary course, without a revolution.”

Comrade Mao Zedong then asked how many kilometers of coastline Albania had and after receiving an answer, he said that Albania had great conditions for better links with the outside world. He said that during the Long March of the Chinese Red Army, the Congress of the Communist Party of China was held in one of the revolutionary bases. The base was surrounded on all sides by the Jiang Jieshi armies. Despite this, the delegates to the congress were able to break the encirclement and come to the congress from all the various regions of China.

Comrade Hysni Kapo and Comrade Ramiz Alia emphasized that, “the economic blockade that N. Khrushchev tried to establish around the People’s Republic of Albania failed and will fail. One of the intentions of N. Khrushchev was not to allow Albania to get closer to its friend, China. For this reason, the Soviet side also eliminated the Moscow-Tirana air route. But N. Khrushchev, who speaks so much about technology, underestimated [Albania’s] capabilities: we found our way to the People’s Republic of China, whether by ship, or by another air route. No matter how much N. Khrushchev might try, he cannot separate our two parties and people.”

+  
+ +

These were the main points of the conversation that was held between Comrade Mao Zedong and the delegation of our party during the dinner. Toasts were also raised. Comrade Mao Zedong proposed a toast to the Albanian Labor Party, to Comrade Enver Hoxha and Comrade Mehmet Shehu, to the unbreakable friendship between our two parties and people, to the victory of Marxism—Leninism. Comrade Hysni Kapo also proposed the pertinent toasts.

1. *Editor’s Note:* An Albanian economic delegation led by Council of Ministers Vice Chairman Abdyl Kellezi, arrived in Beijing on 22 December 1961.

2. *Editor’s Note:* Liri Belishova visited China in June 1960 as part of a delegation headed by Haxhi Lleshi. During the visit she made several pro-Soviet statements, and was purged soon afterwards.



## DOCUMENT No. 14

### Memorandum of Conversation between Comrade Zhou Enlai and Party and State Leaders of the PRA, 27-29 March 1965

*[Source: Central State Archive, Tirana, AQPPSH-MPKK-V. 1965, D. 4. Obtained for CWIHP by Ana Lalaj and translated for CWIHP by Enkel Daljani.]*

#### TOP SECRET

#### CENTRAL COMMITTEE General Branch

On 27-29 March 1965, talks were held between Comrade Zhou Enlai, chairman of the PRC State Council and vice-chairman of the CCP CC and party and state leaders of the PRA, at the Palace of the Prime Minister.

From the Albanian side there were present the comrades: Enver Hoxha, ALP CC first secretary; Mehmet Shehu, Ministerial Council chairman and ALP CC Politburo member; Adil Carcani, minister of mining and geology and ALP CC Politburo member; Beqir Balluku, Ministerial Council first vice chairman, minister of People’s Defense and ALP CC Politburo member; Gogo Nushi, ALP CC Politburo member and president of the Central Council of the Professional Unions of Albania; Haki Toska, ALP CC Politburo member and secretary of the Central Committee; Hysni Kapo, ALP CC Politburo member and Central Committee secretary; Manush Myftiu, Ministerial Council first vice chairman, Minister of Learning and Culture and ALP CC Politburo member; Ramiz Alia, ALP CC Politburo member and Central Committee secretary; Rita Marko, ALP CC Politburo member and Central Committee secretary; Spiro Koleka, Ministerial Council first vice chairman and ALP CC Politburo member; Koco Theodhosi, Ministerial Council vice chairman, State Planning Commission president and candidate to the ALP CC Politburo; Abdyl Kellezi, vice chairman of the Ministerial Council and member of the ALP CC; Behar Shtylla, minister of foreign affairs and ALP CC member; and Nesti Nase, Ambassador Plenipotentiary and Extraordinary to the PRC and candidate to the ALP CC.

From the Chinese side there were present the comrades: Zhou Enlai, PRC State Council chairman and CCP CC vice chairman; General Xie Fuzhi, State Council vice-chairman and CCP CC member; Zhang Hanfu, vice-minister of foreign affairs and CCP CC candidate; Zhao Yimin, CCP CC candidate and vice director to the directorate to the CCP CC; Zhou Jien Guo, PRC ambassador plenipotentiary and extraordinary to the PRA; Li Xiannian, State Council general vice chairman.

#### THE FIRST MEETING

The talks of the first meeting started at 4:30 p.m., 27 March 1965

After the participants took their places, the ALP CC, first secretary Comrade Enver Hoxha, asked Comrade Zhou Enlai to continue first with the proceedings following the meeting agenda as is the custom in such events.

Comrade Zhou Enlai: Ok. You may start.

Comrade Enver Hoxha: (Jokingly). Very well, I will start talking and you can chair the meeting.

Dear Comrade Zhou Enlai.

Dear Comrades of the Chinese delegation.

Your visit here has brought great and indescribable joy in our hearts. May such joyous occasions become a tradition and may they return every year. Our party and people are celebrating because for the second time they find you, Comrade Zhou Enlai, amongst them, a dear and faithful friend of our party and people. Having you amongst us is like having the Great China, the Central Committee of the glorious CCP, the government of the PRC and the dearest Comrade Mao nearby. For this glorious leader and great Marxist-Leninist our party and people have boundless love and great respect.

But we do not just have these deep Marxist-Leninist feelings today that you are here with us. These feelings exist everyday. Our party and people have connected these feelings with their best feelings. They have connected them with their life, their struggle, their victories, their merriment and their sorrow. Albania and China, tightly bound together for life on an eternal friendship live, fight, win and progress together, joined as one in a unity that no force able to damage will ever exist.

We see everyday the fast-paced, successful development of your great country, the far-seeing, wise, heroic and Marxist-Leninist policies, both internal and external, of your party and state. We see your heroic, unbending, Marxist-Leninist struggle against world imperialism, especially American imperialism, and against modern revisionism, especially Khrushchevian revisionism. This just course and politics inspire, help and strengthen us enormously.

The visit of Comrade Beqir to Beijing and the fruitful talks he had with Comrade Mao, with you and with all the other leader comrades there, have been for us not only a great pleasure, but also helpful in further strengthening our friendship. We drew conclusions and lessons from your brother-like attitude, your warm welcome and Comrade Mao's exalted conversations. We were extremely happy when Comrade Beqir talked at length about the great enthusiasm and colossal power of the Chinese people, its steely unity around the party and its

resoluteness. Your continuous economic progress and achievements made us very happy. Our ambassador comrade in Beijing speaks enthusiastically and admiringly about the love that you and the Chinese people have for our people. In his reports he talks about your just economic policy's successes. He talks about how you overcome your difficulties and he does this because the Chinese comrades and especially you help him with frequent meetings and valuable talks and advice.

All our delegations that return from China come back with great passion for everything they saw there, especially and above all for the warm and sincere love that the Chinese people have for the Albanian people. All this not only makes us live by and follow closely your people and party's vigorous life and struggle, not only does it make us happier and stronger, but we also draw lessons from it and are inspired to work better, to overcome difficulties and to score even higher victories.

The colossal weight of Great China, its just strategy, the glorious, consequential, unwavering, Marxist-Leninist line of the CCP, led by Comrade Mao Zedong have become in the international arena, the international communist movement and to the National Liberation struggle of the peoples of the world the main factor of success, a beacon of light, the great catalyst of progress, of peace, of the struggle for liberation and the crusade for the chastity of Marxism-Leninism and the triumph of the world revolution, to socialism and communism.

The peoples of the world, in their struggle toward enlightenment, have the PRC as a faithful friend, defender, and great warrior. The Marxist-Leninists of the entire world can lean on the CCP and Comrade Mao Zedong with complete trust, and around them, [can] unite [with] their power in that exalted common cause for the defense and triumph of Marxism-Leninism, of socialism and communism, against modern revisionism and against whatever enemy, open or hidden. American imperialism, the modern revisionists, and the reactionaries of the entire world are right when they see in China their resolute and unbreakable enemy which, together with the other peoples of the world, sooner or later, will open their eternal graves.

This is our great fortune and certainty for our victory. Important events happen in the world, complex problems face the peoples, wars of all kinds and intensity are being fought, alliances are built and broken, leaders are brought down and others take their place, intrigues are woven and unwoven by the imperialist enemies and their allies, the revisionists and reactionaries of the whole world, but above all this we see that the just cause of the people, shone upon by the Marxist-Leninist doctrine moves forward, and, like a steam-roller, compresses underneath without mercy the old world that is rotting and breathing its last breath, and all the while, the new [world] is born and gets stronger.

In this great war Mao's China stands as a rock, as a ban-



ner. Our party and heroic people are honored to fight alongside the fraternal people of China. It is their honor and their duty to give their small and modest contribution in this colossal struggle where China carries on her shoulders an enormous, but glorious, weight. The PRA and our party will, to the death, remain faithful to Marxism-Leninism and their loyal friend, China and her party. We will always stand together and will always become stronger in our shared struggle.

Your visit here and the exchange of opinions we are about to start—of which I have no doubt will be identical and in complete Marxist-Leninist unity—will help us become stronger in our multi-faceted struggle.

Allow me to express some opinions of ours:

One of the main preoccupations of our leadership, since your visit to Albania last year, has been the continuation of work and the realization of the blueprints of our 4th five-year plan. It has been one of the main preoccupations because we wanted to make sure that this plan was following as realistically as possible the party line, was supported by our previous successes, was realistically and rationally exploiting our internal capabilities. We also wanted to make sure that we were ready on schedule, as we agreed in January of last year when we laid down our needs for your help.

We tried, through the letter we sent you, to make the general course of action and orientation of our upcoming five-year plan as clear as possible, but we are not sure whether we accomplished this satisfactorily. Now, some specialist comrades of ours are in China checking on problems, clarifying and discussing matters in a spirit of exemplary understanding, in a spirit of sincere and warm friendship, and in a spirit of sincere and healthy Marxist-Leninist cooperation with their Chinese counterparts which is always dominant in our relations.

When, after our comrades and you in Beijing have discussed all matters and you find an appropriate moment, our delegation, led by Comrade Spiro Koleka, is ready to come to China to solve that very vital matter for our country, the upcoming five-year plan. But, aside from Comrade Spiro Koleka's visit, good fortune has walked into our very homes, as a proverb of our people says. I am talking about your visit here, which we consider a great victory for Albania in any way you look at it, and especially for the chance to have preliminary talks on our economic issues.

Your visit here last year [in January 1964], Comrade Zhou Enlai, was not only one of the most important historical events for our country and for our very close, very sincere, Marxist-Leninist relations between our peoples, parties and governments; did not only help enormously to strengthen the moral and political situation in our country, both internally and externally; but the talks we had on all issues, especially on the econ-

omy, helped us immeasurably.

The exchange of opinions on the short-term development of our economy that we had last year, though [only] along general lines, demonstrated the unity of our view on the economic development of our country. We were extraordinary happy to have received from you Great China's competent experience in these key sectors and especially in the development of the socialist economy. The talks we have had with you have helped us immensely in setting down our great economic tasks, in correctly and concretely developing the various economic sectors and in precisely synchronizing capital investments, things that have a direct importance for the short- and long-term development of our socialist economy. You were right in advising us to rely mainly on our internal assets. This has always been and will always remain our opinion as well. This common, just and Marxist-Leninist approach has and will always lead us in our work. You were right in advising us to place the highest importance on the development of agriculture in the blueprints of the upcoming five-year plan as the basic sector of our socialist economy. This was also our opinion of the matter and it coincided perfectly with yours, and we have been led by it in our work for the realization of this basic and colossal task for our economy as the plan requires.

We warmly thank you for the outlook and inspiration you instilled in us for the further development of our industry, as the leading and determinative sector of the socialist economy and for the fact that you would never hesitate to help and advise us in the exploitation of our internal mineral resources and in as good and rational processing of these resources as possible. You were particularly interested in the further in-country development and refinement of the iron-nickel and iron-chrome minerals, the further development of the production of electrical energy so closely linked to them, and in the better refinement of petrol.

This encouragement and correct orientation, which coincided with ours, has led us in very carefully compiling the tasks we have set in our planning. If we are able to fulfill these tasks so very vital for our economy—and we are fully confident that we will accomplish this with our own internal forces, helped and accompanied by you—it will be a second liberation for Albania.

It is clear to us that without your generous help in these matters, we would not be able to accomplish this great task so very vital to our economy. We are very mindful and at the same time very grateful to the great China, this sister and ally that sacrifices so much for us helping us so generously not only with the development of our economy, but also in the military and defensive areas of our country and in the sectors of agitation and culture, not to mention here the great political support she gives to the PRA in the international arena.

We are mindful that along the colossal tasks of internal and international character that the PRC faces and considers vital to her interests, such as steering, helping and changing the world-wide course of events in the favor of Marxism-Leninism, world peace, socialism and communism, our requests to you are a burden and a further great sacrifice for you. Nonetheless, recognizing that you understand fully our strong feelings on this matter, let us assure you that our desire for the further development of our socialist economy on a just and rational course, has no egotistical character. In other words, it is not led by narrow, nationalistic interests. On the contrary, our desire for development is in its essence strongly international. Socialist Albania's just and harmonious economic development in today's Europe seething with capitalist systems and degenerated by modern revisionism, seems to us to take a distinctive importance as a small socialist state role-model, as a drop of water in the capitalist-revisionist European ocean, that not only resists these exploiting and enslaving systems, but triumphs over them. Furthermore, this correct development of our country serves as a great example of the support, brotherhood, and internationalist cooperation of the great China, led by the glorious CCP, with our dearest Comrade Mao Zedong at its helm. You understand just as well and correctly as we do that Albania's small power has no real importance in the total material potential of the world, but she has done and will forever do, until our final and complete victory, her duty as a socialist state and all her powers and capabilities will be totally committed to that sacred struggle for the triumph of Marxism-Leninism, socialism and communism, to the unbending struggle against world imperialism, especially American imperialism, and against modern revisionism, especially Soviet revisionism.

The development of our socialist economy and the direction of our upcoming five-year plan take into account the entire current political and ideological situation, the international circumstances, and the expected and unexpected problems that may arise and will certainly arise due to them. During this struggle we, while fighting, are also preparing for future battles.

Our upcoming five-year plan, in these times of armed "peace" and wars, is also a preparation for battle. We think and have full faith that you also think this way. We think, and are also very certain you will agree, that in these turbulent times, in this relative "calmness," there is an urgent need, or better put, an imperative need for the small PRA, so far geographically from her great sister and powerful ally, the PRC, to increase the pace of strengthening her defenses and the right construction of the socialist economy, especially in its most vital sectors, and to be ready to face all and any unexpected events so that she may fight even if surrounded.

We are conscious that our upcoming five-year plan, while being very concrete and realistically achievable, is at the same time very dense with tasks and will certainly require from the

people and the party a total mobilization of effort and great sacrifices. We are ready to accomplish this and will do so.

So we are asking you, the CCP CC, and Comrade Mao to understand the reasoning behind our requests to you, which we consider as of great help to us and as a great sacrifice on your part, especially considering your great tasks and undertakings, within your country and in the international arena.

As you well know, dear Comrade Zhou Enlai, our iron-nickel reserves with their known industrial potential and high quality of metal components, are one of the most important natural resources for our economy. Our country's iron and steel needs, as you well know, are high and constantly growing. All the processed iron and steel we use is imported and it uses up too much of the clearing available to us. And what is of more importance, we are at the mercy of Polish and Czech revisionists who constantly fail to fulfill our needs and their obligations, constantly fail to fulfill the required amounts or quality of material and could at any aggravated situation cut off all supplies and blockade us. The Soviet revisionists already acted like this. The Czech revisionists in particular have shown their anti-Marxist, capitalist, mercantilist and colonialist spirit before in dealings with us. You know that we have had to fight a protracted and unfair battle with the Czechs over the matter of our iron-nickel minerals since long before the decay of our relations with them. All the conditions required that the iron-nickel processing factory be built in our country, rather than in Czechoslovakia since the raw materials would come from our resources. We fought hard for this, but our legitimate interests were trampled upon. The Czechs built the factory in their own country and we were forced to comply and give them the raw materials for it. Within these capitalist-colonialist relations we, against our will, were forced to sell our iron nickel as raw material to them and only to them because we could not find any other market and because we were using the proceeds as clearing with them. And during this whole time, the Czechs have not only been able to start utilizing the factory using our raw materials, but have been able to gather iron nickel reserves from us for the next two-three years. So, every year, they exert constant pressure on many issues: either by refusing to get the determined amount of minerals, or by trying to reduce the buying price for them or by refusing to deliver the required amount of steel, or trucks, etc. Now, with your help, we have entered the right road toward the solving of this very vital problem for our economy. We have started the construction of our metallurgical operations in the area of Elbasan and it is proceeding successfully. The Chinese comrades have finished or are in the process of finishing the analysis of our mineral deposits so that a factory for the processing of 100 thousand tons of iron-nickel mineral may be built in Elbasan. We propose and ask you to accept our idea that in the blueprints for the new five-year plan, alongside the 100 thousand tons project already included, you help us to raise the smelting limits to 300 thousand tons and phase the construction time for this addition until 1972-73, in other words

until the second or third year of the 5th five-year plan. For all the reasons I mentioned earlier, we believe that such a thing is necessary for our life, for ensuring the concrete and real development of our economy and the strengthening of the PRA. We have every confidence that you will agree with us.

The matter of the iron-chrome factory is of high importance to us due to the high significance of this mineral for our economy. This factory will help raise the value of our chromium and, as a result, the value of our barter credits. We must continue to make great efforts toward this goal. Our specialists think that such a factory is profitable and that its construction is absorbable in a short time. In order to extract and enrich our chromium we must study from your experience not only the modern processes of such a factory, but also the exportation issues. We think that you will need a considerable amount of it. Then we could easily find a market for the remaining product.

As to the matter of energy production through hydro-power stations, we were encouraged by the prospects you opened for us when you visited here last year. Your perspective on this matter fits perfectly with ours. Our specialists in this area were greatly encouraged when we notified them of this fact. You sent us a group of distinguished Chinese comrade energy specialists, and they cooperated competently and like brothers with our specialists. The latter then went to China with the results of this cooperation in hand, discussed matters with your best and most competent people, took your valuable experience on these matters and, upon returning from China, reported to us on the work and the fruitful results they had achieved. We consider this a great success and the foundation of our most fruitful cooperation. Now, based on these preliminary studies on our vital needs for electrical energy and by relying on our internal strengths and your many-sided help we have added the building of a hydropower plant in Vau i Dejës to the blueprints for the five-year plan. Now, our comrades there are carefully studying and discussing the implementation of this great duty for our country. We could concentrate our specialist forces in designing, etc. but we must accept and openly say to you that in many areas we would not be able to achieve success in this project without the many-sided help of Chinese specialist comrades. We ask you to please understand our strengths. We will have total mobilization. This will be a colossal school for our cadres in the matters of designing such a grand project, but your help, we think, is indispensable.

Further on the matter of energy, the issue of the construction of the hydropower station in Fierza is also of imperative importance to us. Its construction is slated to be completed towards the end of the upcoming five-year plan and the beginning of the next. It is, however, important that the studies and designs for this project be undertaken at the same time with the design of the Vau i Dejës hydropower plant.

If we have been able through the letter we sent to make

clear more or less what the general points of the blueprints for our upcoming five-year plan are, you will have seen that we have placed high importance on the utilization of our petrol resources, the widening of operations for extraction using the newly acquired reserves information, and on the further processing of our petrol for the various and always expanding needs of our economy. Along with this, we have also asked for you to help us with the designing of an addition to the nitrogen fertilizer plant, the construction of which will be phased to finish in the 5th five-year plan. This addition will be a powerful foundation for the further strengthening of our agriculture and the exportation of part of the product to China or elsewhere.

In the designing of the blueprints for our 4th five-year plan we have been led, first of all, by the objective of developing our agriculture further and achieving this successfully without obstacles and reaching our fullest potential possible within the projected five-year plan. As you may have already determined, we have placed difficult tasks before ourselves. But we will take big leaps in this direction, big leaps that are possible and workable with a total mobilization by the people, the party and the state who will be successful with their patriotic and revolutionary spirit.

We have exercised all care possible [to ensure] that the financial and material issues and our workforce, both specialized and menial, are balanced so that they will not be an overbearing burden on the development of our economy, so that these projects do not turn into a back-breaking load which could damage our economy and slow the increase of the livelihood standards of the people. Naturally, we mean that we do not want this to happen to a large degree. We modestly understand and accept that sacrifices will need to be made for the construction of socialism, the defense of the fatherland, and the contribution we must give in our common struggle.

We think that by very carefully studying the matter of the workforce required for the construction and utilization of the industrial works we are planning, we have achieved good and concrete results in maximally avoiding the movement of workers from villages, from agriculture. At present, the party measures and state regulations we have put in place have not only given us a good experience in dealing with such issues, but have achieved pleasing results. We are now able to control satisfactorily the movement of the workforce from the rural to the urban areas. We have been able to move many city folks to rural areas, together with their families, and brought into the cities those people and the numbers the economy needs. We will continually temper and strengthen this very important and stabilizing factor for the economy ahead of the grand tasks we have for the future.

Naturally, we would very much desire and gladly wait for your remarks, critique and suggestions because they will be of great importance to our leadership, as well as yours, and

will better equip our delegation about to come to Beijing and the comrades Spiro Koleka and Koco Theodhosi who will be accompanying it there. Our leadership's thoughts and opinions, which these comrades will bring with them to present to your party and state leadership for a final discussion, will be better processed.

I would also like, Comrade Zhou Enlai, to bring you briefly up to date on our economy's achievements during the past year.

The achievements of 1964 have been reached with great patriotic zeal, a revolutionary leap and total mobilization by our party and people. These achievements can be called satisfactory, and the weather conditions were favorable to us. The objectives for the yearly industrial production were surpassed at 100.7% and industrial production grew by 7.4% over that of 1963. Objectives were met in almost all fields of the industry.

Total agricultural production for the year 1964 was greater than that of 1963. We produced more grains, industrial plants, vegetables, milk, etc. than the year before, while for tobacco, cotton, and olive production we fell below the levels reached during 1963. As to animal husbandry, we now have more of all the types of animals than in the year before.

The objectives for the circulation of rare goods were surpassed by 10% or 5.7% more than in 1963. This shows an increase in our people's buying power and an increase in living standards. Modest increases, to be sure, but on the rise nonetheless.

We held a special plenum meeting of our Central Committee about the tasks of this year's objectives. The tasks we have undertaken for this year are great. The total industrial production will be 4.7% higher than last year's, while this year's total agricultural production is forecast to be 5% greater than last year's. In these objectives the field plants are forecasted to be at 5.9% higher, fruit production at 2% higher, animal husbandry at 4.4% higher and forestry and medicinal plants at 6.6% higher than last year's. In the production of field plants we are placing the highest importance on the production of grains which will be at 8.7% higher than last year's production.

Our objectives for next year's planning are the same in other sectors of the economy as well. But our main forces will be particularly mobilized and placed in our agriculture and in finishing the construction and starting the utilization of the industrial objects we are completing with your help within the deadlines. We think we will achieve great success in our objectives, especially in these two very important sectors, because of our total mobilization. From the industrial works we are constructing with the help of the PRC, the 1965 planning foresees the completion of sixteen of them and the start of utilization for them by the beginning of the next year.

This year we had a particularly harsh winter. There has been

a lot of snow, not only in the mountains where it usually falls every year, but also in the field areas of the seashore. While we could not say that the snow is particularly bad for our agriculture, this year it did cause serious damage to animal farming. We had up to 100 thousand small animal deaths due to lack of sufficient feed and milk and miscarriages due to very cold conditions. Despite the state aid to affected areas, the cold took us by surprise, especially in the lowlands. Nonetheless, we will take the appropriate measures to overcome this problem. For agriculture, especially for spring sowing, the weather conditions are good. Everyone—people, tractors, work animals—is in the fields working the land and planting. We hope that with our total mobilization we will be successful once again this year and will go to Congress to appear before the people with satisfactory results.

Comrade Zhou Enlai: Comrade Enver, When do you plan to hold your party's congress?

Comrade Enver Hoxha: We are thinking of organizing it towards the end of this year or the beginning of the next.

The unity of our party, the party-people unity, the friendship and the steely unity with our sister, the great China, are stronger than ever and are getting stronger and more tempered every day in our revolutionary struggle. The situation at our borders is quiet, be it in our north, east, west or south. The enemies that surround us, seeing our resoluteness, are not provoking us at the moment. But we are teaching our people, army, border guards and, above all, our party to be vigilant and always vigilant. No "lull" should cause them to fall asleep for one moment. They should always be awake and on guard, because, as our people say, "A river may sleep, but an enemy never does."

We have placed particular attention on the elevation of military preparation of our armed forces so that they are sufficiently ready for the defense of our country. The military technical experience received from the PRC is being utilized and adopted by our military. In addition, as required by the armament plan, we have stabilized the organizational structure and the wartime mobilization plans, we are continuing the work for the operational preparedness of terrain, and we have finished organizing the arming of the country's popular police.

Your coming here, dear Comrade Zhou Enlai, will strengthen even more our political situation, both internally and externally, and our economic situation. With the generous and internationalist help that we receive from the PRC, the people's trust and zeal will increase even more than before, because they, as always, will feel very close to them the great and steely heart of China, beating nearby and united to the end, in good times and in bad, with the steely heart of the Albanian people.

HOW WE SEE THE INTERNATIONAL SITUATION,



THE LESSONS WE SHOULD DRAW, AND THE  
MEASURES WE SHOULD TAKE IN RELATION TO THE  
DEVELOPMENT OF THE SITUATION.

We think that the CCP and the Chinese government, the ALP and the Albanian government were not caught off-guard by the latest international developments. In general, they have been able to foresee them precisely, and, acting in a revolutionary way, have known how to influence these situations and leave their emphatic, revolutionary marks on them. They have succeeded in drawing multiple benefits for the strengthening of the socialist and communist cause, of wholesome world peace and of the liberation struggle of the peoples of the world. At the same time, the continuing, consistent, unrelenting Marxist-Leninist struggle of our parties has credibly unmasked in the eyes of the people and communists of the world the aggressive and warmongering nature and activities of world imperialism led by the Americans, and the great betrayal of the modern revisionists led by the Soviets.

We think that the defining characteristic of this period is the cooperation between American imperialism and the modern revisionists—led by the Soviet revisionists. They are cooperating more openly each and every day. American imperialism has found in the Khrushchevian revisionists the allies and the friends it needs to successfully put into practice its world policy and strategy—to wage war and destroy the socialist camp and communism in general, to redraw the areas of influence in the world, and to create a new system of colonialism dominated by the two superpowers, the United States of America and the Soviet Union.

These two world superpowers, having the same common objective of war against true socialism, are at the same time trying to protect and strengthen their supremacy over one another, to tighten the group of friends around each of them, to try and wrestle each other's friends from their respective groups, to strengthen their own groups and then in alliance to attack the true socialist countries, especially the great socialist force, China, and at the same time the other socialist countries, Albania, Korea, and North Vietnam.

The American-Soviet alliance that is developing and materializing every day—naturally not without pains and difficulties—is in the international arena a great danger for the fate of the world and a grand target against which we should direct our greatest efforts. This alliance is growing in all directions and spheres, political, ideological, economical and cultural. It has been accepted and recorded in official records in many ways, treaties, agreements and contracts. It is ideologically coordinated from both sides and is at war with the Marxist-Leninist doctrine. In all these spheres and directions we will see an increase in the mutual agreements, cooperation and coordination between these two world powers, until they reach sensational military treaties, mutual defense and stabilization

of their political-military alliances.

Naturally, the tendency of these two superpowers that want to dominate the world by squashing socialism, freedom and the independence of nations is to have a few differences as well. The US acts with fire and steel, using nuclear blackmail and any other form of pressure it can think of—from military to corruption. While the Soviet revisionists, kneeling before the American pressure and blackmail and not opposing their aggressive moves—except in words—are at the moment using all means and methods, save open aggressive warfare, to create their area of influence and to establish their dominance over the people of the world. Through their confrontation with socialism and our countries in particular and through [counter-] balancing the dominant power of the USA, they think they will accomplish their evil plans at the same time.

We think that the Soviet revisionists with their course of peaceful coexistence cannot think they could avoid war forever, but intend to gain time to fight socialism and our countries and to strengthen their position in the world as we mentioned before. It is understandable that the Soviet revisionists are playing with fire. Allowing the Americans to act with impunity, using fire and steel against the peoples who are fighting for liberation and defense, the Soviets seek to allow them to become weaker economically, militarily and politically. On the other side of the coin, they use all methods available to them to undermine, corrupt, degenerate, dominate and enslave them. Both these brigands constantly look for a way to use the other to do their dirty work. But naturally, the intentions and events they want do not and cannot develop as they wish. Other colossal forces are at work in the world. These forces are the forces of socialism and the peoples of the world who are destroying the plans of the imperialist-revisionists and are giving great and successive defeats to them.

The building of this new American-Soviet alliance cannot make the “law of the jungle” disappear. On the contrary, it makes it more real everyday. And this is happening not only between these two imperialist-revisionist superpowers, one, the USA having become one long ago, and the other, the Soviet Union becoming one at a fast pace everyday, but also between other capitalist states and the countries where the modern revisionists are in power, such as the socialist countries of Europe who are degenerating at a constant pace into capitalist countries. The degeneration of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries of Europe brought about the establishment of the “law of the jungle” among them, and, all together or one by one, they are circling around in the international arena, like a hungry pack of wolves, alongside the other imperialist wolves.

We are currently spectators of such phenomena as the decomposition of the old imperialist alliances between them, the waning of the Soviet influence over the socialist countries

and the fissures and weakening of the alliances between them. In other words, both groups, the imperialists and the revisionists, have declined and are plagued by insuperable contradictions and disagreements within themselves and by numerous and insurmountable conflict and contradictions on the outside, each group against the other.

These insuperable contradictions are readily evident in all their activities. They can be seen in the actions of NATO, the UN, the European Common Market, the Union of Europe, in the involvement in Vietnam, Laos and Congo, in the German issue, the Treaty of Warsaw, in the 1 March meeting in Moscow [of 19 communist parties], in the Council of Mutual Economic Aid, in the relations between the European people's democracies and the still- dominant Soviet power.

This is a very complex group of issues, but it is our duty to navigate through this forest, follow the right course, to come up with the correct conclusions and build our strategy and tactics for the struggle against imperialism and revisionism based on our infallible science.

We may say that in general the international situation we are facing is favorable to the forces of socialism and the peoples of the world. Imperialism in general and the American one in particular are in the process of decomposition, of decadence, of downfall. It is losing its terrain and is being unmasked from all directions in everything it does. Modern revisionism, and Khrushchevian revisionism in particular, greatly damage our exalted cause by creating a crisis at the heart of the socialist camp and the international communism. But knowing this fact, we may say that the unmasking, the disclosure, and the stern struggle that we [are waging] and will continue to shell out to this scourge in our midst is causing it to lose terrain and power.

The deepening of the contradictions that continues to grow in the midst of the imperialist powers is greatly weakening the main adversary we face. These contradictions within the imperialist nations have existed and will exist forever. They are eating them from the inside and weakening them, though at the moment while aggravated, they have also reached great maturity.

The imperialist camp, coming out of the crisis of WWII, needed some time to land on its feet, and it was forced to accept, whether it wanted or not, American aid accompanied by the USA's dominance. Either way, American imperialism, helped by English imperialism, managed to join its partners weakened by the war in military-political alliances in which it ruled over the others. It created military bases in many capitalist countries around the world, helped by these alliances under the guise of aiding these countries whose economy had been ravaged by the war. At the same time, America for a long time dictated its will in the areas of economy, investments, trade, etc. to these countries. There is no doubt that in these situa-

tions America also dictated the way of life and the political and ideological thought of these countries. Furthermore, America financed the economic reconstruction of Bonn's Germany and made sure it was rearmed, that militarism, fascism and revanchism were reborn. American imperialism's plans have always included, and they have always acted upon, the idea of creating a strong fascist Germany as its ally to the end and as the main offensive force against the socialist camp. At the same time, a fascist Germany also acts as a threatening and blackmailing force against its wavering allies.

Thus, this capitalist bloc, under the absolute rule of the Americans, was naturally a [force] threatening with the danger of war. It still remains today a threat and a strong danger for a world war, but as a force it is not as monolithic as it has been in the past.

Now, capitalist France, though officially a NATO member, has entered the road of open contradiction to American imperialism. The high capital of a rebuilt France cannot stand the American pincers and dictates. It does not accept being strangled. France feels that she is strong enough to resist American strangulation. This has, naturally, shaken up and weakened NATO's military and political power. The Americans find French opposition everywhere. Naturally, this is a positive thing for us. This positive situation that has been created cannot be due only to French capital, it is mainly a consequence of the heroic struggle that our socialist countries are waging and the national liberation wars that the peoples of the world are waging against American imperialism. Our struggle weakened it, and the French capital used the moment to throw off the American shackles. We, the Marxists, should exploit this situation and these moments of great crisis in the midst of world capitalism. But we do not have the least bit of illusion of any chance of French capitalism changing character only because it now finds itself in great contradictions with American imperialism. No! It remains the same as it was before and with the same objectives to dominate others. The only new thing is its strategy in fighting socialism and communism, oppressing peoples and exploiting them with a renewed colonialist brutality. The new phenomena in the apparent contradictions that we see were foreseen a long time ago by Stalin, and things are now happening precisely as he anticipated.

We think that American imperialism is very preoccupied with problems at this moment. It is weakening everywhere and, in fact, its aggressive actions, accompanied by nuclear blackmail, show its weakness and not its strength. It is facing great troubles in Europe and its dominant position is not stable. At the moment the Americans are trying to build a new position, and for this [they] are mostly relying on Bonn's Germany. In other words, they are trying to do this by relying on the most powerful and most aggressive ally.

We think that Bonn's Germany is everyone's prize. The

Americans are doing all they can to steer the revanchist [West German Chancellor] Ludwig Erhard government to keep its pro-American stance. To achieve this they are bending over backwards to fulfill all its requests, especially its armament with nuclear weapons. On the other hand, the Americans are also doing their best to bring the Soviets to their knees on the matter of the unification of Germany on their own conditions and those of the revanchists of Bonn. If the Americans can achieve this, they will have strengthened their position in Europe, will have counterbalanced the weakening caused by France, and will have isolated the French to a point. In this game, the Americans seek to isolate the French and to stop an effective alliance of theirs with Bonn, and, once they have achieved this, to preclude France from recreating its old alliances with the Soviet revisionists, with the intention of isolating Bonn Germany and American dominance.

In summing up, we could say that the Americans are trying to undermine the French objective of resuscitating [France's] old alliances with Eastern, Central and Southeastern European countries, while at the same time being closely bound with Bonn's Germany so as to better "fight" communism and the American dominance. Actually, France is trying to establish her own dominance. This is the reason for the Gaullist advances to draw closer the countries of popular democracy, by issuing loans and developing cultural relations with them.

On the other side, the Americans are trying to protect and strengthen the Bonn-Washington axis, to strengthen relations and alliances with the Soviet Union so that the Soviets may follow the American course, to stop the Soviet Union from establishing an alliance with France, and, at the same time, to include in its own sphere the European countries of popular democracy where the revisionists are now in power.

In this situation, the will and points of view of the other NATO members are not taken into account, with the exception of Bonn and London. The English government, whichever [party] is ruling at the moment and of whatever color it may be, will continue its traditional balance of power policy, though the balance will always be tipped in the Americans' favor. Its tradition, history, interest, continuation of old alliances, and especially the help its received during the last two world wars, cause England to fall to the side of the Americans. Nonetheless, contradictions between them do exist and they will always continue to exist.

At the same time, the Bonn revanchist government's intentions are well known. Bonn Germany fights for dominance in Europe, tries to fine-tune its nuclear armaments, [and] to dominate at America's side (for a short while) in NATO. It seeks to swallow the German Democratic Republic (GDR), to reestablish the old borders of the Third Reich, to recreate new alliances in its favor, and to threaten and start a new nuclear war whenever she or her partners deem favorable. In other words,

by having two immediate intentions, the acquisition of nuclear weapons and the swallowing of the GDR, Bonn's government, by supporting the American policy, is avoiding stepping on England's feet, is trying not to aggravate relations and burn their bridges with de Gaulle, and is attempting, openly and covertly, to start talks and finalize agreements with the Soviet revisionists. At the same time, Bonn trades with the European popular democracies, gives them loans and even has some trade relations with the GDR.

As far as we can judge this situation, the imperialist coalition in Europe is not ready to go to war [yet]. First, the French issue has shaken up the equilibrium and it will take some time to reestablish it, and, secondly, the capitulation of the Soviet revisionists on the one hand, and that of their European satellites on the other, has created a new realm of action for the imperialists. They now have room for hope, attempts and opportunities for new coalitions. They will not let these favorable moments slide by, and enter into new adventures and armed conflicts in Europe that the Khrushchevians have afforded them.

We could arrive at the conclusion that at the moment a new black cloud dominates Europe, that the continent has now become a playground for imperialist-revisionist intrigues, and that, despite the deep contradictions that exist among all these imperialist-revisionist countries, there do not exist any countries in Europe that could take advantage of these contradictions and create a revolutionizing atmosphere there. The only forces [to do this] are the Marxist-Leninists, the ALP, the PRA and, to a smaller degree, Romania, which is still in a centrist position. The great weight of the PRC is and should always be felt strongly in Europe. It should, as a government, utilize these contradictions.

Let us now take a look at the situation within the revisionist camp. It may be said that its political-economic unity has weakened, though it is still formally in existence. The Warsaw Pact is still in effect and we believe it will continue to be around, though, we think, mostly as a formal "shield." The Soviet revisionists will continue to use the Pact, first and foremost, to hold on to their military hegemony, to keep in check and watch the armed forces of their partners, and to dominate them with the help of a perceived threat of an "attack" on the weak, frightened and "unarmed" partners of the Pact. They can use the Pact to intervene as a group if one of their partners diverges from their policies. The Soviet revisionists are putting much hope in the Warsaw Pact with the intention of using it as an expendable buffer zone, as a market to sell their old weaponry, and, above all, to keep [the East European countries] under their rule.

In this unstable political situation, in these times of multiple diplomatic dealings with the American imperialists and others, in this difficult economic, political and ideological situation, the other revisionist partners of the Pact consider it as a shield

against any eventual internal or external threat they may face. But we think that there is no harmony, no unity within the Pact. There's only dissatisfaction and mistrust.

In these dealings with the imperialists, especially with the Americans, there is a tendency on the side of the Soviets to make sure that everything achieved, every result attained, every deal concluded has their stamp on it and that the rest of the camp accepts it without opposition. Of course, this does not exist anymore and cannot be achieved, the Soviets' attempts notwithstanding, because there are centrifugal forces at play. There exists, thus, another tendency (in almost all the other revisionist countries, forcefully fed by the Americans, the French, the English and Bonn) of not fully accepting the Soviet diktat. These countries have the tendency to see things from their national point of view and to operate at the national governmental level in such a way as to treat issues, enter talks and arrive at agreements on their own, in other words, to stem, disrupt, sabotage, amend and cause problems to Soviet hegemony.

This has aggravated the contradictions among them, and this is apparent in their internal and external weaknesses. The German issue is touted loudly by them as a very important political-military matter. They act as if they have a unified and resolute position on this issue. But this is not and cannot be reality. It is true that this is a problem that preoccupies everyone, but each of them wants to resolve the problem in his own way. They all maneuver at the expense of the GDR. [Socialist Unity Party First Secretary Walter] Ulbricht's calls and memoranda and the Warsaw Pact meetings are not taken into account. The meeting communiques are demagoguery and bluffs. They do not reflect the truth. No one is actually thinking about the real course for defending the GDR. They are all afraid of the battle, of war. Gomulka is willing to impose heavy, capitulatory conditions on the GDR to the benefit of Bonn, as long as the imperialist nations officially accept the Oder-Neisse line [separating East Germany and Poland since the end of World War II]. Czechoslovakia is also moving toward the normalization of old alliances as long as any [German] pretensions on the Sudetenland are buried. Hungary is not willing at all to go to a war for Ulbricht's beard. It is more interested in its aspirations for Romanian territory and in the strengthening of the capitalist regime it is restoring.

The Soviets, as well as the others, are very interested in resolving the German issue. With a little bit of pain and a lot of demagoguery, they are looking to the certainty, even if temporary, of a relatively quiet situation coming from Bonn. It is our opinion that the GDR is being used at this time by the Soviet Union and its allies as a bargaining chip in the dealing, blackmailing, and chaffering between the imperialists and the modern revisionists. Of course, this is another important factor that deepens the contradictions between the revisionists and weakens their internal and external positions. They are constantly being unmasked.

As to political relations between the revisionist countries and the bourgeois countries of the world, they do not follow a general, unified course. Each of them tends to proceed based on their own national interest, often at the expense of their revisionist partners. Everyone looks to ensure personal economic, political or prestige gains and for their own good, often trampling upon principles and most of the time at the loss of their own revisionist friends. In other words, the law of the jungle reigns in their relations. Naturally, this deepens the contradictions and weakens and unmasks them.

The economic relations between the revisionists continue to exist and the Soviet revisionists, as the largest economic power, continue to dominate and be in control, though not as they used to. The Soviet Union dominates the weak economies of its partners using its economic clout and placing important economic locks and shackles, from which, at the moment, its partners cannot break and be freed. This is the source of the great Soviet pressure on them, which extends beyond economic matters. These sorts of relations are in fact capitalist and enslaving. No one is happy with the other. There are quarrels, disagreements, blackmailing and threats everywhere. There exist among them numerous, deep, insurmountable and subversive contradictions which exert great influence as they degenerate.

With the exception of the Soviet Union, though it is watching its rubles more carefully before giving them away, not one of the other revisionist nations is led by the internationalist principle of helping one another economically. On the contrary, they, in a very capitalistic way, [only] consider who can profit the most from the other. Thus, every step, every economic relationship between them is considered and acted upon only through the capitalist's eye. The economic crisis that has befallen the Soviet Union does not allow it, even if it tried to do this the capitalist way, to help its revisionist allies, who also are deep in crisis, and to cope with their ever increasing needs. Under these conditions, the only way out for these new capitalists is to welcome foreign capital into their countries, from the Americans, the French, the English and the Germans. These loans from the Americans and others have started to penetrate, to multiply, and to settle down like leeches in the economies of the Soviet Union and the other European popular democracies. This brings with it economic and political influence, the degeneration of the system, and the political, economic and military take-over of these countries, which have started, little by little and one now and another later, to become dependent on the various imperialists and to turn into their zones of influence.

Naturally, this increases the contradictions within them and among them, and the Soviet revisionists who are losing their absolute economic and political dominance over them [the popular democracies]. This increases and deepens the contradictions between the people and the true Marxist-Leninists on the one side, and the revisionist leaders of each country on the



other. It impoverishes these countries, polarizes the reactionary forces and the people and creates favorable conditions for a revolution in these countries.

How can we now evaluate the ideological “unity” of the revisionists and the war they are waging against Marxism-Leninism and especially against the CCP and the ALP?

The bellicosity against Marxism-Leninism and against our two parties is resolute. There exists a unity of thought and of action. The revisionist leaders—not only those at the helm of the parties and governments of the Soviet Union and the other popular democracies in Europe, but also all those who lead the parties in the capitalist countries—have entered and are deeply and hopelessly compromised by their anti-Marxist road. They are the backbone of the modern revisionism. They have crystallized the line of reformism and degeneration of Marxism-Leninism. They receive guidance from the Soviet leadership. Their foundation and orientation comes from the 20th, 21st and 22nd Congresses of the CP Soviet Union. This is on what all the modern revisionists rely. This is what their ideological unity stands and what their orientation for the degeneration of Marxism-Leninism derives from. These countries implement this general line in their own way and according to the actual situation within their parties and countries. When implementing this general revisionist line, there naturally are and will always be different tendencies, which have become and will continue to become apparent as functions of the inclinations of these leaders dictated by pressures by the bourgeoisie, resistance by the party, the political-economic situation of the country, the revolutionary movement, and the level of its development, and many other factors.

Unwavering in their intentions and fighting to achieve their anti-Marxist objectives, the modern revisionists are actually exhibiting some emphatic tendencies. The Titoist revisionists are following the defined road, openly and without cover (maybe because we tore off their mask), of marching triumphantly toward capitalism, in complete and open unity with the capitalist bourgeoisie and social democracy and in alliance with and at the service of American imperialism. They have gone so far in this course that the other revisionists—though they are in fact in complete solidarity with them, use them as role models in their actions and adopt Titoist practices in the degeneration of their parties and nations—do not dare to rehabilitate them openly. Constantly cooperating closely with the Titoists, while declaring that they completely agree with their policies, and while adopting the capitalist, Titoist reforms, they will add that they have “a few disagreements with them.” This is demagoguery and just a formality. But the fact remains that the Titoist-revisionist clan cannot even be considered the most extreme right of modern revisionism. Titoism has actually removed itself completely from modern revisionism. It can be said that the title of most extreme right revisionists is now held by the Italian revisionist leaders, the Togliat[t]ists.

By not being in power in their country, they have taken upon themselves the role of practicing revisionism to the letter in capitalist countries. This role is that of total liquidation of the party, of the dictatorship of the proletariat, of the revolutionary struggle. They are trying to do away with the contradictions with the social democrats, to unite with them, to merge with them, and to cooperate fully ideologically and politically with the bourgeoisie. In other words, they are for the elimination of all forms of class warfare and for the reestablishment of the omnipotent reign of the bourgeoisie. The Italian revisionists, not actually being in power, want to go even further than the Titoists, who have the power and would never agree to share it with anyone. Aside from the complete trampling of principles, they are followers of the actual revisionist governments, from whom they draw lessons on how to best hasten their degeneration and how to carry out as consistently as possible the general revisionist line laid out by the 20th, 21st and 22nd congresses. The Italian revisionists think that the fastest way to achieve these results is through their theory of “poly-centrism,” which is, in fact, an erosion of the Soviet revisionists’ authority and a fissure among the revisionists so as to liquidate faster and easier, in the general framework of the ideological offensive of the monopolist capital, every shred of remaining Marxism-Leninism in the revisionist parties and governments. The Italian revisionists, naturally, are adventurers in the full meaning of the word. They are irresponsible and do not take into account their losses, defeats and their complete unmasking. They want to speed up the process of degeneration. Of course, the Soviet revisionists cannot agree with such a tactic that removes so quickly every demagogic weapon in their arsenal. This is the source of their contradictions and the differences in their strategies.

The Polish revisionists approach is a demagogic strategy which tries to convince us to soften our polemics and especially to try and show their independence from the Soviet revisionists in matters of strategy. But they are among the most brutal enemies of Marxism-Leninism, the CCP, the ALP and our socialist countries. They are some of the biggest chauvinist revisionists. The Soviets consider them very important, despite the differences with them. The Soviets need them very much, as a split from the Soviets and open approach in the direction of the imperialists by the Poles would be [the Soviets’] final catastrophe.

The other European revisionists, despite their nuances which are most visible in Ulbricht and Kadar, follow, to a certain degree, the general Soviet course and strategy in their war against Marxism-Leninism and in particular against our two parties. But in general it may be said that amongst them the blind faith they used to have in the Soviet revisionists no longer exists.

The same can also be said for the other parties of the world where the revisionists have managed to get to the top. Faith in

the revisionist Soviet leadership has weakened. The only faith or attraction that may exist is to the ruble which finances their anti-Marxist and anti-socialist activities. These activities are revisionist and treasonous, despite the independence of action or regional regrouping.

The Soviet revisionists have suffered great defeats. It may be said that our parties' struggle against them has been the main architect of these defeats. Our principled and militant positions towards them have unmasked the Soviet revisionists, have blocked their subversive activities, have crushed their suffocating and poisoning demagoguery, and have resisted and emerged victorious over their blackmailing and pressuring of all sorts. Our resolute struggle was a fork in the road against the treasonous, revisionist activities, was a beacon of light to the communist masses of the world, shone light over the truth for the peoples, and unmasked the agreements made between the Soviet revisionists and the American imperialists.

Since the 20th Congress, the Soviet revisionists took the reins in their hands and were completely convinced that they would not encounter any serious resistance to their treason. Even if they would [encounter resistance], led by the chauvinism and self-confidence of a large state, their great economic and military power, and by hiding behind the great political and ideological prestige of the Soviet Union and the CP Soviet Union, they thought they could crush it quickly, painlessly and quietly. At the same time, the Soviet revisionists were convinced that they would be granted understanding of and quick agreement to their proposals and great concessions by the American imperialists. So the Soviet revisionists were convinced that their revisionist political and ideological course would "triumph and shine brightly." They were convinced that a "miracle" would happen faster than the blink of an eye, just like at a game at a carnival. And this game (we should give credit where it is due) was performed brilliantly like a true carnival clown by Nikita Khrushchev, the leader of the Soviet revisionists.

Revisionism carries within itself its own demise. It brings defeat to those that have been infected by it, because revisionism is betrayal, defeatism, capitulation and destruction. Modern revisionism, led by the Soviet revisionism, brought along an array of evils. It weakened the Soviet Union, lowered its prestige and that of the Bolshevik Party, started the ideological-political degeneration of the Soviet Union, weakened the revolutionary forces, flung the socialist economy of the Soviet Union into chaos and continuous decadence, made huge concessions to the American imperialists, and [it] continues to destroy Soviet power and puts it at the mercy of a new bourgeois capitalist class, which is becoming every day more and more dependent on the interests of international capitalism.

Whether in its ideological-organizational development, in its internal and external political strategy, or in its relations

with the socialist camp and international communism, their whole ideological line was a fiasco.

The unity within the socialist camp and the international communist movement was in fact very strong and monolithically confronted the bourgeois ideology. The reason for this was that it was led by Marxism-Leninism. Prior to the ascendancy of the revisionists to power, the Soviet Union was following a just cause and was inspired by, and inspired others, friends and allies alike, with a revolutionary Marxist-Leninist spirit.

After the ascendancy of the revisionists to power, the Marxist unity of the past could not continue. Our idea that unity can only exist where Marxism-Leninism is in power, was triumphant. The revisionists' bluffing and demagoguery, their mudslinging and defamation of Stalin, their charges that it was his cult, his terror, his killing and threatening the factors which kept this unity alive artificially, have suffered a shameful defeat. Not only have the Marxist-Leninists everywhere risen against the revisionists and are forging the true unity under the direction and inspiration of Marxism-Leninism, but we are seeing very clearly that it was the Soviet revisionists who caused not only the destruction of the socialist camp and international communist unity, but also (and it could not have happened otherwise) the schism among themselves. The revisionists are disunited and will be so even more. They bring their own death along with them.

When the Soviet revisionists found themselves confronted with great defeat and a great harm, they preferred the smaller evil and liquidated their leader and ideologue, Nikita Khrushchev. They implicitly placed all the blame on him, and, without changing a single iota from his old line, his friends, Khrushchev's collaborators and co-conspirators, emerged into the political scene to carry out Khrushchevianism without Khrushchev.

The period since the liquidation of Khrushchev has proved that the Soviet revisionists are as much to blame for treason as Khrushchev and that they follow with the utmost faithfulness his treasonous, anti-Marxist ideas. In matters of treason they have even surpassed Khrushchev; while knowing full well the terrible mistakes Khrushchev made, they did not change ways (not that they could remedy the damage) and do not even pretend to camouflage their actions.

It is true, they are trying to design and follow a new line, but one which is just as scandalous as Khrushchev's.

First of all, their strategy only includes some formalities and superficialities:

They have left behind the fuss and bombastic ways of Khrushchev. For the time being, the Soviet revisionists that

took over for Khrushchev are not holding speeches, but sit silent so as to give the impression that they are “reflecting,” that “they are reasonable and wise,” that they are not “unrestrained rowdies.” Nonetheless, in practice the first steps are being taken and their voice is beginning to be heard.

They maintain their relations with the Americans and strengthen them. They are capitulating more and more everyday, because they are getting weaker everyday. Khrushchev’s [1964] removal from the scene did not strengthen them. On the contrary, it discredited them. They are now trying to glue together what Khrushchev broke apart. They have no hope that we will turn their way but are concerned about the remaining allies who are slipping through their fingers. They want to build some kind of “unity” among them on new foundations to confront the catastrophe that awaits them. This is one of their actual primary concerns. The Moscow meeting, above everything else, sought to accomplish this. They were more concerned with establishing a common ideological-political platform, suitable in the new actual situation between the revisionists, than they were with deceiving us. Naturally, the communique that they released after the meeting on 1 March includes the demagoguery of their whole line, but we think that the issue was more their attempt to create some sort of revisionist unity. The Soviets hoped to achieve this “unity” by covertly assuring their partners that nothing would change in their line. During this time their public behavior proved that nothing had changed after Khrushchev.

But did this unity so highly desired by the Soviet leadership ever materialize? No, not at all. As revisionists the Soviets understand unity to be dominance and absolute control over others. Unfortunately for the Soviets, the others have become more independent than ever before. They did not cry for Khrushchev, they were happy that he was out because he was arrogant and threatened them. At the same time, the other revisionists were concerned that, “God forbid,” the new Soviet leadership might turn direction and become like us [Chinese and Albanians]. Such a fear had enveloped them to the bone. As soon as they were assured that this was not going to happen, their posture of independence from the “conductor” was sharpened and, according to information we have, there was no unity in their meeting, even though all of them are bearded revisionists [(sic) possibly meaning “experienced revisionists”].

In the communique they published, the modern Soviet revisionists confirmed publicly the defeats we have dealt them, showed the confusion and panic that has enveloped them and the fact that they have not been able to find anything new to offer to their minions. They demonstrated that the initiative did not belong to them. Everything is dependent on us. They are defeated. They are weak. They are on the defensive. In their communique the Soviet revisionists confirm that they cannot openly control the other revisionists anymore. They cannot impose their will on them anymore. The divisiveness, the

“independence,” and loss of control over them is insurmountable. The gap between them is deep. Using indirect methods, the Soviet revisionists will try to salvage their prestige and their authority over their allies. They will try to activate, encourage, organize and manage the war against our parties and states.

The period after Khrushchev’s fall can be characterized as one in which the Soviet revisionists have been weakened immensely. Of great importance in this regard is the defeat instilled upon them by our militant stance and the continuous polemics shelled out by our parties. This is one of the sources of the fire that is burning the scatterbrained revisionists and the Soviet revisionists aside from all the other troubles bothering them. The Americans also realized during this period that not only were the Soviet revisionists not going to change course, but by getting ever weaker, they were giving the Americans an opportunity to toughen their campaign of blackmail in order to bring them on their side and compromise them even further. The Americans can clearly see that the “center” of Soviet demagoguery is, supposedly, “the anti-imperialist war” and “the anti-imperialist front.” The American imperialists understand this very well and are directing all their effort and aggressiveness precisely at this point in order to back the Soviet revisionists into a corner and to unmask and discredit them so that they capitulate quickly.

The notions of “peaceful co-existence” and “the world without wars and weapons” have now lost their glamour. No one believes in them anymore. The wars in Congo, Laos, South Vietnam and now the American piratical bombardments in North Vietnam have enabled the Americans not only to put the Soviets closer to capitulation and unmasking, but also under the terror of war. They have forced the Soviets to support diplomatic measures that are in favor of imperialist ideas on Vietnam and that prepare the capitulation of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam (DRV) and bring the liberation struggle to an end. Kosygin’s visit to the DRV took place for devilish, deceitful, demagogue, diversionist and capitulating reasons. But he was dealt a defeat there. The claim for the supposed weapons deliveries to DRV was nothing but demagoguery and a trap. On the other hand, the Soviets are trying to organize international conferences with the participation of bourgeois capitalist states but without Vietnam. We need to think carefully and be prepared very well militarily, because the chances look good that the Soviets, since the time of Khrushchev and continuing today, have been in agreement with the Americans to allow them free hand in “climbing up the steps” [escalating] in Vietnam and going all the way to China, in other words, enlarging the conflict. In such a case, the Soviets might conveniently limit themselves to bombastic demagoguery declarations and sensational “protests” on the one hand, but on the other hand they will collect numerous “facts and documents” supposedly attesting that the DRV and China did not allow the Soviet Union to positively help them with weapons or men. Of course the Soviet revisionists are playing with fire, but they

think that they might come out “victorious” by weakening both sides, by tossing China amid a war predicament, surrounding her with a ring of fire and a ring of “friends” of the Soviet revisionists, such as the Indians. We need to strangle such Soviet plans while they are still in the womb.

We think that the “problem of mutual disarmament” and the “issue of Germany and Berlin” are brought up and blown out of proportion by the revisionists as a diversion. These problems are in fact used by them as a propaganda smoke screen to mask and draw attention away from China and Indochina, where a war is going on against imperialism and revisionism. This is where our two main enemies’ efforts are centered in order to advance their common designs.

The Soviet revisionists, along with the American, French and Bonn imperialists, are trying to preoccupy the peoples of the so-called “third forces” with regional issues and to prevent them from dealing with more pressing concerns, or to [prevent them from striking back at] them. For example, we see that the countries of Africa are interested more exclusively with African issues, such as the issue of Congo (which is an important one). The Arabs are mostly interested in the problems relating to Israel and the relations with Bonn or Ulbricht and tend to neglect or be minutely concerned with Indochina or Malaysia. In Latin America the Soviets have put the bridle on Castro, who is preoccupying Latin America with equivocal views that do not serve well the unity of true Marxist-Leninist revolutionary forces, but instead weaken them and even help the revisionist leaders of the communist and workers’ parties of the countries of Latin America and all the modern revisionists.

To us it looks like there is a universal tendency of modern revisionism, in cooperation with imperialism, to scatter and preoccupy the revolutionary forces with unconnected issues, or to separate them so as to disorient them.

The fact is that at various international gatherings this tendency is evident in different countries from Asia, Africa and Latin America. They do not operate coherently. They either are routed or isolated, or are “convinced” to bring up various obstructions so that the important international or regional gatherings scheduled to be held at a certain time are postponed, completely canceled, etc. We think that this issue requires revision. We need to build a new strategy that will revolutionize the situation.

What is our opinion on how we should proceed with our struggle in the present situation and conditions, as we have described them so far?

We are of the opinion that we should increase our polemics against modern revisionism and, above all, against the Soviet revisionists. They are very much weakened and need a break in polemics. We should not let them catch their breath. We

should hit and unmask them ceaselessly politically and ideologically. We should unmask every step they take in the international arena and in the area of their relations with the other revisionists by pointing out their divergences. We should not allow them to regroup and we should stop their single or group actions against us. Every “concession” they make, every “tactic” of theirs supposedly to make up with us, should be used at every opportunity we get, following the Marxist-Leninist course, to unmask them, disarm them, push them to capitulate, and cause them to start fighting amongst themselves.

We think that our struggle against them should be well-organized and well-coordinated. Even if our two parties do not coordinate our actions, the end result is going to be a complete, coordinated struggle, because both our parties know everything clearly and stand resolute at the first line of battle. But we cannot say and readmit that the same thing also happens with the other Marxist-Leninist parties who stand on strong footing. They do not have strong contacts with our party, and we have no common coordination. We might even say that, while in agreement on different matters, we do not stand on a common front when it comes to the consistency of our polemics. We may be wrong, but we believe that we have differences in strategy with them. They may consider the ALP as “crude” and themselves as on a straight line, or “mature.”

This “straight and mature” line, we think, has nothing to do with Marxist-Leninist maturity, with the real meaning of events as they evolve, and with who stands in front of us as an enemy. It has nothing to do with the reasonable evaluation of the dangerousness of the enemy, his cunning, his resolute enmity against our parties and countries, and against Marxism-Leninism as it is justly understood by the great CCP and the ALP.

In order to achieve some sort of unity in our approach to strategy, or to at least explain and illuminate to each other the reasons behind tactical activities by each party, we think that we should hold bilateral meetings. According to Xinhua [News Agency], in Asia you follow such practices with the parties of Asia and this is a good thing. We do this with you and it is also a good thing. But we and the parties of Asia do not do this, not because we do not want to, but because we have not been given the opportunity, especially by the Korean Workers’ Party, but also by the parties of Vietnam, Indonesia, Japan, or New Zealand. We have tried to take advantage of every meeting we have had with comrades from these parties who have visited us on different holidays and have expressed our opinion to them. But discussing these matters in such conditions does not yield the same results as would specific two-party talks for bilateral discussion of problems and exchange of opinions as we do with you, Chinese comrades. We think there is a lack in this area and that we need such meetings.

We think that we also need a big, general meeting of all these parties. We have always been for such a meeting. We should



prepare for such a meeting and the preparation should be done in bilateral or trilateral meetings where we could straighten out everything so that when we have the big meeting, we can come out of it in full unity on every topic and the meeting would put a new date on the calendar as the beginning of a new historic period in the international communist movement.

We think that communists and the peoples of the world have a continuous need to be enlightened, to receive an interpretation of events, and a need for orientation of their actions, especially the communists and peoples in the Soviet Union and the other people's democratic countries. We must have an unshakable faith in the healthy forces of these countries and parties. The truth is that this group of people is oppressed and under surveillance. Many are confused by lies and demagoguery. Many others can only surmise our stance, while many others listen to our radio programs, draw conclusions and, maybe, are even organizing or coordinating their resistance illegally, etc. This should be the situation in the Soviet Union and in the other socialist countries, but the truth is that our relations with these forces in these countries are still very weak. We still have no contacts there and the truth is that contacts with them are not easy for us or for them. Nonetheless, we must think of something to do about this, because this matter is of the utmost importance.

In the countries where the revisionists rule, resistance and organization of the Marxist-Leninists is the decisive factor, the only factor, which we should assist from the outside. The work within the castle of the revisionists should be done by the Marxists and the people of these countries. So in this matter we should exchange opinion on a course of action, which includes more activities than we presently undertake.

As to the multi-layered help that we afford to the new parties and in the Marxist-Leninist groups in the capitalist countries, this is much easier to be done and it is being done somewhere successfully, somewhere with the natural hardships, wavering, and squirming of such an undertaking. The revolutionary Marxist-Leninists are organizing and fighting. It would be a good idea to help them even more and effectively, because these comrades are in need of our help. Of course, we should not interfere in their internal affairs. We must have and show patience, tact and vigilance, but to say that we will not make any mistakes in the course of this work would not be prudent, though we should avoid any mistakes as much as possible. The revisionists are putting forks in our road. The imperialists are doing the same. Both we and our revolutionary comrades should keep this in mind. Many foreign elements have infiltrated and will attempt to infiltrate these new parties and groups that are forming. This is unavoidable. Both our revolutionary comrades and we could be fooled by the "pseudo-Marxists," the agents of the revisionists and the capitalists that are attempting to infiltrate us, to sabotage us from within. Hence, it is imperative that we sharpen our vigilance. We must

protect ourselves from the "baseless enthusiasm," from the "exaggerated confidence" without proof from the battlefield. We must protect and shield ourselves from the "beautiful, revolution-filled words" of some. At the same time, these many dangers along the road should not turn us into sectarians and hinder our help to our comrades. It would be prudent that we carefully analyze our help because there may be shortcomings and mistakes on our side and, if possible, to better coordinate our help and decide when and where to direct our thrust.

The Marxist-Leninist unity of thought and action of our two parties has been, is and will forever be, solid in the whole of the wide and multi-layered front of the war against American imperialism and modern revisionism with the Soviet revisionists at its helm. This great truth is demonstrated every day by our struggle and our political and ideological positions. It is demonstrated by our coordinated strategy and tactics. It was demonstrated quite brilliantly once again by the just and resolute position of the CCP and the ALP toward the divisive revisionist meeting that was held in Moscow on 1-5 March of this year. It could not have happened differently since both of us are led resolutely by Marxism-Leninism.

The exalted and principled stance of the CCP toward the Moscow meeting will have colossal effects on the world, on world events, on the communist and workers' parties, and in all the Marxist-Leninists and the revolutionaries. The revolutionary spirit, the war against American imperialism, the Soviet modern revisionism and their satellites will rise higher and higher.

We follow with admiration the just, courageous Marxist-Leninist war of the Communist Party of Japan against the internal reactionaries, against American imperialism, against modern revisionism, and especially against the Soviet revisionism. This is active and heroic participation in our great, common war. We could say the same for the party and comrades of New Zealand. The only thing is that it seems to us that the New Zealander comrades could do more to create the groundwork for more contacts that would help activate the consolidation of the war against revisionism and American imperialism in all the English-speaking countries of the world, such as in England itself, in Canada and in the other countries of the British Commonwealth.

Generally, we think that at a time when the American imperialists are widening the war in Vietnam, when they are looking to hit the great China, humanity's castle [redoubt], support and great hope, at a time when the revisionists, with the Soviet leaders at the helm, are intensifying their treasonous against communism, the common struggle of all the Marxist-Leninist parties against Soviet revisionism must be strengthened and all of them should support the CCP in this great war. Our opinion is that in these moments when the enemy has approached our gates, such as is the case of the American threat in Vietnam, vague or less than active (not to call them passive) positions

of some sister parties or of the Marxist-Leninists of different countries does not help our common cause.

Our opinion is that we must utilize every opportunity in every country to make sure that the earth beneath the feet of the American imperialists and their revisionist allies is burning with the fire of the war of the peoples and of the Marxist-Leninists.

It is clear that the general and concrete objective of American imperialism, Soviet revisionism, and the world reactionaries is to start a general war in Asia to bring it to China and the other socialist countries of Asia, by escalating from local wars to a general conflagration. The Soviet revisionists and the American imperialists are using all their means to arm the Indian reactionaries with the greatest speed so that they may repeat the armed attack against China. There is no doubt that the Soviet revisionists will strengthen their border with China under the pretext of the defense of their territory to put her under continuous pressure and blackmail, and will use all means at their disposal to neutralize the surrounding countries if they fail at separating them from their traditional friendship with China. On the other side, American imperialism will try to strengthen the relations with Japan and its domination and preponderance there so as to keep it under its control and to push it into aggression, if possible. The Americans have placed a lot of hope on the possibility of closer cooperation with England, whose colonies in Asia are in danger, for reasons of aggression. In this situation we see with great admiration and faith in her success, China's attempts and its just policies to bring closer, consolidate the friendships and relations with Indonesia, Pakistan, Nepal, Burma, Afghanistan, and all the other countries of Asia and Africa, in particular with countries where American imperialism has undertaken open aggression. We think, just like you do, that we must get closer and work with them and not only to make them conscious of the great danger looming from a war that is taking a brutal shape in Southeast Asia, but also to achieve the goal of making them actively counter the American aggression and its objective of a wider war.

We think that for our part we should intensify even more our campaign of propaganda and unmasking of the war-mongering American imperialism and the modern Soviet revisionists, Titoists and their treasonous supporters. We should intensify our attack on every alliance and agreement they make, should extend a call to the peoples of the Soviet Union and of the other countries to take measures and block and boot all these agreements with the American imperialists, should extend a call to them for a total blockage of the aggressive America, should extend a call to the peoples, the working class, the peasants and the progressive intelligentsia of the world to rise up strongly against the American aggression, this new Hitlerism of the world that threatens it with fire and steel.

As to the heroic struggle of South Vietnam, as to the unwavering stance of North Vietnam, as to your staunch, just, Marxist-Leninist, and heroic stance toward the brotherly people of Vietnam, the help that you extend to them and your infinite support, rest assured, we know about it and admire it—it inspires and enthuses us. We are fully on your side and give ourselves to you to the end and will help with all we have at our disposal. Your war is our war; it is the war of every anti-imperialist, anti-revisionist; it is the war of socialism against imperialism and its lackeys, the modern revisionists and the world reactionaries.

The fraternal Vietnamese people engaged in a heroic war deserve every support possible. American imperialism is even using poisonous gas against the fighters of South Vietnam, all the while systematically bombing the North. It is the sacred duty of all the peoples and revolutionaries of the world to defend the cause of the brotherly Vietnamese people and to help in any way so that it may emerge victorious.

We have expressed our opinion to you about the issue of South Vietnam through your ambassador here. It may be possible that this opinion of ours has not matured yet, but we have expressed it to our friends and partners who know well, judge fairly and can decide justly on this matter.

In conclusion, we would like to reiterate once again that which you so justly and openly in your later position on the divisive meeting in Moscow; that we must strengthen the unity of thought and action; that we must be armed and tempered more and more each day for the battles ahead. We understand, admire and support you with all our might; we fight alongside you as a single body in your great, life-saving, and politically, militarily and ideologically just war. All the Marxist-Leninists of the world should concentrate their struggle and fight to help and strengthen the wide and worldly activity of the PRC, the CCP, and the Chinese government. All of us should understand and explain it to others, that the axis of steel of our sacred war, of our victories, is Comrade Mao Zedong's China, which is always led by Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. This is our last word on these subjects; we present it to you, to our people, to our brotherly Chinese people, your party, and our Comrade Mao.

+  
+ +

I thank you Comrade Zhou Enlai and the other Chinese comrades for the attention you showed and beg your pardon for the long speech. I have tired you.

Comrade Zhou Enlai: We thank you for your all-encompassing opinions. It is you who is tired.

Comrade Enver Hoxha: We propose to close this session

and go get something to eat, outside protocol.

Comrade Zhou Enlai: I have a proposition. Let us postpone tomorrow's meeting a half hour from the scheduled time. Instead of meeting from 9 a.m. until 12 p.m., let us postpone it to 9:30 a.m. until 12:30 p.m.

Comrade Enver Hoxha: If you would like, we could postpone it until 10 a.m. so that you may rest.

Comrade Zhou Enlai: It is not necessary. 9:30 a.m. is sufficient.

Comrade Enver Hoxha: Then we agree. We will meet tomorrow at 9:30 a.m.

(The first meeting ended at 9:10 p.m.)

+  
+ +

#### THE SECOND MEETING

The second meeting started at 9:30 a.m. on 28 March 1965. The floor was given to:

Comrade Zhou Enlai: First of all, I would like to say that we feel very happy to be given the chance to visit Albania for the second time. I would particularly like to thank you for the very warm welcome the ALP CC, the government, and the wide mass of the people of your country have extended to us. This welcome has made a great impression on us. This is an indication that the friendship between our two peoples, parties, and countries continues to become stronger and more unbreakable.

I take this opportunity to thank your party's Central Committee, with Comrade Enver Hoxha at its helm, the government, and the heroic Albanian people for this demonstration of friendship.

I would also like to thank Comrade Enver Hoxha for yesterday's explanation of your opinions and activities related to the various problems in your country and the international arena.

Today, we intend to present to you our opinion on these matters. But I will change the order of the issues a bit. I will first cover the international problems and then will go on to speak about the issues of the cooperation between our two countries.

Our two parties' and governments' opinions on the fundamental issues of the international arena are fully in concert. I am talking about the issues of our struggle against imperialism, with American imperialism at its forefront, and modern revisionism, with today's Soviet revisionist leadership at its helm,

as well as against the reactionaries of various countries, intent on forming as wide and unique a front as possible of the revolutionary peoples of the whole world. There is no doubt that this front must have at its core the leftist groups of the socialist camp and of the international communist movement, in other words, the leftist parties and the revolutionary Marxist-Leninists of the world. The forces that are waging today the struggle for socialism, national liberation, democracy and peace in the world stand in one front and have common opinions on today's international arena situation, a situation which is progressing in favor of socialism, the peoples of the world, and the revolution and at the expense of the imperialists, the modern revisionists, and the reactionaries of different countries.

I wanted to express to you our opinions and position in relation to the latest developments and the problems they cause. Of our three main enemies, the most important one is imperialism, with the USA at its helm, or in other words, American imperialism. Why do I say this? I say it because American imperialism is trying to rule the whole world. It is trying to force the modern revisionists to capitulate and place themselves in its service. And as to the reactionaries in the various countries, the American imperialists are all the more trying to turn them into their servants. Meanwhile, the Soviet revisionists, whether Khrushchev when he was in power or the current Soviet leaders, have tried and are still trying alongside American imperialism to divide the domination of the whole world between the two superpowers. But the USA does not agree to such a deal. It is a well-known fact, for example, that Khrushchev tried to control the mood at [the September 1959] Camp David meeting, but Eisenhower would have none of it.

Comrade Enver Hoxha: He was trying to establish American imperialism as the lone ruler.

Comrade Zhou Enlai: Then, during the following year, it is a known fact that another quarrel occurred in France. This shows that there are contradictions among the imperialists, just like they also exist between US imperialism and modern revisionists. At the same time, there are contradictions between the USA and the satellite nations. Hence, as Comrade Enver Hoxha pointed out yesterday, the question is how to exploit these contradictions best in favor of our intentions.

Currently, American imperialism is trying many different tricks, but it is meeting with defeat, because it is facing the opposition of the peoples of the entire world to its actions, and it is putting modern revisionism in a difficult position. It is also putting in such a position all its other servants. In other words, imperialism is exposing more and more the modern revisionists and the reactionaries of the various countries.

Today the American imperialists are trying to create crises throughout the entire world. That is why their role is becoming continually clearer to the international public. The peoples of the

world already know that American imperialism is the source of all the misfortunes and the evil in the world. This is causing the ranks of the opponents of American imperialism to keep growing every day. The peoples of Africa and Asia are moving toward an escalation of their war against American imperialism.

The USA is even using poisonous gas in their war against the people of South Vietnam and has openly admitted that it has taken such an action. But this barbarous act has drawn the criticism of all the countries, including that of the Labor government of the UK, which has expressed its disagreement. As a result, the USA has had to reverse their practice.

The continuing bombing of the DRV by the US has had the effect that the allied and servant countries of the Americans have expressed their intent to stop following them, except for England which justifies the Americans' actions while maintaining that [the bombing] has nothing to do with China and should lead to talks very soon. Meanwhile the USA is threatening and trying to scare the others by blackmailing them with the escalation of the war from South Vietnam to North Vietnam, into all of Indochina, and even into China. Their allies are disturbed by this. This shows that the USA is not getting the support they need and is being rebutted not only by the peoples of various countries, but also by their allies and satellites, whose opinions differ from those of the Americans and are disturbed by their actions.

But why are they disturbed? On the one hand, because they foresee that the USA will be dealt an even greater defeat in this area, i.e. in South Vietnam, Indochina, and China. On the other, they are worried that the USA might get weaker in other areas and that the anti-American movement there might get stronger and, as a result, the rule of the allies and their satellites in these areas might be in danger.

Let us consider now how the modern revisionists see these problems.

A characteristic of modern revisionists, starting with the time of Khrushchev and continuing with his followers today, is that they are afraid of American imperialism and a world war. They are afraid that some local war might escalate, with American interference, into a large-scale world war. They do not want the peoples of the world to wage an armed war for their national independence. They are afraid of the peoples of the world revolution. Hence, they are trying to discourage and stop such revolutions. This is the logic behind their actions.

But what does their strategy for this look like?

First of all, by seeking to rule the world alongside the American imperialists, the Soviet revisionists are trying to bring the socialist countries, the sister parties, and the national liberation struggles under their control and use them to make compromises with the USA.

To attain this control, to make their dealings with the USA easier, and to salvage their prestige, the revisionists were forced to hold the 1 March meeting. But the end result was the opposite of their expectations. They lost even more of their prestige.

As Comrade Enver Hoxha pointed out yesterday, the attendees at the meeting came out even more scattered and divided. The 1 March meeting communique itself was quite weak, while the resolution of the CPSU CC, released on 26 March and concerning the 1 March meeting has nothing further in it except for the repetition of a few words from the communique. I believe you have seen this resolution.

Comrade Enver Hoxha: It is so. Correct.

Comrade Zhou Enlai: And naturally, this course of action ensured that the prestige of the Soviet revisionists and those that rule other countries and parties declined even more. It becomes more and more apparent that they seek to conspire with American imperialism to dominate the world together.

Another activity by the Soviet Union to find a way out, for both itself and American imperialism, was to start to take steps with the intention of leading the matter of Vietnam to the negotiations table. The tendency of the Soviet revisionists for talks was apparent especially during [Premier of the USSR, Alexei N.] Kosygin's [February 1965] visit to the Far East. First of all, he suggested that all the socialist countries make a common declaration through which they would express their support for Vietnam, against American imperialism. But right away we detected that this was simply a plot by the Soviet revisionists. Through this common declaration they sought to enter into bargains with the American imperialists in the name of all the countries of the socialist camp under the guise of the Soviet Union being a representative of the countries of the socialist camp. We expressed to the Soviets our opposition to this proposal and made our opinion known to the Korean Workers' Party and the Vietnam Workers Party (VWP).

Hence, though there was a bilateral Soviet-Vietnamese declaration and later a Soviet-Korean one, a common declaration of all the socialist countries was not issued. In these bilateral declarations the matter of the common declaration proposed by the Soviets was not mentioned. During the framing of the Soviet-Vietnamese declaration the Soviets were forced to accept as the basis for the declaration's main points the point of view of the VWP and the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam.

Obviously, China did not publish a common declaration with the Soviets because Kosygin merely passed through China [in February 1965]. Hence, he was unable to play his role of a swindler. But the Soviet revisionists did not agree with this situation. As soon as Kosygin returned to Moscow, they presented their opinion to the DRV [Pham Van Dong] that



it would be possible for the Soviet Union to intervene for talks with the US on the issue of Vietnam. On 26 February, the prime minister of the DRV summarily rejected this proposal saying the conditions for talks on the situation in South Vietnam did not exist. He declared that the people of Vietnam would never kneel before the American imperialists' bayonets and bombing and they would fight resolutely until the final victory.<sup>1</sup> On the same day, the Soviets presented this same suggestion to the Chinese government, but we responded that on this issue they should only talk to the government of the DRV and the VWP. Yet, without waiting for our answer, the Soviet government had already intervened with the French government on this issue. The Soviet ambassador had met with de Gaulle. Two days later, the Soviet ambassador told his Chinese counterpart in France that the Soviet Union and France's points of view on the Vietnam issue were the same. But what was the French point of view? The French were for entering talks without prior conditions.

Comrade Enver Hoxha: Just like Tito.

Comrade Zhou Enlai: (Laughs.) The French foreign minister, on the same day, handed a memo to the Soviet Union which proved the similarity of both sides' points of view on this matter. At the same time, the Soviet Union took steps in the direction of the English as well, as the visit by Andrei Gromyko to London clearly shows. Naturally, by the time of Gromyko's visit to London, China had already made her firm opposition to talks known to the Soviet Union. Hence, Gromyko, in his talks with the English, was forced to formally accept that talks should be held with prior conditions. The difference was that the Soviet Union did not even mention the conditions required by Vietnam. The Soviet Union simply wanted talks to be held. All the while, Vietnam was saying that it was the US that had broken the Geneva Convention, that it was the US that should stop the war and withdraw all its troops from Vietnam and the all of Indochina, that it should stop its North Vietnam bombing campaign, and that the people of South Vietnam should not be prevented from solving their internal problems on their own. By contrast, England presented to Gromyko the same conditions called for by the US, i.e.: The Vietcong should stop its armed struggle, the aggression from the North should stop, North Vietnam should terminate its aid to South Vietnam, and the armed forces of South Vietnam [the National Liberation Front] should end their war and relinquish their weapons.

The essence of these talks was visible in Gromyko's press conference, held before his departure from England. The correspondents asked him whether he had talked to the English about the Vietnam issue. Gromyko answered that this matter should be resolved by the interested parties, in other words, this matter was one pertaining to the US and Vietnam. It is very clear that Gromyko considers the US, who is the aggressor and has intervened with armed forces in South Vietnam, and Vietnam as the two warring parties. Hence, in essence, the

Soviet revisionists are trying to get to talks without any prior conditions. We are facing here attempts that seek to stop the fighting without any conditions. The Soviet Union and France are in agreement on this, while England is reserved on it, and the US does not agree. Vietnam does not agree either. The Soviet Union does not agree with Vietnam's point of view, because it wants to sell out Vietnam.

The Soviet Union protests against the American bombing campaign in North Vietnam and the sending of additional American troops to South Vietnam are only a rouse; they are not words coming from the heart. This is plainly clear to the Vietnamese people, to the Chinese people, and to all the peoples of the world. This is also confirmed by the fact that every time Soviet diplomacy, the Soviet press, or the Soviet revisionists—like in the 1 March meeting—raise the issue of the war against the American aggression in South Vietnam, the American press justifies the Soviet position. It says that what the Soviet press is saying is not true and that the Soviet Union is in reality in favor of talks. This clearly shows the essence of the true stance of the Soviet Union on this matter. When the Soviet foreign minister presented to the American ambassador a [note of] protest against the American bombing in South Vietnam, the American ambassador sent the Soviet [note of] protest back. This reminded us of the events of 1958, when [former US Secretary of State John Foster] Dulles was very worried because we started an artillery bombardment against the Chinese coastal island of Quemoy. The Americans thought that at that time China was preparing to attack Taiwan. In fact, they even brought part of their Navy's 7th Fleet to the Taiwan Straits. At that time, the Soviet government was also very worried by these events. They sent Gromyko to China to enquire about this matter. This fact has not been published. We answered Gromyko that since Dulles at that time was applying a policy of brinksmanship against us, we were acting as if we were responding in kind and were testing them by attacking the Jiang-Jieshi army and not the Americans. The end result was that America did not fire against China and ordered that the Chinese territorial water and airspace not be violated. So we had no exchanges with them.

But why did we fire there? We fired, and we told Gromyko this, as a measure against the American attempt to create two Chinas. They wanted to withdraw their own forces from Quemoy and Matsu to break them completely away from Taiwan and the US Navy's 7th Fleet, to make it an independent unit. But as soon as we fired at Quemoy and Matsu, Jiang Jieshi found a pretext for saying that the Communist Party fired at his side, and, as a result, he could not withdraw his armies from these two islands. So the Americans were not able to convince Jiang Jieshi to withdraw his armies after our artillery bombardments. We know that both you and your foreign minister, Behar Shtlila, are clear about the reasons why we are against the idea of two Chinas. We told Gromyko about our secret that with this action we intended to express our opposition to the two Chinas. We went even further and we told him

that should the Americans bombard the Chinese homeland, we would carry the whole burden of a war with them ourselves and we would not want them [the Soviets] to send their army, we would not want the Soviet Union to be involved in this issue. Gromyko was extremely touched when China spoke openly and told him all its secrets.

Last year, when I was in Moscow [in November], Gromyko asked me whether I remembered the events of that period. I replied that I did, adding that Khrushchev had calmed down when he learned that in our opinion the Soviet Union would not have to get involved should a world war explode, something he was very scared of. Once Khrushchev found out about our opinion, he wrote a letter to Eisenhower protesting in a very strong tone, ostensibly in support of China, but Eisenhower returned the letter to him. The Americans had by this time a good idea of the nature of the Soviet revisionists. OK, so the Americans returned the letter to the Soviets, but did they afterwards attack anywhere in the Taiwan Straits? No, on the contrary, while we were bombarding Quemoy and Matsu, they moved part of the 7th Fleet in the direction of Hong Kong and other places under the pretext that it was going for rest. Now Khrushchev and his followers are telling us that on the matter of Taiwan the Soviet Union has been supporting China. This time the Americans again returned the letter to the Soviet Union. They know well what the Soviet revisionists are.

How do the American imperialists detect these weaknesses, this nature of the Soviet revisionists? This happens because the ambassadors of each of these two countries, both the American ambassador to Moscow and the Soviet ambassador to the US, covertly and continually keep in frequent contact with the respective government of the country in which they serve, with the intention of coordinating and preparing their activities. The same is happening right now on the issue of Vietnam. But Vietnam is against these preparations and against talks, and China agrees with Vietnam's decision. That is why they are not able to execute their plan. We are fully convinced that all the Left parties are also against them. What then remains for them to do there? For this they commanded Tito and gave him a special task. Tito, it is well known, is a bilateral product of the Americans and the Soviet revisionists. He started fulfilling his task by first calling a meeting of the non-aligned nations [on 14-15 March 1965 in Belgrade]. Initially, some of them were under the influence of Tito, and they agreed to call for talks and the end of fighting in South Vietnam. But what does discontinuation of fighting mean to them? This means that the liberation army of South Vietnam [NLF] should lay down its weapons so that the Americans and their South Vietnamese mercenaries get a respite to catch their breath, and later, after they have recovered, be able to have an opportunity to suppress the liberation forces. They also want North Vietnam and all the revolutionary forces of the world to end their support and aid to South Vietnam. Initially, this undertaking was successful for Tito, and it had some effect because some took part

in it like, for example, Cuba. To show that he was on Cuba's side, Tito said that he denounced American imperialism's war in Vietnam and was certain that the others would agree with him. But in the end some countries, like India, the United Arab Republic and Ceylon, showed that they were not against it. It is true that all three of these countries have their own internal reasons to side with the Americans. India is a servant of the Americans. Ceylon was just before its elections, and, just like India, it had no intention of joining an opposition against the American imperialists, while the United Arab Republic was facing the issues of Israel and West Germany which are supported by the Americans. As a result of their opposition, the draft proposal for the proclamation did not include a denunciation of the American aggression. The phrase was changed to read "against outside interference." But this is a very vague definition, which the Americans interpret as meaning against interference by North Vietnam and China, while North Vietnam interprets it as meaning interference by the Americans. Thus, this phrase can be exploited by both sides. The main points in this document are the cease-fire and the beginning of talks, and it is well known that the non-aligned nations exert a greater amount of influence than the Soviet Union on the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America.

It was under these conditions that our activity started, and we reiterated that neither South Vietnam's National Liberation Front nor the DRV could accept such positions, because these would serve the interests of American imperialism and were helping it to find a way out.

After this the other countries of Asia and Africa started carrying themselves better. Vietnam started its activity. The 15 non-aligned nations were, first of all, opposed by [Cambodian Head of State Prince Norodom] Sihanouk. At the beginning, Sihanouk, under the French diktat, called a meeting of the peoples of Indochina. His intention was to create in these countries a situation much like that of Laos, in other words, to create a united front with the cooperation of three groups, namely, the elements of a rightist group who are servants of the Americans, a centrist group that would represent the interests of France, and a leftist group, i.e. the South Vietnam's National Liberation Front. In other words, he intended to create a troika. But the situation in South Vietnam quickly started to look less and less like the one in Laos. South Vietnam's National Liberation Front is in a dominant position. South Vietnam's National Liberation Front and the National Front of North Vietnam resolutely expressed their opposition to the troika proposal. In the end, Sihanouk was forced to accept the opinions of South Vietnam and North Vietnam. In other words, he served a good purpose. The main gist of his position is that the American troops should be withdrawn from South Vietnam and the whole of Indochina. That way the people of South Vietnam can solve their problems on their own. As soon as Sihanouk received the draft proclamation by Tito, he resolutely expressed his opposition to it. He understands that Tito

helps the US by trying to find a way out for them. Sihanouk seeks the Americans' withdrawal from Indochina and the reorganization of the UN.

As a result of the activity on the issue of Vietnam, Cuba, Algeria, Mali, and Guinea expressed their opposition to the Tito draft proclamation. We worked on this issue with the Syrian foreign minister when he visited China [ostensibly for the signing of a cultural cooperation agreement on 18 March 1965], and, as a result, he expressed his reservations to the draft. Indonesia was also against the draft. And finally, the United Arab Republic did not respond to Tito.

Around this time, on 22 March 1965, South Vietnam's National Liberation Front issued a declaration of which the Albanian comrades are aware.<sup>2</sup> In this declaration the Front resolutely expresses its opposition to peace talks. The South Vietnamese declared that they would fight to the end against the US, even if the war continued on for 10 or 20 more years, and that they would fight until the last of the Americans had been thrown out of South Vietnam.

On 25 March 1965 the *Renmin Ribao* [*People's Daily*] newspaper published a cover story in which the war of the South Vietnamese people was resolutely supported. The Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK) also published a state declaration in which the same resolute support was extended to the people of South Vietnam. Thus, under these conditions Tito's activity ceased for the time being, but he will never agree with the situation, and we foresee that he will try to cook up some other maneuver. Judging from the activities to date it seems that the Soviet revisionists and Tito are trying to find a way that would get the American imperialists out of a very difficult situation.

Why is this happening? This is happening because the US is today facing a huge problem, and this problem is the crisis in South Vietnam. In the current conditions, the faster the Americans can withdraw from Vietnam, the better it will be for them so that they do not lose their prestige in other areas of the world. But American imperialism has no plans to withdraw because it considers that a great loss and shame.

And if the US does not withdraw, how will it proceed, going forward? That would mean escalating the war, sending troops directly to South Vietnam, escalating the war to North Vietnam and even further, to China. The only thing is that the US is not sure about the future of such a step, because, well, the US might enter China, but what would it do after taking this step? And if it continues to be dealt such defeats, then its prestige will suffer even more, it will be shamed, its military bases in the different countries around the world will be shaken, and the anti-American movement around the world will get a big boost.

So, in reality, the US is not resolute in going forward,

but they also do not want to withdraw. Will it then keep the situation as it is right now? This is what they desire. But the Americans want the issue of talks and the ceasefire to be raised by others, not by them. It is clear that today Vietnam is resolutely opposed to such a move. Tito also sees that today he is not able to execute his plot and, at the moment, the Soviet Union will not so easily come out and openly ask for such talks to be held without conditions.

Now the problem stands like this: the Americans will work hard so that the situation in Vietnam deteriorates for a while, then wait and see how that goes, and then they will go back to escalation. In other words, escalate, wait a while, then deteriorate again. But we, and I mean the leftists and the revolutionaries, all as one stand beside Vietnam. We have a clear course. We wanted to talk to you about this issue when we were in Romania, and now that we are in Albania. We also wanted to talk to you about the issue of the countries of Asia and Africa.

But as a central problem, I will touch upon mainly this one, because today Vietnam and Indochina have become the center of the war against American imperialism, modern revisionism, and the reactionaries of the various countries. Of course, American imperialism causes trouble on all four sides of the world. That is why the anti-American movement in the world today is not confined to Indochina only. It is also active in South Korea, Japan, Taiwan, Malaysia, Palestine, Congo (Leopoldville), Latin America, etc., etc. Obviously, the anti-American movement is also alive in the Mediterranean, but Vietnam and Indochina have become today the main segment of the war against American imperialism. It is precisely here that the Americans have centered their land, sea, and air forces today.

I would like to talk a bit about the state of the revolutionary forces in Vietnam. It is quite apparent that the enemy is not about to withdraw, and the Americans are also having a hard time making headway there. The national liberation forces of South Vietnam are winning more and more. In a time span of a little more than a year the situation in South Vietnam is turning increasingly anti-American, and the war of the people of Vietnam is partly being transformed from guerrilla [*partizane*] to mobile warfare. The fact that the Vietnamese are now able to continually destroy the organized forces of the enemy is fundamental. The Americans in Vietnam are waging a special war using mainly troops from South Vietnam. Previously, the US only had military advisors there, along with their naval and air forces. But lately, the situation has warranted that they also send marine units to Vietnam to protect their sea ports and airports. The mercenary forces in Vietnam can be categorized into two groups: the regular army, and the local forces that operate in various areas in the south of the country. They have had the task of fighting against the South Vietnam liberation army. But today these forces, wherever they are destroyed, have difficulty in regrouping. It is true that they are continually adding new elements to fill their ranks, but people of the

National Liberation Front are also infiltrating these forces and they are mining the mercenary army from the inside. The regular mercenary forces are comprised of nine divisions which are given the task mainly of defending key points around the cities, airports and sea ports.

At the moment, however, due to the fact that the local forces have mostly been destroyed, the enemies have been forced to send units of the regular army into battle against the liberation army. But today, the partisan liberation army is able to destroy full battalions of the mercenary army. It is able to stay in battle for 4-5 days in a row and destroy even two battalions of the enemy at once. The enemies organize their special war basing their operations mainly in strategic villages. Their plan was to organize 7,500 such villages [hamlets] and gather the villagers at certain points. But through the work of the partisan army, from the inside as well as from the outside, these villages have been destroyed, and there remain today only about 1,000 of them and they are continually being destroyed.

South Vietnam has a population of about 14 million souls, or a little more. Three quarters of this population are today on the side of the National Liberation Front. A few of those on the side of the Front are hiding inside the cities with the task of organizing demonstrations, or fighting while coordinating their activities with the partisan forces from within the enemy zones. In the past, the American army would use helicopters to transport regular soldiers to help those who were fighting the partisans, but the helicopters did not produce the desired effect because the liberation army was destroying them en masse. The liberation forces have even been able to destroy the very airport where the enemy forces are centered. In other words, the people are able to help the liberation army.

After undertaking a study of the development of the war of the people of South Vietnam, we came to the conclusion that the scale of the war in this country is much larger, relatively speaking, than that of the resistance of the Chinese people against Japanese imperialism. We could say that the Vietnamese are fighting much better than we fought at that time. This is the truth, and it is a great achievement of the people of South Vietnam.

As to the pseudo-government of South Vietnam, as you well know, after Ngo Dinh Diem and his brother was killed [on 2 November 1963], the state leadership there has been changed about ten times. This shows the instability of the government in that country. No puppet government in the countries dominated by the Americans is as unstable as the one in South Vietnam. In the past, both China and the DRV have been able to deliver weapons to the liberation army of South Vietnam by both land and sea, but today the Vietnamese liberation army is capable of arming itself by taking weapons from the enemy.

[US Secretary of State] Dean Rusk is at the present forced

to accept that the issues in South Vietnam can only be solved by the internal forces and on three conditions: First, the puppet government needs to be stable and united. Second, the mercenary army needs to be developed and strengthen its fighting units. Third, the local government needs to become effective, because, according to their opinion, the outskirts are disconnected. But these conditions can never be achieved there. We are strongly convinced that if the liberation forces continue their fight as they have so far against the puppet government, [the SVG] will be destroyed and North Vietnam will be victorious. As to when—whether after a long or a short time—this depends on the changes in the relative strength of the two parties. But one thing is certain: Victory there will be on our side.

Faced with these defeats, the USA has only one reason to insist on staying there, and it is quite justified from its point of view. An American forced withdrawal from South Vietnam, after they threw so many forces there to help, would mean that the national liberation struggle in other areas of the world where they have their bases would deal them the same defeat. Additionally, this means that even a small country can fight and win over a larger country that is pestering it. So, under these circumstances, because of its nature, American imperialism will not give up so easily on Vietnam, because this is a vital issue for it. This is the reason for which it is seeking a ceasefire, it needs talks and it is trying to hold these talks in its favor. In this area the American imperialists are being helped at any cost by the revisionists, the reactionaries of various countries, and by their allies.

But, as I said before, the various attempts to arrive at a ceasefire were not successful. That is why now the US is forced to look for another way and jump to adventures. Of course, if one looks at our objective desire, we would like that the national liberation forces emerge victorious in South Vietnam, but the US cannot agree to such an outcome and that is why it may jump to desperate and even adventurous measures. This is why we need to be prepared to face an even more difficult situation. We have thought about such a possibility, have studied the future of the US in South Vietnam and have divided it into four stages. In the past this has also been murmured around the White House and in the Pentagon. I am talking about the increase of [US] forces in South Vietnam while at the same time intensifying their bombing for the blockade of North Vietnam. This is [the United States'] first option today, i.e. moving from a special war to a local war. According to the US plan, they have already sent marine forces to South Vietnam. They have transferred these forces from the Okinawa islands of Japan in order to strengthen their allies in South Vietnam. The Americans also wanted to transfer to South Vietnam an infantry division from South Korea. But the reactionary leaders of South Korea warned against such move, warning the Americans that in the event of "danger" from North Korea they would not be in a good position to resist them. Due to this reason the Americans were forced to use an infantry divi-



sion from the US mainland or from Honolulu. Thus, at the present they will transfer two divisions to South Vietnam, of which one will be a marine division and the other an infantry one. The Americans are also trying to secure troops from their satellite nations, such as from the Philippines, Australia, Malaysia, Thailand, etc. which will probably not even reach 10 thousand troops. As to the Philippines, in the war against Korea they only sent a symbolic unit of only one battalion, and at the moment we think they will have difficulty sending even one such unit. Thailand is also having difficulty sending troops from its country, because it has its own problems. And as to Malaysia, England does not agree that it should enter the war in South Vietnam.

Comrade Enver Hoxha: Also because Malaysia needs its troops for itself, too.

Comrade Zhou Enlai: But for what will the Americans use these three divisions? Mainly to protect the seashore, the cities and their air bases in South Vietnam, by taking the place of the regular soldiers of the South Vietnamese reactionaries, which they are trying to send outside the cities to fight against the forces of the liberation army at the exact time when the liberation army is looking to fight these very forces of the regular army of the reactionaries of South Vietnam in order to destroy them. If the regular army is destroyed, then why would the American army remain there? Such a move would not produce any results, because by that time the government in the South would have fallen. Hence, the American army would have nothing to do there anymore and would have no choice but to withdraw.

As to the bombings in North Vietnam, there is no doubt that they are causing a lot of damage. But if the anti-aircraft war is strengthened, more and more American aircraft will be shot down. Meanwhile, the blockade that the Americans have put in place at sea will not be able to stop the transport of weapons from the North to the South, because in the end there are also roads on land. After this first stage, if the US will continue to be dealt defeats, and if they do not withdraw, they will then try to enter the second stage.

This is how we foresee the events. It is possible that the American imperialists will start an all-out bombing in Vietnam, including here Hanoi, and also send a much higher number of forces to South Vietnam, in order to widen the war in Laos and North Vietnam at the same time. In such a situation, the separation between the north and the south will cease to exist. Even today it is hard to distinguish between north and south in Vietnam. If the USA increases its troops in the southern part of the country, the northern side might also send reinforcements to the south in order to topple as soon as possible the puppet government there and to destroy the regular army of South Vietnam. As to the all-out bombing of North Vietnam, it is predictable that they will reach the border with China, but China will not remain indifferent. As to the manner of delivery

of China's aid, this will be decided in bilateral talks at the right time between the governments of China and the DRV.

If the war will continue still, then there remains the possibility that it will enter a new state, its third stage. This will mean that the Americans will also bomb the Chinese areas at the border with Vietnam and Laos, including our air bases, military depots, and even our rear positions. At such a situation the war will escalate because China cannot but resist and respond to the American aggression by throwing in the field of battle her army on the side of Vietnam. So the possibility remains that the war might escalate, but in the East and not in the entire world.

Then the Americans might finally attack on a broad front all of China. Regarding this possibility, we have taken measures for even the worst scenario. But if the war comes to China, Korea will definitely be affected as well. If this happened, it would be a good thing, because American imperialism will be destroyed on the Chinese fields of battle. Naturally, such a war will not last a short time, but it will require a considerably long time to achieve victory.

We are looking to secure ten to fifteen years to be able to accomplish peacetime construction so as to get stronger. That way the imperialists will not dare start a war against us. But, in the end, should they decide to go headfirst into adventures, we cannot but accept their challenge and give them a quick end. But even if we have a war at that moment, this would also have its positive aspects, because most of the leadership in our country today is comprised of people who have taken part in both the civil war and in our war against American imperialism. In other words, they have experience and will be able to train our descendants during this war. This is the reason why we also need to be prepared for such an eventuality.

Before facing these potential developments, we will consult with the Vietnamese side on a course of action. Had not the death of [Romanian Communist Party General Secretary Gheorghe] Gheorghiu-Dej occurred [on 19 March 1965], I would not have visited so soon, because the Vietnamese side had proposed talks with us. We will not be able to finish consulting with them right away because we would like to have talks on military matters with the Vietnamese before we have political talks. The Vietnamese comrades are prepared for a total mobilization. As the first step of this action they published a declaration of the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam on the mobilization of the people of South Vietnam in which it expresses its determination.

The second step will be the total mobilization of the DRV. Since more than a month ago, Hanoi has started to move its population out of the capital drawing on the experience of Korea, which during its three-year war against American imperialism was turned into ruins but still managed to build

a socialist society after ten years. I believe that your comrades who have been to Korea have witnessed this.

China is also prepared for mobilization. At the moment, we have undertaken an internal mobilization. It is possible that we will also undertake open mobilization in order to show the Americans that we are prepared to face them. We have indicated this to them in various ways, but we could also show them in practice so that they can stop and think.

Naturally, they have not even thought, let alone prepared, about these four stages that we think will take place. At the moment they, now that the war is still in its first stage, are measuring the situation. They bomb and watch, bomb and watch. They very much desire that the revisionists and their allies help them to force Vietnam to accept a ceasefire and talks, but such a thing cannot come to be. The laws of waging warfare are not dependent on their subjective desire, or our own subjective desires for that matter. That is why we have to broaden our perspective. We should take into account all the possibilities and be prepared for even worse situations; because only when you are prepared do the enemies stop and think.

After the publishing of the [Five-Point] declaration of the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam on the 22nd, we also published a leading article on the 25th. We did not make a declaration, but the Americans understand that this leading article is a forefather of a declaration. We published this leading article on the morning of the 25th, while Johnson made a declaration that same afternoon.<sup>3</sup>

Comrade Enver Hoxha: He felt it right away.

Comrade Zhou Enlai: He called a meeting with his closest advisors and discussed this issue. He is the one always shouting for war, but this time he was pretending to be on the side of peace. Our leading article has also been published in your newspaper. For the sake of balance you should also publish his declaration and then comment on it. Let the people learn what Johnson thinks.

Comrade Enver Hoxha: "We are ready," Johnson said, "to talk with our friends, as well as our enemies."

Comrade Zhou Enlai: He said, "Let us be cool-blooded" and "clear-headed," because "the Americans are not against talks." But then he said that Vietcong should cease its "aggression" and that the Americans are, allegedly, against the escalation of war in Vietnam and seek peace. "If the possibility for talks exists," declared Johnson, "I am ready to talk anywhere, with whomever you want."<sup>4</sup>

Comrade Mehmet Shehu: Khrushchev used to say the same thing.

Comrade Zhou Enlai: When we publish such a declaration, we also make our comments on it completely known afterwards, thus revealing [the declaration's] true colors. This shows that they feel a great fear in their hearts, because justice is not on their side. All the peoples of the entire world are against the escalation of the war in Vietnam, and against the use of poison gas. If we continue to hold a resolute and strict position in this matter, and show all we are prepared to go through, they will stop and think. It was not us who started the fire in Vietnam, it was them. We do not want to bring the Soviet Union into this matter. But should a war explode in Vietnam and China, would the people of the Soviet Union stand by indifferently and observantly? This would be a great test for the revisionists. But if the Soviet Union stood by indifferently, the Americans would have to do the dirty work, as you pointed out earlier, on their own. Hence, they will have to stop and think.

Only when we hold on to a strong position in front of the enemies will their conspiracy be revealed to the entire world. This is the fundamental difference between the revolutionaries and the revisionists. We are against pleading for peace. Peace cannot be begged for.

If we concentrate all of the fire of our war on Indochina and Vietnam, then the war against the American imperialists will give a big boost to all the other areas of the world. This way we will be showing the peoples of these areas that if the war in Vietnam and in all of Indochina is supported, it would also be in their favor, because the opposite would be to their demise. The Soviet Union also raises the issue of Vietnam, but only formally, without responsibility. All they are looking for is to make deals with the US.

Lately we have learned that Ulbricht, at the suggestion of the Soviet Union, went on a visit to the United Arab Republic. Previously, [CPSU CC Secretary Alexander Nikolaevich] Shelepin, and later the Soviet deputy minister of defense had visited Cairo. [UAR President Gamal Abdel] Nasser asked the Soviet deputy minister of defense: "If Israel and West Germany will take action on what they have declared, thus challenging us, what will the Soviet Union do?"<sup>5</sup> The Soviet deputy minister of defense promised to help Nasser. But, and let us remember first the [1956] events of the Suez Canal, this is a dangerous step. At that time Comrade Mao Zedong asked Khrushchev what he thought of this problem. Khrushchev answered that he had information that the US was against England and France sending troops to Egypt and that for this reason he had intervened with the American government to ask jointly at the UN for the withdrawal of the English and French troops from Egypt. Simultaneously, with this move, Khrushchev published a declaration in which he said that if England and France would not withdraw their troops from Egypt, then the Soviet Union would send its own forces there. This is the kind of person Khrushchev is. When you provoke him, he will tell you the truth. The United Arab Republic trusts

the Soviet Union, but at the end of the day it may be sold out by the Soviet Union.

Why did the Soviet Union want the United Arab Republic to invite Ulbricht for a visit? The Khrushchevians, like Khrushchev, seek to cause problems. They want everyone to rise up against the Americans and then intervene to bring them back together. They only look to do some haggling and never to give anyone true support to a correct road. This time Nasser fell for it and invited Ulbricht for a visit. In many Arab countries you could see opposition to this visit, such as from [President Habib] Bourguiba of Tunisia and [King] Hassan II of Morocco.

I will also talk to [Algerian President Ahmed] Ben Bella and Nasser about these matters. Our position is this: To pin down the Americans in Indochina and, while there, to weaken them as much as possible. The armed forces of American imperialism are not such a terrible thing. The Americans do not even have a 3 million strong standing-army today, only 2,700,000 or 2,800,000, to be exact. In other words, 19 standing divisions, of which 16 divisions are infantry, 2 marine divisions, and 1 paratrooper division. Of all these forces, half of them are to be found outside the US, i.e. 8 infantry divisions and 1 marine division. Lately, the US transferred one marine division from Okinawa to South Vietnam. But to make up for the one they transferred from Okinawa, they moved one division from Honolulu. By reducing their forces in Honolulu by one division, their forces in the US are now one division smaller.

The American 7th Fleet is today to be found in Taiwan and the South China Sea, but they feel it that this force is not enough to deal with the situation. They are now thinking about pulling towards this area part of the 2nd Fleet, which is now located in the eastern area of the Pacific Ocean, and increasing the number of their aircraft carriers in the South China Sea from four to seven by bringing them from other areas where they are now deployed. Of a total of three thousand plus fighter and bomber planes, over five hundred of these are being used only in South Vietnam.

This is the situation in the first stage of the war, the time of the transformation of the war from a special war to a local one, and the partial bombardment of North Vietnam. If the war is to be escalated into Indochina and China, these forces are obviously not sufficient. If they decide to wage a larger war, then they will be forced to concentrate more land, sea and air forces in the Pacific Ocean, in China and in Indochina, bringing them to this area from other areas of the world. In such an event their position in the other areas of the world would be weakened. If the American imperialists will recruit new forces from within their country for this, their people will rise and ask why it needs to fight in China. During the past three months, in the world and American public opinion, and currently even in the press, they are openly discussing the issue of the reasons for

fighting in Vietnam and the opinions on the matter differ. The rightist elements, like [US presidential candidate and Senator Barry] Goldwater and [former Vice President Richard] Nixon, want to continue the war. They have even circulated the opinion that China should be bombed too, though they have not mentioned that troops should be sent there. This shows the great weakness of the enemy. [Former British Deputy Commander of NATO] Marshal [Bernard] Montgomery has warned the Americans that should one enter China, they would not be able to find their way out. Even [General Douglas] MacArthur, who started the war in Korea, has advised Eisenhower not to start a war against China. Johnson is also afraid of it.

In the conversation I had with the Syrian minister of culture when he visited China [in March 1965], he also informed me to this effect. "Today a great danger exists for us," he said. "Israel, with the help of the US and West Germany, could attack Syria. Is it possible," he asked, "for China to pin down America in the East?" I told him that we have been doing such a thing for a long time, while you are now having talks with Tito, something that goes against what you are saying. This answer surprised him. I then emphasized that the situation in South Vietnam was developing in such a direction that many more American forces would be pinned down there. This made it known to him that the recent attempts for talks on the issue of South Vietnam are nothing but steps to find a way out for the American imperialists, something that would be unfavorable to Syria in relation to the Israel issue. He sent a telegram to Syria on that same day, and that is why Syria is exhibiting a reserved position toward the Tito draft. I also spoke about this matter to [Chairman Ahmad] Shukairy, the Leader of the Palestine Liberation Organization, who is a close confidant of Nasser, and he told me that as soon as he would return to Cairo, he would talk to Nasser that they should not agree with Tito. As far as we know, Nasser has not given Tito an answer in this matter.

Now it has become very clear that the events in Vietnam and the efforts that China is making to pin down the forces of American imperialism in the East will play a great role for the entire world.

As to the contradictions between the allies of the US, we can and should always exploit them. For example, before coming here, I had a conversation with the French ambassador to China. We spoke about two topics:

The first topic was in relation to the establishment of an unconditional ceasefire in South Vietnam. I told the French ambassador that since the Americans are asking for an unconditional ceasefire, one could say that they do not ever intend to withdraw from South Vietnam and what you are saying, that the people of South Vietnam should be able to resolve their own internal problems and that an independent and free South Vietnam should be created, cannot happen under these circum-

stances. So with a position such as yours, you are in fact helping the USA. And what good are you deriving from this? This shook up the ambassador a bit and he understood the essence of the issue. I also told him that those directly concerned with this matter, in other words, the South Vietnam National Liberation Front and the DRV, have expressed their opposition to the Americans' request. Then the French ambassador replied that we would not be able to achieve any results. I told him "to make an effort. Indochina is now comprised of four units. The situation today is that the American army is not only not withdrawing from South Vietnam, but is also bombing North Vietnam at the same time. In these circumstances the South Vietnam National Liberation Front will not agree to unconditional peace talks with the Americans."

Of course, we are not absolutely against talks. The issue is at what moment and on what conditions should the talks be held. In Laos, for example, we were for talks, but the USA undermined the coalition government and the conference was scrapped. All that remains now is Cambodia. There exist no difficulties with regard to talks here. Sihanouk is asking that a conference be held in Geneva which would ensure Cambodia's neutral, independent and peaceful position. France agrees with Sihanouk's request, and so does the Soviet Union and China. The DRV also agrees with it, while England is only half for it. Let us wait and see what the US will say about it. So, until now, only England is against it. I advised the French ambassador to seek at least that a conference be held to ensure Cambodia's position, and from this they could see whether America truly was in favor of talks. But I reiterated that in my opinion there did not seem to be any serious intention for talks on the issue of Cambodia. At the same time, China is not against your making such an attempt on the issue of Cambodia. After this conversation the French government issued a declaration in which it emphasized that that moment was not the right time to have talks on Vietnam.

The second topic had to do with the conference between the five great powers for the solution of world problems. I told the French ambassador that these five great powers did not exist, because the Americans did not recognize People's China, preferring instead to recognize Jiang Jieshi whom we do not recognize. Under these circumstances, I told him, no meeting of these five great powers could be held. As to the role that these five large countries should play, I also told him that we should study this matter too, but one thing should be kept in mind: that we were against these five great powers monopolizing the world. Just as we are against the domination of the world by the Soviet Union and the US, so are we against the domination of the world by these five great powers. We are for equality between all countries, regardless of whether they are large or small. It is because of this belief that we are in favor of organizing a conference of the heads of state of all the countries of the world for the prohibition and destruction of all nuclear weapons. I told him that if the five great powers would like to play some kind of role in

the world, if they would like to do something in favor of peace, China had a proposal for them: France should advise its ally England, and China should advise its ally the Soviet Union, so that these four powers together take the appropriate measures to isolate the Americans and fight against the US. But against what precisely should they fight? They would fight against the disorder that the US was cooking up everywhere in order to install its world hegemony, against the American nuclear blackmail, and against their war threats. If these four great powers could join up in such a struggle, then the outbreak of a nuclear war could be avoided, then we would be able to say that these four great powers were truly MAKING their contribution to world peace. "But at the present the situation is not ripe for such an action," I concluded, and the French ambassador laughed. Under these conditions, what five great powers could we say exist? No such thing can even be talked about at the moment. So, right now, it is possible and imperative that we exploit the contradictions between the allies of the US.

As you said before, the greatest danger of the moment for the world communist movement is revisionism. The current Soviet leaders are even more cowardly than Khrushchev. In fact, as you mentioned, in some respects they have gone even further than Khrushchev. They, the Soviet revisionists, are truly not ready to support the Vietnamese people or their national liberation struggle in general. Their declarations are bogus. In reality, the Soviet revisionists are only looking to find a way out for the US. This is one issue. The other is that they are looking to use the national liberation movement as a bargaining chip for their deals with the US. Hence, the issue we are facing is how to fight against the Soviet revisionists and the American imperialists.

We could end the session at this juncture and in the afternoon we can talk about the modern revisionists, and after, if we have the time, we can talk about the economic relations between our two countries.

(So, at 12:30 p.m. the morning session came to an end.)

+  
+ +

The third session started in the afternoon at 4:00 p.m. [Zhou Enlai] took the floor once again:

Comrade Zhou Enlai: In the morning I took a lot of your time to lay down some facts and to make some analyses.

Comrade Enver Hoxha: On the contrary, it was a pleasure for us.

Comrade Zhou Enlai: I would also like to give you some information concerning the Soviets.



Now I will speak on some of the characteristics of the war under way today in the international arena and on some of our activities.

Our enemies, i.e. the imperialists with the US at their helm, the modern revisionists with the Soviet revisionists at their helm, and reactionaries of various countries, find themselves facing a number of difficulties. Their leaders, especially Johnson, the Labor government in England which follows him, and Khrushchev's successors, i.e. today's Soviet revisionist leaders, are even weaker than their predecessors and do not have as healthy a standing. And since they are so weak, they face even more difficulties. This is one of their characteristics. Meanwhile, the leader of the Indian reactionaries, [Indian Prime Minister] Lal Bahadur Shastri, is even weaker than [former Indian Prime Minister Jawaharlal] Nehru. Your ambassador to China knows our phrase that this is a fellowship of the three Ns and one T. During a short time Kennedy [*Nekedy*] was killed, Nikita [Khrushchev] fell, and Nehru died [on 27 May 1964]. Now all that is left is one Tito. As the saying goes in China, "when there are no more soldiers left, the general himself must stand on watch." During last year's conference Tito showed himself to be no more competent than the other three (the 3 N's).

We could say that the American imperialists, the Soviet revisionists and the reactionaries of various countries, along with Tito, have created much turmoil in the past three years since the proceedings of the [17-21 October 1961] 22nd [CPSU] Congress when they openly attacked Albania. But today they are on a slippery slope because the situation is not in their favor, and continually and everywhere they are met with defeat. The new leaders of these three enemy groups have been forced to also draw some lessons. Hence, another characteristic of these new leaders is that they possess a strong deceitful character; they exploit demagoguery extensively even toward American imperialism. You also spoke about this issue yesterday.

So, the situation is a little bit more complicated. But, as you rightly pointed out yesterday, this complicated situation cannot save them from the unavoidable defeat. They can only prolong their life by zig-zagging around.

We must undertake a concrete analysis of their situation. At the moment, though we are fully against these three enemies, and our future is bright, we must exploit by any means any favorable opportunity to work against them; we must combine our principled character with flexibility. In other words, we need to have a strategic plan and a tactical system. Here the problems appear in several directions.

Before anything else, I would like to also talk a bit about the war we are waging against American imperialism and how we could go about destroying its plans that seek to dominate the entire world. At the moment, it seems that the main and

central front of the war on American imperialism is Vietnam and Indochina. We do not deny in the least the seriousness of the German issue as it relates to revanchism. We also place special importance on the issues of the Caribbean [Cuba], Congo and Israel, because all these countries are important to the intentions of American imperialism. But Vietnam and Indochina constitute a weak link for the US, because they have concentrated most of their forces in those areas and, by doing so they have induced the greatest ire from the people there. In Vietnam, great contradictions have appeared among the imperialists themselves, while the Soviet revisionists, who are trying to find a way out for the American imperialists, have met their own difficulties.

In this corner of the world the leftist parties make up the majority. There we find the Vietnamese Workers' Party, the Korean Workers' Party, the communist parties of China, Japan, Indonesia, Burma, Malaysia, Thailand, the leftist groups of India and Australia, as well as the Communist Party of New Zealand. That is the reason that the revolutionary activity is less hindered by the revisionists. In this area the imperialists find themselves plagued by many contradictions, such as those between America and France. Meanwhile, England, though continually following the USA, would have difficulty following them if the Americans would enter in a great war with China, because in such circumstances it would not be able to keep Malaysia for itself.

Yesterday, Comrade Enver Hoxha was right when he pointed out that the imperialists are still not ready for a great war. This is why they need to continue to arm West Germany, especially with nuclear weapons, while in the East they need to arm Japanese militarism. This feat is yet to be finished in both those countries. Of course, the most important thing here is the fact that the American imperialists have concentrated all their forces on their aggression against the Vietnamese people, but the people of South Vietnam are fighting resolutely and are determined to continue their war until victory. Naturally, such a situation exerts positive influence on the surrounding peoples, such as in Laos, Cambodia, China, etc.

In this area, the imperialists, as well as the Soviet revisionists, will use deceit and machinations. Hence, it is precisely in this area that it will be easier to uncover and unmask them. The American imperialists, for example, on the one hand are seeking to start talks, and on the other, they say that in order for Vietnam to enter talks, it needs to first stop its aggression. Their deceit here is easy to spot. Because at the end, who is the real aggressor? It is not Vietnam who has gone to North America for aggression. Aside from this, it is understandable that Vietnam cannot be the aggressor against Vietnam. This is something the Americans cannot explain. The Americans want talks, but at the same time they threaten with a war. Even after the 25 [March statement by Johnson] the Americans made another declaration in which they threatened to raze Hanoi and

Beijing to the ground, but despite their threats, they not only did not bomb these cities, but reiterated that if possible they would even go to Hanoi and Beijing for talks. Comrade Mao Zedong says that the Americans are trying to gain through talks what they could not win through arms.

So, we said that the American imperialists were threatening to raze Hanoi and Beijing to the ground. But after such threats, who will accept to enter talks with them? It is the Americans and not us, Vietnam and China, who are trying to gain at the table through talks what they could not win through arms. We have already told them that they would never be able to gain through talks what they could not win through arms. The war in Korea was proof of this. These attempts also show the great pressure being exerted on the Americans by the others, because everyone is against the war and concerned that the Americans will start an even bigger war. But we, along with Vietnam, are keeping a resolute position in order to force the American imperialists to go where we want them. That is why they are forced to react, step by step, to the changes in the situation. Now the American ambassador to Vietnam, [General Maxwell] Taylor, will go back to America because the Americans are aware once again that they cannot subdue Vietnam even through the bombing of North Vietnam. That is why they need to think things over again. We, on the other hand, are following carefully the development of the situation.

It is true that in some areas people do not know what is going on in Vietnam, because the imperialists, and the modern revisionists alongside them, are making a lot of propaganda to avoid the eruption of a great war, or threatening that the whole world would become a part of it. Such a war would envelop both the East and the West. Many people in the world still do not understand what is covered up behind this propaganda. A few days ago, when I was in Romania, for example, people there told me that this was a new problem. But war is not such a terrible thing. Nonetheless, this issue merits attention, and we must carefully think about every step. There are people that are afraid of war. There are others who think that the war should not go on as it has so far in Vietnam, that the national liberation war there could fail, and that the people might lose even more. There are even socialist states or nationalist ones who think so. But if we explained the situation, we could make it clear to them that war is not such a terrible thing. For example, the Vietnamese comrades say that, in the end, in Vietnam we will have a war much like that in Korea, but China is resolute in helping us. But China and Vietnam might be destroyed. Yes, this could happen, but after the war we will start at once the reconstruction. The Cuban comrades tell us that in their opinion the weapons we have sent to Vietnam are not playing such a big role, because the Vietnamese have only downed 20 American planes, while in reality they have downed more than 70 planes. They say that if the Cubans went there, they would play a much bigger role.

Comrade Enver Hoxha: Castro measures himself by his morning shadow.

Comrade Zhou Enlai: We think that Vietnam is our enemies' weakest link if we measure it against other areas. But should the war in the other areas develop further, we would not deny the newly arisen objective reality and react subjectively to it.

It is true that the situation in Germany is also serious. Yesterday, Comrade Enver gave us some very important information. We place a special importance on the support for GDR, its struggle against the West German militarism and its acquiring of nuclear weapons. But there are also difficulties here. The situation in West Germany is not like the one in South Vietnam where the wide masses of the people have taken up arms against American imperialism, because in Germany the people are under the control of the revanchists who follow the Americans. And in East Germany, the desire to rely on their own capabilities and to fight against the enemies is very weak.

Last year, before his demise, Khrushchev wanted to sell out East Germany. During the German National Day we told this to [GDR Foreign Minister] Lothar Bolz, and he could not deny it. When I went to Moscow, I also met Ulbricht and told him about this. He was not able to deny it either. Furthermore, during the last meeting of the Warsaw Pact countries [on 19-20 January 1965 in Warsaw], the support given to the GDR was exceptionally weak, and there was nothing Ulbricht could do about it. Not only the Soviet revisionists, but also those in Poland, Czechoslovakia and Hungary have the tendency to sell out the GDR, and, as to the matter of West Berlin, they agree that it belongs to West Germany. Such a position is almost accepted even in the Soviet press. West Berlin, they say, is a unit which in trade relations is considered as belonging to West Germany. When I met Ulbricht in Moscow, I told him that when West Germany wanted to sign a trade agreement with China, we agreed as long as West Berlin was not considered in the agreement as belonging to West Germany. He thanked us for it. But the socialist countries of Europe do not do such a thing. Hence, while West Germany is now holding its parliamentary [Bundestag] meeting in West Berlin, the Soviet Union is content with only a weak protest. All the Germans know well that the Soviet Union will never go further than this, and that is why the West Germans act this way. It is understandable what influence such a position has on the German people.

One thing is very clear: that the contradictions between France and the US on the issue of Germany are sharp; in fact, they are sharper than their differences on Indochina. But, despite these contradictions, the revolutionary forces in Germany are obtuse and are not able to exploit them. Hence, the existence of such a situation does not have any sizable effects. Sometimes, the Soviet Union exploits the Franco-American contradictions. But the Soviet Union does not do this following a revolutionary approach but only uses them as

a bargaining chip. Its main objective is to cooperate with the Americans. It is not interested in joining the French for a common war against American imperialism. And the worst part of it all is that today the Soviet Union finds itself under the influence of revisionism. The Soviet Union should have been the force that played the main role in the German issue, but it cannot accomplish this task because it is led by revisionists. Hence, it is impossible that the Soviet Union would wage serious war against the US under these conditions.

The same thing is happening in another area, in the Caribbean, in Cuba. It is a well known fact how Khrushchev sold out Cuba. And now it seems that Cuba is no longer as resolute against American imperialism as it used to be. Lately [in November 1964] they organized there a meeting of the revisionist representatives of 22 parties from Latin American countries. By doing so, they toppled the spirit of the [4 February 1962] Second Havana Declaration, though the Cubans do not accept such a claim. In Cuba the revisionist parties are considered legitimate, while the revolutionary parties are considered illegitimate. The revolutionary flag in Cuba has thus fallen. Cuba now survives on Soviet aid, so it is possible that it will not fight as before. And since now in Cuba the revolutionary flag is not held high like it used to be, it so happens that it does not exert any positive influence in the countries of Latin America. The revolutionary elements of Latin America are now turned a cold shoulder by Cuba.

Even in the areas of Congo (Leopoldville) and Black Africa, the revolutionary situation is in its infancy. No decisive role is being played there.

The war between the Arabs and Israel is certainly being fought under the American diktat. Israel has the support of the US, England and France. This causes the active elements within the Arab world to be divided into three main groups: Leftists, Rightists and Centrists, and [this] causes them to never be united. The revisionist parties there even sell contraband goods. This is the reason why the anti-imperialist war there sometimes is fought with compromises. The Algerians' wavering comes as a result of the fact that the old Algerian Communist Party has for a long time now been turned into a branch of the French Communist Party and the CPSU. The Algerian revisionists act as if they support Ben Bella, but in reality they are simply spreading their revisionist line. What is happening in Algeria is the same that happened in Cuba. The revisionists are infiltrating the national liberation front just like the revisionist elements of the old Cuban party infiltrated the ranks of the Cuban revolutionary group.

We support the war in Vietnam and Indochina, and we are against the expansion of war everywhere by the Americans. This position is in the interest of the world revolutionary movement, and if the American imperialists do not agree to withdraw from Indochina, it will not be such a bad thing because it

gives us the chance to pin most of the American forces down, and give a chance for a greater boost to the anti-American movement elsewhere. Since the US has built many bases in so many countries around the world, the widening of local war in one place weakens over time the American position in the other places. And vice versa; when the anti-American war in other areas of the world grows, this is favorable to the anti-American war fought by Indochina, Vietnam, and China. Even Cuba is now sending people to Vietnam. This is a good thing. We are not against it. But of more importance would be for Cuba to raise high once again the spirit of the Second Havana Declaration in support of the revolutionary wars of the peoples of Latin America, an action that would help pin down the American imperialists' forces there in increasingly greater numbers. The Cubans say that that they will send surface-to-air missile units to Vietnam which they say they "know how to use," while the Vietnamese, they claim, "do not know how to use them." In reality the Vietnamese command these weapons well, even though the Soviets have not sent anything to Vietnam. If it is as the Cubans say, that Cuba now has missile technology, then why does it not shoot down one of the U-2 airplanes that violate Cuban airspace and display it [all] for us to see?

Comrade Enver Hoxha: They are not and have never been Marxists. They are only a bunch of anarchists.

Comrade Zhou Enlai: They are bourgeois revolutionaries. They simply took a step toward Marxism-Leninism and then retreated.

Comrade Beqir Balluku: They returned to their roots.

Comrade Zhou Enlai: Naturally, we are not rigid. Faced with American pressure, it is possible some other situation may arise there.

The issue is, thus, in the nature of the war against imperialism.

Comrade Enver Hoxha: Could you give us some information on the war in Malaya?

Comrade Zhou Enlai: This is a complicated matter for the area of Southeast Asia. England has agreed that Malaysia can remain semi-independent. In fact, Malaya is even a member of the UN. England accepted this, but separated Singapore from the territory. Thus, Malaya was turned into two political units in the same way as the administrative separation of India and Pakistan. Now we also have revolutionary war under way in Indochina, Indonesia, etc. Under these conditions, England understands its unstable position in Malaya and Singapore. That is why it is squirming, along with the American colonizers, to create a Federation of Malaysia, which would include Malaya, Singapore, Sarawak and Sabah, just like it did before

when it created the Federation of Central Africa, which included South Rhodesia, North Rhodesia (now Zambia), and Malawi. In the latter, the English put a white government in power, but the black Africans are against it, so England suffered defeat there. Meanwhile, in Malaysia, the war in Malaya, Sarawak and Sabah is weak. In Sarawak and Sabah the people are against them, but the English are stationed in the Northern Kalimantan, which poses a threat to Southern Kalimantan. That is why the movement against the creation of Malaysia is widespread in Indonesia, and the CP of Indonesia tries to urge it and strengthen it. This war is led by President Sukarno with the intention of strengthening his own position.

Not only the people, but also those of the higher classes are against Malaysia. Meanwhile, the Americans attempted to exploit this movement in order to place Malaysia and Indonesia under their control. The Americans published an ever farther reaching plan. They wanted to create a confederation which would include Malaysia, Indonesia and the Philippines. In other words, the Americans, with the English at their side, want to put this area under their control, and put the brakes on the spread of communism.

On this issue, Sukarno has a position different from the Americans. He says that Malaysia should not take part in the conference as a separate political unit. Naturally, the Americans and the English do not agree with this. So the war there becomes more complicated. In the mean time, the revolution in Indonesia progresses further. In the beginning, the state took control of the English industrial enterprises, while, at the moment, it has started doing the same to the American ones.

A weak point, in our opinion, is the fact that the revolutionary war in Malaya is not strong because the revolutionary situation necessary for it has not arisen yet. This is why [Malaysian Premier and Foreign Minister Tunku Abdul] Rahman [Putra Al-Haj] has been able to keep the situation under control there. Singapore has its own contradictions with Rahman, but it also has two weak points: First, being a separate unit, but without an agricultural basis or a powerful industry, Singapore survives on Malaya's exports, especially rubber. Secondly, the Singapore populace of about a million plus inhabitants is made up mostly of Chinese. This greatly scares Malaya because there are many Chinese bourgeois elements there. Now the situation is such that Indonesia is against Malaysia, but the movement inside Malaysia is not widespread. The UN has truly undertaken some very unlawful steps. Two years ago, at the 18th UN General Assembly [1963], with the cooperation of the Americans and the support of the Soviet Union, the English arranged to include Malay in the Malaysian Federation and become a member of the UN without even putting it up for a vote. At the last session of the UN they even asked to make Malaysia a non-permanent member of the Security Council. This is definitely not a good thing. Malaysia entered into a race with Czechoslovakia for the candidacy, but neither of

them won because neither could garner even half of the votes needed. Then a compromise was achieved between England, the US, and the Soviet Union to allow each country to hold this post for only one year. There has never been such a thing at the UN. At that time Indonesia expressed her opposition, but did not withdraw from the UN at that time.

What happened at the 19th Session of the UN General Assembly [November 1964-February 1965] cannot be digested. But the Albanian representative [Ambassador Halim Budo] there performed wonderfully this time. He was supported by the representative from Mauritania for taking the matter to a vote and went against the decision of the Assembly speaker. But the enemies took the Albanian decision to a vote. The representative from Ghana rose and spoke, but the Soviet representative was nervous because he was afraid that the Soviet Union might lose its right to vote according to Article 19. The Ghanaian chairman was scared about this also. Under these conditions, the American representative declared that he would not use the right granted by Article 19, because, he claimed, this was a procedural matter. So the Soviet Union was spared. You already know the result. In this session, Malaysia managed to get into the Security Council. Indonesia was opposed to this, so it left the UN.

Some African and Asian countries say that the Indonesian walk-out [on 21 January 1965] did not happen at an opportune time. Had it happened at a different moment, they would, they claimed, have agreed to Indonesia's leaving the UN. You know about the speech I held in honor of the Indonesian foreign minister in China. We said that Indonesia got out of the UN, but we, after 15 years, have still not been able to get it, yet we live and prosper. We said that we must think about creating a new and revolutionary UN. Today, China, Indonesia, Korea and Vietnam are not members of the UN. Through the support we gave Indonesia, we managed to get her on our side in the war against American and English imperialism. Of course, in the mean time, we also found solutions for other countries from Africa and Asia, because it is not the right moment for them to get out of the UN. We told them that getting out of the UN depended on the situation of each country. But their common request is to free the UN from the American control, to have a thorough reorganization of the UN, and to remedy the mistakes of the past. Thus, we managed to turn public opinion in Africa and Asia in the direction of criticism of the UN. Hence, [Albania's] membership in the UN is a very just and notable thing.

The issue of Malaya in Southeast Asia is truly complicated. This issue is also related to the second conference of the nations of Africa and Asia. I will say a few words about this matter when we talk about the national independence movements of these areas.

The second issue is how to continue to crush revisionism in



the future. On this matter, we think that we should concentrate our forces mainly on the fight against the Soviet revisionists. Although, Khrushchev has fallen, in the Soviet Union they continue to practice Khrushchevianism even without him. The head of modern revisionism remains in the Soviet Union. It was Khrushchev who had decided to call the meeting of 1 March. As we say in China, you must first destroy the head of the enemy. This is where we need to concentrate our forces, against the main enemy; the others are of lesser importance. In Tito's case, as you mentioned before, we are talking about a revisionist of his own kind. He is now at the helm of a special detachment with specific tasks from the American imperialists. We fight against him within this framework. Today we do not even accept him to be considered a leftist element; neither do we accept his party as part of the international communist movement. Yugoslavia is not a socialist country. We view this matter completely differently from the revisionists. The parties now comprising the international communist movement can be classified in three groups: The parties of the left, the right and the center.

As Comrade Enver Hoxha also mentioned yesterday in his correct analysis, the leaders of the rightist groups are disintegrating. There exists no unity or solidarity among them. This can be clearly seen at the [January 1965 Warsaw Pact] meeting in Warsaw, as well as at the 1 March meeting. The prestige of the Soviet revisionist leadership has fallen even further. For a long time now it has seen no increase. This is how the Romanian comrades see this issue also. One thing is certain, that the conductor's staff is no longer having any effect. The disintegration in the revisionist countries will probably continue. Under these conditions, the leftist forces there will rise to their feet, too, though this requires time and struggle. It is hard to achieve swift changes there, because the socialist countries have dictatorial apparatuses and once they detect someone who is against their course, the revisionists in power undertake persuasion and fascist measures against the leftist elements. But either way, the revisionist forces are weakening constantly.

The centrist group is appearing now in the midst of the communist movement. A typical example of this group is Romania. Since Romania already took such a step, it is possible that in the future other parties may act like the Romanians. With their audacity for keeping contacts with the other groups, the Romanians are setting a new example. The rightists cannot do anything against them.

On the other hand, the leftist forces are continuing to develop. Since the representatives of the revisionists in Latin America held a meeting in Havana, great pressure has been exerted on the revolutionary forces. It is true, the revisionist leaders there are seen as legitimate, but this cannot prevent the development of the revolutionary forces, because the people want the revolution to begin.

The question that arises is: In the midst of this situation in

which the international communist movement is decomposing into the three groups, the leftists, the rightists and the centrists, how shall we proceed?

The rightist groups within the revolutionary movement play their own negative role, they deceive. This, we have said, is a characteristic of this period. In our articles on the press we have said it plainly that they do three things mistakenly and three things correctly; four things that are alike and four that are opposites. In today's situation we must continue to perform their concrete unmasking, because some people might be fooled by their declarations, such as, for example, by their declarations in support of Vietnam.

When Kosygin was en route to Vietnam [in February 1965], he stopped briefly in Beijing. He told us that the Soviet Union was going to help Vietnam. Again, on his way back from Vietnam, he enumerated what kinds of things he had promised to the Vietnamese they [the Soviets] would help with. This time he did not ask them for money, because the Vietnamese told him that the Chinese give them weapons for free. When Kosygin met Comrade Mao Zedong, he said that the Soviet Union was going to give Vietnam a lot of aid. Comrade Mao Zedong answered that the bigger the help to a brother country, the better it is.

In the middle of February, Kosygin sent us a list. But there was a problem with this list. According to it, the Soviets were giving the DRV two units of surface-to-air missiles. For this they wanted to send to Vietnam a brigade of 4,000 soldiers.

Comrade Enver Hoxha: In other words, they want to send troops "to teach" the Vietnamese how to use the missiles.

Comrade Zhou Enlai: Obviously, they want to get the Vietnamese under their control.

Comrade Enver Hoxha: Yes, yes. (They laugh.)

Comrade Zhou Enlai: They also said that they were also going to give the DRV MiG-21 planes. The Soviets know well that the Vietnamese are only able to pilot MiG-17 planes. They are not able to use the MiG-21 planes. In addition, Vietnam does not have sufficient airports. The Soviets have promised to send them a total of 12 planes, and since Vietnam does not have airports, they were "thinking" they should send the planes to a Chinese airport close to the border with Vietnam. For this they say that they will need to send an additional 500 people for "service" needs.

Comrade Mehmet Shehu: We understand very well the Soviets' intentions. We also have experience in relations with them.

Comrade Zhou Enlai: As to the matter of the delivery of

these materials, the Soviets request that China grant an air transport route starting in the Soviet Union, through China up to Kunming, and from there to Hanoi. In other words, they want to establish a route from the Soviet Union to Hanoi, through a Chinese air passage. They promise that they will send [not only] missiles, but also troops. Obviously, with this “aid” they want to put not only Vietnam, but also China under their control. How can we, then, accept such a thing? We told the Soviets that the Vietnamese comrades have not requested MiG-21 airplanes. But even if it is decided that these airplanes should be sent to them, then before the delivery, the Vietnamese should be given the chance to send their own people to the Soviet Union to learn how to pilot such planes. This matter has to do with the common declaration of all the socialist countries that the Soviets tried to publish since the beginning, through which they were trying to earn the right to enter bargaining with the Americans and to place the socialist camp under their control.

Comrade Enver Hoxha: They are trying to do in Vietnam the same thing they tried to do here, in Vlora, with the submarines.

Comrade Zhou Enlai: But we confronted the situation. We, as well as the Vietnamese comrades, did not agree with these Soviet proposals. We told them, that if they would like to send munitions to the Vietnamese, we are able to deliver them by rail. After our answer, the Soviets made up all kinds of stories and spread them around the socialist countries, saying that the Chinese refuse to transport through China Soviet military aid for Vietnam. Aside from this, the lists foresaw that the delivery of military goods would happen very slowly, a long process.

Since the fall of Khrushchev up to the present, more than half of the list that was presented to us has yet to be delivered. For the delivery of the two units of surface-to-air missiles the Soviets made a request according to which 12 trains would be needed for a period from 5 April to 25 April, in other words, for a relatively long time. Of course, for these they do not send troops, but only 260 people for training purposes. But the list clearly says that the majority of this equipment is used and old and that there are no costs associated with it. Hence, it is hard to say whether one could shoot the enemy with such equipment or not. This is where the intentions of the Soviets become clear. They want to place Vietnam under their control by using old equipment that does not “cost” them anything. Of course, this “aid” is only for North Vietnam, because they do not want to give anything to South Vietnam.

The Soviets did not say a word about the declaration of the South Vietnam National Liberation Front, except what they have already said: that they would send volunteers. They spread deviousness in all directions, and that is why we continually unmask them.

Comrade Enver Hoxha: Despite their [stated] reasons

for giving these materials. We, the Albanians, could serve them some good by unmasking and telling the world about the Soviets’ intentions here with regard to their submarines, marines, specialists and armaments.

Comrade Zhou Enlai: This shows the complicated character of the war against the Soviet revisionists and those parties whose leadership is comprised of revisionists.

After the meeting of the revisionists on 1 March, there is a great possibility that the representatives of the leftist parties will hold bilateral or multilateral talks. The leftist parties in the East have had more contacts with us, because they stand at the front line of the war against American imperialism. But we, except for bilateral or multilateral talks, have never had a meeting with the representatives of all the leftist parties.

Comrade Enver Hoxha raised an important problem. We should exchange information with each other so that in the future we can be able to coordinate our activities in the war against revisionism. Even though the war against the revisionists is complicated and they wage their war by cheating, if we proceed carefully, it will not be difficult to unmask them. At the end of the day, they will even unmask themselves, because they are not on the side of truth. They are on the side of fiction.

On this matter, it is our opinion that at the moment the time is not yet ripe to organize a meeting of all the leftist parties and groups. The truth is that between the various leftist groups, due to the [varying] conditions and situations in each country, there are differences. This is reality. But such a thing is allowable and natural. During the waging of this war, everywhere problems arise and situations develop in different circumstances. For example, you attacked the Soviet revisionists because they were the first ones to attack you directly, so you came out openly against them. Later they attacked the CCP by name, so it also came out openly and unmasked them. Then they openly attacked the Communist Party of Japan, and there they stopped. They do not dare come out against the other Marxist-Leninist parties. Today, the war between Marxism-Leninism and revisionism is rough, but there are differences. The issue is to see what kinds of enemies you are facing. Some fight in this war on the front line and some, due to various circumstances, stand in the rear. But we are convinced of one thing. When American imperialism escalates its war in Vietnam further, the anti-American struggle will then develop further and rise even higher. In those circumstances all leftist groups in the international communist movement would be involved. And if the war becomes even larger and China is forced to enter into it as well, then each group’s position will become clearer. In other words, the rhythm of the development of the situation in such conditions would be faster than what we foresee. This is what I wanted to say on the war against revisionism.

The third issue is that of the national liberation wars of the

countries of Asia and Africa. The truth is that in these continents the majority of the national liberation wars are neither under the leadership of the communists, nor under that of leftist revolutionary elements. Some national liberation wars are under the leadership of bourgeois elements. We spoke about this problem last year. After a period of war of over one year, since we last met, a division has also been created in the midst of the revolutionary movement in Asia, Africa, and Latin America, comprised of the three groups: the leftists, the rightists, and the centrists. After this one year of war, we are noticing, for example, that the rightist groups have made a compromise with imperialism, while the leftists are resolute in their war against it. But some centrist groups have been created, and they are great in number.

The main issue in Asia, Africa, and the countries of Latin America is the war against imperialism, and, in particular, against American imperialism. The nationalist countries are worried about imperialism, while at the same time they are not interested in the war against revisionism that is going on in the ranks of the communist movement. Some of them are troubled for the stand-off between China and the Soviet Union. We must study and analyze [those groups] to find out who is resolute against the American imperialists and who has good relations with the US. The real actions of each one of them will show on which side they are.

A lesser issue is that we could look at the situation through the prism of economic aid. The Soviet Union “helps” the countries who are fighting for national liberation and gives them arms, but at a high price and always with interest added. [Indonesian Foreign Minister Dr.] Subandrio, for example, told me that when he was in China [on 23-28 January 1965] that the Soviet Union was planning on granting the Indonesians military aid at the tune of \$900 million. We advised the Indonesians to ask the Soviets not to include any interest.

Comrade Enver Hoxha: The Soviets have become like [Sir Basil] Zaharov who used to deal in arms.

Comrade Zhou Enlai: The second advice we gave them was to ask for the postponement of the deadlines for the repayment of the arms loans. The Indonesians are now using this method against the Soviets. The Foreign Minister of Syria [Dr. Hassan Mourid] also told me that they have allocated \$200 million for the weapons that the Soviet Union has given them.

Comrade Enver Hoxha: They have turned into arms dealers.

Comrade Zhou Enlai: The Syrian foreign minister asked us for a loan of \$20 million. When we asked why they needed this money, they told us it was [needed] for interest payments to the Soviet Union for the arms loan. I responded that we would not give them the money for this purpose. I advised the Syrian,

first of all, to ask the Soviets to eliminate the interest from the loan and tell them that China did not charge any interest in arms sales to other countries. Then I told him to also ask for the postponement of arms loan payments telling the Soviets that the Syrian side was unable to pay. Finally, I emphasized that if they were resolute in the war against imperialism, they should continue to ask for weapons from the Soviet Union, but should also tell the Soviets not to ask them for any more cash for arms because China did not ask either. He told me that he was going to visit the Soviet Union, and I advised him to tell the Soviets that this was what the Chinese were saying. This action uncovers and unmask them [the Soviets] because through it they are trying to control others.

This is also proved by their economic aid to other countries. In this area they act exactly the same way as the US. First of all, it is easier for them to give promises, but the problem is that they do not keep them, or they help build a large object, but the country receiving “the help” has to suffer a lot of expenses without any economic benefit, because the object requires further investments to become profitable. This is what they did at the Aswan Dam. Even after the construction of this dam ends, if the Egyptians do not make supplementary investments by building other dams, the lands of Egypt will remain as they are, lacking irrigation.

Comrade Enver Hoxha: In other words, the investment there is useless.

Comrade Zhou Enlai: I was told this by the vice prime minister of the United Arab Republic.

When giving others economic aid, the Soviets follow the policy of making these countries economically dependent on them, as they are doing in the case of Cuba. In order to have them under their control, they urge the Cubans only to plant sugar cane. This is the policy they also follow with the countries of Asia and Africa.

In addition, the Soviets’ technology is not that new. If we compare it to the world’s technology, we will see that their equipment is very heavy, it requires many expenses and a large workforce, and it [only] yields high-cost products. Faced with this situation we have also brought up the matter of economic development in the countries of Asia and Africa, and lately we have proposed that these countries cooperate with each other on the basis of equality. But the Soviet representatives expressed their disagreement with this principle. We asked that the resolution include a phrase that stressed that each country should follow the course of an independent economy, relying on its own strengths, and the Soviet representative intervened with the Algerians to withdraw from this position, but we noticed this. In the countries of Asia, Africa, and Latin America we see that in the matters of the war against imperialism and their economic development, they also have [to deal with] the

recalcitrance of the Soviet revisionists. The June conference of the countries of Asia and Africa is also facing disintegration due to the segmentation of these countries in the three groups: the leftists, the rightists, and the centrists. The Soviet Union is inventing a thousand and one reasons to attend this conference, trying to pass itself off as an Asian nation. Of course, as a first measure, we will fight with all our might not to allow the Soviets to attend. Nonetheless, the situation at this conference will be complicated. Even if the Soviet Union does not attend the conference, it will have its own representatives in it, i.e. the rightists. But this will be a good thing, because it will give us the chance to unmask them and their collaboration with the Americans. In Asia, the rightist at the moment is India, which is a product of both the Americans and the Soviets, while in Africa this role is played by [Tunisian President Habib] Bourguiba, who is a product of the Americans, but who also wages propaganda in the Soviets' favor and against China. The war helps differentiate these countries in three groups.

This situation is also reflected by the working-class movement in Europe and North America. The situation in this country is not clear to us. Yesterday, Comrade Enver Hoxha spoke to us a little on this topic.

The same can also be said about the peace movement in the world. The whole revolutionary movement of the peoples of the world will continue to disintegrate. In other words, the rightists will continue to increase their cooperation with the imperialists and the revisionists, and will continue to be unmasked. They will work to hinder the revolution in Asia and Africa, while the revisionists in these continents will use various deceptive methods to serve ever better American imperialism. But if the revisionist leaderships of the socialist countries capitulate in front of imperialism, the peoples will not agree to this and will not listen to them. Hence, the tougher and more unrelenting our struggle to unmask them gets, the smaller their deceptive role will become.

In a meeting with Kosygin, Comrade Mao Zedong notified him once again that we will continue our polemics not only for 10 or 20 years, but if need be even for 1,000 or 10,000 years. When Kosygin asked if it were possible to continue it for a little less, then Mao answered, "OK, we will make an exception. We'll continue it for 9,900 years." (Laughter.) Then Kosygin asked, "Is this how we will proceed with our polemics?" Comrade Mao Zedong answered that when the imperialist enemies force you, you will come to our side. When Kosygin asked when this alignment would happen, Comrade Mao Zedong told him that this depended on our enemies, in other words, on the point at which the enemies of socialism started a big war.

Comrade Mao Zedong has said that we must work to ensure a peaceful period of 10 to 15 years for reconstruction. But a world war is not dependent on us. If American imperialism

will start one, we will not be able to avoid it. Kosygin intervened and added that, "it is not necessary for us to wait for a great war from the enemies and then align. Would it not be possible to create unity between us now?" Comrade Mao Zedong answered that at the moment he did not see such a possibility. Then he added that they (the revisionists) could hold their 1 March meeting. "But," he said to Kosygin, "it will become a burden on you. If you would like to carry it, then, go ahead. If you favor disunity, then disunite." But Kosygin did not answer him. And, in fact, they did hold their meeting. So Comrade Mao Zedong correctly foresaw this matter. Then Kosygin asked again, "Should we only unite when the enemies attack us? Can we not do it right now?"

"We can also unite now," said Comrade Mao Zedong. "All you have to do is accept the mistakes you have made vis-a-vis the Albanian comrades, our party, and the other leftist parties. Only this way can unity be achieved."

Of course, Kosygin did not have an answer to that.

Comrade Enver Hoxha: Comrade Mao did a number on him.

Comrade Zhou Enlai: We are certain about our future and the international situation is developing favorably for us. For example, when we spoke to each other in January of last year, we had not thought that Khrushchev would be ousted in October 1964. We had foreseen his defeat, but not this early. And in one night his friends ousted him. No person can be compared to him. He played such a hideous role that even his Soviet revisionist friends threw him out, though they too are suffering and will continue to suffer defeats.

That is why we are certain about our future. For as long as we keep high the flag of our war against American imperialism, for as long as the people of the world will fight and unite in a great and common front against American imperialism, the revisionists will have no leg to stand on, they will be unmasked and their capitulating conspiracies for cooperation with American imperialism to divide the world into areas of dominance will fail.

These were the international relations issues I wanted to discuss. I do not know what your opinion is, Comrade Enver Hoxha and other leadership comrades of the ALP, on these issues.

As to the issues of the economic cooperation between our two countries, I think we can also discuss those tomorrow.

Comrade Enver Hoxha: Allow me, Chinese comrades, to express my opinion on Comrade Zhou Enlai's wonderful disposition. This has not only satisfied us immensely, but as also strengthened our resolute faith. Comrade Zhou Enlai's presentation is a Marxist-Leninist, thorough and correct analysis that



makes things clear to us and sheds light on all the issues that preoccupy us and on all the issues surrounding the international situation, the national liberation wars, and the war of our parties and of Marxism-Leninism in the world against imperialism and modern revisionism, especially against American imperialism and Soviet revisionism.

As we have always emphasized, as I also emphasized yesterday, and as Comrade Zhou Enlai's presentation proves once again, we have always been and are in complete-thought and action-unity on all issues. There is not the slightest thing that we are not in agreement with each other. This is a grand victory for us. This victory is being tempered every day and today's reality shows it.

We learned much from Comrade Zhou Enlai's presentation. The great CCP and the Chinese government have a great amount of experience and possess extensive knowledge of all the issues that happen and develop in the world. They have colossal capacity to have a clear and correct picture of the world's situation and, led resolutely by Marxism-Leninism, have known and know how to draw correct conclusions from it. With his presentation Comrade Zhou Enlai not only gave us a clear picture of the situation, but also gave multi-sided help to the leadership of the party, and to the Albanian government, and this will immensely strengthen our party's and people's work on the main issue of the line that our party and government follow.

Comrade Zhou Enlai, aside from other things, also clarified for us very well the situation developing in the Indochina war and its perspectives, and the various stages that this war might go through. He also presented for us a clear picture of the strength of American imperialism and the colossal forces of China, of the Vietnamese people, and the peoples of all of Asia facing this massive aggression. We never had any doubts about their power. We were and are fully convinced of the weakening of imperialism, its decomposition, the colossal Marxist-Leninist strength, courage and bravery of the Chinese people and the CCP in front of this massive aggression. Here stands the certainty of the worldwide victory of communism and of the destruction of American imperialism and its allies, the modern Khrushchevian revisionists in particular, and also the reactionaries of the countries of the whole world.

Receiving this clear picture through the presentation of Comrade Zhou Enlai, we will strengthen even further our resolve to contribute as much as we can with our participation in the war for this great, imperative and decisive cause for the unmasking and weakening of American imperialism. This was truly a splendid Marxist-Leninist analysis. Comrade Zhou Enlai's presentation, as I already mentioned, made things clear to us in many respects. It clearly showed the balance between all the Marxist-Leninist, socialist, communist and progressive forces of the world in their war against American imperialism

and revisionism and we think that what you told us is completely correct. We are in full agreement with the lessons of the CCP.

We are also in full agreement with the correct viewpoints and the resolute struggle that we must wage against modern revisionism, with the Khrushchevian revisionists at their helm, until its complete destruction. Both you and we know this full well and are in perfect agreement on the danger that these treasonous elements pose for our two countries, our parties, and for all the other Marxist-Leninist parties of the world. That is why we reiterate that the position of the CCP on this vital issue, the war against imperialism and modern revisionism, forms a pillar of steel against which we will lean and around which we, all the other Marxist-Leninist forces, will gather to wage our war until our final victory.

Marxism-Leninism and the boundless friendship between our two peoples and parties shine on our common path. We will always walk united with you because there is no force in the world that could stop our war against our enemies. Our war will only grow bigger. We will both utilize and learn from the experience of the CCP. We will properly utilize all the elements and situations, following the right path, so that we may contribute to our common victory with our modest capabilities. We are saying this to you using very few words, but rest assured, Comrade Zhou Enlai, that you will have in our party, people, and government, a friend for life, in good times and in bad, as we also have in you a friend, an ally, a faithful companion, sincere, generous and internationalist that loves our people and Party. We thank you personally, Comrade Zhou Enlai, dear friend and companion, from the bottom of our hearts for your presentation to us.

Comrade Zhou Enlai: I laid down some opinions of our party and its analysis of the international situation. And the evaluation of this situation that Comrade Enver Hoxha presented to us, I think is also of a very high level. My presentation was not prepared properly. I did not speak so systematically as Comrade Enver Hoxha did.

Comrade Enver Hoxha: Your presentation was so organized, and of such high quality, that we were very clear on all the issues that you touched upon.

Comrade Zhou Enlai: There is one thing that is clear; both our sides have common opinions on the war against imperialism and revisionism, on the support for the national liberation war and national liberation revolution, on world events in general, and on matters of strategy, tactics, and general course of action. We are now facing the new situation of the waging of our war against revisionism. This war has now entered a new stage. This is why this new meeting between our two sides helps us a lot because we are given a chance to understand each other better, to facilitate our work in this direction and to

coordinate our activities better. This way it will be easier for us to undertake common activities in support of each other.

In this viewpoint, the problems and international struggles of our two parties and our common Marxist-Leninist positions on principal matters will play a galvanizing role and in every concrete situation, when this fact is better understood and we coordinate our actions even better, we will achieve even more.

Comrade Enver Hoxha: It is precisely so.

Comrade Zhou Enlai: Of course, in the future the possibility that we might have some problems in a particular area, or a distance in opinion, cannot be avoided. This is permitted because we are talking about two countries with different conditions that know the situation to variable degrees. But we will notify and clarify each other, and in this fashion will arrive at common opinions. Thus, we will get even closer to each other.

Comrade Enver Hoxha: This opinion is quite correct.

Comrade Zhou Enlai: Now I would like to answer the issue you have raised, whether it is the right moment to create a government of South Vietnam.

We certainly understand very well your opinion. Its intention is for the war in South Vietnam to secure a powerful leadership. The leadership comrades of the National Liberation Front in South Vietnam and of the Vietnam Workers' Party have also thought about such a course. They think that at the present stage it is still not the right time to take steps for the creation of a government, but they are in the preparatory stage for such a possibility. The reason is that even though the forces of the armed struggle in South Vietnam have actually grown, they have yet to gain the stability that such a step requires. If we compare China's war and the one being waged now in South Vietnam, we could say that the latter is somewhere at the beginning of the final stage. The nationalists there still do not accept the fact that the National Liberation Front has achieved a leadership position in the war against American imperialism. At the moment this fact is accepted by only a part of them, a part which might even take part in a government; a part of the troika as we call it, such as Sihanouk, who accepts such a thing. Sihanouk has proposed a coalition government comprised of three groups: leftists, rightists and centrists. In other words, this government would also include American backers and French sympathizers. But the National Liberation Front did not accept this proposal. But if the South Vietnam National Liberation Front excludes all these other forces and only accept the participation of the forces on its side, then the front will have a narrower sphere of influence. At the same time, the centrists would not accept a government that only includes leftists, so the National Liberation Front would find itself relatively isolated. Hence, in its 22 March declaration the National Liberation Front contended that only the South

Vietnam National Liberation Front can represent the people of South Vietnam. And in fact, this is correct. The issue of South Vietnam cannot be solved outside the National Liberation Front. If an interested party would like to get in touch with North Vietnam or China, it cannot solve anything without South Vietnam. The South Vietnam National Liberation Front hopes that the brother countries and sister parties will respond positively to its declaration. Obviously, the ways to respond can be different according to the situation of each party. The issue is for the Front to be accepted in the international arena.

The Vietnamese situation is different from that of the Algerians. When the Algerian people were fighting, the Algerian Communist Party did not take part in the war, so the nationalist leaders of the war in Algeria created a front on their own, while the war in Vietnam is led by the Communist Party which is the same for the whole country. There are two front organizations, one for the north and one for the south. In the north there is the National Front and in the south the National Liberation Front.

Along the successful development of the war in South Vietnam, it is possible that the Front will draw all the patriotic elements of South Vietnam and the puppet government will fall quickly.

China has experience with such a situation. Towards the end of our national liberation war, around May 1948 when our counterattack had won a decisive victory, we made a call for a new political consultative conference. But the situation in South Vietnam is completely different from that. It is possible that the Americans will directly intervene to escalate the conflict following the four stages we discussed earlier. It is due to this reason that the comrades in South Vietnam have decided to wait at this moment a little longer regarding what you are asking.

Comrade Enver Hoxha: We are clear on it.

Comrade Zhou Enlai: In the meantime, the Soviet Union only speaks in general terms as far the support for the liberation struggle of South Vietnam or the sending of volunteers is concerned. Until now the Soviets have not satisfactorily consolidated their relationship with the South Vietnam National Liberation Front, even though they have representation there at the diplomatic level. Other nationalist countries also have their representatives at the diplomatic level there. This situation in Vietnam is developing in a very complicated, though interesting, manner. For the Soviets, Vietnam is a test. Are they really in support of the national liberation war, or do they want to sell it out?

Comrade Enver Hoxha: This issue is very clear to us right now. You have judged this issue correctly, too.

(This is the end of the afternoon session of 28 March 1965.)

[Discussion of economic issues follows.]

[Haxhi Kroj]  
[signed]

+  
+ +

The next session started at 9:00 AM on 29 March 1965.

Comrade Enver Hoxha: Before we start, maybe you are thinking of coming out with a common declaration, a communique, or maybe you think that we should do neither one nor the other? What is your opinion?

Comrade Zhou Enlai: I think it would be better if we came out with a common declaration since the main issues will be included in our speeches.

Comrade Enver Hoxha: Very well then. Shall we ask the comrades of the Foreign Affairs Ministry to work on the preparation of the communique draft? Or maybe you have a draft already prepared?

Comrade Zhou Enlai: Yes, we do have a copy of the draft communique and can give it to you.

Comrade Enver Hoxha: Very well then. We will look at it together and then ask your vice minister of foreign affairs, Comrade Zhang Hanfu and Comrade Behar to work on it and whenever we find it suitable we look at it and decide.

Comrade Zhou Enlai: Agreed.

I think that today we should work on the issues of the economic cooperation between our two countries, Albania and China. I do not know whether you, Comrade Enver Hoxha and the other Albanian comrades, agree with this proposal, or if you have any objections to it.

Comrade Enver Hoxha: No, we have no objections to it.

Comrade Zhou Enlai: We are well aware of the successes you have achieved during the last few years. These successes are apparent from the report that Comrade Enver Hoxha presented last November on the occasion of the 20th year anniversary of the liberation of the PRA. It becomes clear from the report that Albania has achieved great development in its popular economy and this has created favorable conditions for the further development of the country. I feel great happiness for your successes, because your successes are at the same time our successes, just as China's successes are your successes. I do not

think it is necessary that I go on for too long on this issue.

In relation to the issue of the economic cooperation between our two countries I wanted to clarify one thing: Before I set off for Albania, I read one more time the letter that Comrade Mehmet Shehu sent to us and the answer that we sent back. But until now we have only completed a general study of your requests. We have not been able to complete a detailed and thorough analysis. Of course, when Comrade Spiro Koleka comes to Beijing, we will study and take steps on those as appropriate.

More than two weeks have passed since talks between the specialist teams of the two countries started. During this time they have reached several conclusions. They have held talks twice. They have reached an agreement on the concrete solution of several problems, but there are still a few problems that have not been solved yet.

I am talking about a few issues on which we are not sufficiently sure. Some of these issues I have already discussed with comrades Mehmet Shehu and Beqir Balluku during my visit to Albania last year, and have expressed my opinion on those issues, but I ask for your forgiveness this time because I have not had the chance to look into them in detail and thoroughly having to pay more attention to the issues of the international situation.

Comrade Enver Hoxha: We understand that you have great problems on your hands, and thank you for what you have done.

Comrade Zhou Enlai: That is why I ask comrades Mehmet Shehu and Spiro Koleka to understand me on this issue. But saying all this does not mean that your requests have not been studied at all, that the issues of the economic cooperation between our two countries are of secondary importance. Only during the last two days have I met with our specialists twice and have talked to them about your problems. Nonetheless, I will present here some partial opinions, which will not give the full range of our position. I say all this to make clear that my thoughts on these issues are limited. Now let us get to the point.

First of all, we understand the feelings, desires and requests that the ALP, the government, and the Albanian people presented to us to speed up the pace of building socialism in your country. Your requests have their own point of departure.

The fundamental starting point, as Comrade Enver pointed out, is the fact that Albania lies far from the East; it is the south-western outpost of the socialist camp surrounded by enemies and from the viewpoint of aid and cooperation with the countries of Eastern Europe it is restricted. Judging from this fact, you are obviously justified and we understand very well your desire to speed up the pace of building socialism in your country.

We understand the second point of departure to be the fact that Albania is now going forward with the intention of building socialism by relying on its own forces. And, naturally, during this process, China cannot sit aside and not help Albania, because at the present stage Albania is still not fully capable and does not have the required wherewithal to fulfill all its needs. Of course, Albania now has some capabilities, but they are not fully sufficient and we must, for the moment, help it, especially since the other socialist countries cannot give it the amount of help that the PRC is capable of offering.

The third point of departure is the fact that if Albania through such aid can become even more powerful than it is at the present moment, she will play a much larger role in the international arena than she can at present.

These three points of departure were also raised by Comrade Enver Hoxha in the presentation he gave, and we think and must accept once more that these three points of departure are correct.

It should also be said that we are in full agreement as to the course being followed in Albania for building socialism. This course is the same as ours, which means that the national economy has agriculture at its base, while keeping industry as an important lever. It also means that an independent economy, based on its own forces, will be built and all the tasks will be achieved based on the particular realities of the country.

On the first starting point: building a national economy, I can say that we started capital construction in our country around 1959. But I also want to point out that during this time we also encountered a lot of errors and shortcomings. These were important shortcomings. For example, one of them was that during this period we did not undertake a generalization of our experience. I want to talk to you about some of the main shortcomings that we identified in our work, including the problems in the aid we give to foreign countries. The comrades of the Committee for Economic Relations with the Outside World can tell you more on this topic, but as far as I know, until now, we have found shortcomings in four areas:

First, during these last six years, especially during the initial period and the middle period until 1963, we have not been able to fully understand or sufficiently gather political or economic information on your country, especially information about your sub-terrain and above-ground raw materials. We still have deficiencies in this area. [...] The designs have been done without sufficiently relying on the economic and political characteristics of your country, without knowing well the raw materials and above-ground information on the areas where the object would be built. So, during object designs we have not relied sufficiently on your country's characteristics. On this shortcoming we may mention, for example, the fact that your country has limited arable land area, but we have

designed objects that require large swaths of arable land. Because of this, the volume of work required for capital projects has increased, a larger workforce is needed, and the time period required for completion is longer. This is not favorable to you, to your construction time, for the economization of arable land, workforce, investments, and time. As our specialists and ambassador in Albania have informed me, comrades Mehmet Shehu and Spiro Koleka have also pointed out these problems. You know about them, and we are very happy that our Albanian comrades do not hesitate to inform us of their opinions. This serves us as a lesson and for this I extend my gratitude, because such mistakes also happen in our country and we often criticize our capital project building organs for mistakes of that nature.

Use of land for capital project building also happens in our country and we consider this as an important problem. Lately we have come up with four guidelines for this problem. We have now started undertaking construction of projects on "third line construction." This means that we do not construct objects by the sea or along railways. Instead we construct them spread out in all the areas, with the intention of balancing them instead of having them concentrated in some areas only. This is one of the reasons. The other is that if something unexpected happens, if eventually we have to fight a war, the objects that we build will be in isolated areas and safe. This way we are always prepared to face the enemy.

What are these four guidelines I am talking about?

First, the capital projects should not be built on good land;

Second, they should occupy as little arable land as possible;

Third, in case of need, the population displacement should be as small as possible. In other words, we should not have to move populations on a large scale. This means building projects at the base of the mountains. This requires, as I mentioned, that we spread out construction, instead of concentrating it.

Fourth, the capital projects should complement the population of the area where they are undertaken. The help of the people should be secured during construction and when they begin operation as the people's enterprise, they should be favorable to the population of the area. This is help that comes indirectly. Along with this, it is our intention to make sure that the factories, mines, plants, and various economic enterprises are also directly favorable to the local population. For example, during agricultural campaigns, if they have the time, these projects can help the local population with transportation needs, and when the workforce in the villages is free, they can help in the plants, etc.

Lately we have been working based on this conceptual-



ization and are concentrating on these issues. Right after the conceptualization, we started to work right away on this issue. We organized a nation-wide meeting on issues of cotton production. At this meeting I spoke to one of the brigade (the unit below popular commune) leaders. This brigade had had a full-some harvest of both cotton and bread grains, and had handed in a considerable amount of cotton to the state, while at the same time had not only fulfilled the brigade needs for grains, but had also handed in a good amount of them to the state. In addition, an airport was being built in this brigade's land. I asked the comrades about the amount of land that the airport had occupied. The brigade leader answered that it occupied one third of the land. I then asked whether the brigade had suffered any economic damage by losing the land now occupied by the airport, but he answered no, pointing out that the brigade still had two thirds of the land they previously held and that gave them a good harvest. He also told me that the airport was necessary because it served the defense of the homeland, and as such should be given to the army when needed. This airport occupies an area a bit larger than 70 hectares. In the evening of that same day I met the commander of the air forces of that area and explained to him the four guidelines I spoke about on saving as much arable land as possible. The next day I sent a group of specialists to study this airport. A few days later the specialists reported to me that the area occupied by the airport could be reduced by 20 hectares. This land could be returned to the commune and reused. The specialists' group also wrote some guidelines for the airport to come to the aid of the local population. Relying on this experience I next sent similar specialist groups to study airports of that same kind. We have many of them, probably over a hundred, which have the same capacity and occupy the same land area. If we could salvage 20 hectares of land from every 100 airports built on good land, we could get about 2,000 hectares of land. Thus, by preserving good land, we could offer immense help to the agricultural sector. But think how many objects there are in our country which sit on good land occupying more than they should. If we accounted for them all, if we increased our efforts in this direction, it would help immensely in the increase of agricultural production.

It has now been almost 15 years since we started building projects, but only during the last year did we come up with these four guidelines. We have also spoken in the past on these issues, but these directions have only been delivered partially, we have never been able to draw guidelines as this year. But whenever the work is only partially done and the problems are not looked at from all sides, the effect will not be sufficient. As far as I know, all the present comrades have visited China.

Comrade Enver Hoxha: Everyone, except Comrade Koco Theodhosi, president of the State Planning Commission, but he will also visit soon, along with Comrade Spiro Koleka.

Comrade Zhou Enlai: I believe such a thing has also caught

your eye there. You may have seen that our plants and factories take up a large amount of land. It must be noted that these projects were built during the first five-year plan and the designs for these objects were developed by the Soviets. But even today when we design our own objects, they still occupy too much land. I mean to point out that such mistakes were also made after 1959. Naturally, there is a reason for this, both China and the Soviet Union are nations with large territory and large land areas, hence when our people design projects for factories and plants, they do not pay much attention to using as little land as possible. Of course, such mistakes have also been as a result of several objective reasons, but that is not the only reason. There have also been subjective reasons. We have not done the generalization of our experience and have not executed well the tasks like the ones we are discussing today, and as a result we know neither your characteristics nor your experience.

On the matter of project building, you should also keep in mind another problem. In Albania, the possibility of a war should also be taken into account. The past few years we have also taken such conditions into account. Thus, we have kept in mind that Comrade Mao Zedong has forwarded the directive that during the course of constructing objects, we should follow the criteria that they be spread out and not concentrated; the various objects and works be built in secret locations, not visible and at the foot of the mountains. This also means that we should not build very large objects, and that they occupy as little land as possible. All this is in the interest of the people and favorable from the military point of view. This kind of thinking serves Albania, which has very limited land area, where arable land is even more limited, and which must constantly and always be ready to defend itself from its enemies.

One of our shortcomings is the fact that the designs for the projects that would be built here were undertaken before the revolution of project design took place in our country. Of the 37 project designs we have done for you, 29 were done during this period. In old China no design of large objects was ever undertaken. Hence, when the great construction started on a wide scale in our country, we did not have any experience in this field. Thus, we were forced to draw from the Soviets' experience. Naturally, the Soviet Union would and did give us its experience in this field and we should not complain about it. During the first stage, such a practice was natural and permissible; otherwise we would not have been able to start constructing our objects. But during the first and second five-year plan, when the "Great Leap Forward" was undertaken in our country, we thought of starting a revolution in the field of construction and project design; in other words, of not copying from others in this field.

But, in reality, even after 1959 we have not been able to grasp the matter of construction with the required seriousness. This is why, in some aspects, one can still see the old practices at work in our country. In some other aspects, a general-

ization of the Soviets' experience in project construction and design can be seen and this does not conform to the conditions in China. We could say that we had drafted all the dispositions and regulations on project design to include the smallest detail, but the problem is that they did not fully cover the reality of our country and the accuracy of the data (such as hydro-geological data, geographical, etc. etc.) in such a way as to make them useful for building the project. The designs continued to be drafted from inside the offices, without taking into account the terrain where the object would be built, without taking into account the necessary conditions required for such undertaking, such as the climate, etc. From this angle, most of the designs we have drafted have not been favorable to the economic exploitation of the objects. For example, our plants and factories were always built big, because we wanted them to be complete and universal. Today many mechanical plants in China are able to coordinate their activities and cooperate amongst each other, allowing each one to specialize in a particular field. Thus, a factory or plant could specialize in a particular product. This is a good thing, because this way large savings could be achieved in work hours, workforce, investment, material, etc. The better the progress in this direction, the more the production is increased and the workers will specialize better and faster. The specialization of an enterprise is a tendency of modern industrialization. Once such an enterprise is put to use, it can cooperate and coordinate its activity with other enterprises. This is possible for those enterprises that produce a particular type of product, such as, for example, the tractor or auto vehicle plants that produce particular types of tractors or vehicles and also have to produce all the parts themselves. Each unit or annex within these plants is designed to produce only that particular product. If we would want to produce a new kind of tractor or vehicle, then we would have to make the necessary changes to the entire production line. Such a course would not be prudent under our requirements for savings, would not be prudent under a modern industry's requirements, would especially not allow cooperation of the kind required by today's industry, and would not be favorable to make changes easily to the types of products to make new, different and plentiful kinds and assortments of products.

Of course, such a design practice cannot be useful in your case, because you have a more specialized industry, and other conditions and data. But your country is on a lower industrialization level than our country. The mechanical industry of your country has less of a capacity for cooperation or coordination of activity between enterprises than our country. But I would not dare say that there is no chance for at least some cooperation and activity coordination between various enterprises in your country, because, and this must be emphasized, there is always a possibility for a better exploitation of available resources.

As to the 29 objects that have been designed for you, we could say at full confidence that the design drafting was done inside the offices without using the necessary data, such as the

above-ground specifics and the characteristics of the subterranean; in other words, the climate, geological, hydraulic, and other data. Our design employees have not studied the terrain before starting work on the design of these objects.

But how could we solve this problem in the future? It must be pointed out that the revolution in the field of design under way in our country is still in progress. I believe Comrade Nesti Nase, your ambassador to China, has been able to see that the Renmin Ribao newspaper every day publishes a special column covering the field of design. Many materials on the revolution under way in this field have been published there. In the near future we will also organize a national conference covering design matters. We saw this as necessary because many of our specialists in this field, after finishing their studies, are appointed to a position and then for a long time, sometimes even for 7 or 8 years, design only from their offices and never go out in the field. At most, during this period they only go out two or three times. Furthermore, there are those amongst them that have never been out where the objects are actually being built. Naturally, there are also common objects that could be built anywhere. They are the kinds of objects that the implementing officials could adjust to any area. But even these projects need to be adjusted to the countries where they will be put to use, their climatic and geographical conditions and their size because there are countries that are large, others that are small and others with conditions completely different from ours. So, the project needs to be readjusted to the actual conditions of each country. Let us look at the building of a petrol processing plant, for example. In this case many savings could be achieved if we keep in mind the characteristics of the terrain, such as if it will be built in a mountainous or flat area. But the studies must be done first and then the design process for the plant can be started. In other words, the project must start after you have gone to the actual spot, after having familiarized yourselves with the terrain and all the necessary field data, etc. Only thus could possibilities for further savings be discovered.

The issue of the design of your industrial objects must be seen from this point of view too. It is necessary to go to the place where the object will be constructed. This is an important point. There are also Chinese specialists that work on these projects and they should have knowledge of and should first have all the necessary data. This requires that they visit Albania to familiarize themselves with the Albanian terrain and conditions. This will also help them teach and assist each other and, at the same time, prepare a group of Albanian design employees. This is a problem that requires an urgent solution. It is an actual problem. Otherwise, the work for the design of the other projects cannot start.

Our third shortcoming is in the area of sharing experience. Another reform taking place in China is in the area of petrol, but our comrades have not brought this over to your country. I am talking about the way we have organized work in the oil

field of Daqing in Northeast China. There we took a really big step. The Romanian comrades who know quite a lot about oil were there. This year we may achieve an extraction of 10 million tons of unrefined oil. This happens as a result of the leap we took during these last four years. During the design process we did not suspend work on refining. We did both at the same time. Investments were made and the work continued on exploitation, in other words, on both group A and B. Generally, these two groups conflict with each other and often hinder each other's work processes, but in Daqing this has been avoided. On the basis of the proletarian philosophy we must rely on democratic centralization. We have kept this in mind and have discussed the problem at length, and then, after centralizing the process, by relying on this principle we have started to accomplish the task. Doing things this way quickens very much the work rhythm. I trust that the Albanian ambassador to China has noticed that during the meeting of our People's Assembly I have reiterated that we must learn from the work spirit in the oil field of Daqing, but our shortcoming is that we have not notified you of this experience.

Our fourth shortcoming is that we still are at a low technical level. Our industrial equipment is relatively old, while countries like Albania request that they be equipped with objects of an advanced technical level and that they are as perfect as possible so that savings in every possible area can be achieved.

It must be noted that during the last ten years, i.e. after Khrushchev's rise to power, the Soviet Union in both the field of design and the field of technical assistance has behaved badly toward us and that has had an impact on our technical level. Of course, in order to raise our technical level we must draw from the experience of other nations and take advantage of the advanced technology of Western nations, while at the same time developing it further. This means that when we build a sufficient base, we should also be able to create and advance technology on our own, because the Western nations have also advanced their technology starting from scratch. We, then, must rely on our own forces. For example, during the development of the oil sector in our country, we have not had anyone's help and have had very little equipment for both the extraction and the processing of our oil. But in the end we learned, gained experience and developed some advanced methods for the production and processing of petroleum and achieved some successes. When [we] visited Romania last year, the Romanian comrades highly valued our experience in the area of petroleum. We must admit that we have achieved some things, but we have plenty to do in both the field of chemical production, [and] the production of synthetic fibers. In these sectors we are still weak, thus we must do much more in the multi-tiered exploitation of oil. In this area the Romanian comrades have paid more attention, so they are more advanced than we are and have achieved successes.

I mentioned all this to show you that the equipment of the

objects that are being constructed here with our help are of low technical level, are not as advanced as they should be, and this is not favorable to you. This happens because the level of their mechanization and automatization is relatively low. As a result of greater work force and investment, the costs will be higher and the time needed to start the exploitation of these objects will be longer. The time until the recovery of investment capital due to their depreciation will also be longer. As a consequence, the quality of the products is not so high.

My visit last year to Africa left a deep impression on me. It is well known that the Arab and black African countries have a relatively low technological level. The technologies in these countries are not very advanced, while the refineries with the capacity of one million tons a year in Morocco and Ghana, the plant for the liquidation of gas or the mechanization of the vehicle assembly and repair process in a plant in Algeria are of a higher technological level in comparison with the other plants in the area. They are very economical because they save a lot of labor and time and are very easy to run. Such enterprises are favorable for these countries. Of course, the construction of such enterprises in these countries has required the use of foreign capital, but this is another matter that has to do with the regime in these countries. Nevertheless, constructions of this technological level would also be favorable to your country.

The fifth of our shortcomings is that we have not done a multi-tiered study for the entire system of the objects. In other words, we have drafted the design for each of the projects and then drafted the plan for the supply of the object. We have simply not done a multi-level organizing of the objects, on the basis of which we could streamline the objects keeping in mind the necessary raw material they require etc. For example, for the construction of some factories and plants the raw material necessary for utilizing them may depend on another object or some of its processes may be related to an object that has still not been constructed. As a result, the object that has been built first will require the import of raw material. A well-studied organized and streamlined process for this goal is necessary but so far we have not achieved any success in this area.

I believe that these five shortcomings that I have mentioned are among the most prominent. Naturally the effectiveness and method of work or our specialists in Albania reflects this. There may be some flaws here but I am not aware of any. That is why I will reserve judgment, because our ambassador in Albania has yet to inform me on this matter.

In fact, there are six shortcomings in our relations with you, but I do not have any information on the sixth one. My information is incomplete so I reserve judgment. I think we should keep the first five in mind as to the objects that you are building in your own country with our help.

Judging from what Comrade Enver Hoxha said when

he spoke two days ago and the letter sent to us by Comrade Mehmet Shehu, the request which we will discuss and agree on with Comrade Spiro Koleka when he visits China are related to your fourth five-year plan. In order to talk about your five-year plan we must first talk about the present situation. In other words, about the 37 or 39 objects on which this plan should rely. Hence, I would like that before Comrade Spiro Koleka comes to China he does a thorough examination on them, because on these 37 objects, I believe, your future five-year plan should be based.

As to the order of business, this can be in four groups:

First, the objects that have been constructed and completed [within the] last year or that are in general forecasted to be finished this year.

Secondly, the objects whose assembly has started. These are ten objects, the assembly of which can start this year and which can start to be utilized this year or the next.

Third is a group of eleven objects. Work is continuing on these objects and they are forecasted to be finished by 1965, 1966, and by 1967. Work may be extended on a few of them until 1968.

Fourth is a group of six objects that are still in the phase of data gathering, project design, or in the preparatory phase for the beginning of construction. These objects are forecasted to be finished probably some time during 1966, 1967, and by 1968.

In order to judge whether these groupings of the objects that you will build with our help are correct, I would like Comrade Spiro Koleka to conduct a thorough study of these problems before he comes to China.

This was the first issue.

Secondly, according to the general evaluation that we have conducted, we think that all these objects will occupy a total area of 660,000 square meters. A question comes to mind: is it possible to still save some land? Of course it is possible. This requires that an even more detailed study be conducted because we still do not know well the conditions of the terrain on which the objects are being built. From this perspective, the objects may not be suitable for construction. A more thorough study would give us better results in saving land, work force, construction volume, investments etc.

Thirdly, for the whole construction land, for labor, for the assembly of machinery and equipment, for the construction of buildings, for machinery and the entire necessary activity that will be spent for these works are some of the 11, 800 million leks will be required. Of course, this is only a general evalua-

tion we have done.

Comrade Enver Hoxha: We have done the budget and it appears that we will need 9, 900 million leks.

Comrade Zhou Enlai: Very well, this can be studied. What I am mentioning here is a general valuation of the 37 objects, so the comrades of the State Planning Commission can do a more exact study.

From the information that we have it appears that until the end of 1964, a volume of work of only 2.5 billion leks has been achieved. This means that not even a quarter of the work has been completed. A calculation must be done of the volume that may be achieved by the end of the year to figure out what would remain to be completed during the fourth five-year plan. A grouping of all these objects must be done. I already separated them into four groups but whether this is correct or not, naturally, needs to be studied.

Comrade Enver Hoxha: According to our calculations, only 43.5% of the work will remain for the fourth five-year plan, in other words, less than half.

Comrade Zhou Enlai: Naturally, I only mentioned what had been completed until the end of last year.

Comrade Enver Hoxha: Correct, you did say [that].

Comrade Zhou Enlai: Now on the fourth issue, which is the supplying of the equipment and materials that you will need to start up and utilize the objects. According to the data we have on the construction and exploitation of these objects, starting from this year, i.e. from 1965 up to 1968, a transportation volume of around 100 thousand tons will be required. Aside from transportation, during these four years, in construction and assembly—according to our estimates—you will need around 9 thousand people. After these 37 objects are completely or fully built, we foresee that to start their utilization you will need around 15 thousand production workers.

The fifth issue has to do with electrical energy. After we finish the 37 objects, in the first days of their utilization your capacity to supply energy during the draught months will not fulfill the needs. Certainly, for this goal the construction of a thermo-electric power station in the city of Fier with the capacity of 74 thousand kilowatt is planned to be built. If the thermo-electric power station in the city of Fier will be built quickly, you will have at your disposal a large amount of energy, despite the fact that it will be utilized mainly for the needs of the nitrogen fertilizer plant.

Let us move on to the sixth issue, that of transportation. The problem of transport exists not only during the construction and assembly activities of the works, but it is a problem



that will continue to exist even after starting the utilization of the objects because the transportation of the raw and other materials will be necessary, both those that will be imported and those that will be brought from different areas within the country, and certainly for the distribution of products. The total need of these 37 objects will require an annual transportation volume of 66 million tons/km. The railways in Albania are still insufficient and, as a result, in order to support this great volume, the road infrastructure will be heavily loaded.

What I am saying, naturally, is very exact. In other words, the data for the grouping of objects, the total land area required for building them, the construction activities, the volume of supply equipment and material, the labor required during the construction and assembly of the objects, the labor required for their utilization, the electric energy and finally the transportation for all these items, is drawn from the information we have so far. As to the volume of transport of 66 million tons/km that I mentioned will be needed for the 37 objects we are talking about the external and internal transportation.

All these items are drawn on the basis of initial and general calculations and I would like the Albanian State Planning Commission to make more exact calculations so that the pace of construction at all levels in your country increases by simultaneously also relying on the shortcomings that I mentioned earlier. Hence, it is necessary that a general inspection of these 37 objects is conducted.

I would like these eight issues on which I spoke in general and others that you might encounter later, to be made known to the specialists that come from China, with the intention that they familiarize themselves with the situation of the place they are working at and to keep them in mind so they know on what to concentrate in their work. In the future we will make a generalization of the work we have done in the past.

The second issue is related to planning for the future. I think that for the fourth five-year plan we must determine how many objects will be built so that we may determine whether there are more or less of them compared to the past plan and whether these objects are or are not favorable to the building of socialism in Albania. In the letter that Comrade Mehmet Shehu sent to us it is clear that you will try by all means not to overload your plan too much. The letter mentions 13 new objects and the expansion of 15 existing units and objects, making a total of 28 constructions objects. This means that there will be fewer objects than the 37 that are in construction today. Aside from these, there are eight objects for which the studies will start later, because their construction will start the fifth five-year plan. But whether these 28 objects that you foresee including in your fourth five-year plan are going to be favorable to your economy I cannot give you a definitive answer yet because:

First, some objects that have started to be constructed dur-

ing the third five-year plan will start to be utilized in the fourth five-year plan. Is such an order favorable at all? Furthermore, this does not even include all the objects that Albania will built on her own, with no outside help.

Second, I spoke before about the four shortcomings that can be seen in our work but the main thing is that in the past we have not studied as we should have the general data and we had not seen a systematic organizing of the issues. I think that in the future this should be kept in mind and we should grasp these problems better.

Third, during the construction of the objects, which are numerous and of different kinds, is the Albanian side able to fulfill all that is required for their construction? In other words, can they ensure the land area that these 28 objects will occupy, the volume of labor and investments, a part of which will be covered by the Albanians themselves, the labor required during construction and assembly as well as later during the utilization of the objects, the electric energy, and the transportation capacity?

The fourth issue has to do with the Chinese side, which will not only continue to supply the design and the equipment for the existing objects, but will also be required to do the same for these other 28 objects for which we need extra efforts so that their equipment and technology will be satisfactory to your request and match the level of an advanced technology. The question that comes up next is whether our side is able to fulfill all these requests. This is also a problem that requires analysis. We must first of all deliver the economic assistance that was decided on previously. There is no doubt that for the 37 objects which we need to build here we will continue to assist you, but the expenses for their construction will be over budget and we will need to increase the loan. Of course, these 37 objects are not completely finished. We have been notified by our specialists of this. The materials required for them have yet to be fully delivered because a part of these objects are forecast to be finished around 1967.

By our calculations it seems that for all the design, construction and utilization of the 37 objects and their supplying with materials and specialists, plus the usual goods that we will give you for trade, will altogether reach the sum of 2 billion yuan. We have yet to make the calculations in rubles, so as a result this sum may not be exact. This sum, compared to the assistance that we give to the other socialist countries and the countries of Africa and Asia, is second highest. Vietnam is in the first place and Albania comes second. The assistance that we give to Albania surpasses that which we give to DPRK.

Keeping in mind the work on the objects that we are building at the moment, and the military and other materials, I think that when we talk about new assistance in the future we should keep in mind the five shortcomings that I mentioned earlier so

that we can undertake each construction [project] rationally, save as much as we can on investments, build as much of the advanced technology as we can, and achieve as fast an effect as possible through our construction. We think that all this will be in your favor.

We should work on these four problems but they will be clarified better when the issues are discussed in more detail. In other words:

First, when the generalization of the experience of the past 37 objects is done.

Secondly, once it will be determined whether the order of these new objects is correct, and once they are studied in a thorough manner to evaluate whether they are in sync with the rhythm of the development of Albania's economy.

Thirdly, once it is determined what the concrete capacity of the Albanian side is to respond to the needs that emerge in connection with to these constructions.

Fourth, once it is determined how far the capability of the Chinese side reaches.

I also enumerated here before you our side's shortcomings in the past.

Then I also enumerated in general lines the eight data points. To determine how correct they are, you must conduct an analysis. When you reach conclusions in this matter, I would like you to notify our specialists why these differences exist between the data on each side so that they may take measures for what they are responsible. As I have said before, the 28 new objects constitute a separate plan. For all I said here I was relying only on our own experience. I mentioned it for your information and I think that when we deal with these issues, they may help you in your work.

Finally, I wanted to talk to you about the course of our reconstruction. Last year, when I visited Albania, we arrived at a common viewpoint that the general course of economic reconstruction, the dynamic of the economic development, shall be: Having agriculture be the foundation of the economy with industry as an important lever; building in such a way as to have the construction respond to the particular reality and capabilities of the country; going forward based on one's own forces; and building an independent economy.

Of course, executing such a course in Albania is not easy. The conditions in your country warrant a longer time for such a plan, because Albania is a small country and the fulfillment of all the needs of the country is a difficult task. Hence, Albania's request that it cooperate with the other brother countries is unavoidable, not only because of the reasons we mentioned

above, but also from an international trade point of view. Hence, relations with other countries are very necessary.

I will speak on the course of construction based on the experience of the PRC and for this I need to put forward a few premises.

First, the issue of the economy having agriculture at its foundation and the industry as a central lever is very important. The order of importance, of what must be given precedence in agriculture or industry (for example, heavy or light industry, etc.), should be carefully studied. This is a difficult problem.

For Albania, as we also mentioned last year, it is important that agriculture secure the bread for the country and that it should, step by step and gradually, also secure the necessary reserves. From what I noticed in your fourth five-year plan, it seems that the issue of securing the bread for your country is estimated to develop at a slow pace, though you have emphasized this matter in your plan. On this topic I have a thought. Would it not be better to produce bread in the lands you have slated for tobacco production?

Comrade Mehmet Shehu: We could plant grains on the lands where we plant tobacco, but the efficiency would be low. We would only produce four quintals per hectare corn or wheat because they are poor lands, but if we planted tobacco, we would get more and this is more profitable.

Comrade Enver Hoxha: On this problem regarding the tobacco lands, we have in the past conducted experiments and during the last few years we have expanded the planting of tobacco to these poor lands that do not produce much wheat. In the past we planted grains in these lands, but according to our calculations, it seems that their efficiency was very low: 4-5, or a maximum of 6 quintals of grains per hectare, while the same lands produce tobacco at higher efficiency. We have stopped planting tobacco in all the lands that can produce grains.

Comrade Mehmet Shehu: We have conducted a classification of all our lands and in all those lands suitable for grain production we do not plant any tobacco.

Comrade Zhou Enlai: It seems that you want to fulfill not only your own needs, but also the [needs] of export[ers], with the tobacco that you plant. There is one thing that is not clear to me. The kinds of tobacco you plant correspond with outside demand. They are wanted and can be sold abroad, such as in Europe, etc. From what we know, we in China are not used to the kinds of tobacco you produce. They are not suitable for us, because we are used to smooth kinds of tobacco, hence, when we sell your tobacco in the market, we are forced to compensate the price by paying for it from our own till.

Comrade Enver Hoxha: Generally, we sell most of our

tobacco to you.

Comrade Zhou Enlai: I wonder whether you could plant tobacco seeds of various kinds more suitable for export on the lands you already use for tobacco production.

Comrade Enver Hoxha: We could plant them. If you want, we could give that a try.

Comrade Mehmet Shehu: We could also try to plant Chinese seeds.

Comrade Zhou Enlai: My intention is for us to try every possibility so that you can fulfill your country's needs for grains. This seems to me to be a task that should come before all others. Obviously, you should also keep in mind here that other food products should also be considered, such as beans, meat, etc. so that in case communications with the outside world are severed, you would then be prepared and would be able to rely mainly on your own internal capabilities.

Just as an order of importance should be created in the agricultural sector, giving precedence, as I said, to bread grains, so you must also create such an order for the industrial sector by figuring out which branch should be developed first, where should the work pace be increased and what objects would be postponed for later. This means concentrating all our forces on solving the key issue, in other words to destroy an enemy and achieve the goal by progressing with concentrated forces. For example, for you the central points are the oil, iron-chrome, iron-nickel, chemical fertilizers, and electric energy sectors. These should be the first priority. But even in the area of the problem of electric energy, I think that the solution should be calculated carefully. Should you first build thermal-power stations or hydro-power stations? You could also study this issue.

We think that for your country these sectors are key issues with regard to both the development of industry and the development of agriculture. What we said should be studied. You should think about the matter of where forces should be best concentrated to solve these issues on time, while the others should be left to be studied later. Naturally, solving these issues requires time, investments, labor, equipment, etc. This is why resources should be concentrated around them so that they may be solved as soon as possible.

Naturally, great work shall be required to accomplish these tasks and studies should be conducted to uncover the country's resources and the size of these resources. For example, if we would like to increase petroleum production, we must first know the sub-terrestrial reserves; if we plan on developing the electric energy industry, we must first find out which approach is more profitable and whether the hydro-power stations are enough and for this we must first study all the hydro-geological data in the country. In China, aside from the neces-

sary large capacity objects, we are also building more medium or small capacity objects. Following this course of construction is very profitable to us because this allows us to spread these objects out and finish them at shorter periods. We think that our experience would also be valuable to construction in Albania, because large objects not only require a longer period to be finished, but they are also more concentrated, require large investments, etc. and, as a result, are not profitable.

Obviously, medium and small size objects cannot have a very wide range of capability to produce various kinds and assortments of products. We also know that cooperation between enterprises is more important in Albania, because production is not very developed here. Nonetheless, we think that since Albania has already gone through several five-year plans, it has also been able to create a mechanical base and as a result it should be able to establish some sort of cooperation between mechanical industry centers. One thing to keep in mind is that we do not have to build everything comprehensively. In China we fight against the tendency that the objects be comprehensive and large.

The fourth issue is in relation to the combined enterprises. These are destined to only produce by combining their activity with other enterprises. In our country we have principal enterprises that combine their activities with other principal enterprises. We also have medium or second category, enterprises which combine their activities with principal enterprises. As a result we have two categories of enterprises. This is imperative, because in order for an enterprise to work it must be supplied with the necessary materials, whether with materials produced in-country or with those we can only secure through import. The other issue is that we should also be prepared to face every eventuality by ensuring that enough reserve materials are on hand for the enterprise to continue working. This requires that at the present we should also have some enterprises which can be converted to combine their work with principal enterprises. In relation to this point, you can build the soda factory in your country first and then build the others later. Of course, this may have some influence on raising the living standards, but it is not a principal difficulty. So, in conclusion, we must first build those enterprises which will later serve as the source of the basic materials needed by other enterprises, this way the basic materials are secured in-country.

The fifth issue has to do with capital construction in Albania. I think that in this area Albania should profit from China's experience. The point is that construction projects should be done in such a way that they can be useful in both peace time and in war time. We must foresee and keep such a thing in mind. That is why the objects that you are thinking of building should be, as I said before, spread out and more or less in hidden places.

The sixth issue has to do with the request that the enterpris-

es you are building with our help be equipped with advanced technology. Obviously, we should assume responsibility in this area and you, Albanian comrades, must compel us to raise the technological level and equipment quality of the objects you are building. This will require a long time to be achieved, but we think that if we allowed the construction of objects with a low technological level, that would require more labor and higher investments, and their economic effect would be much smaller. Obviously, such a thing would not be favorable to your economy. But were we to postpone the construction deadline of an object until we secure a higher technological level for it, it would be more favorable to your economy. Raising the technological level becomes necessary for you as well as for us.

The seventh issue is in relation to technical capabilities, technical cadres and specialized employees. In this area measures should be taken that the cadres and specialists be prepared, because they are the ones who must master the new technology. Aside from measures to prepare new cadres and specialists, measures should also be taken to prepare the existing ones too. This is an important point for raising work efficiency. Of course, alongside the work for technical preparedness, we should also not leave behind the work for the political education of these people. The political education should take a commanding importance here, while alongside it we should also take measures for the technical preparation and qualification of cadres and specialized employees.

In this area, there are huge reserves within the working masses. It only depends on the work of the leaders whether these reserves will be tapped. This means that, first of all, the leadership should not be conservative. It should not be content with today's level of technology preparedness, but should strive toward further progress. Secondly, it must not seek to achieve the qualification and education of the people through punitive measures or through reassignments from one place to another. This is not favorable to the spreading of experience. You can find examples of the kind in our country. For example, in some objects in our country the work progresses quite well, while in others construction goes on for a longer time, the people are less energetic and the cadres are replaced often. We must have trust in the masses, because everything is achieved by their hands. Hence, we must work better with them and must place great importance in, first of all, their education. We must educate them better, combine them as appropriate, give them the gathered experience, and should not become conservative. We must strengthen political leadership of the masses and effectively educate the people so that this activity better serve the reconstruction of our country. Doing otherwise would be to our detriment. When I was in Romania, I visited a chemical industry center, a refinery. There I saw that the workers of this refinery had mastered the advanced technology well. I am convinced that if a good job is done following the directions I gave above, your people here in Albania can also master the technology very well. Learning and mastering technology

has nothing to do with a person's nationality. Regardless of who has mastered a technology at the moment, we must learn from those that are more advanced, but we should always keep political preparedness at the forefront. Politics should be in command and leading the education of the workers and our cadres, so that they become conscious of the tasks they are given. In China, while we have progressed well in some sectors, such as in the petrol sector and in some others, there are some areas where we are progressing slowly.

The eighth issue has to do with economizing resources. In both China and Albania, as well as in all the socialist countries, the issue of economizing is absolutely one of the key issues for the construction of socialism. Our countries should always raise this issue. We must, first of all, carefully protect the machinery and objects we build, because getting them in the first place is not an easy task. In the case of Albania, this problem takes on an ever greater importance because of the weak economy. That is why we need to work hard in this direction and try to avoid as much as possible any kind of damage to them. In our country we have placed great importance to economizing, but still unsatisfactory events have befallen us. For example, during the first five-year plan we had imported some machinery for the construction of a heavy-machinery plant. We found the machinery and delivered this to the spot, but the plant was not constructed right away and the machinery was not secured; it was left outside for a long time, and it was heavily damaged. We discovered this and took appropriate measures, but the damage had been done. This is only one example, but we have others, too. This is part of the experience we have garnered during these years of building socialism in our country. I told you that I considered it necessary that I notify the Albanian comrades of this matter because it may help you in your work.

I also want to touch upon something else in relation to your fourth five-year plan, having to do with how much we can impose on each other. During the construction of this five-year plan and later during the fourth plan, our country is facing some difficulties before it can fulfill all your requests. We see that you seek to build many objects with our help, but we are unable to fulfill all of them; be they the requests in the area of trade, or those that you want through loans; be they grains for bread, or other goods. There is no doubt that we will continue to assist you in the field of economy, but you intend to make too many investments. So, in order to solve these issues we need to enter into concrete talks; taking into account our capabilities we can achieve real conclusions and then we can commit, within our capabilities, to what you request. In other words, we can commit to how many objects and how much economic assistance we can offer. At the moment we are not able to give you a concrete answer on this.

Of course, as Comrade Enver Hoxha pointed out and as I also mentioned in the beginning, the three starting points men-



tioned are correct. Relying on them we can say that more assistance is necessary and you are right to ask us for even more help. But I propose that we put the issue forward as follows: What will be more favorable to you and what is the extent to which we will commit?

It seems very clear that many of the 37 objects that you are building will require imported materials to work once utilization starts. Obviously, we will supply them for you but we need to determine how much you will receive through clearing and how much through loans. As a result of these imports, we will also have to face the problem of their shipping. Of course, it would be more prudent that a part of these materials be ascertained in-country, but by looking at this problem in general lines, I can say that it will be a long time before these materials can be produced here. That is why you need to calculate these things and include them in the fourth five-year plan, especially those issues related to import, foreign trade and economic assistance through loans. As to the matter of loans, factories should not be built and then remain without work only because they do not have the materials needed for production.

Finally, I have a question: When do you think is a good time for Comrade Spiro Koleka to visit China? Until now the group of Albanian specialists at the moment in China has conducted two series of talks with our people. Of course, they are instructed by your party and government on the matters they will bring up so we understand that we cannot change the course of the talks. In other words, they are not prepared to answer, for example, where we can make reductions or even changes. We understand the position of these comrades. We have had frequent contacts with the Albanian comrades, they discuss issues with us energetically, but at the end we achieve common agreements and, thus, we fulfill our needs. My question is whether it will be possible for you to send to China a group of comrades who are able to decide on such problems and whether it would be possible that they remain in China for longer periods of time, because it is more difficult for our comrades of this rank to come here. Last year, when I returned to China after my visit to 14 countries, we created the Committee for Economic Relations with the Outside World. We have appointed Comrade Fang Yi as the chairman of this committee, but this institution has only been in operation for six months, it has just started its activity, so it is still encountering difficulties. The countries that receive economic assistance from our country today number more than 30, so, if we can reduce the load of the committee on some of the issues, it will work better. Under these conditions it would be difficult for Comrade Fang Yi to leave China because the business of the committee would be slowed down.

We are now preparing for the second conference of the countries of Asia and Africa. There, amongst other things, we will reiterate the importance of economic cooperation between the countries of these continents. We will strengthen even

more our work for carrying out the eight principles of economic cooperation that we have raised during my visit last year to the countries of Asia and Africa and will concretely start to execute these principles, which we will put up against imperialism and modern revisionism. We have one good thing in our practice. When we discover that we have made mistakes, we accept them and set out to correct them. If we would operate differently, instead of progressing, we would remain behind.

In relation to our common problems, as far as our economic cooperation with our Albanian comrades for your fourth five-year plan goes, I think that we will need a longer time to succeed. As to the course we need to take to solve this problem, we implore you Comrade Enver Hoxha, Comrade Mehmet Shehu, Comrade Spiro Koleka and the other Albanian leadership comrades to also give us your thoughts on the matter. These were the problems I had thought of discussing. I want to say once again that my points of view may not be suitable for your conditions. I could be wrong or all of the information I am relying upon may not reflect your reality. But mistakes can be repaired. What is not suitable to your reality may be eliminated completely. What does not satisfy you, we could pick up and discuss again. Comrade Beqir Balluku has experience in this area.

This is all I had to say.

Comrade Enver Hoxha: We could take a little break.

Comrade Zhou Enlai: I agree.

(After a short break, the proceedings of the last session were held. The floor was held mostly by Enver Hoxha.)

Comrade Enver Hoxha: If you would allow us, Comrade Zhou Enlai, we would like to express in a few words our point of view on the opinions that you expressed.

Through the words of Comrade Zhou Enlai we understand the desire of the Chinese comrades to assist us in the area of the economy—which is one of the most vital areas in the life of our country—through correct, fraternal, and Marxist-Leninist criteria. We recognize in Comrade Zhou Enlai a particular interest in making sure that China's assistance is very effective to our country's economy, that it strengthens our economy, that it achieves an increase in the living standard of the Albanian people, and that it also assists as much as possible in our homeland's defense at any moment and in any eventuality. The care that the Chinese comrades and Comrade Zhou Enlai show is correct and we thank you very much for it. We also thank you, Comrade Zhou Enlai, for the fact that you—as it is your custom and of which we have no doubt—express your opinions openly as they should be expressed amongst friends and as we also express ours to you.

The economic issues, as it is well known, preoccupy us, Albanians, very much, just as they also preoccupy you, Chinese comrades. This is a preoccupation of both sides. But after we discuss them from all angles—first of all from the political side, but also from the economic point of view of concrete numbers and data, as Comrade Zhou Enlai rightly pointed out—we are confident that we will find a just solution that is suitable to both the needs of our country and to China's capabilities. In our requests we always keep in mind the heavy load that China must bear in its obligations to the 36 countries it assists, as you pointed out in your presentation.

We consider correct the issues that Comrade Zhou Enlai raised when he chronologically and correctly enumerated the latest developments. The Chinese government is right in creating a Committee for Economic Relations with the Outside World. This will play a great role in the area of assistance to the other socialist and democratic nations of the world with which China has and will develop even further great economic relations. This is in itself one of the most powerful factors in our war against imperialism. By assisting and strengthening these countries, a great contribution is made to the strengthening of the forces of democracy, peace and socialism. This is an issue of great importance.

As far as we Albanians are concerned, it is fair that in view of China's great assistance to us it should be our duty to facilitate the work of your Committee for Economic Relations with the Outside World in all areas and especially in those that Comrade Zhou Enlai spoke about. For example, we should help in securing for the committee the data and information it deems necessary. It is only fair that the data be provided by us not only to your specialists, but also to your committee, so that they can arrive at as perfect solutions as possible and that we garner the great and concrete experience of the Chinese specialists in these areas. So, both our [leadership] and the Chinese leadership will be fully capable of judging the real capabilities that our country may possess in best utilizing the assistance that China will offer us and the real capabilities that China possesses for assisting our country's economic development.

Comrade Zhou Enlai asked that we take a closer look at the objects that we are building. This is a fair request because in the area of object construction we have only been cooperating with each other for a very short time. If we look at this cooperation in general, it has been fruitful and has produced results, even though there are shortcomings and delays on our side, which do not exist on the Chinese comrades' side. As to the projects at hand, delays from your end have never been more than two, three, or at most, four months. We understand these delays. But the more important issue is that (as we see it) based on this experience and the results we have achieved, we strive to create such a future five-year plan that will not only rely on them, but will also built upon methods and criteria which are well studied and stable or—as you rightly pointed

out and we fully agree with you—to draw the positive from within our disadvantages. We must work in this direction with the intention of achieving results, building faster, and ensuring the solvency of the problems of raw materials, transportation, etc. etc. In other words, we should make sure that while studying these problems we include such reliable data that whatever we decide to build during our future five-year plan is within our capabilities and conditions, as well as within those that China possesses and will give to us.

On this issue, we think that the conditions that our country faced after severing relations with the Soviet Union and the other European people's democracies (i.e. after the blockade) should be kept in mind. The new situation following that period had strong repercussions for our economy and our investments. The fraternal, internationalist readiness shown by China was a great thing, but a period of time was still needed before that assistance could start to have an effect. This was a great preoccupation for the Chinese comrades. Nonetheless, it is our opinion that since the beginning of our cooperation in object construction, a great job has been done by the Chinese comrades and designers, as well as by us in carrying out these projects. Within two years and within the real existing capabilities, we managed to achieve satisfactory results. To us, Albanians, this has a warming effect; it encourages us, and makes us realistically and optimistically appreciate the fourth five-year plan drafts.

In general, we can say that we have conducted a few analyses of the work going on in the new projects. We have stayed on top of these issues and in general we can say that it has not gone badly, on the contrary, it has gone quite well. Nonetheless, not everything has been in order and some unexpected things have happened, and that is something that has from time to time worried the Chinese government in some areas, as Comrade Zhou Enlai pointed out. Some things were not estimated well during the design process, but we cannot blame the Chinese comrades for this, because their capabilities were limited during this time and it has mostly been our fault. I can bring you one example: The paper factory for cement packaging in Shkodra was completed on time and has lately started operating, but it had not been planned where the industrial waste would go. We do not blame the Chinese comrades for this, but the problem is that the industrial waste was mixed in with the drinking water of the city, and this forced us to close the factory for two weeks. We have not had any other such problems. Nonetheless, we can draw a conclusion from this example, and we agree with what Comrade Zhou Enlai said. Is it not so, comrades? It is because of these reasons that we say that the Chinese comrades have not done a bad job in the area of design. In general you may be right in all you said, but as far as our projects go, we have no reason to complain about you. The Chinese specialists that have worked and are still working here have done a good job.

Comrade Zhou Enlai: Regarding the case that you men-

tioned, the paper factory in Shkodra, the blame rests with our designers. They should have anticipated where the industrial waste would go.

Comrade Enver Hoxha: The problem is that they had no time to think about this issue. They had not come here before designing the project, so they were not familiar with the place. Furthermore, they were forced to work very fast.

Comrade Mehmet Shehu: Khrushchev gave neither you nor us time to work. We were caught unaware by him and we were precluded from giving you much time for the design process. Khrushchev gave us no time.

Comrade Zhou Enlai: OK, but since then three years have passed, so the matter of industrial waste disposal at the paper factory that Comrade Enver Hoxha mentioned is a big problem that should have been solved.

Comrade Enver Hoxha: It will be solved. But it should be mentioned that serious problems have come from our side. So, for example, last year we had not anticipated well our need for building materials, especially cement. As a result, at a certain moment we found ourselves in a very difficult situation and were forced to suspend deliveries of cement to certain projects we were building so that work would not have to be stopped in the construction of other more important industrial projects. This happened because of our technicians fault. We took the appropriate measures and dealt with the situation, but the fact remains that this happened and we were forced to postpone some projects. At the same time, this also served as a good experience for us to understand the importance of a better study of project construction plans in the future.

During the cooperation between our people and the Chinese specialists in Albania, and their initiative and continuing interest in building our objects as well and as fast as possible, we have noticed another interesting fact. Thus, for example, during the construction of the caustic soda factory, at a certain moment, it was not possible to supply the appropriate iron and concrete frames at the necessary time. The Chinese specialists thought about it, and, in order not to slow down the construction, took the initiative and replaced the iron and concrete frames with other kinds of iron frames. Their contribution allowed the workers not to suspend construction, on the contrary, work continued normally.

Comrade Zhou Enlai was right in raising the issue of design. We understand the importance of the correct design of large industrial or agricultural works for China, a colossus where investments are of a very large scale. But such a thing is important in our country too. The experience that Comrade Zhou Enlai gave us is a great one and we will continue to get this experience from China. But the matter of project design, of planning methods, and of ordering the constructions by

their economic importance, as Comrade Zhou Enlai enumerated, has always preoccupied our party and government. We have continually kept in mind those principal points of which Comrade Zhou Enlai spoke. For us they are always an acute problem, because if we had not always thought about them, they would, like you said, have caused us a lot of damage.

Let us look at one of the principal points of which Comrade Zhou Enlai spoke, that of the economizing of lands for grains. The issue of these lands has always been one of the most preoccupying ones, because we have a limited amount of land. This is why we follow this problem with the highest of care, not only when we are thinking of building large objects, but also when we are planning smaller ones. In fact, even an application for a new house by a peasant is put under the strictest control by the appropriate government organs and construction is always done by authorization. We do not allow the peasant to build wherever he wants or outside the areas we have appointed in every village for construction. We have strictly appointed areas where the peasants are allowed to build new houses. We are even stricter in the cities. The intention here is not to occupy bread land with construction. We have already decided the criteria for areas where buildings can be erected and no one can change them unless it is done by government order. So, as far as bread lands go, we pay a lot of attention and try very hard to economize them to the maximum. We have had to deal with this matter in the past when the projects were designed by the Soviets. In fact, we have even had squabbles with them over this because they had the tendency not to only build large and waste too much land on the construction of objects, but they also overloaded the objects with extra non-producing construction, unnecessary annexes, etc. They asked for 200 hectares for the nitrogen fertilizer plant. We gave them only 100 hectares. The Chinese comrades only asked for 60 hectares, but after discussions with them we decided to only use 20-30 hectares and now the object is being built over only 9.5 hectares. With this I want to point out that the orientation you have given us converges fully with our direction and practices. You can easily see the results that can be achieved through cooperation based on solid foundations like the one that exists between our two sides. Reducing the land area from the 200 hectares that the Soviets asked for building the plant to 9.5 hectares is no little thing for us.

The example that you brought up about the use of arable land for airports is definitely correct. It can be guessed that for the airports we have built with the Soviets' help we have been asked for hundreds of hectares, but we have not granted them. We have only built runways where the airplanes need to land. On this topic, I want to give you an example. We have been able to save 100 million leks on the construction of the Rinas airport runway, the same one you landed on when you came. This was proposed to us by an air force captain, who was not even an engineer, but only a mid-level technician. The Soviets proposed their design to us requiring 100 million leks more for

concrete, but our captain intervened. He urged us not to accept the Soviets' proposal and took the responsibility upon himself in front of the party and government offering to be shot if he did not produce satisfactory results. He promised that he would build this project with 100 million leks less in expenses than the Soviet design and also make the airport able to have planes of the TU-104 type land on it. A great Soviet specialist, with a doctorate in airport construction, came here for this airport and asked Comrade Beqir Balluku about the level of education of the officer making this proposal, about his place of study, etc. Comrade Beqir answered that the officer had not graduated from a higher institution and that he had only been a partisan in the mountains, but he had with him the party's resoluteness and inspiration. We decided to build the Rinas airport as our captain had proposed. The airport was built, and today even large airplanes can land without any danger. Not only that, but we are even working the land outside the airport runway. We have worked hard in this direction. This is what happened to us with the Soviets. The example that you, Comrade Zhou Enlai, mentioned about saving arable land areas occupied by airports is correct. It is a lesson for us. In this area we still have a lot of work to do and a lot of experience to gain from you. And when we have the same problem, we need to correct our mistakes and look at this matter in all our construction projects, because such mistakes happen everywhere. I want to say once more that, as far as the matter of saving bread land is concerned, we are in full agreement with Comrade Zhou Enlai. We constantly keep this matter in mind; we have sought to correct our mistakes, and will continue to do so in the future with rigor because it is a very important problem.

We have never forgotten the possibility of a war, which is the reason for which as we contemplate the construction of objects, we always keep in mind that they may be bombed and destroyed and we will be left without them. That is why for our objects in general, and especially those built with the assistance of the PRC, we have tried to find (and have more or less found) the most suitable and most protected areas. If we have failed to do this for some objects, this has only happened after considering the cost of the raw materials and labor required by the object. But in general they have been built on suitable, defensible areas. Let us, for example, look at the great textiles combined plant "Mao Zedong" in Berat. For its construction, we have chosen an area at the foot of a mountain so that it not only would use very little bread land but also that in the eventuality of a war we could defend it from bombing. The same can be also said about the cement factory, the explosives factory in Elbasan, etc. which are also built in suitable areas. The orientation that the CCP has given to its specialists converges with our party's and government's and we have been able to combine our efforts in this important issue as well. In particular, the cement factories we are building in Kruje and Elbasan are placed in mountain gorges, in other words, in places where enemy air force cannot easily enter to bomb them and would not have much interest in going where the danger would be higher for it. So, in this area

we have made attempts and in the future we will make even more to carry out this orientation and build in suitable places.

At the construction projects we have carried out with the Soviets' help we have also made mistakes in this regard, but we did not have experience then, and, furthermore, they never took our objections into account. I will give you one example. When we tried our best to plant as much wheat and corn as possible, Khrushchev would ask us, "What do you need grains for? What do you need to plant wheat and corn for? Plant oranges and lemons, olives and fruits, because we can give you all the wheat and corn you need. The rats in our silos eat the same amount of grains Albania needs." Look at what they were urging us to do! They wanted us to plant fruit trees in bread lands. Through this method they were trying to get us to abandon our course, but we did not fall for it. The orientation that the Soviets were giving us was subversive in all directions.

Comrade Zhou Enlai: What you say about the rats eating the Soviets' grain is true. In 1960 when we went through hard times for bread, we exchanged our rice with the Soviet Union for wheat, because wheat is cheaper and, by giving rice, we could get a larger amount of wheat from them. They gave us wheat from their reserves. It was a sort of black wheat that should have been called rye, not wheat, and at a very high price. However, their wheat was filled all over with rat droppings. This shows that they protect their storage areas badly.

Comrade Beqir Balluku: They would give you wheat with rat droppings, but would ask for rice of the highest quality from you.

Comrade Mehmet Shehu: When Khrushchev would tell us to plant as much fruit as possible on bread lands and not preoccupy ourselves with grain problems, Comrade Enver Hoxha immediately issued a guideline and, according to it, we decided that the planting of trees would not be allowed where grains could be planted. In other words, we did the opposite of what Khrushchev wanted. Since then, the planting of trees, even for only 100 of them, can only be done through government authorization. We have strict legal parameters for this. What you saw at the Rinas Airport was nicely planted.

Comrade Enver Hoxha: As to the matter of the raw materials that will be required for the objects in construction once they are put to use, and the problems with transportation, we think that the preoccupation of the Chinese comrades is correct. This is a big problem for China, but it is also a very big problem for us. When we design the objects we will build, we try to make sure that our enterprises are able to work as much as possible with our country's raw materials and that if possible they be built in areas from where the transportation distances are as short as possible, so that the transportation volume becomes as small as possible. Of course, in this area we have also had some bitter experiences so this has always been



a preoccupation for us. Hence, we are in full agreement with your remarks and orientation. What you said to us was correct. We will try to increase our efforts in this direction, and with your specialists' help we will continually perfect our work and strengthen our cooperation.

Nonetheless, we have had and continue to have this problem in our minds, because we are a small country. Furthermore, our conscience does not allow us to burden the PRC by asking for things we are able to produce in our country. We try to use our capabilities fully and not burden you more than necessary. But even when China gathers abundant supplies of all sorts, we will and should think carefully, because we are far from each other and everything that we ship here from China costs us too much. In addition, we should also keep in mind the possibility of war. For example, the situation in Vietnam gets complicated even further. In that case our difficulties with raw materials would multiply. Under these conditions, we should keep in mind the issue of producing as much as possible in-country. This is a great preoccupation for both you and us. This is why we are also in full agreement with Comrade Zhou Enlai on this issue as well.

On the matter of ensuring we have enough labor for our projects, we are fully in agreement with you and have worked hard in this direction as well. We try not to build our factories by keeping in mind only the larger, national interests, but, as you rightly pointed out, by also thinking of the local interests. We have also looked at this problem while considering the small size of our country. We here in Albania have certainly been interested not only in building objects, but also in assessing the assistance that these objects could give to the population of the area, the development that would ensue, the help with transportation vehicles and mechanic shops, etc. so that when an object is built the whole area benefits from it, the agriculture does not suffer and the peasantry does not get any poorer. For example, when considering the building of the textiles combined-plant "Mao Zedong" in Berat we have now designed a concrete annual plan for the labor it will require in future years and the time when it will be put to use. We have hard numbers in this plan. For example, we have calculated how many workers will come from this or that village, how long they will stay, etc. The brunt of the labor force for this object will come from the urban area. Of the 6,000 people that we project to work in this plant, only 300 will come from the villages. We have designed strict rules for this matter and we execute them rigorously.

The issue the Comrade Zhou Enlai brought up about the coordination of activities and the cooperation between the various industrial enterprises is also very important. This is also a very appropriate remark with which we are in full agreement. This principle will always lead us in the construction of enterprises, especially in the building of mechanics plants. We are following this correct principle and fully agree that, together with the Chinese comrades, we should take a look at

enterprises with mechanic shops to see what can be done in this direction. In the past we have decided that a mechanics plant should produce many types of products, or have decided not to allocate new types of product to other plants. The Chinese comrades suggested that the plant making spare parts for tractors—the one which Comrade Zhou Enlai visited—should be given the task of also making new types of product. We agree to look into this matter with the intention of keeping these shops profitable while, at the same time, fulfilling our needs. So, this principle is also correct and we will keep it in mind. With his presentation Comrade Zhou Enlai gave us great knowledge, but, as he also pointed out, the framework in China is one thing and that in Albania is another. It is a smaller, narrower framework. Nonetheless, a principle is a principle and this one is correct.

What Comrade Zhou Enlai said about the design process is also correct. In your country this concerns a wide range of activity, while in our country the work with project design is in its infancy. This sector is still weak here. Often design activities have been independent in the past. Now we have concentrated them at the Ministry of Construction, but are also thinking of creating a separate institution for this matter. The experience that Comrade Zhou Enlai gave us will be of great assistance to us. It is imperative and a correct principle that the designers familiarize with the terrain. In our country, too, the project employees design from their desks, and then the execution of the design is done by others, while the designers are very little interested in it. In our country even the foremen are little interested in this matter. This shows that in this area we have many shortcomings, hence, your experience will assist us greatly in the future when we utilize it in the construction of the objects we will build with your help. When Comrade Spiro Koleka comes to China, he will discuss this concretely with your specialists, because the experience we possess so far in this matter warrants getting correct advice from you. We will try our best to improve the situation in this sector too.

We, Comrade Zhou Enlai, are very happy (and it could not have been different) that you also agree with the three principles for the development of our economy. This encourages us and for this we thank you. We are also very happy that we are in full agreement with your opinions, because we see these issues the same way you do, in other words, we agree that we should place the highest importance on the construction of principal and vital objects, considering this task as an important lever where we must concentrate our forces, as you pointed out, particularly in the sectors of iron-chrome, iron-nickel, oil, hydro power stations, chemical industry, etc. This makes us extremely happy and opens up the right perspectives for us. In order to act concretely on the basis of this orientation, we must obviously discuss matters in greater detail, as you pointed out, taking into account all the conditions, your capabilities, and ours.

Comrade Zhou Enlai: I would like you to clarify one thing

for me: On the matter of electric energy which I asked about, what would be better for you, to ensure it through thermal or hydro power stations?

Comrade Enver Hoxha: Agreed. We will study this matter also. I do not want to enter into details, but would like to express our opinion on this matter. The Chinese specialist comrades in cooperation with our specialists working on the research of the hydro-power station at Vau i Dejes, have encouraged us on the plans for this object and it seems that this encouragement is correct. They told us that on this matter the issues of equipment or machinery are not important. What is important is the concrete analysis of the terrain, the hydro-geologic studies, and the preparation on the spot of this analysis of the project. The Chinese comrades have told us that the Albanian specialists should take over this matter. This is great trust that is being placed in us by the Chinese comrades. It is an encouragement and a great school for us. The Chinese comrades have also told us that they would give us assistance through 100 specialists and the necessary equipment for this object. But increasing the pace in the power station's construction depends above all on the study that the Albanian side will conduct. We are able to build this object and will concentrate all our resources on achieving this goal. This will be a great education for us. As far as your question of which would be more profitable for us, the thermal or the hydro power stations, we will make our calculations in this matter too.

Comrade Mehmet Shehu: We have made the calculations on it.

Comrade Enver Hoxha: But we must make them known to the Chinese comrades, too.

We understand you correctly, Comrade Zhou Enlai, on what you considered to be vital problems, and important at the same time. We also understand that they cannot be solved, much less executed, within a year. That is the reason that a few of them we have slated to be completely finished by the fifth five-year plan. In other words, for these objects we have not compiled a five-year plan. Instead, we have compiled a longer, eight-to-ten year plan, because these are large and very important objects, so the time for finishing some of them must necessarily spill over into the other five-year plan.

Tell Comrade Mao Zedong that we are keeping in mind his advice that we need another 10 or 15 years of peace.

Of course, when building these objects securing the raw material is also very important. Here we include the iron-nickel also, which is a material of first-rate importance to us. That is why we are basing the construction of heavy metallurgy objects mainly on our own raw materials. Maybe Comrade Spiro Koleka could look at this matter more closely because it may be possible that the Chinese specialist comrades are not

fully aware of all that pertains to this, and it is our duty to notify them of it. It is quite clear to us that it is not profitable for our country to bring the raw material for our metallurgy from China, as Hungary does by bringing it from Krivoy Rog [Kryvyi Rih].

The remarks on oil were also correct. We must carefully study the issue of whether we have petrol or not. For this we must give you as detailed of an idea as possible on the reserves over which we will be working. As to the studies we have conducted over the iron-nickel reserves, we could give you a good idea right now. The perspectives on petrol also look good. The Soviets had cut our hopes, while during the last year we have found petroleum fields that stretch for kilometers. Just today, the Minister of Geology gave us the good news that at a spot where the Soviets had doused our hopes by saying that there was no sign of petroleum, we found petroleum of good quality and rich in oils. We have ascertained that the olive area where Comrade Mehmet Shehu was born, aside from the olive oil, also hides in its bosom subterranean oils.

We find entirely correct the importance that Comrade Zhou Enlai places on the issue of basing the development of our economy on our existing capabilities. It is our duty to let you know as clearly as possible that we will base our construction in the future on these capabilities.

We also find entirely correct the desire of Comrade Zhou Enlai that you send to Albania equipment of a high technological level. Here, the prestige of the PRC is not the only issue. That we have also kept this in mind is very true, but Comrade Zhou Enlai also sees the other, more important side of the matter, the matter of our economy, because the advanced technology can help in economizing the labor force, raising the profitability of the enterprise, and producing goods of a good quality. We understand your preoccupation with this very well and thank the Chinese comrades very much for it. But we ask you to also keep in mind within this framework our country's immediate interest. It would always be good to get the most perfect machinery possible for the objects we are building, but since these objects are very important for our country, we cannot afford to extend the deadline for their construction until equipment of a better technology is available. In these conditions, our comrades must also discuss with you this issue and we are confident that the two sides will find the best ways for solving this problem.

During our bilateral discussions it may be determined that one of the objects we have planned is not profitable. It cannot be ruled out that for one of them we have erred in our calculations, because we do not have all the necessary experience. In that case, we can eliminate one of the objects or combine them with others. This is a matter we must look at carefully. For example, we find it prudent that we follow the advice of some of the Chinese specialist comrades who say that for some of

the factory shops or enterprises that we have requested from you, we should only get the equipment from China, and let our project employees design the construction since the Chinese comrades are not familiar with our terrain. Here we are talking about some simple machinery that can be put to use right away and that can even be assembled in temporary areas. We also welcome this encouragement as it is a good school for our project employees.

Regarding agriculture, Comrade Zhou Enlai, as Comrade Mehmet Shehu emphasized in his letter to you, and as I touched upon shortly in my presentation, we will spare no effort to intensify our work on the development of agriculture, as a primary task, and, along side this task, we will also try our best in the area of clearing new arable land. For this, we have created numerous teams of specialists who during the past year have criss-crossed the country, especially the mountainous and hilly areas, in search of new lands. These teams, comprised of a combination of cadres, specialists, heads of agricultural cooperatives, and experienced peasants, have gone from village to village to study the situation and to present to the CC and the government the real situation of the possibility of reclaiming new arable land. This is one thing. They are also looking at evaluating the hilly and mountainous lands, existing lands, and lands that will be reclaimed. In addition, they are studying the needs for irrigation of these lands and the possibility of enriching our pasture lands. The enrichment of our pasture lands in hilly and mountainous areas and their correct assessment that will allow us to reclaim as much bread land as possible are very important to us. We are led by the principle that you suggested to us last year—which is a just principle—that in the event of a war, our mountains, as they have always been, will in the future, should a war befall us, remain the castles of our defense and victory over our enemies. That is why, in order for us to secure our bread in-country we will try, first of all, to get the villages, which at the moment we supply with bread, to work so that they can secure their own bread. We foresee that by 1970 we will have solved this issue. This is one of our principal preoccupations. We have conducted the study for this—we will take a look at it in the CC—and have taken measures on it. We will also create special loans for the hilly and mountainous areas. In other words, the issue of securing our bread in-country shall continually remain our principal preoccupation. But we will not be able to secure our bread in-country during this five-year plan. Should a war start, we will obviously introduce a ration system. Either way, the chemical fertilizer plants will also give a boost to the production of grains in our country.

Comrade Mehmet Shehu: Nonetheless, should a war start, we have taken measures from now and will ration the distribution of bread and other foodstuffs.

Comrade Enver Hoxha: As to the issue of tobacco and some other agricultural products, we are keeping in mind that they

should not be planted so as to take over lands that can be used for grain production. We plant tobacco in lower quality lands, such as in sandy or rocky lands, etc. In other words, in such lands that if we would use them for planting grains, would give very low returns, whether in corn or wheat. Our calculations show that in such lands it is more profitable for us to plant tobacco because this is the most suitable product for them. We could also keep these lands for pasture, but this is not as profitable as tobacco for us. Nonetheless, I cannot say that no changes can be made, such as by switching to another crop, but the matter of efficiency should always be kept in mind. For example, in the Korça fields, if we are able to ensure higher efficiency in the production of beets, then we could make a switch. We could reduce the area planted with beets and, thus, be able to save hundreds of hectares of land, which we can use for bread.

We are in full agreement with your opinion that the matter of bread is the most important. This will be a continuing preoccupation for us. And by lowering the amount of grains we import, we will also be facilitating things for you, because you have to also buy bread for yourselves and also give some of it to us. Of the amount of grains we received from you, we have been forced to set some of it on the side as a reserve for dangerous times, because before that we did not even have one kernel set aside. We are very grateful to you for this and in the future our preoccupation will continually be the bread issue.

As to the matters simply of military nature and the defense of our country, with your help, we have taken measures and will continue to do so in order to be ready at all times. In this direction we are led by both our experience and the situation, taking into account especially the attempts that the American imperialists and the others are making to start a new war. On the matter of our need for food, clothes, and other needs in times of war, we have compiled a special plan for how distribution will be conducted and the amounts that will be needed down to the smallest detail, such as labels, rations cards, etc. Furthermore, we have also compiled a plan for the quick transformation of the economy from that of peacetime to one in the service of war. We have determined which industrial objects would be kept intact and which would be disassembled and transferred elsewhere to be used for supplying the military and the people with necessary items. These plans have been studied and obtained by the CC and the government.

On the problem of economizing, which you mentioned as one of the important factors of the economy, the protection of the machinery, on the maximal utilization of our factories and plants, on all these issues that we know are key issues of primary importance, we have and continue to place a continuing interest. You are also quite right in your opinion on these matters and we are trying hard in this direction and have achieved successes. But, just like in your case, errors and shortcomings can be noticed in our country too. It happens, for example,

that while in some areas we have achieved good results in the utilization of machinery, (sometimes we have even been able to surpass their technical capacity) there are other cases that for reasons of under-par technical mastering of the machinery, because our cadres lack the necessary education and preparedness, or because of their low professional capacity, the utilization of the machinery is not to the extent it can be. All these are preoccupying problems for us and in this regard we still have a lot of shortcomings. This is why we have and will continue to make efforts to fight these shortcomings.

Your remark that we should be patient with the people is also correct. We must understand this problem correctly. The people solve everything, but they must be educated; they must be helped. Not everyone who makes a concession is an enemy. Many of those who make mistakes just do not know any better. We also have sluggishness here. Here is an example: When you visited Albania last year, we discussed our need for publications and you sent us a printing shop. This is a great help to us, but we must admit that we are behind in constructing this object. Our specialists have not done the designs for its construction. That is why all of the machinery that you sent to us, has been sitting in Durres for the past six months. From the moment that we made the request to you for it, and you promised that you would send it to us, we should have started the planning, design and construction so that once the machinery came, it could go straight inside and we could start utilizing it.

You were right, Comrade Zhou Enlai, in saying that we should base our future five-year plan on the objects we have today. We should look at those that have been finished, those still in construction, and the measures we have taken for the execution of the 8 remaining objects. It is our duty to notify your specialists in detail so that you may be informed about the situation in the objects that have been finished, in those that will be finished in 1965 and in the 8 that will be left for construction during the future five-year plan. Along with these data, it is also our duty to give you information on where we base our requests for these objects. We think that it is necessary that we do this so we can harmoniously achieve possible and satisfactory conclusions, as well as determine clearly what your capabilities and ours are. We are certain that as you have always looked at our requests to you, this time too you will look at these new requests for our fourth five-year plan with a friendly, generous and internationalist spirit, and that you will, Chinese comrades, within your means assist Albania. We, for our part, taking into account that this is colossal support, in the interest of our country and in the general interest of socialism, take it upon ourselves to finish successfully and at the required time this national, and, at the same time, international task.

Judging from all that was said here, we agree with your opinion that our specialists currently in your country do not have the authority to decide and make changes. Comrade Spiro Koleka's visit together with Comrade Koco Theodhosi

to China, we believe will solve this red tape on our part. We accept Comrade Zhou Enlai's opinion that Comrades Spiro Koleka and Koco Theodhosi, instead of just coming there to sign an agreement, should stay a relatively long time in Beijing and go over details with you on specific matters so that the only thing that remains is a final consultation on your side and ours. So whenever you see it suitable, they could come, but we think that based on the perspectives and discussions we had here together, it would take Comrade Spiro Koleka about a month to prepare and that a suitable time to come to China would be toward the end of April.

So, Comrade Zhou Enlai, in conclusion, our opinion is that in this vital issue, too, just like in all others, we are in full agreement with you. In the name of the CC and our government I thank you, personally, the other comrades here present, the CC of the glorious CCP, your government, and our dear friend Comrade Mao Zedong, who have always supported us and have looked and will always look at the Albanian issue in the prism of an unbreakable Marxist-Leninist friendship. For us, Albanians, this is colossal help which strengthens us to continue ever forward. This is how we see this issue. I am finished, Comrade Zhou Enlai. Forgive me for having gone on for so long.

Comrade Zhou Enlai: We will welcome comrades Spiro Koleka and Koco Theodhosi sometime at the end of April and the beginning of May. It is possible that they will remain there for a relatively long time and I believe this to be a good thing so that we can familiarize ourselves with the data they will give us and we can discuss the problems together. This way we will be able to solve them better. Obviously, it is not possible to solve all the problems right away. There will be some things that will have to be left for later.

(Here the talks were concluded.)

THE CHIEF OF THE GENERAL BRANCH OF THE CC

Haxhi Kroj  
[Signed]

1. *Editor's Note:* For more information on Kosygin's 4-11 February 1965 trip to Beijing and Hanoi, see Lorenz Lüthi's article in this *Bulletin*.

2. *Editor's Note:* On 22 March 1965, the NLF issued its Five Points statement via its own Liberation Radio which declared that talks could not begin until US forces had been withdrawn from Vietnam.

3. *Editor's Note:* President Johnson's 25 March remarks on Vietnam were printed in the *New York Times*, 26 March 1965, p. 5.

4. *Editor's Note:* Johnson said: "It is important for us all to keep a cool and clear view of the situation in Vietnam. [...] I am ready to go anywhere at any time to meet with anyone whenever there is promise of progress forward and an honorable peace."



5. *Editor's Note:* In response to Ulbricht's visit to Cairo, West Germany cut off all aid to the UAR and established full diplomatic relations with Israel.



## DOCUMENT No. 15

**Memorandum of Conversation between the Delegation of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) and the Government of the People's Republic of China, Led by Comrade Zhou Enlai, and the Leadership of the Party and Government of the People's Republic of Albania, 24-28 June 1966**  
[Excerpts]

[Source: Central State Archive, Tirana, AQPPSH-MPKK-V. 1966, D. 13. Obtained for CWIHP by Ana Lalaj and translated for CWIHP by Enkel Daljani.]

[The first three sessions discussing ideological issues are not printed here. For a complete version please see <http://www.cwihip.org>]

THE FOURTH SESSION OF 27 JUNE 1966

9:00 am

Comrade Zhou Enlai: Yesterday I mentioned how the year 1962 was a defining year for us, both in the domestic front and the international one.

Since the liberation and until the period of 1958-1959, thanks to a series of wars and struggles we waged in the international arena and on the domestic front, and by always keeping as a cornerstone the class struggle, we gave the masses a spiritual and material stepping stone, laid down the general course for the construction of socialism, and executed the organization of the popular communes in the village and the Great Leap Forward for the development of the national economy.

Starting from the second half of 1959 and during the 1961-62 period, for about three years in a row, we suffered heavy damage due to great natural disasters. Aside from these damages, we also suffered very heavy damage caused by the Soviet revisionists. In addition, we had just started talking about moving forward by relying completely on our own forces, but due to the lack of experience in our work we saw an array of shortcomings and errors, a few of which were avoidable and others unavoidable.

All these events caused great difficulties for us in the domestic front, while in the international arena, Khrushchev and his followers had at that time reached the top of their ascent. They openly attacked the ALP at the 22nd CPSU Congress, without taking our advice into account. After this congress, the Soviet revisionists also exerted pressure on us. At that period they had

really reached their zenith, but at the same time they had also started their descent. That is why as soon as the 22nd CPSU Congress ended its proceedings, Comrade Mao Zedong made the evaluation that I mentioned earlier, which, in fact, time showed that he had been correct.

Facing such a situation, a determined, revolutionary, and a truly Marxist-Leninist party, must be decisive in leading the masses in the struggle against these difficulties. Based on the lessons of Comrade Mao Zedong, this is the course our party's Central Committee took. But the rightist elements, both within and outside our party, brought forth a series of programs with an opportunist, rightist, and revisionist character, as I already mentioned earlier.

In the summer of the year 1962 Comrade Mao Zedong laid down his theses on the situation in the international arena and the domestic front, on the contradictions between classes, and the class struggle, which I also mentioned yesterday. By keeping Marxism-Leninism as a basis of action, by thus helping our party at that time to be strong and to undertake effective measures, [we can] overcome the difficulties of the struggle against the rightist elements.

In May of 1963, at the suggestion of Comrade Mao Zedong, our party laid down the 'Ten Theses on the Work in the Village.' I believe we have also given this material to you.

Comrade Enver Hoxha: Yes, we have read it.

Comrade Zhou Enlai: This document stressed that at that time class struggle already existed in China, which was a serious, ferocious struggle between the classes.

In these 'Theses,' there are the following nine points:

The First Thesis: The landowners, the *kulaks*, the counter-revolutionaries, and the bad elements exploited our difficulties and engaged in counterattacks to take revenge on the peasantry, to settle the accounts with them, and wait for the opportune moment to act, despite the fact that many of them worked themselves in the communes. Some of these counterrevolutionaries, after being sentenced for their enemy activities, were sent to the popular communes for hard labor sentences under the supervision of the working peasantry, because it was not possible for us to kill them all.

Comrade Enver Hoxha: No, as far as the killing goes, no one is killing them. We have not killed them all either.

Comrade Mehmet Shehu: We shredded those that took up arms and fought against us during the war.

Comrade Zhou Enlai: We have not killed those that we caught during the war, either. I believe you have seen some of

the prisoners of war in our country.

Comrade Mehmet Shehu: What is your Emperor doing now?

Comrade Zhou Enlai: He is sick with cancer, so I do not believe he has long to live. Nonetheless, we have allowed him to be one of the members of the Political Consultative Conference. If he dies, there would be one less member of the categories of which we are talking about.

The Second Thesis: The landowners and the capitalists have infiltrated even the highest levels of the party and the state, the state economic enterprises, and the popular communes. We arrived at this conclusion around the period of 1962-1963. Of course, in the beginning, these elements were but a few in these institutions, and later increased in numbers gradually, because usually the contradictions start very small but later tend to increase little by little.

In 1957 we engaged in a campaign against the elements of the right. At that time there were more than 400 hundred of them. Of course, the people known by this epithet, in other words as elements of the right, cannot engage openly in activities by themselves, but they had surrounded themselves with people who, while not carrying the above epithet themselves, listened to them and were acting in the rightists' interest.

Comrade Enver Hoxha: We have not allowed such elements even to be cashiers; we have given them the pickaxe, for example, and forced them to open trenches.

Comrade Zhou Enlai: I said that we have placed them to work in different positions. But having the epithet of an element of the right does not mean that they can work independently at any time, because, as I said before, very often these people, i.e. elements of the right, stay behind the scenes and urge others to engage in activities to execute their plans. In addition, despite the fact that they may be sent only to open reservoirs and trenches, if they can find the right moment, they will engage in activities against you, and can even be able to sabotage your work.

Comrade Enver Hoxha: Yes, it is precisely so. The bad elements can also continue to be active in such circumstances. The only thing is that in our country they are under the control of the working class. If they worked in various institutions, they would be under the control of the bureaucrats.

Comrade Zhou Enlai: These elements, by infiltrating by various means our institutions and our communes, have worked hard to corrupt our cadres. Let us look at one example: the landowners, the *kulaks*, or the capitalists are working, and their children are also working. Of course, they could not but have influence on our cadres, because they and their children have a higher level of education than the others due to the fact that in the past they have had the means to go to school and to

gain more knowledge than others. In addition, they also dress and look better, so their girls would marry our cadres.

Comrade Enver Hoxha: In relation to this point, from the moment we opened our state university, we have not allowed the children of the bourgeoisie, of the landowners, and of the *kulaks* to attend school there. Only during the past two years have we allowed some of them to attend and they have only been of the ones who have proved themselves [loyal].

Comrade Mehmet Shehu: In total these amount to around 25 people.

Comrade Enver Hoxha: Each of these people, before entering the university, must not only go through a screening by the party committee in the area where his family works and lives, but also through a higher level check here at the CC of our party.

Comrade Mehmet Shehu: In some cases the matter has even been brought before Comrade Enver Hoxha for an opinion.

Comrade Zhou Enlai: Yes. Of course, here we are talking only about the origin, but in reality the matter cannot be entirely so. Education cannot be completely separated from the past. For example, in the universities the manners of the bourgeois education still have an influence even over the children of a working-class origin. That is why the issue is not only about the origin of the students.

Comrade Enver Hoxha: That is correct.

Comrade Zhou Enlai: The Chinese students, who have studied abroad and have returned to the fatherland with knowledge in various fields, have been assigned to employment. How could we have been able to detonate the atomic bomb so quickly in our country? It is precisely because we utilized the knowledge and the abilities of the Chinese bourgeois scientists. We can say that in the field of science and technology these scientists have done a service to their fatherland, and even to socialism, but there is no doubt that as far as their mentality goes, they are still bourgeois.

Comrade Mehmet Shehu: We have no people of this kind here.

Comrade Zhou Enlai: This is the reason why such elements exert an influence, through their mentality, over our new generation. For this reason that we are also in the process of waging a great socialist revolution in the field of culture.

Comrade Enver Hoxha: Correct, you are quite correct to do so.

Comrade Zhou Enlai: The Third Thesis: In the village there exist strong tribal, family and social circle relations, which

lead to counterrevolutionary activities.

Comrade Enver Hoxha: This remainder of the past also exists in our country, and even within the ranks of our party.

Comrade Zhou Enlai: So, this is an exhibition, a phenomenon of the bourgeois ideology.

The Fourth Thesis concerns reactionary religious activity. Of course, in our country religion does not exert as serious an influence as in other countries. But in China there are many different religious currents, which exploit the fervor of the most fanatical elements.

The Fifth Thesis concerns counterrevolutionary elements who are still staying hidden, who still remain masked, but who engage in activities, such as murders, sabotage, burning of storage depots or houses, etc.

The Sixth Thesis concerns speculators of the cities and the villages, who, when chance presents itself, partake in the black market. Amongst these one can also find rich peasants or workers of a dubious origin, but most of those who engage in these kinds of activities are generally merchants, capitalists, landowners, *kulaks*, etc.

The Seventh Thesis: In some rural areas there are rich peasants, who, having somewhat higher income, lend money with interest to the poor peasants. Despite the fact that they also work in the popular communes, a few of those who are able to clock in a few extra days of work, and thus have higher incomes, engage in speculative activities and create for themselves possibilities for lending money with interest to the poor peasants. There are also cases in which some of them, of course illegally and secretly, keep laborers for pay, who from the outside seem to be simply people who work with them, but in fact work for them for pay.

Comrade Mehmet Shehu: In other words, these people are exploiting the work of others.

Comrade Zhou Enlai: The Eighth Thesis: New bourgeois elements have recently appeared in the state economic enterprises and the popular communes, especially in the commerce sector, who engage in speculative activities. These are mostly coming out of the ranks of the artisans and the members of the popular communes, in other words from the ranks of the small-scale producers.

The Ninth Thesis: Degenerate elements have appeared in the managerial organs of the party and the state, which carry out policies which are foreign to the party. They do not strike against the elements mentioned above. Instead, they allow them to operate and engage in bad actions, in the process becoming themselves agents of these elements, i.e. the bourgeoisie.

Aside from these nine theses, we see today that we must also add another category, that of the new and old intellectuals of the bourgeoisie who work in the sectors of culture, of science, of the press, the publishing, etc. These intellectuals, such as the 'Black Band,' that exist today, account for up to one million families, when we include administration employees. In other words, there are not too many of them, but as they exploit their so-called authority in the field of education, etc., and they draw to themselves other people as well. In this case, by teaching others through their pedagogy, they influence the masses in the area of spirituality and mentality toward changing their points of view. They so seek to change all, whether they have a good origin or a bad origin. They are thus helping the birth of new bourgeois element by preparing some people as their offspring or successors. Even in the academic, philosophical or scientific fields, they exploit their knowledge and use it to exert their influence, especially over the youth.

This is why at that time, according to the directives that were given, we waged, especially in the rural areas, the campaign for the socialist education and put forth the three great revolutionary movements—the class struggle, the struggle for production, and the struggle for scientific experiment—of which you are already aware. The same work was carried out in the cities as well, but it was especially geared toward the villages. The goal of this campaign was the uprooting of revisionism.

After this campaign, in 1964, Comrade Mao Zedong put forth the issue of preparing successors, or those who would continue the work on the construction of communism. Not only should we fight to uproot revisionism from the present, but must also fight for the future, for the new generation, because the bourgeoisie also fights to make this generation its own. For this reason we came up with *The Five Conditions for the Nurturing of the New Revolutionary Generation*.

In the same year we also waged a campaign in the cities for revolutionizing theatre within the parameters of the Cultural Revolution. On this issue, Peng Zhen, alongside some of the other members of the secretariat of the party committee of the city of Beijing and alongside Lu Dingyi, secretary of the secretariat and director of the Directorate of Culture and Propaganda of the CC of the party, waged resistance against the Cultural Revolution. Of course, at that time they worked in secret and publicly they left the impression that [we] were in agreement and in support of the movement, and that was the reason why it was their task to lead and be responsible for this work in Beijing.

Comrade Mehmet Shehu: In other words, as a wise phrase of our people says, you “hung pieces of meat on the neck of a wolf.”

Comrade Zhou Enlai: In our country we say, “Hang up a

lamb's head, so you can sell the dog meat quicker." Nowadays, a political term we use for this situation is, "Under the red banner, against the red banner." This is how they operated.

On the issue of the Great Cultural Revolution we have already given [you] some of our material. Those that were against this Cultural Revolution were five members of the steering group chosen by the party's Central Committee. All of them have already been burned, all that remains now is Khan Zhen, who was the one to uncover those other four; otherwise their exposure would have been left for a later time.

In 1964, we put forth the issue of preparing the successors, or those who would continue the work on the construction of communism.

Luo Ruiqing, who had several functions—former secretary in the Central Committee Secretariat, deputy chairman of the Council of State, first deputy minister of defense and chief of the General Staff—came out with great ambitions claiming to take the post from Comrade Lin Biao, who was not in very good health. Comrade Lin Biao, as you well know, is the deputy chairman of the party's Central Committee, and one of the most eminent comrades of our party's leadership, a mature man and one who has correct command of the ideas of Comrade Mao Zedong.

Comrade Enver Hoxha: Is Comrade Lin Biao very sick?

Comrade Zhou Enlai: Physically he is fine. He only suffers from a [neurological] disease. Because of the long time he participated in the war, he has developed some nervous habits. He cannot even drink water, because he gets ill. In order to take the necessary amount of water, he eats fruit. In other words, he takes his water through fruit. When it rains, or whenever he has to look at a lot of water, his reflexes come back, and he very quickly develops diarrhea. The change in atmospheric pressure makes him sweat a lot. Despite the fact that he is generally not in very good health, Comrade Lin Biao continues to work. He had instructed Luo Ruiqing to only take care of the everyday matters pertaining to the military. As far as the actual political and military leadership of the military, Comrade Lin Biao always took care of that himself.

In 1956, we brought forth the *23 Theses for the Socialist Education of Workers* and decided that, in the cities as well as in the villages, we should wage this campaign. We have also delivered this material to you.

The same as the period 1963-1964 and in 1965 when we made a critique of, in the field of philosophy, the theses of the unification of two into one and brought forth the idea that "the one be divided into two." This is a thesis of Comrade Mao Zedong, which he has greatly analyzed in his article "On the Contradictions."

In the ten theses, which were published in 1963, we laid forth the necessity of popularizing philosophy, with the intention for it to become adopted by the masses; that the wide working masses, the workers, the peasants and the military people absorb philosophy; for philosophy to come out of the narrow and limited frame of academia; and for it to disperse broadly within the working masses. But the leading cadres of the various institutions do not always engage in attempts to study philosophy and make propaganda for it. In these 23 theses this need is accented with great urgency, metaphysics and scholasticism are criticized, and emphasis is placed on the need for the absorption of the materialist dialectics. Peng Zhen, who was at the forefront of the group which opposes the Cultural Revolution, resisted this. During the critique that we made two years ago of the theses of Yan Zhan Hsian, former deputy director and later director of the party school, who was against the thesis of the unity of the two opposites, Peng Zhen came to his defense. Even Luo Ruiqing has had relations with him. Lu Dingyi had a different nature. He was against the study of the works of Comrade Mao Zedong, against the absorption and execution of his ideas, and their close and strong insertion into everyday life and practice as our party contends they should.

Comrade Lin Biao has emphasized the need for all the military to study the works of Comrade Mao Zedong, to absorb and execute them as appropriate, inserting them closely in life, practice and the conditions of the military. For this reason, and in order to help with this practice, Comrade Lin Biao has even prepared a brochure in which he has gathered a great number of citations drawn from the works of Comrade Mao Zedong.

Comrade Enver Hoxha: Was that the brochure which you had with you here last night?

Comrade Zhou Enlai: Yes, because I also use this brochure myself.

Comrade Enver Hoxha: Is there a version of it in the French language?

Comrade Zhou Enlai: No, we do not have a French version, but I will give you a copy of it. In this brochure citations are gathered which have to do with communist education. (Comrade Zhou Enlai offered a copy of the brochure in Chinese as a present to Comrade Enver Hoxha.)

The opponents of the Cultural Revolution attack us and accuse us that the Cultural Revolution is a vulgarization of philosophy and an operation in labels and simplifications.

Comrade Mehmet Shehu: It is the same as what Khrushchev did after Stalin's death. He harshly criticized all those that cited Stalin and Lenin, calling them "citation maniacs" and proclaimed loudly that there must be a war against "citation mania."



Comrade Zhou Enlai: While at the same time he allowed widespread use of the citations from his own speeches.

Lu Dingyi was against the ideas of Comrade Mao Zedong and against Stalin, but not against Khrushchev. In the field of education he was also against the orientation of the CC, but was for the establishment of the bourgeois education system in China. He was not in agreement with our revolution in the field of education. He was one of the few members of the CC of our party who had attended a higher education school. His origin is of one of the feudal families.

This year we brought forth the idea of the Great Cultural Revolution, but the truth is that the preparations for the practical side of this program already started some time ago. This year we took measures to criticize in a more concentrated way the incorrect points of view of Peng Zhen. We have given all the pertinent materials on this issue to Comrade Mehmet Shehu.

The Great Cultural Revolution touches the people deeply in their souls. This is a true class struggle in the ideological field. It is the widest, deepest, fiercest, most complicated, and longest class struggle.

Speaking from our own experience, today we are not able to say that there is no more class struggle against the classes that are still existent; we cannot say that the exploiting classes do not exist anymore and that only their remnants are still around; we cannot say that the danger of the restoration of capitalism does not exist, because we should not have the issue of ownership of capital as the starting point and think that since the only ownership that dominates today is the socialist property, which is property owned by the entire people, or the collective property, which is property that rests in the hands of the workers, then the classes have ceased to exist. In addition, we cannot start off from the fact that these exploiting classes are small or large, or are spread out or not, because, as I mentioned before, the members of these categories are many, despite being spread out in various areas of the country; we cannot start off from the fact that the outside forces that help them are not even close in influence in comparison to the measures that we have undertaken toward the dictatorship of the proletariat. We must look at this issue in greater detail; we must look at it especially from the ideological side, from the mentality and the great influence that all of this has on the broad masses of the workers. By looking at the issue from this point of view, it appears that their influence on the workers is even greater, because, they, no matter where they are, engage in activities for inserting their venom and for damaging us as much as possible inside the country. The elements of the exploiting classes, with their spiritual points of view, exert an influence in every field, especially in the cultural, education, press, publication, and scientific fields. These elements that have been able to insert themselves even in the organs of the party and the state, in the mass organizations and the enterprises will even undertake

reactionary activities, which will of course be not only in the open, but also in secret. As Lenin has said, during the period of the transition from socialism to communism, the overthrown exploiting classes will agree with the newly created situation but will always attempt restoration. The difficulty is that these elements stay hidden, and in fact some of them are active in a very cunning way against us.

We must fight against the old habits, the remnants of the past. Though we might all be people of work ethic, though we might all be workers grown and educated in the socialist society, these habits and old remnants continue to exist and influence even our best people. That is why we place a lot of importance on the issue of the education of the people in a new style, the reformation of their conscience with new life habits and mores and in a struggle against the old ones. Comrade Mao Zedong has said that without using a broom, the dust will not go on its own. But there are people who say that if a typhoon of a scale of 12 goes by, the dust will be gone. But that is not entirely so, because if you close the doors, the dust cannot go away. This has to do with the souls of the people, with the habits and the mores of their lives. That is why we must wage a great and continuous struggle against these remnants of the past.

It is important that we also see this issue from the framework of the position and the role of our people who have been influenced by the old mentality. These people become the agents of the bourgeois ideology. The groups I mentioned earlier have within the ranks of the important cadres of the party, the state, the state enterprises, the various institutions and agencies, the popular communes, the military, the mass organizations, etc. of the socialist country their own supporters. The policy that they follow helps in the preparation for the restoration of capitalism. This policy is not that of the Marxist-Leninist party.

In other words, we must not only look at the outside, the shape of the issue. We must look at the inside, the essence.

Despite the fact that the people I mentioned earlier have been influenced by the others, be they bourgeois or not, despite the fact that they might be people of work ethic, despite the fact that they might be conscious or not, all of them are tainted by the bourgeois ideology and serve it. This has to do with Marxism-Leninism; it is dialectics and does not depend on the will of people. As long as we accept the fact that the class struggle continues, we must accept that there exist class activities represented by the bourgeois class; we must accept that classes necessarily exist. We, therefore, must not look at the issue in an absolute, isolated, calm, and unchangeable way, but must look at it as a developing one; we must not look at the issue only from the point of view of ownership, but in an all-encompassing way and from an economic basis, especially from the point of view of a superstructure.

Comrade Mehmet Shehu: (Addressing the translator.) What

Comrade Zhou Enlai said, that as long as we accept the fact that the class struggle exists, the classes also exist, is that only in reference to China or does it have a universal essence and include all of the socialist countries?

Comrade Zhou Enlai: Of course, so far I have only spoken in reference to China.

Comrade Mehmet Shehu: Well, the thing is, you mentioned all the socialist countries.

Comrade Zhou Enlai: I will speak of this issue right now. The issue is such that we must not look only at the internal factors, but also the external factors, and this has been emphasized in the Moscow Declaration.

In the socialist countries which have a revisionist leadership, we know very well that there is no doubt about what I said previously. It is very clear that classes exist in these countries, because in the villages of these countries, except for in the Soviet Union, the collectivization of agriculture has not been fully completed, and that is why there is now doubt that the exploiting class of the *kulaks* exists.

And what is the situation in the semi-revisionist countries? Cuba, for example, is walking toward revisionism. We had a chance to converse with your ambassador in Romania, who has also spent four years in Cuba. He told us that exploiting classes exist in Cuba. Or in the case of Romania where aside from the mountainous regions, which make up about 6% of the arable land in the country, everywhere else collectivization of agriculture has been completed, but in fact, as you have also pointed out, the bureaucratic stratum, the stratum of the privileged elements and rich peasants is being created.

As far as our two neighbors go, Korea and Vietnam, the situation there develops as it does in other countries, even more so because they have not been able to achieve the unification of the country. In the southern part of these countries the exploiting classes are in power, and people from North Korea and North Vietnam still have family ties to the southern Koreans or Vietnamese, and as a result there is a direct influence being exerted on them by the exploiting classes.

So we are only left with Albania. It is possible that only elements of the exploiting classes continue to exist here, in other words isolated individuals, but I think that you will agree with what I said regarding the influence of the strength of the habits passed down by the old society in your country.

Comrade Enver Hoxha: Yes, these habits also exist in our country.

Comrade Zhou Enlai: As a result, it is impossible that we will see none of the ten phenomena that I mentioned. In other

words, the class struggle exists here, also in unison with the activities of the exploiting classes who are representing their own interests. Their goal is the restoration of the rule of the exploiting classes and, as you, Comrade Enver Hoxha, already mentioned, the birth and the formation of the bureaucratic and privileged classes will help the exploiting classes return to power, in other words for the restoration of capitalism, if we do not give them continuous strikes and destroy them completely beforehand.

So, here, only the manner, only the outside appearance differs. You lay down the issue in a different manner, in a different form, using as a starting point the concrete situation in your country, but in essence for both our countries this is still simply a class struggle. It may also be that I am a bit wrong because we have only exchanged thoughts on this matter twice, once with Comrade Mehmet Shehu when he visited China, and the other time is the present conversation.

On the basis of the thoughts of Comrade Mao Zedong who says that in all the socialist countries there exist, somewhere more and elsewhere less, bureaucratism, the revisionist and dogmatic elements, old and new, at this moment in time the main danger is that of revisionism, which serves imperialism, the reactionaries and is their agent. This is the important part of the issue where the opinions amongst us are the same.

In our socialist countries, as Comrade Enver Hoxha also pointed out, the manners of the restoration of capitalism may be varied and many. It is not possible that all these landowners, *kulaks*, and capitalists have handed over all the property they had, both in land and in riches, with pleasure. They will try to come up with different methods to overturn our system. This comes up as a new phenomenon. It may even be possible that in a socialist country, even after all the elements of the exploiting classes have died, new elements, representatives and descendants of those classes may be born, and they will try to restore the exploiting capitalist rule.

Comrade Mao Zedong, while evaluating the situation in the socialist society and the perspectives of it, as Comrade Mehmet Shehu mentioned in the meetings we held, points out that in a socialist society two possibilities exist.

One of the possibilities is that the modern revisionists will take over the power by force, as did, for example, Imre Nagy in Hungary, who rose for a counterrevolutionary state. If an answer would not have been found to the counterrevolution there, he would have won and Hungary would have passed since that time to the West.

The other possibility is that the revisionists, through peaceful revolution, will usurp the leadership of the party and the state, as it happened in the Soviet Union or in Hungary with Kadar, in Poland with Gomulka, and in the other countries

where modern revisionism is in power today.

These two methods make up one single category. They are possibilities of taking over the power.

Another possibility is the policy of peeling off the bamboo skin. It is known that bamboo has many layers, which can be removed one by one. This is what must be done to avoid the possibility of the birth of revisionism and of the restoration of capitalism through a putsch. The “bamboo layers” must be cleaned up one by one.

Comrade Enver Hoxha: We must throw away these “bamboo layers.”

Comrade Zhou Enlai: Yes.

Comrade Mehmet Shehu: We burn them off completely.

Comrade Zhou Enlai: After we remove them, we must burn them and turn them into fertilizer.

Comrade Mehmet Shehu: But if you leave them in the leadership, they will still remain dangerous.

Comrade Enver Hoxha: When we burn them, we must take care not to burn the bamboo itself too.

Comrade Zhou Enlai: Burning them is not the safest method. The issue is what kind of method to use. Of course, this is something that depends on the conditions and the stages of development in each country.

Until the present, this has been the course followed by the CCP after it took over the power in China. During these past 17 years, three anti-party groups have appeared. The first was the Gao Gang and Rao Shushi group, which appeared in 1953. Gao Gang had links to the internal organs of the Soviet Union.

Comrade Mehmet Shehu: In other words, he was their agent.

Comrade Zhou Enlai: And Rao Shushi was an ally of Gao Gang. Had they achieved a takeover of power, they would have very quickly lined up on the side of Khrushchev, and they would have transformed China into a country of the type of the Soviet Union today.

In 1961, at the time when the proceedings of the 22nd Congress of the CPSU were held, Khrushchev, while having a quarrel with me, told me that in the Soviet Union they will put the Gao Gang portrait everywhere.

Comrade Mehmet Shehu: Didn't this one commit suicide?

Comrade Zhou Enlai: I will talk about it.

The second anti-party group is that of Peng Dehuai, which was discovered in 1959. Peng Dehuai during his entire life has been against the leadership of Comrade Mao Zedong. He sought to take over the direction of the party for himself and sought to transform the party and to follow the course of bourgeois transformation. Peng Dehuai had for a long time been in cooperation with Gao Gang, but only after 1959, exploiting the newly created very difficult situation of that period, did he rise up against the general line of the party and the leadership of Comrade Mao Zedong.

Peng Dehuai was for a long time involved in military matters, and that is why he had some sort of influence there. As you well know, he led the war of the Chinese volunteers who came to the aid of the Korean people that was at the time at war with the American imperialists. During the war he made many errors, and did not abide by or take into account the direction of Comrade Mao Zedong. Toward Peng Dehuai we acted in a different way. We needed a period of time to uncover him and to learn about his activities and to unmask them. This is why the modern revisionists, the imperialists and the Guomindang all mention Peng Dehuai more often than they mention Gao Gang.

The third anti party-group is this last one, which we have uncovered since the November of the past year. This group came out directly against the line of the party with a program designed by the revisionists. Comrade Mao Zedong has spoken about this group to Comrade Mehmet Shehu when he visited China. This is a group of four people which includes Peng Zhen, Luo Ruiqing, Lu Dingyi, and Yang Shangkun. The latter used to be a candidate to the secretariat of the CC of the party and chief of the general sector of the CC. He has twice been sent to international conferences as a Secretary of the delegation and has also been in the delegation to the Moscow Conference. For a long time now, Yang Shangkun has had links to Wang Ming, whom Comrade Beqir Balluku mentioned before and who is to this day to be found in the Soviet Union, has kept his links with the above-mentioned people, and was waging secret anti-party activities in this way. Based on the information we possess, Yang Shangkun has had links with the Soviet revisionists.

Of course, with each of these anti-party groups we have acted differently, according to the conditions at hand. For example, we expelled Gao Gang and Rao Shushi from the party and later Gao Gang killed himself.

With the members of the second group we have followed a different course of action. For example, we relieved Peng Dehuai of his function as deputy chairman of the Council of State and sent him to work on another task, with the intention of uncovering him as he was doing his work and also to put

him on a test.

With the members of the third group we acted faster and more fiercely. We relieved them all completely from the functions that they had.

Outside of these two possibilities which I mentioned, we do not yet see a third possibility, in other words the possibility that in a socialist party or state, no revisionist elements will be born.

Despite the fact that in China we follow the policy of the removal of the bamboo layers, Comrade Mao Zedong, looking at this problem more even deeply, as he also mentioned to Comrade Mehmet Shehu in their talk, emphasizes that we must place special care on the generations to come, so that in the future there may not be any counterrevolutionary coup d'états against us, and not to place the entire burden of the struggle against the birth of revisionism on the leadership of the party, but to go to the entire people, the entire masses, for help.

Comrade Enver Hoxha: This is very correct.

Comrade Zhou Enlai: We must teach the communists and the masses that if the smallest signs of revisionism appear, not only in one individual, not only in one local party organization, but even inside the CC of the party itself, then all the party organizations of the other regions should rise to their feet and with revolutionary zeal overturn the counterrevolutionary coup d'état.

Comrade Enver Hoxha: Very correct too...

Comrade Zhou Enlai: As you also mentioned, Comrade Enver Hoxha, this is a Marxist-Leninist action.

Comrade Enver Hoxha: Comrade Mao Zedong sees this issue very correctly. This is a great Marxist lesson for all the Marxist-Leninists of the entire world.

Comrade Zhou Enlai: But if we did not have the lessons drawn from the events that took place in the Soviet Union, we would not have been able to arrive so quickly at these conclusions.

Comrade Enver Hoxha: This is how it should be done. We must teach the party to also react on its own, just like Comrade Mao Zedong says.

Comrade Zhou Enlai: This is why we should always follow the line of the masses, so that the leadership and the correct ideas of the party are connected to the masses. Only by always operating in this way shall we be able to overcome all the bad things.

Comrade Enver Hoxha: This is a genius' vision of the future that teaches us not only how to uncover the bad things, but also

how to fight and clean them up.

Comrade Zhou Enlai: Yes. We have now drawn lessons from the events that took place in the Soviet Union.

Comrade Enver Hoxha: You have done well. The masses are those that make history, and the masses are what the party itself really is.

Comrade Zhou Enlai: This is a principle that Marx mentioned long ago, that Lenin emphasized, and that we are taking even further.

But as long as the masses are led by correct ideas, these ideas will transform first of all in a great spiritual force and later into a great material force. Many party members in our country could not really understand how it is possible that the spiritual force may be transformed into a material force and then the material force back into a huge spiritual force.

This is how the situation stands today with the Cultural Revolution in our country. This is a very great, wide and deep revolution, unlike anything ever seen before in history. And it is only the beginning. Without a doubt, in the cities this activity encompasses tens of millions of people, because in this revolution everyone is a participant, in it even the high-school students are participants, and sometime even the pupils of the higher classes of the elementary schools are participants, because they are able to criticize their teachers. In the meanwhile, in our villages this activity encompasses hundreds of millions of people.

Comrade Enver Hoxha: The Cultural Revolution in China is terrifying the revisionists, the bourgeoisie, and the imperialists.

Comrade Mehmet Shehu: The Cultural Revolution in your country is in the hands of the masses.

Comrade Zhou Enlai: In the cities, in every enterprise and every institution we have started to insert *Da Zi Bao* [Big Character Posters] in big letters in their newspapers. The Cultural Revolution is an indication of the broad socialist democracy. Of course, the positive side of the *Da Zi Bao* stands in uncovering the contradictions between us and our enemies. It helps in the uncovering everywhere the anti-party, anti-socialist, and counterrevolutionary elements. Your ambassador in China, Comrade Vasil Nathanaili, can himself go and look at these newspapers in the various centers of work and see how the contradictions are uncovered and solved in our country in the midst of the people.

Of course, our enemies can also come up with *Da Zi Bao* but their work has an undermining character. It is directed against us. They can make these kinds of provocations and calumnies, but they are the minority and the masses will uncover



and unmask them. When the masses know you, they will initially criticize you, and if you continue, they will unmask you.

This is why at the same time that in our country this great movement is going on, we cannot spend too much time outside the country. It is for this reason that we must return to China soon.

Now I will talk about The Third Issue: The international communist movement and the war against the modern revisionism.

I am in full agreement with what Comrade Enver Hoxha said that in various countries the revisionists of different colors are coming out, according to the various conditions of each country.

The Titoist group is the first one. It is the forward guard of modern revisionism, but Khrushchevian revisionism is the “commander-in-chief.” It is for these reasons that in the international arena we must, from a tactical standpoint, concentrate our forces and direct them against the “commander-in-chief.”

Comrade Mehmet Shehu: Agreed, but we must also not forget the forward guard, because it is also very dangerous.

Comrade Zhou Enlai: Yes. Whereas the rear guards, their followers, we must consider separately, differently. We must keep in mind that they will quarrel like dogs with each other, there are contradictions among them which we can and must utilize to instill rifts between their ranks. In other words, we must uncover and continually utilize the contradictions between them.

Sometimes it happens that some of them say to you that they are also fighting revisionism, basing this on the fight that someone from their ranks is waging against Titoist revisionism. This may happen, but this kind of fight does not have that same weight that the real fight against modern revisionism must have. For example, the Vietnamese often attack the forward guard and speak out against Titoist revisionism, but they never raise their voice against the “commander-in-chief.” There is a contradiction here. Of course, we must also fight against the Tito line that supports the American imperialists’ campaign for “peaceful” talks. Vietnam is in reality against such talks, which are also supported by the Soviet revisionist leaders, but Vietnam does not say anything against the “commander-in-chief.”

Comrade Enver Hoxha: The “commander-in-chief” cannot be separated from the forward guard.

Comrade Zhou Enlai: In the speech that I will give this afternoon at the meeting, I will touch upon this issue in one of the paragraphs.

When I was in Romania recently [prior to the 24 June

Albania visit], I told the Romanian leaders that I would speak against Tito in Tirana. Maurer was very happy as long as I did not speak about this while there, while [RCP Politburo Member Emil] Bodnaras pointed out that if I wanted I could also speak about it while there, but [RCP General Secretary Nicolae] Ceausescu jumped up immediately and criticized him.

Comrade Enver Hoxha: Either way, it is expected that Tito and the Yugoslavs will protest.

Comrade Zhou Enlai: I have been prepared for a long time for my reply. I will say that when I leave from here, I will not pass through Yugoslavia but will go through Greece. (Laughter)

There are also those that are semi-revisionists of many colors, who are also in a process of transformation. When you said that Romania is a semi-revisionist country, or the country of a new form of revisionism, you made an impression on me. This is true, and in our opinion it should be studied. The Romanian leadership generally is revisionist, but it also has some contradictions with the Soviet Union. This is why the Romanian leaders do not want there to be loud positions taken against China in their country, like the rest of [the East Europeans] do. We have told them that until now we have not attacked each other, but that in the future, with the increasing divergences between us, we cannot guarantee that we will not use open polemics, even against them.

Comrade Mehmet Shehu: Even against the Romanians?

Comrade Zhou Enlai: Yes.

Since they, for the time being, are not engaging in an anti-Chinese campaign, the enthusiasm and the sympathy of the Romanian people for our people was highly manifested during my visit there. That is why I was warmly received everywhere I went, such as I had not seen in any other revisionist country. Even in the Soviet Union, when I visited I did not receive such a warm reception.

Despite the fact that we have great disagreements, we must still continue to work with them, but the Romanians are very afraid of openly speaking against modern revisionism, in fact they are even afraid of speaking against great power chauvinism.

Comrade Mehmet Shehu: Because they, themselves, are small-country chauvinists. (Laughter)

Comrade Zhou Enlai: It is because of the reasons I mentioned above that the speeches we held at the receptions, though we transmitted their full text by cable [prior], were only published in summary by the Romanians in their newspapers, and that was because in those speeches I included many stingers, such as, for example, on the relationships between the

socialist countries, on great power chauvinism, on the Warsaw Pact, on the Council of Mutual Economic Aid, against modern revisionism and its cooperation with American imperialism, on their betrayal of the Vietnam War, on the Geneva Conference on Disarmament, on the banning and non-proliferation of nuclear weapons, etc. The Romanian leaders did not want me to speak openly about these problems because they were very afraid, and that is why they continually sought to remove such issues from our speeches.

We also noticed that in Ceausescu's speeches there were ideas we do not agree with, but he omitted some of them, because he also wanted us to remove some of ours. This way we were forced to make some concessions for the sake of reciprocity. In their speeches they said good words about our successes in the construction of socialism. We also pointed out their successes, because amongst the revisionist countries the Romanians have progressed well in the field of construction of socialism. Of course, in the future this will not last long, as long as their leadership remains revisionist.

Before we spoke at the rally, we were forced to get into a heated discussion for two whole hours with the Romanian leaders. This forced the people gathered outside to wait, and see that no one was coming out onto the stage. [T]his was because we were debating each other. At last, considering that the masses outside were waiting, we arrived at a compromise that both sides would hold short, unprepared speeches. Ceausescu spoke for only eight minutes and I spoke for only nine minutes, including translation, which was very slow. We spoke and mainly praised the people and the party without mentioning the leaders at all. They also did not say a word about Comrade Mao Zedong. Of course, the foreign correspondents that were attending the rally must have kept good notes on what happened and which must have made an impression.

Comrade Mehmet Shehu: They must have photographed each and every word.

Comrade Zhou Enlai: Both sides also removed the mutual declaration, where we mainly spoke in support of the war of the people of Vietnam. The declaration was generally good, but we did not want to embellish it so we decided to only publish a short informative article.

This is why the Western press trumpets that Zhou Enlai completely failed in front of a small country. But it can say whatever it pleases, because at the end of the day it reflects reality, it shows that between two countries there exist contradictions and that is a good thing. Nonetheless, in front of the people, the Romanian leaders act as if the relations with us are still amicable.

And while Korea has mutual enemies with us, they, as you, Comrade Enver Hoxha, said two days ago in your presenta-

tion, avoid contact with us while going into secret meetings with the Soviet leaders.

Comrade Enver Hoxha: The Korean leaders are acting very incorrectly.

Comrade Zhou Enlai: Last year, as soon as the [22 June 1965 normalization] treaty between South Korea and Japan was signed, the foreign minister of Japan went to the Soviet Union for a visit. The Koreans were afraid of this, and that is why they immediately requested that a special envoy of Kim Il Sung come to us to ask for help, because there was nowhere else in the socialist countries they could go. We accepted this immediately and gave the Koreans aid in the form of grains and petrol.

Comrade Enver Hoxha: May your help turn into dust on the Koreans, may they never merit this Chinese largesse! Because, the Koreans are making secret deals with the Soviet revisionists, breaking their word of honor, while China shows her generosity and helps them on rainy days.

Comrade Zhou Enlai: Of all the aid that China gives to other countries, Vietnam tops the list, and Korea comes in second. In other words, it is very close to the aid we give to Albania.

But why does this happen with the Koreans? It may be because the Soviet revisionists have blackmailed them by saying that if they get closer to China, the war might spill over even to North Korea, but if they got closer to the Soviet Union, it may be possible that the war would be avoided.

Comrade Enver Hoxha: It is very possible that this is what has happened.

Comrade Zhou Enlai: The so-called special envoy of Kim Il Sung also went to Moscow where he signed an agreement for economic cooperation between the two countries. The Soviets promised to help even more in the development of Korea's industry, but not in the development of agriculture. Today in Korea, as far as we know, there are great shortages of bread grains and the Soviet Union does not give any aid to Korea in this field.

Comrade Enver Hoxha: But the Koreans have said that they produce one ton of grain per capita.

Comrade Spiro Koleka: And they have said this publicly.

Comrade Zhou Enlai: We have calculated how much it produces. The annual production of grains in Korea does not even reach three million tons. Last year they produced 2,600,000-2,800,000 tons of grains.

Comrade Mehmet Shehu: Which means only 2-2.5 quintals

per person.

Comrade Zhou Enlai: Yes. We should keep in mind that in Korea the population in the cities is much larger than that of the villages. That [city] population makes up around 60% of the entire country. Now, with the “help” that the Koreans will get from the Soviet Union for the further development of the industry, the population of the cities will increase even further.

Comrade Enver Hoxha: In other words, the Korean village will become deserted.

Comrade Zhou Enlai: A characteristic of the situation in Korea is that it is even more serious than it is in Vietnam.

In Vietnam there are also some changes from the previous positions. Despite the fact that the Vietnamese find themselves confronted with powerful enemies, the American imperialists, and they have fought in a revolutionary way against them, Soviet revisionism has recently infiltrated there. What we have said about the new Soviet revisionist group, the followers of Khrushchev, being even more cunning than Khrushchev ever was, has been demonstrated in Vietnam. This has caused disruption in Vietnam. It has caused dissipation from the upper echelons of the leadership to the lower levels of the base, in other words a separation into the left, the center, and the right. One group supports the continuation of the war against the American imperialists and the other supports the cessation of war. The group for continued resistance is also separated into two groups. While one of them is for the achievement of victory through a quicker war, the other favors a lengthy one.

As we have said before, Comrade Enver Hoxha, based on the current situation in South Vietnam it seems more possible that the war will continue and the country will be wholly taken in by it.

But after the great infiltration of Soviet revisionism in Vietnam, the process of liberalization in this country has quickened and that is exerting a great negative influence on the relations between Vietnam and China. It has caused the cooling of these relations despite the fact that Comrade Ho Chi Minh does not accept this. It is quite visible that this is a fact.

If the war in Vietnam continues for longer, it is clear that there will be new difficulties to be faced there. It does seem that the war will continue because the conditions in which the current American government will accept defeat and will withdraw from Vietnam have not ripened yet.

In this case two possibilities exist: First, the war in Vietnam will intensify even further, and second, the war will expand even further to North Vietnam and later to the all of Indochina and even to China. The Americans are increasing their bombardment of North Vietnam for the time being and are making attempts at blockading it to force it to accept the condi-

tions they are setting for a capitulation dictated by American imperialism.

If the Vietnamese leadership will be steadfast in its war of resistance, we will make all possible attempts to help it, but in the existing conditions we are also facing some difficulties, because the Vietnamese, being under the influence of the Soviet Union, are very afraid of our help and especially of the intervention of Chinese troops into Vietnam to enter the war against American imperialism. Why is this so? It is because the Soviets are scaring the Vietnamese, telling them that when the solemn meeting to celebrate the victory is called, Vietnam will not exist anymore, because all the Vietnamese will have perished.

Comrade Mehmet Shehu: According to them there will be neither victors nor losers.

Comrade Enver Hoxha: The Soviet leaders are telling the Vietnamese that it is China that is causing them all the trouble and that they will perish. They are replaying all the theories and the blackmailing that Khrushchev used to use.

Comrade Zhou Enlai: They are telling them that the Vietnamese will all be killed and that in their country there will only be Chinese. But this is not fair at all. History has always debunked this claim. There is proof that before World War II Romania had a population of 19 million people, and despite the great massacres that the Hitlerians and the home-grown fascists undertook there, the Romanian people did not perish, but continue to live.

If Chinese troops enter Vietnam, the Vietnamese will certainly not have the right to command them, because there is no way for them to supply our troops. If there is some kind of compromise reached as a result of a betrayal by the Soviet Union, the revisionists might denounce us, saying that we did not help the war of the Vietnamese people as much as we should have.

Comrade Enver Hoxha: In fact, they will announce that you were the reason why Vietnamese blood was spilled for no reason.

Comrade Zhou Enlai: That is why we are not saying that in Vietnam the possibility of “peaceful” talks is completely nonexistent. We must be consciously prepared for this eventuality as well. What happened in Laos cannot happen in Vietnam. The war must go on. The only thing is that greater sacrifices will be needed.

We must also draw lessons from this situation. These positions happen because one of the leaders there, Le Duan, changed course. Until now he had been a leftist.

Comrade Enver Hoxha: We understood his change of course from the speech he held in Moscow. As soon as we read

his speech, we immediately said, "He is gone too. He has gone to the side of the "National Front.""<sup>1</sup>

Comrade Zhou Enlai: The Japanese Communist Party and the Cuban Party have gone even further.

In the past the Japanese Communist Party had planned to translate the works of Comrade Mao Zedong into Japanese, but now they are forbidding the members of the party from reading these works and the various materials and documents [produced] by the CCP. It seems that the Japanese communists are thinking about a "peaceful cross-over."

Comrade Enver Hoxha: Like [Chairman of the Japanese Communist Party (1951-1960) and Diet Member] Suzuki [Mosaburo] and [Japanese Communist Party and Diet Member] Shiga [Yoshio].

Comrade Zhou Enlai: Regarding the Cuban Party you already know that it has gone even further.

The Indonesian Communist Party is undergoing a transition. There does not exist any leadership in the middle and lower ranks of the party. The former party leadership did not prepare the masses for an armed war. They are now rising up spontaneously. The party masses are taking into their own hands the leadership of the armed war. They are, little by little, taking to the mountains and organizing the resistance of the people.

Comrade Enver Hoxha: The leaders of the party, such as [PKI chairman Dip Nusantara] Aidit and the other comrades have all been killed?

Comrade Zhou Enlai: We know that Aidit, [PKI CC Vice Chairman] Njoto and [PKI CC First Deputy Chairman M.H.] Lukman have been killed. The only one left is [PKI General Secretary] Sudisman. But, until now, the CC of the Indonesian Communist Party has not published any materials in which the lessons that should be drawn by the entire party from the events [the crackdown on the PKI, communist sympathizers, and ethnic Chinese that followed the kidnapping and murder of six anti-communist generals] that took place after 30 September are mentioned or in which it expresses any political thoughts on the events taking place at the moment inside or outside the country. For this reason many Indonesian comrades are lamenting over the situation, because all they can do at the moment is operate in the international arena—join the leftist parties and groups—but are not able to do anything inside their country.

As far as the situation of the communist movement in the other countries, Comrade Zhao Yiming already talked to Comrade Ramiz Alia about it.

All the modern revisionists now fight against Albania and

China, against Marxism-Leninism. It is a well-known fact that the divisive activity of the Soviet revisionists and all of the other revisionists started long ago. This gives us the right and the chance to enter into contact with many leftists groups in many countries.

Of course, we are against the theory of polycentrism, but we also think that the time has not yet come for the creation of an international organization of leftists, or that there should be a multilateral meeting, and you are also of this opinion. We think that it is better that we wait. We should continue to develop further the contacts or the bilateral relations with leftist parties and groups, and carefully follow the development of these groups and parties.

In the international field, as you Comrade Enver Hoxha also mentioned earlier, NATO and the Warsaw Pact, by their nature, are each under the control of one of the superpowers, which means that the former is under the control of the USA and the latter under the control of the Soviet Union. It is the same situation, with the only difference that the member countries of the Warsaw Pact, which are controlled by the Soviet revisionists, will not be able to order the people of those countries as they wish.

Comrade Enver Hoxha: It is exactly so.

Comrade Zhou Enlai: The revisionists are hoping that in case of an aggression, they will be strong enough to face it easier if they are united. But there is also an opposite direction within them. The Soviets are trying to get all the states of the Warsaw Pact to link up with the West, especially with the USA, but they are meeting a lot of resistance because the wider masses of the people are not in agreement with this course.

Albania has, in fact, been expelled from the Warsaw Pact. As we well know, you do not agree to be a part of this Pact as long as they do not accept the errors they have made at your expense, and this is a very correct request.

Comrade Enver Hoxha: Even if they accept the errors they have made toward Albania publicly, we know very well what they are. That is why we will not be part of this Pact even if they engage in self-criticism. Our declaration is a tactical move.

Comrade Zhou Enlai: You have publicized this condition and have placed it on them.

Today we must encourage the tendencies of those countries that are against the betrayal of the Soviet revisionists, so that we may bog down their forces, otherwise the Soviet-American cooperation will get quicker and easier, the treasonous activity of the Soviet revisionists will be helped, the ban on the proliferation of nuclear weapons will be achieved, the USA will be



helped in removing their forces from Europe and Asia, making the situation in Vietnam even graver, the achievement of a compromise will come sooner, and the Americans will be freer to strike our forces directly.

The development of the revolution in the different countries or the activity of the leftist groups and parties will be done according to the conditions, the degree of consciousness, and the rate of increase of the subjective forces there. We must support and have contacts with these leftist parties and groups according to the on-the-ground conditions, but in no way should we instill in them the impression or the concept that they should rely more on the external forces. In this area, we would like to exchange more information and thoughts with them.

We are very happy for the revolutionary measures that your party has undertaken and wish you continuous successes.

Comrade Mehmet Shehu told us that you are going to make some changes to the draft of your fourth five-year plan. You, Comrade Enver Hoxha, told us yesterday that the draft, after you analyze it at the party CC plenum, would be taken to the masses for discussion, and at the end, it would be offered to the 5th Party Congress for approval.

According to our experience, the five-year plan is just a program. All the plans, including the annual ones, must change and change or continually become better according to the newly created situation in the country. Before we used to say that the five-year plan was a law, it is unchangeable. But life does not happen this way. This is our experience; development and progress require that the plan adjusts to the times.

Comrade Enver Hoxha: This is our opinion also.

Comrade Zhou Enlai: The problem is that the people during the execution of the plan must also increase their work skills. It is because of this reason that we have not yet published our new five-year plan. In other words, we have not publicized it to the world, but we have made it known to the masses domestically so that they can discuss it and make the necessary suggestions for it to improve.

This is all I had. I apologize for having gone on for so long.

Comrade Enver Hoxha: It is nothing. We also thank you very much. I was thinking we could take a short break, and then I could speak once more.

Comrade Zhou Enlai: I agree, but if we are going to go on, I propose that we cancel the visit to the tunnel.

Comrade Enver Hoxha: I think that you can still make the visit to the tunnel, because I will not go on for too long. I may speak for a total of about 15-20 minutes. If we calculate the

same amount of time for the translation, then I will not take more than one hour. (The time is now 12:30 p.m.)

(The break lasts 15 minutes.)

[...]

Comrade Zhou Enlai: I thank you, Comrade Enver Hoxha, for the words you said about these problems and for the further explanation of some of your points of view.

We must, in fact, recognize that when it comes to drawing conclusions from the internal factors which led to the birth of Soviet modern revisionism, there are some things that are not convergent between our two parties. This, according to my opinion, comes as a result of the differences between our two countries from a historical perspective. From the framework of the analysis of this issue, we have between us a distance, a divergence. I do not want to mention here the external factors, because on that point we have the same points of view.

As far as the internal factors that led to the birth of modern revisionism in the Soviet Union go, I would like to reiterate once more that Khrushchevism is not a phenomenon that has nothing to do with the Stalin period.

Comrade Enver Hoxha: It does have a connection with the Stalin period, and on this, both our sides are in full agreement.

Comrade Zhou Enlai: You, Comrade Enver Hoxha, have not denied that, during the time that Stalin held the leadership position, no principled mistakes were made.

It is truly correct and necessary that we continue the studies in relation to the historical internal factors, the social and societal conditions, that led to the birth of revisionism in the Soviet Union, of which Comrade Enver Hoxha spoke about, and that is why I agree that we should continue the studies in this area.

I will transmit the proposal of Comrade Enver Hoxha that both our sides should continue the studies and the exchange of opinions on these issues to the CC of our party and to Comrade Mao Zedong. Of course, this is not a very urgent need, but it is imperative and we must accomplish it, because revisionism was born in the first socialist state in the world, in the country of Lenin. This is an imperative need for the communist movement of the world. Today, the CPSU is not able to accomplish this study. That is why it is left to us, the revolutionary parties to accomplish it and gain from this experience. And in fact, as I mentioned in my presentation, we have already gained from those events because, as I mentioned, had we not had the path which Stalin trod, we would not have had the chance to deeply understand the reasons that led to the birth of revisionism in the Soviet Union or to draw the lessons for measures that should

be taken to avoid a future counterrevolutionary *coup d'état* by the revisionists against our socialist countries.

But the objective situation of that time in the Soviet Union and the influence and the consequences that it had inside and outside the country cannot be studied as it must, without including the sympathies that we might have or not have for the persona of Stalin.

Comrade Enver Hoxha: That is very correct.

Comrade Zhou Enlai: The CCP has a few reservations toward the persona of Stalin, and Comrade Enver Hoxha probably knows something about it. In 1958, we talked with Comrade Mehmet Shehu a bit about this issue while traveling by airplane when we visited Moscow.

Comrade Mehmet Shehu: On the airplane we spoke about issues pertaining to Baltic and Atlantic countries.

Comrade Enver Hoxha: To tell you the truth, openly, we do not know anything about this issue, and it is precisely because of this reason that we are not saying anything about it. You may be right about the positions you are taking, but we are saying that we do not know anything about it. We only know what has been written. We know nothing further. We only know the official Soviet position on the Chinese Revolution, on the issue of Jiang Jieshi, on the support given by Stalin, and whatever else has been written in books. And books on these issues we have read plenty.

Comrade Mehmet Shehu: I do not remember having spoken to Comrade Zhou Enlai in 1958 about the Stalin issue. We have only spoken about the issue of Jiang Jieshi, something I had forgotten to mention to you.

Comrade Zhou Enlai: The event took place in 1945, at the end of World War II. At that time, Jiang Jieshi was preparing to ignite the civil war in China. Then Stalin, as soon as he found out, sent a telegram to the leadership of our party and state. This telegram was sent in the name of the CC of the Russian CP. Russia at that time had a CC. The telegram emphasized that there should not be a civil war in China, otherwise the Chinese people would be wiped out.

Comrade Enver Hoxha: And the facts proved that it was not wiped out.

Comrade Zhou Enlai: Also, in the telegram it was said that Comrade Mao Zedong should go to Chongqing to have talks and reach an agreement with Jiang Jieshi. That was the time when in China we had just finished the 7th Congress of our party. The entire party was monolithic and determined to fight, but we also faced difficulties because the Americans were helping and urging Jiang Jieshi into a bloody war against us

in the name of the Allied governments. The intention was for the troops of Jiang Jieshi to be sent to occupy the coastal areas that were still being held by the Japanese. But at that time near these coastal areas there were our forces, which were fighting against the Japanese. As a result, it was our right to take over after the Japanese capitulation all the troops and materiel of the Japanese militarists.

Of course, with the intention of making him happy, we accepted Stalin's advice of sending our representatives to Chongqing with Comrade Mao Zedong at the helm to initiate talks with Jiang Jieshi. In fact, we had been holding talks with them for years without any results. I have personally talked several times and could have still gone this time, as long as Comrade Mao Zedong, who had since 1927 never left our bases in the Huangshan Mountains, did not have to go. We surmised that his going to Chongqing for talks with Jiang Jieshi was a very great risk for our party to take. As it is well known, the Comintern did not exist at the time, and, of course, we had the right to act mainly according to the decision and opinion of our party and not to accept the advice that Stalin gave us. But in the end we decided that this would not be a good thing.

Either way, looked at objectively, it may be said that Stalin has great merits for his activity during World War II. He has helped the revolution immensely and the Chinese Revolution has also gained from it. Looking at the issue from this prism, we arrived at the conclusion that despite the fact that this was an erroneous advice on the part of Stalin, it would not be a good thing to rebuke him. This position would not be in our favor, despite the fact that the entire party was against Comrade Mao Zedong's going for talks so close to the Jiang Jieshi headquarters. That is why Comrade Mao Zedong decided to go to Chongqing, but we were all very worried about this. Many comrades were even crying because they were afraid that something could happen to Comrade Mao Zedong.

Another comrade and I went to Chongqing with Comrade Mao Zedong. Of course we were there mostly to be his guards, because we were very afraid that the Jiang Jieshi-ists, as agents and spies of the Americans and as our enemies, might try to do something to him. Before he left, Comrade Mao Zedong gave Comrade Liu Shaoqi the responsibility of replacing him if something would happen to him, in other words if the Jiang Jieshi-ists would arrest or kill him. In addition, he also instructed [them] that if we would all get arrested or killed, they would not think about rescuing us, but only continue the war with determination until the end. Comrade Mao Zedong said to Comrade Liu Shaoqi, "If you fight well, then we will not have died."

As soon as we arrived in Chongqing, Jiang Jieshi invited Comrade Mao Zedong to the villa where he lived. All of us comrades that were behind him would stay close to him because we were afraid that they might do something to him.

You could expect anything from them. They could even put some poison in his food, because we were not able to control the food they were giving us, because we neither prepared it, nor served [it]. In addition, Jiang Jieshi has the habit of eating like the Europeans, on separate plates and could have instructed his people to put poison in Comrade Mao Zedong's plate.

Utilizing the chance that Comrade Mao Zedong was staying in Chongqing, Jiang Jieshi, with the help of the Americans, sent his troops to the coastal areas I mentioned above. Comrade Mao Zedong immediately sent a telegram to Comrade Liu Shaoqi and instructed him not to care in the least about us, but to send forces immediately wherever it was necessary and possible, without taking into account whatever battles might be initiated. And it was precisely at that time that one of our infantry armies, commanded by Comrade Deng Xiaoping, went wherever it was ordered to go and completely decimated two of Jiang Jieshi's armies. It then returned to Yun'an.

Comrade Enver Hoxha: Comrade Zhou Enlai, our party is a young party, founded in 1941. You know the methods of the CPSU well. I am trying to say that the Soviet leaders did not keep us up to date on such matters.

Comrade Zhou Enlai: They never consulted with us either.

Comrade Enver Hoxha: But what do we know? We only know those things that have been written. As to how the issues have been discussed, how the events have taken place, etc. we do not really know. So how can we judge better than your party on these issues, on one position, or in another that you have taken in those situations?

Comrade Zhou Enlai: Before the departure of Comrade Mao Zedong from Chongqing, Jiang Jieshi served lunch. Before we went there, we discussed the situation carefully because we were wondering that since this was the last lunch that we were going to have at Chiang Kai-shek's, he may put delayed action poison in our food, but if we did not go, it would not be a good thing for us since he would not allow us to leave.

Comrade Enver Hoxha: It sounds like what happened to us with Khrushchev in 1960.

Comrade Zhou Enlai: But we had with us, Zhang Zhizhong, who now is the deputy chairman of the permanent committee of the National People's Congress, and we held him there on purpose, despite the fact that he wanted to leave. There was also an American general [General Joseph Stilwell] who acted as a general "advisor" to Jiang Jieshi.

We returned to Yun'an on a special plane of Jiang Jieshi. We did this on purpose so that, if something were to happen to us, the responsibility would rest on Jiang Jieshi. After Comrade Mao Zedong left Chongqing, I stayed over there for a while

longer.

My point is that while at that time we took the advice that Stalin gave us, we also took double-sided measures. We tried to achieve success in the peace talks, but we did not place trust in them because we had amassed a 20-year experience in meetings with Jiang Jieshi, and that is why we were not trustful of the talks or of his "assurances."

Stalin also tried the [negotiation path] with the help of the Americans. In the framework of these attempts, General [George] Marshall was also sent to China [in December 1945] as a go-between in the talks between us and Jiang Jieshi. Thus was organized the tri-partite group, composed of Jiang Jieshi, our party, and the Americans, in which the American representative would be the primary player. Stalin and Herlin [probably Ambassador Patrick J. Hurley], the Truman envoy, had reached an agreement in Moscow [in April 1945] that the representative of Jiang Jieshi in these talks would be his premier, T. V. Soong. Of course, at that time it was impossible for us not to accept the talks, despite the fact that it was very clear to us that the Americans would support Jiang Jieshi. Our primary responsibility was, at the time, to undertake measures to prepare against Jiang Jieshi, so that in case he would attack us, we would be prepared to offer him determined resistance.

During the period of 1945–1946, for a time span of about one year, we made propaganda on the "success" of the peaceful talks and of the coalition government, while at the same time we followed three policies:

First, we decided to initiate an agrarian reform in the liberated areas of the country. Of course, this was a toned-down reform, intended to secure the production of bread and the mobilization of the peasants around the party.

Second, we decided to further increase the military ranks.

Third, we decided on training for the armed forces, with the intention of being ready for war.

And, in fact, Jiang Jieshi, after he took over all the large cities and after he acquired all the armaments of the defeated Japanese, ignited a war against us. From the beginning of the war ignited by Jiang Jieshi and until our final victory, we fought for about three years or so. This was a defining moment for us because we acted completely contrary to the advice of Comrade Stalin. In fact, it seemed as if we were carrying out his advice because we accepted that Comrade Mao Zedong should go, which he did, to Chongqing and we accepted the tri-partite talks, with the American General Marshall as a mediator. From the start of the talks and until their falling apart, a time of about one year passed. I, myself, took part in the talks, but these were only a formality. This means that in this defining moment, we did not consider Stalin's actions correct, and we think that this

is one of the errors in principle that he made. Nonetheless, we still say that Stalin was an internationalist revolutionary.

After we entered Beijing, we immediately sent over Comrade Liu Shaoqi to Moscow. During the personal talks between the two, Stalin told Liu Shaoqi that his telegram had caused us damage. Liu Shaoqi told him that it had not. After that, the Soviets sent many people to China to see firsthand and to be convinced that China was really a communist country because they could not believe it. This disbelief was due to the great propaganda that the Americans were waging that purported that the CCP was an agrarian party and not a proletarian one. Of course, the purity of the people Stalin sent was low, there were also provocateurs amongst them, who, everywhere they went, would ask questions about everything. They were trying to find out whether in China the same things were happening as in Yugoslavia, in Tito's country. Even our ambassador in Moscow was being asked, mainly by employees of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the USSR, whether we were following Tito's course. Such Soviet behavior instilled great dissatisfaction amongst our cadres at that time.

In the winter of 1949, Comrade Mao Zedong himself went to Moscow on the occasion of Stalin's 70th birthday. But Comrade Mao Zedong, aside from giving his best wishes for Stalin's birthday, could do nothing while there. All he did was tell Stalin that at that moment China was still not fully liberated, but [he] also assured him that we would fight until it was completely free.

At that time, [still] an alliance treaty existed between old China, in other words, Jiang Jieshi's China, and the Soviet Union. For this reason Comrade Mao Zedong told Stalin that now, that China was liberated, it would be logical to sign a new treaty with a New China. For this, since Comrade Mao Zedong was the chairman of the republic, he proposed that I, Zhou Enlai, go to Moscow to sign the treaty, as I was the chairman of the Chinese government and at the same time the minister of foreign affairs. But Stalin answered to Comrade Mao Zedong that it would not be a good thing since the president of the republic was to be found in Moscow at the same time. If the chairman of the government and minister of foreign affairs would also come, the Western propaganda would say that the Chinese government was transferred in its entirety to Moscow, along with the chairman of the republic who was already there.

The truth is that, at that time, Stalin did not have faith in us that we could liberate the entire country on our own. Aside from this, he was unsure whether we were on the side of the Americans, or maybe following the course of the Yugoslavs. That is the reason he did not want to sign the treaty that we proposed.

Noticing the situation, Comrade Mao Zedong then told him that there was no other reason for him to stay in Moscow,

because all he was doing was eating, drinking, and going to the bathroom, and that is why he needed to leave.

Comrade Mehmet Shehu: This is precisely the issue that we had briefly spoken about together on the airplane.

Comrade Zhou Enlai: Well, two days later, England recognized the People's Republic of China. At that time, France had also decided and was ready to recognize us. India also, urged on by England, sent us a telegram in which they notified us that they recognized our new state. This was a stimulus to Stalin, who was noticing that the imperialists were recognizing us, which means that they accepted that we would win. Under these conditions, the Soviet Union also agreed to recognize us.

The correspondent of the Soviet press agency TASS asked Comrade Mao Zedong, "Aside from the best wishes on the occasion of his birthday, what else did you talk about with Stalin?" Comrade Mao Zedong answered that he had talked with him about the possibility of signing a new friendship and alliance treaty with the Soviet Union and that he was ready to return to return for a few more visits to see the development of the country.

So, the Soviets finally agreed to sign the treaty. For this reason, after the request of Comrade Mao Zedong, I also went to Moscow and, in fact, the Chinese government did not transfer to Moscow as Stalin told us.

But during the talks that we had on the signing of this treaty many problems arose. The Soviets requested that the Soviet Union have under its sphere of influence Xinjiang and Northeastern China, and that foreigners be forbidden to go there. I told Stalin that we would not allow citizens from imperialist countries to go there, but what would we do about the citizens of fraternal countries that were to be found there? There are many Koreans, especially, who have been there for a long time, and our party cannot do anything to them, we said. Nonetheless, he made an exception here and the treaty was signed. Still, the Soviet leaders continued to have doubts about us. Only after the war against American imperialism started in Korea and we came to the aid of the Korean people, did this disbelief on the part of the Soviet leaders start to dissipate little by little.

Despite all this, despite these positions toward our party that I was talking about, we still say that Stalin is a great warrior, a Marxist-Leninist, a teacher of the world socialist revolution. Khrushchev removed Stalin's portrait from the Soviet Union, but we have not, and that is only due to this opinion we have of him. The placing of Stalin's portrait in Tiananmen Square is a reason for the entire world to say that China rests on Stalinist ground. This is how we have acted since 1956 and until now, for ten years in a row and we are very proud to have done so.



Our party and its leadership, despite the few discontentments that it has with Stalin, will never follow the course that Khrushchev took, because that is a revisionist course. The party of the Khrushchevians in the Soviet Union is today a revisionist party. But we see the situation more widely, more deeply. We have been given the task of defending the interests of the world revolution. Khrushchev, by opening a war against Stalin, is in fact fighting against Marx, Engels, and Lenin, against Marxism-Leninism, against the Marxist parties. Khrushchev is a traitor, a counterrevolutionary. That is why our position is open, it is against him.

So Stalin, as it appears, has made errors in principle. These mistakes we do not hide, with the only intention of drawing the necessary lessons from them, so that if possible both we and the new generation will not make mistakes of the same nature. Furthermore, we do not proclaim openly to the world that Stalin has made these errors in principle, because it would not be correct. Additionally, by clarifying these errors in principle only to ourselves, it does not have the effect of lowering the prestige of Stalin in the international arena. Lenin, in his article "Left-Wing" Communism: an Infantile Disorder" has pointed out that a strictly serious party is not afraid to look at its errors right in the eye. On the contrary, it accepts them, draws lessons from them, and fixes them.

While speaking of the errors of Stalin, I only addressed the period in which our party was under the leadership of Comrade Mao Zedong. As to the previous period, during the time when the members of the Comintern were in the "leftist" group of Wang Ming, who today is to be found in Moscow, Stalin even then used to give us a few mistaken pieces of advice.

Comrade Mehmet Shehu: He is to be found in Moscow at the moment?

Comrade Zhou Enlai: Yes. Even at that time Stalin used to give us incorrect advice, but the principal fault lies with us, because we simply accepted it and did not go deeper into it. It is for these reasons that we exercised self-criticism in every material of ours and point out the reasons why the Party CC accepted it. By accepting that advice, we only punish ourselves, because no one forced us to accept such a thing. Even then we could have accepted the advice just for show, just like Comrade Mao Zedong did in relation to the advice for talks with Jiang Jieshi, while at the same time following the correct course.

We will continue to study the errors in principle made by Stalin. One thing needs to be clear though: We will in no way accept the calumny that Khrushchev cooked up about the period of the repression of the counterrevolutionaries. But we must also accept that he repressed the counterrevolutionaries only through administrative means and through the methods of the Ministry of the Interior, and absolutely without relying on the

masses and on the party line, which is the line of the masses. Maybe this is also a case where Stalin made errors in principle? In this case we also hold that we are right, because it has great importance, and we have said this since 1956. All the ministers of the interior in the Soviet Union, with the exception of Dzerzhinsky, from Jagoda to Beria have been killed. The problem is not only that they have made mistakes and misdeeds. The important thing is that the entire structural system of the organs of the ministry of the interior in the Soviet Union did not correspond completely to our socialist system, it was not in order. Regarding this problem, when we have the chance, we can continue to exchange opinions between our two parties.

Comrade Enver Hoxha: Agreed.

Comrade Zhou Enlai: There are many comrades who have worked in the organs of the interior ministry in the Soviet Union. They have brought back to our Ministry of Public Order many work methods from the Soviets. But on this issue I only spoke on general lines.

As to the second issue that Comrade Enver Hoxha brought up, you are right, but I still wanted to clarify two points of this issue:

First, when I was talking about the problem of the classes, the class contradictions and the class struggle, Comrade Mehmet Shehu asked me what I was talking about; whether I was talking about our country, or about other countries too. I, naturally, was talking about our country primarily, and about the other socialist countries in general, but the possibility for exceptions in this issue remains.

Secondly, if we accept the class struggle, the issue of what is the character of this class struggle must necessarily come up. The class struggle in today's world is being fought between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, between socialism and capitalism. In our country the overturned exploiting classes try to restore their power. This, then, is a struggle between the two courses: between the socialist course and the capitalist one. Without clarifying this point, the character and content of this class struggle cannot be clarified.

And finally, I wanted to say that, as Comrade Enver Hoxha also pointed out, the talks we have had these past four days have been very good. They will help, first of all, in our two warrior parties, who stand fast with determination by the Marxist-Leninist revolutionary principles, knowing each other even better, in uniting even more strongly, and in intensifying their war against the enemies of socialism. This we will also express before the masses at the rally that we will have this afternoon.

Comrade Enver Hoxha: Of course.

Comrade Zhou Enlai: The discussions between us are normal procedure that may happen at any time. In fact, it would be strange if there were none of them. In that case there would be no contradictions, something which is impossible, because internal contradictions exist everywhere. Even in the mind of a person, taken by himself, there is a continuous struggle between a correct thought and an incorrect thought. If we would think otherwise, we would be idealists.

I, once again, thank very much all the comrades of the Politburo of your party and Comrade Enver Hoxha who gave us the time and the chance to talk.

Comrade Enver Hoxha: We also thank you very much.

THE CHIEF OF THE GENERAL BRANCH OF THE CC

Haxhi Kroj  
[Signed]



## DOCUMENT No. 16

### Memorandum of Conversation between Albanian Council of Ministers Chairman Mehmet Shehu and Mao Zedong, 30 September 1967

[Source: Central State Archive, Tirana, AQPPSH-MPKK-V. 1967, L. 19, D. 20. Obtained by Ana Lalaj and translated for CWIHP by Enkel Daljani.]

#### REPORT

OF THE MEETING OF THE DELEGATION OF THE ALP AND GOVERNMENT OF THE PR OF ALBANIA, HEADED BY COMRADE MEHMET SHEHU, WITH COMRADE MAO ZEDONG ON 30 SEPTEMBER 1967

On 30 September 1967 the delegation of the ALP and of the government of the PR of Albania, headed by the member of the ALP CC Politburo and Chairman of the Council of Ministers, Comrade Mehmet Shehu, was received by Comrade Mao Zedong.

The following Albanian comrades took part in the meeting: Comrade Ramiz Alia, Comrade Mihalaq Zicishti, Comrade Rahman Perllaku, Comrade Tonin Jakova, Comrade Agim Mero, Comrade Foto Cami, Comrade Piro Bitia, and Comrade Vasil Nathanaili.

The Chinese side was [also] represented by: Comrade Zhou Enlai, Comrade Kang Sheng, Comrade Liu Ningyi, Comrade Liu Xiao, Comrade Luo Wei Bo.

The conversation started around 4:15 p.m. and continued

until 5:15 p.m.. The translation from the Chinese was done by Fan Tzen Xuo. The report was recorded by stenograph by Sadik Myftiu and was transcribed with the participation of Sotir Naci. The final editing was done by Piro Bitia.

Comrade Mao Zedong: When was the last time you visited China?

Comrade Mehmet Shehu: Last year, in May.

Comrade Mao Zedong: Did we meet in Shanghai then?

Comrade Mehmet Shehu: Yes, in Shanghai.

Comrade Mao Zedong, allow me to bring the most heartfelt and revolutionary greetings of the Albanian Labor Party, of the Central Committee, and of Comrade Enver Hoxha personally, as well as of the entire Albanian people. We are extremely happy that we are given the opportunity to visit your country at the eve of the celebrations for the 18th anniversary of the founding of the People's Republic of China, and at a time when the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution is at the highest stage of its development. In the name of our people, of the party, and of Comrade Enver Hoxha, we greet you on your great anniversary, on the final victory of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and we wish you, Comrade Mao Zedong, a long life, a long, long life.

Comrade Mao Zedong: I thank you very much. With all my heart I welcome you, and all the comrades of the delegation of the party and the government headed by you, once more to our country.

Last year your delegation was not as large as this.

Comrade Mehmet Shehu: Yes, it was smaller than this one.

Comrade Mao Zedong: Please, introduce me to the comrades.

Comrade Mehmet Shehu: (After he introduced one by one the comrades of the delegation that were present at the meeting, said): the other comrades that take part in our delegation are representatives of the working class, of the cooperativist peasantry, etc.

Comrade Enver Hoxha and the party's Central Committee and government, have given our delegation a great mission and a very important task: the further strengthening of our friendship with the great People's China, led by Comrade Mao Zedong; they have also given us the task of once more expressing our solidarity and our full support for the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution initiated and run by you, Comrade Mao Zedong.

Comrade Mao Zedong: I thank you very much. The impe-

rialists do not support us, neither do the revisionists; nor have the reactionaries of the various countries, including here Jiang Jieshi, supported us. Only you support us, and some sister parties and communist groups around the world; there are also some democrats in the countries of Asia and Africa that support us. So, for example, the Communist Party of the United States of America is against us, but there is there another organization, the Progressive Labor Party, that supports us. The same also happens in France and Italy, for example, where the communist parties are against us and against you, but [other] communist groups and the new party that was just founded in Italy, support us.

Our task is, first of all, to accomplish our duty at home well, as you have done by taking so many measures.

Do you remember the conversation we had together last year in Shanghai? Were you also there, Comrade Kang Sheng?

Comrade Kang Sheng: No, I was not there. I was at the meeting this year [February 1967] when you met Comrade Hysni Kapo and Comrade Beqir Balluku.

Comrade Zhou Enlai: I was there and so was Comrade Lin Biao.

Comrade Mao Zedong: Between our meeting last year and the time Comrade Hysni Kapo and Comrade Beqir Balluku came here, I have thought of the situation in our country as very serious. I told them that, first of all, the danger of the failure of the revolution exists, and also that the other possibility, us emerging victorious, also exists.

Comrade Mehmet Shehu: You spoke about this with our delegation in Shanghai too, Comrade Mao Zedong. I remember this being one of the principal issues that you emphasized in that meeting.

Comrade Mao Zedong: I told Comrade Hysni Kapo that after three months we could probably see a little more clearly what the movement's shape will be in the future. But what happened after that? The months of February, March, April, May, June, July, August, and September; in other words, 9 months. Now I can tell you two comrades and to the other comrades that we can see not only the general shape, but the actual form and matter of victory. Now the possibility of us emerging victorious is the only likelihood. Nonetheless, we must also be prepared for the other possibility, the danger of failure, because no harm will come to us if we are also prepared for such a possibility.

During the course of more than one year, China went through a great commotion. But there is not much confusion. There is not much confusion in Beijing either; it is quite a civilized city. Lately, I have been making visits to many provinces.

I could say that they are a bit restive. But the greater and more complete the restlessness, the better it will be. It happens that in a [industrial] plant the workers are separated into two large groups. Why? Because one group is supported by some people while the other group is supported by other people. In other words, the leftist group is supported by the Marxist-Leninists, while the other is supported by the revisionists. Sometimes the clashes might seem catastrophic. A great clash happened these past 3-4 months, meaning since the end of June until now.

Comrade Zhou Enlai: Since the time that the 6 June circular came out.

Comrade Mao Zedong: After the victory in 1949, we have had in our society not only people that were trained by Guomindang [Kuomintang] and bourgeois people, but we have also had some bad people that entered our party. You also had such a member of your Political Bureau, Liri Belishova [expelled from the Central Committee in September 1960].

Comrade Mehmet Shehu: We had not just one, but several. Liri Belishova was one of the last of our enemies that fought us from inside the party and the Central Committee. Since its founding, our party has consistently waged a long and unrelenting struggle against these elements; it has cleaned up its ranks through that struggle. During October of last year we expelled from the party a member of the Central Committee for enemy activity against the line of the party.

Comrade Mao Zedong: This is the dialectic law of things and phenomena.

A party that is the exception and does not have rightist elements in its midst cannot be conceived.

Why was the First International of Marx and Engels dispersed? Did it not happen because the Marxists were the minority and the anti-Marxists were the majority? Was it not so? At that time, Proudhon, Blanqui, Lassalle, etc. came out from the ranks of the First International. As a result, in the end, the First International was dispersed.

But can it be said that there were no good and resolute people in the world after the dispersal of the First International? As it is well known, later, the socialist parties were created in the various countries: the Social Democratic Party in Germany, the Socialist Party in France, the Labor Party in England, the Socialist Party in Italy, and the Russian Workers' Social Democratic Party in Russia. The same thing happened in other countries too. All these parties joined together at the Second International. All of them considered themselves Marxist parties. But in the end it became apparent that those that were truly Marxists were only Lenin and his group. In that time in Europe, in the majority of the parties, only some elements or certain groups supported Lenin, while the rest of the Second International became a tool

of imperialism. Was this a very bad thing, perhaps? I think it was not because, later, the Third International was formed. The small groups that existed in Germany, France, Italy, etc. were transformed into large parties. I do not speak of Russia here, where we know well which party was formed.

But what do these parties of the Third International look like today? Now we see that the situation seems bad only in appearance. Are there now people that say that only your party and ours still exist? It is my opinion that in your country things might get better, while in our country it will be difficult for things to go well. This is proved by the history of our party. The first general secretary of our party, Chen Duxiu, made mistakes of rightist deviation. During the first internal revolutionary war, the Guomindang turned from an ally into an enemy and it waged the white terror. The Guomindang attacked us unexpectedly and broke our party into floating debris. After the terror only around 10 thousand communists were left. We drew lessons from there events. We had two teachers in this: Jiang Jieshi and Chen Duxiu. It was then that we understood that it is not enough that the movement be waged through mobilizing the masses alone. At that time we had representatives of our party in the government, we had some millions of workers and tens of millions of peasants under the leadership of our party, but what happened as a result? Within one morning we were completely destroyed. So we very often have pointed this lesson out to the representatives of the sister parties. But they did not pay the necessary attention to this. We have told them that even if you have many party members, many organized peasants, and many union organizations, and even if you have representatives of your party in the government, you still should not think that you are safe.

Comrade Ramiz Alia: I believe you are talking about the Indonesians?

Comrade Mao Zedong: Yes, I am talking about them.

Comrade Kang Sheng: As far as I remember, Chairman Mao has discussed this issue four times with Aidit.

Comrade Mao Zedong: I have told them many times to never believe any of the good words the bourgeoisie tells them, because we already know where that leads. I have spoken to them about armed struggle. I pointed out that our first war lasted for 10 straight years and during these 10 years we made mistakes three times. The first mistake was a "leftist" mistake; it was made by the party's Central Committee when led by Xiang Zhongfa.

Comrade Mehmet Shehu: We have also had some persons of this kind; in fact, more than one.

Comrade Mao Zedong: Later we discovered the rightist

mistakes of Li Lisan. And even later, the line of Wang Ming came out; he is now to be found in Moscow. We have not formally expelled him from the party, but in fact he is an enemy. Later, during the Long March, we had the meeting at Zunyi. We have corrected the mistakes of that course in general lines. At that time, for 10 years in a row, the general secretary was Zhang Wentian. He led the party.

I became chairman of the party in 1945, in the year of the defeat of Germany and Japan. I do not want to say with this that I have done a good job as leader of the party, because one can be divided in two. But if someone would accuse me of being an anti-Marxist, a Trotskyite, a nationalist, or a capitulator in front of American imperialism, that is something that I cannot accept. Neither the American imperialists, nor the Khrushchevian revisionists or the Jiang-Jieshists believe this. I have not met the leaders of American imperialism, but I personally know N. Khrushchev, Kosygin, Nehru, and Jiang Jieshi, an old friend of mine; but the Earth still revolves.

We have managed some tasks well in China, and some others we have not. If everything in our country had gone well, then why would we need to wage the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution? This means that in our country there are some people that are still in the dark. It is precisely towards this segment that we need to direct our revolution. You now know against whom this revolution directs its [knife] edge. You also know well the manner of its activities.

Comrade Ambassador, how long have you been in Beijing?

Comrade Vasil Nathanaili: I have been here for a year and a half.

Comrade Mao Zedong: You have come precisely at the time when the Cultural Revolution started. During the summer of last year those that supported the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution were few. The working class had yet to be mobilized at the time. Pressure was being exerted on the students. The Red Guard had just been born and the struggle was in its initial stage. Now the situation has changed greatly: the working class has risen to its feet; the majority of the students are now revolutionaries; in the majority of the provinces, autonomous regions, and the larger cities under the authority of the center—there are a total of 29 of them—the work is going well.

Many people say that the cult of personality exists in our country; in other words, my cult exists here. They also say that the same goes on in your country with the cult of Comrade Enver Hoxha. In fact, my cult of personality only developed here this year. Before that not only the foreigners, but even the Chinese did not listen to my words. This was due to the fact that the bourgeois ideology existed in our country. We used to have the Liri Belishova of China.



Comrade Mehmet Shehu: In our party we have had enemies even more dangerous than Liri Belishova. Liri Belishova can be considered on a par with Lu Dingyi, but we have also had elements like the Khrushchev of Albania.

Comrade Mao Zedong: Then I overvalued Liri Belishova.

Comrade Mehmet Shehu: The Khrushchev of Albania, if we may say this, was Koci Xoxe. He was the deputy secretary of the party's Central Committee, the second person after Comrade Enver Hoxha, [he was also] deputy prime minister and minister of internal affairs. He directed the organizational work of the party. He was an agent of Tito, linked spiritually and ideologically with him. So, Koci Xoxe was exactly like N. Khrushchev and the Tito of Albania. He had inserted his own people into the party, in the Ministry of Internal Affairs, in the army, in the administration, everywhere. This happened immediately after the liberation of Albania. From November of 1944 until 1947 he was able to control many key positions and was trying to isolate Comrade Enver Hoxha. His intention was to liquidate Comrade Enver Hoxha along with all the other comrades that stood on healthy Marxist-Leninist positions. During that time many comrades were expelled from the Central Committee.

Comrade Mao Zedong: Was this man that fierce?

Comrade Mehmet Shehu: Yes, he was very fierce.

Comrade Mao Zedong: He appears to have been like our Liu Shaoqi.

Comrade Mehmet Shehu: If you would allow me, Comrade Mao Zedong, without going into much detail and without taking much of your time, I could talk to you a bit about this issue. A very dangerous situation was created in our party at that time. Many good comrades were expelled from the Central Committee, and everyone was put under the control of the security apparatus. The enemies created a grave and unbearable condition around Comrade Enver Hoxha. One member of the Politburo that could not take the pressure committed suicide. I, for example, was expelled from my position as candidate member of the Politburo and expelled from the Central Committee; they were preparing to put me in jail. Comrade Enver Hoxha, and all comrades who stood faithful to his line and the Marxist-Leninist view were accused as anti-Yugoslav elements because they were opposing the attempts by Tito to turn Albania into a Yugoslav province, in other words, his attempts to take away Albania's independence; they opposed Tito and [remained] faithful to Stalin and to the Soviet Union. This situation continued for about three years and it reached its peak at the 8th Plenum of the Central Committee in 1947. The decisions of this plenum were truly revisionist. Comrade Enver Hoxha and the other comrades fought in a resolute way during the whole time against the decisions of the 8th Plenum,

and thanks to this long and difficult struggle and with the arrival of the famous letters by Stalin on the issue of the revisionist course and stance of Tito, it became possible that at the 9th plenum of the Central Committee, in October 1948, the opportunist and reactionary course of Koci Xoxe and of his followers was destroyed and their plotting against the party, its Marxist-Leninist leadership, and against socialism in Albania, was uncovered. Once unmasked openly to the party and people, Koci Xoxe and his group faced a public trial in May 1949; that trial sentenced him (only Koci Xoxe) to death, and that decision was executed in June 1949.

Comrade Mao Zedong: (with irony) He went to paradise.

Comrade Mehmet Shehu: That is why I said that he was the first N. Khrushchev of Albania, though N. Khrushchev had not arrived on the scene yet. Aside from this person, we have also fought other anti-party and enemy elements in our party. We have expelled from the Central Committee and the party tens of enemies, who have had more or less the same course and activity with Liu Shaoqi and his followers. Now we see well how Liu [Shaoqi] Deng [Xiaoping] have operated in China, and we also know many things which we did not know last year; their treason and the necessity for a struggle to the end against them are very clear to us.

Forgive me, Comrade Mao Zedong for taking so much of your time with these issues.

Comrade Mao Zedong: No, I want to listen to you.

Comrade Mehmet Shehu: During the last throngs of the Italian occupation in 1943, when we created the National Liberation Army and the National Liberation Front led by the party, and when in many areas of the country we had taken power, there were two organizations in Albania that called themselves nationalist and acted as if they really wanted the liberation of Albania from fascist occupation. Though the party knew the intentions of these organizations well, it made every effort to cooperate with them against the [foreign] occupier—naturally without wanting to merge with them and seeking to preserve its independence and the hegemony of the National Liberation Front at any cost. In the framework of these efforts, a meeting was held in which the representatives of these two organizations met those of our party. The delegation of our party was headed by one of the secretaries of the Central Committee called Ymer Dishnica. Instead of defending the line of the party and carrying out the clear orders given to him by Comrade Enver Hoxha, this person capitulated and accepted the ideas of the two nationalist organizations—led by reactionaries—to disperse the National Liberation Army and to include the Communist Party of Albania and these bourgeois organizations as equals in the emerging government. In this meeting, they drafted and distributed a joint declaration, which the traitor Ymer Dishnica signed in the name of our party. I

remember that it was precisely August of 1943 when Comrade Enver Hoxha received note of the joint declaration. I was with him at that time in a mountainous region of southern Albania. Immediately, Comrade Enver Hoxha declared it a traitorous action. The aforementioned declaration was declared unacceptable by our party. Ymer Dishnica was expelled from the Central Committee and later from the party; now he works as a doctor. But the damage he caused to the party, at that moment when the war was getting fiercer, after the Italian occupation of Albania had just been replaced by the Nazi one, was quite grave. I mention these facts, Comrade Mao Zedong, because there are similarities between the activities of our traitors during the war with the activities and the points of view of Liu Shaoqi. Liu Shaoqi wanted to surrender the Red Army to Jiang Jieshi. Ymer Dishnica in our case wanted to surrender our National Liberation Army to the “Balli Kombetar” [National Front] and “Legaliteti” [the Albanian monarchists]. Liu Shaoqi wanted to take part in the government of Jiang Jieshi and to force the party into hiding. Ymer Dishnica wanted to do the same thing in our country, etc.

I do not want to take any more of Comrade Mao Zedong's time because people such as these have existed in our country by the scores at different times. If you have more time, as Comrade Zhou Enlai mentioned, to meet one more time, I could speak in more detail about these issues.

I wanted to point out that in our party too, since its founding and until the present, there has continually been a fierce struggle for the preservation of the purity of its line. The struggle of the opposites as a general law of progress cannot but happen within a party too and this has also been true in our country.

Comrade Mao Zedong: This struggle is an indication in the party of the class struggle that goes on in society, because the bourgeoisie exists, and so does the feudal class, and they insert their representatives in our party too. In the ranks of the party there have been some people who for a long time have not been communists, but agents in the service of the enemy and we did know about them. For example, Liu Shaoqi since 1929 committed treason by signing a declaration in front of the enemy. This has been uncovered recently by the Red Guardians. Later he, along with Peng Zhen, Bo Yibo, An Ziwen, and others, betrayed [us] once again. Peng Zhen was a member of the Politburo, a secretary of the Central Committee, first secretary of the Beijing Municipal Committee, chairman of the Executive Committee of Beijing, and vice chairman of the Permanent Committee of the Assembly. Bo Yibo was a candidate to the Politburo and deputy prime minister that dealt with the industry sector. An Ziwen was for 20 years in a row a director of the Organizational Directorate of the CC. They have issued declarations while they were in prison and have sworn loyalty before the portrait of Jiang Jieshi.

The Red Guards made many errors and [had] shortcomings,

but their general orientation is correct.

Comrade Mehmet Shehu: You have said that revolution is not knitting. We have all made mistakes, some of which we are able today to consider stupidities.

Comrade Mao Zedong: I have also committed some stupidities. But the [Red] Guards are educated during the process of war. In the past the entire education system in our country was in the hands of the bourgeoisie. The majority of the newspapers, including those that were masked as communist, were in the hands of the bourgeoisie. They had even wrapped their hands around the *People's Daily* newspaper.

For many years in a row now, I have noted several times that the newspapers must change their appearance, but no one heeded my call, because they did not accept my advice. On 1 June of last year we took over the *People's Daily* newspaper. Before that time we only had two military divisions in Beijing, but then we doubled them to 4 military divisions, and in this way in May of 1966 we dared to reorganize the Beijing party committee. In the months of May, June and half of July of that year I was not in Beijing. Shall we end it here?

Comrade Mehmet Shehu: We apologize, Comrade Mao Zedong, for having tired you so much. As you can see, we are never tired of coming to see you and talk with you.



## DOCUMENT No. 17

### Memorandum of Conversation between Albanian Labor Party Delegation and the CCP Leadership, 12 October 1967

[Source: Central State Archive, Tirana, AQPPSH-MPKK-V. 1967, L. 19, D. 20. Obtained for CWIHP by Ana Lalaj and translated for CWIHP by Enkel Daljani.]

12 October 1967  
Second Meeting

CONVERSATION  
BETWEEN COMRADE MEHMET SHEHU AND THE  
OTHER MEMBERS OF THE DELEGATION OF THE  
ALBANIAN LABOR PARTY AND THE ALBANIAN  
GOVERNMENT WITH COMRADE MAO ZEDONG AND  
OTHER LEADERS OF THE PARTY AND THE PEOPLE'S  
REPUBLIC OF CHINA  
12 OCTOBER 1967

The conversation took place during the reception that Comrade Mao Zedong organized for the delegation of the ALP and of the government of the People's Republic of Albania, led

by Comrade Mehmet Shehu.

In the conversation there were present: Comrade Lin Biao, Comrade Zhou Enlai, Comrade Chen Boda, Comrade Kang Sheng, Comrade Li Fuchun, Comrade Liu Ningyi, Comrade Yang Chengwu, Comrade Liu Xiao, Comrade Luo Guibo, and Comrade Wu Faxian.

Along with Comrade Mehmet Shehu there were also [present]: Comrade Ramiz Alia, Comrade Mihallaq Zicishti, Comrade Rahman Perlaku, Comrade Tonin Jakova, Comrade Agim Mero, Comrade Foto Cami, Comrade Piro Bitia and Comrade [Albanian Ambassador to China] Vasil Nathanaili.

The conversation took place in one of the conference rooms of the building of the People's Assembly.

The translator was Fan Zenshuo.

The stenographer was Sadik Myftiu.

Edited by Piro Bitia.

The conversation started around 6:00 p.m. and continued for 1 hour and 30 minutes.

---

Comrade Mao Zedong: Were you threatened by any danger during your visits? Did someone hit you? (Speaking to Comrade Ramiz Alia) Did you take part in any fighting?

Comrade Ramiz Alia: On the contrary, the masses showed us great love.

Comrade Mao Zedong: We cannot say with certainty that after you left they did not start the fighting once more. To you they were speaking nicely, but after you left they began fighting again. But what you saw in Yan'an should not be considered a bad fight. Were the masses armed with rifles and artillery, or did they only have knives, pikes, and iron bars? In Wuhan the masses were armed with rifles and artillery, which they used during the fighting. But Wuhan is not a province where the fighting happened with cannons and heavy artillery. The worst fighting took place in Shaanxi, and the second-most in Shenyang, Hunan, Anhui, and Nanjing.

I suggested to the Congolese Prime Minister (B) [Republic of Congo (Brazzaville); likely Ambroise Noumazalaye] to visit the mine of Hunan where a fierce battle between two groups took place. There are 10 coal mines in that region, and the production in the past reached up to 45 thousand tons of coal a day. After the battles the production fell down to 10 thousand tons of coal a day. As our prime minister told me, later the production fell even further, in fact it went down to 400 tons a day.

Only a little time after the great revolutionary alignment, the production increased again to 25 thousand tons of coal a day. The workers are now assuring us that they will surpass the production goal of 45 thousand tons of coal a day. The prime minister of Congo (B) seems to have read some Marxist-Leninist books, so I recommended to him that [he] come to our country to see the issues in person.

Why are you rushing to leave so early? Why do you not desire to help us a bit more? Stay a few days more, go to some other areas around the country, and help us in some other regions.

Comrade Mehmet Shehu: (Jokingly) This is an easy thing, Comrade Mao Zedong. Send a telegram to Comrade Enver Hoxha, and we will be happy to stay for another 6 months.

Comrade Mao Zedong: No, it would suffice if you stayed here one more month. I will send you to all 29 provinces and autonomous cities of our country, including to Tibet as well as Shijiazhuang, where the problem has yet to be resolved, and you can help us. In Shijiazhuang there are two large and divided groups that are fiercely fighting each other; in fact they even celebrated the national holiday by organizing separate events.

Starting from the last third of the month of September, the majority of the national level organizations have joined forces. There is a minority that still needs to join. In general, the workers, the peasants, the students, and the clerks are tired of the fighting and quarrelling, so they no longer want to continue. But for a general solution to the problem we will need a few more months. But for a permanent solution to the problem, we think the revolution will continue for three more years.

Since 1 June 1966 when the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution started, less than a year and a half has passed. It is this: wherever we had the greatest disturbances the problems are easier to solve, but wherever it neither hurts nor itches, the problems are solved with greater difficulty.

As the comrades have reported to us, in northeastern and south-central China the Red Guards battled with soldiers of the People's Liberation Army. In these regions 10 thousand people have been killed, wounded, or beaten. But can this scare us? In the south-central provinces of China, in Hunan, Guizhou, and Jiangxi, 32 cadres of the army have been killed and 2-3 thousand people have been wounded, a few thousand more have been lightly wounded. In other words, 32 people went to meet Marx. Seven thousand more were hurt only lightly, so they were strengthened.

In northeastern China there were [illegible] killed, while many others were wounded or touched only a little.

Comrade Lin Biao has set four rules for the military:

- a) Do not strike others, even if they strike at you first.
- b) Do not curse others, even if they curse you first.
- c) Do not anger others, even if they are angry with you first.
- d) Do not fire at others, even if they open fire against you first.

These rules are based on the premise that one has to face the popular masses here, where it is hard to pinpoint who is a revolutionary and who is a counterrevolutionary; that is why one cannot open fire on the people.

It is due to this that the masses have great trust in the People's Liberation Army. Why do the masses fight the military? Because they know that our military resolutely carries out the four rules set by Comrade Lin Biao. In this case they have no reason to be afraid of the military. (Speaking jokingly in the direction of Comrade Rahman Perlaku) Do not be afraid.

Comrade Mehmet Shehu: Only a military well-prepared ideologically and politically, can carry out these four rules in practice.

Comrade Mao Zedong: In general, our army is as you describe it. But there are also many units that are not like that. You did not have a chance to see all this, so after you go, we may keep Comrade Ramiz Alia and the Comrade Ambassador here [so they can] visit a few more regions. Do not be afraid of this, because there is no danger; the problem has now been solved. There were 300 hundred thousand rifles looted in all of China. Some people say that there were more likely 600 hundred thousand rifles looted. Do you believe that these rifles were looted by the masses? No, the people that support leftist organizations gave rifles to those with leftist leanings, while those that support rightist organizations armed the rightists; they want to take over power. This is how the fighting started. It is important that the issue be solved gradually. This is called a sort of a civil war, because you have two groups fighting each other. If we include the *Da Zi Bao*, the fighting with fists, and the armed battles, then we can say that the entire country is in the midst of fighting a true civil war. After such battles is the time to see who the leftists are and who the rightists are. Some time ago the rightists proclaimed the slogan of "the village must surround the city." This has been our slogan in the past. But they wanted to trick the peasants and convince them that the workers and the students are bad, so you must go and fight against them. They tried to scare them by saying if they would not go to the city, their land would get smaller or their work days would decrease. Those that would go were promised 0.5 to 2 yuan a day, and for those that might get killed in the battle, they promised to give their families 100 yuan on the spot; so for them death costs 100 yuan. These elements exert pressure and force the peasants to go to the city. This campaign lasted for some time. But the peasants are not so able to leave the village, because they have work to do in their homes and in the

fields. There is one good thing in this, because there are many peasants who have never seen the city and now have a good chance to do so. The slogan "the village must surround the city" has a good sound to it, but it is very difficult to achieve. When we came out with this slogan, the cities were occupied by Jiang Jieshi and we were attacking them from villages and seizing them; now the cities are under the control of the revolutionary communists, workers, and students.

For this reason, on 13 July we issued an order which prohibited peasants from coming to the city. This is how the plan of the rightists was doomed.

The rightists are doomed to failure.

We have created military sections at every institution in the [agricultural] communes and in [industrial] plants. We have done the same in the districts. This is part of the popular militia. One company has 100 people. Then there is the branch for the military zones that deals with the military forces of the 10 districts comprised of about 10 thousand soldiers. Then there is the military zone of the province. For example, the Hubei province has two such military zones; one of the Hubei province and the other of Wuhan. This zone covers the provinces of Henan and Hubei, which have 86 million habitants. The highest institution is the Ministry of Defense and is headed by Comrade Lin Biao.

The problem cannot be solved without such an upheaval. We have used this to prevent the rightists from occupying solid ground. Chen Zaidao (former commander of the Wuhan garrison), could not remain in Wuhan, came to Beijing where he is studying. Initially, the servants, the guards and the secretary of Chen Zaidao had sentenced him to stand for 3-4 hours with shoulders bent and holding his hands behind his back; they called this punishment "the jet plane." (Comrade Mao Zedong stands up and shows this punishment by bending his body.) In Wuhan there were two court martials against him. When Comrade Kang Sheng went to Wuhan he said to him, "Old man Kang, you better shoot me because I can no longer stand this." Then we did some work with his servants, officers, and secretary.

Presently we are unable to distinguish our communists and the top or middle cadres that are revolutionaries from those who are backward, centrists, rightists, or revisionists. The same goes in the administration and in the military. This is a very grave test for the military too.

During the past 18 years we have not done a very thorough work with the masses. Those that have high posts, high wages, cars, and comfortable apartments, I think are not dangerous when they have these four things for as long as they remain revolutionaries. But there are some people who when they get a hold of these four favors do not remain revolutionaries and



during the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution they took the side of the rightists. By detaching themselves from the masses, they turned from people at the base and from soldiers to grand lords. That is why you are correct to fight against bureaucracy. This time the struggle was waged right over their heads. Chen Zaidao mobilized the Regiment of the “100 million” and we rewarded him with the “jet plane.” (He takes the position of the “jet plane.”) We are not able to take measures to help these people everywhere, be it me, or Comrade Lin Biao, and Comrade Yang Chengwu (the Chief of Staff), because we have a large country and an army of over 2 million people. We have not been able to help 99 percent of the people and the military. It is different in your country, because you are able to keep close relations with the people and your soldiers. There is a good chance to educate and strengthen the cadres.

Did you visit the Polytechnic Institute of Wuhan, and did you get to see the fortifications?

Comrade Mehmet Shehu: We were there, but we did not see any fortifications.

Comrade Mao Zedong: They may have destroyed them.

Comrade Kang Sheng: When we were there, the square where the fortifications used to be was renamed “The Square of Sino-Albanian Friendship.”

Comrade Mao Zedong: This school posed a great resistance against Chen Zaidao because it is a polytechnic school and can produce its own chemical and other kinds of weapons. (Turning to Comrade Zhou Enlai) Are there any numbers as to how many in total were killed on the part of the leftists there?

Comrade Zhou Enlai: We do not have those numbers.

Comrade Mao Zedong: Hundreds and thousands of the rifles that were looted from us have been returned; by now over 30% of the weapons looted have been returned to us.

Comrade Yang Chengwu: In the province of Jiangxi almost all of them have been returned.

Comrade Mao Zedong: There are provinces where the people have turned in large caches of weapons and munitions. First they looted these weapons from us, and now they are coming and turning them in themselves. It is strange! They looted them and now they are returning them. Now they say that they had the need and the desire to be armed because they could not resist without weapons. While to the rightists the weapons were given by rightist and conservative elements in the military. But later the people that had the weapons started to be scared that the enemy could take the weapons from them and use them to kill them. So they came and turned in the weapons. We are planning to arm the workers and the leftists in a sys-

tematic way. We have yet to start arming them in Wuhan.

Comrade Zhou Enlai: This has started as an experiment.

Comrade Mao Zedong: That is why the foreigners are saying that all of China is in shambles. In this they are somewhat right, and the reports they are giving are not entirely lies. But, I think, in some areas there was not enough disorder in place. But why are we not afraid of disorder? It is because without disorder, the many contradictions that exist will not come out. This is not a bad thing. The issue is not only Liu Shaoqi. He still has many other followers, but they still do not comprise the majority; they are a very small minority when compared to the popular masses and the revolutionary cadres.

A year ago we were in the minority; the wider popular masses were still being oppressed. At that time—even in Chinese land—only a minority would listen to my words. The majority of the people did not know what I was saying. Comrade Lin Biao, who is for my cult, published in 1962 the red book with my quotes. But my words started having their true effect only in January of this year. Then how can I be called a dictator, when even in Beijing I could not exert my authority. Even the *People's Daily* newspaper editorial office did not listen to me.

Now the situation, in comparison to last year, has changed considerably. A turning point has been passed.

Comrade Mehmet Shehu: A great upheaval has taken place.

Comrade Mao Zedong: (Speaking to Comrade Zhou Enlai) Did you speak to the comrades about how the events in Wuhan took place?

Comrade Zhou Enlai: No, we have yet to tell them.

Comrade Mao Zedong: Those events were my doing, because from 14 to 21 July I was in Wuhan. I entered the beehive, and when you bother the bees they will sting you. But they could sting neither me nor the Prime Minister, who was also at Wuhan at the time. This way the problem there started to move toward a solution. There are also many other such examples. At the military sector of Wuhan the commander and the commissar were both replaced. The same for the military sectors of Beijing, Inner Mongolia, Jiangxi, Qinghai, Wuhan, Henan, Anhui, and Sichuan, as well as the city of Chengdu—a total of 11 provinces and cities; the former commanders or commissars there were removed, and the bad people were replaced by others.

Now we are starting to open study courses in which the cadres will study for one or two months. [Classes] will be opened in the provinces, districts, locales, as well as in the military regions and sub-regions. We have a total of 29 military sectors at the level of the province or independent city; we also have 13 large military areas in which several provinces are included.

Why do you want to leave at any cost the day after tomorrow? Why do you not care about China's issues anymore? Could we not keep Comrade Ramiz Alia along with the ambassador and your philosopher?

Comrade Mehmet Shehu: We thank you very much for this [invitation], but we must leave the day after tomorrow. We are also paying a short visit to Pakistan. We thank you very much, Comrade Mao Zedong, for the very warm reception, we cannot find the words to describe our feelings about [your hospitality]. Wherever we went we were afforded a very warm and fraternal reception. We especially want to thank you for the invitation to visit Wuhan.

During the short time we stayed in your country we immensely increased our knowledge of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and have tried to learn as much as possible. This is a great and valuable experience that will be useful to us in developing and deepening even further the revolutionarization movement in our country.

We are deeply touched by the feelings of fiery love that the Chinese people have for the Albanian people, for Comrade Enver Hoxha, and for our country.

Comrade Mao Zedong: Wherever you go, the people applaud and cheer and leave their quarrels aside. But whenever you leave, the fighting starts again.

Comrade Mehmet Shehu: In Wuhan the revolutionary organizations of the masses had disagreements among themselves, but when it came to defending Comrade Mao Zedong and his idea and revolutionary course, they all were ready to give even their life. We saw this with our own eyes everywhere we went. Though they have disagreements between them, those are internal disagreements and are not antagonistic; they are solvable, and it is precisely because of this that the fighting is occurring.

Comrade Mao Zedong: Is that what they said? They are only making declarations now, but are not coming together. The principal issue that has yet to be solved is in what way the reunification should happen and who should be the nucleus of this reunification. The main thing for them is to get to know each other. I think that the slogan "Let the reunification happen in one month" is not militant enough. The slogan "Let us reunite with me as the nucleus" is not fair either. The others must accept and recognize you as the nucleus; you should not seek this for yourself. But this can only happen in the course of the war. Comrade Enver Hoxha did not call himself the nucleus leader, but he is nonetheless such a nucleus and this happened in the course of a decades-long war.

Comrade Mehmet Shehu: They said that they will fight against the egoism of the group. Of course, from saying something to actually doing it is a very long process. Comrade Zhou Enlai and Comrade Kang Sheng directed them to exercise

more self-criticism and to study the works of Comrade Mao Zedong, so that they may achieve reunification.

Comrade Mao Zedong: They should employ self-criticism and not curse the other side. They are all leftists and are not fighting the conservative organization of the "one million men" anymore.

I wanted to say this to you one more time: We foresee that in the next year or in 1969 we will have a party congress. We will reorganize our party, but in order to do that we will need to do a lot of preparatory work. We are thinking of having the Party Conference of the Revolutionary Committee of Shanghai in May 1968. At the moment, events are developing at a very fast pace, and the two fronts are becoming more distinguishable from each other. Without even including the *Da Zi Bao*, only the small newspapers published by the Red Guards and various organizations reach in the thousands. Many of these newspapers, or better said their organizations, are waging a fight to seize the publishing houses. So, for example, the newspaper of the Hubei province falls in the hands of one group at one point, and on those of another just a bit later. Both sides use it to influence the public opinion. In the Hubei province, the newspaper was in the hands of the leftists at the beginning, but later Chen Zaidao took it over and, later still, the leftists took it over once more. Now everyone is against the newspaper being published again, so it has stopped coming out. In its stead, there are all kinds of small papers being published in factories, plants, schools, and institutions. In the past there were two newspapers in this province, now that one has been closed there is only one left, the "Yangtze River."

I am very happy that many newspapers were liquidated because they had fallen in the hands of bourgeois intellectuals. Now there are places where they do not publish any newspapers at all, such as in the provinces of Jiangxi, Henan, Hunan, etc. Wherever the bourgeois intellectuals have gathered around the newspaper it is better that it never gets published. In the schools and the educational institutions, where there are many intellectuals, the press and the sound centers [radio stations] are today in the hands of one group, while tomorrow they fall in the hands of another.

During this movement the organs of security, the police, and justice, will be destroyed too. I am very happy because of this. They include, of course, many good people; but there are also bad people there. Now revolutionaries are coming out from the midst of these institutions. In Wuhan now the organs of security, police, and justice are divided into two groups. As it appears, and it is reality, the prestige of the professors and of the intelligentsia has decreased. That is why Radio Moscow is accusing us that we are, allegedly, destroying the culture.

Comrade Ramiz Alia: In Moscow they are troubled because in China you are destroying the bourgeois culture.

Comrade Mao Zedong: Yes, we are eliminating culture in part; that which belongs to the sphere of the bourgeois ideology.

In other words, in the organs of the press, education, culture, art, and literature, a part of the people already there will not remain, because they have been left there since the Guomindang. There was nothing we could do about it then, and that is why we had to use them. Was it possible for me, or Comrade Lin Biao, or Comrade Zhou Enlai to come and take care of such a task? We were not able to do this, so we were forced to use them. The majority of the students educated by them are good, but there are some people who have been heavily influenced by them. For example, some of my children, nephews, and nieces, which have finished higher learning schools, have been deeply infected by the poison of the bourgeoisie. They consider themselves to be of the left, but I tell them not to rush to this conclusion. One of them graduated from the University of Beijing and his brain is full of Western kings and prime ministers. He also likes European 18th and 19th century novels. I have told him that this is also a good thing, because if you would not read such novels, you will never know what feudal society is, and what the bourgeois society is; they are valuable as materials that increase knowledge. In philosophy, the writings of the English philosopher Berkeley, of the German philosophers Kant, Hegel, Feuerbach, etc, must also be read; as will the reading of the French materialist mechanics; by knowing Newton and Copernicus we will enrich our knowledge. That is also how Marx learned about such things in the beginning, but afterwards he came up with the critique of idealism and metaphysics.

Do you feel tired?

Comrade Mehmet Shehu: No, we are not tired; we are listening very attentively to you.

Comrade Mao Zedong: Did you sleep well last night? You returned to Beijing at night.

Comrade Mehmet Shehu: Thank you very much for your interesting conversation. We took a lot of your time, Comrade Mao Zedong.

Comrade Mao Zedong: I told you the same things I told you when we met last May, but there were a few new things.

Comrade Mehmet Shehu: A conversation with you is a very important thing. We will report all about it to the Central Committee and Comrade Enver Hoxha.

I take this opportunity to once again thank you for the special care that you, Comrade Mao Zedong, as well as Comrade Lin Biao, Comrade Zhou Enlai, and the other comrades, have shown for the correct solution of the military issues that have to do with our letter of June of this year; we consider your answer fully satisfactory.

During the stay in your country we had conversations with Comrade Zhou Enlai, Comrade Kang Sheng, and the other comrades about many issues. Our conversations were very interesting; we exchanged our points of view and shared our experiences on the problems of the international communist movement.

At the same time, in these conversations, we brought forth some problems of the perspectives of the development of our country. I do not want to waste your time with those issues.

Comrade Mao Zedong: You have yet to talk about one thing: you have yet to finish the conversation you started the first time we met about the history of the struggle in the midst of your party.

Comrade Mehmet Shehu: If you, Comrade Mao Zedong, have the time, we are ready to continue the conversation.

Comrade Mao Zedong: Today we do not have time to continue that conversation, because you also have to go to the concert. So when you come back to China another time, we will continue that conversation. You had just started that conversation, and I forced you to sit and listen to my speech on the situation in China.

Comrade Mehmet Shehu: Your presentation was very valuable to us.

Comrade Mao Zedong: (Speaking to Comrade Vasil Nathanaili). Do you go on a tour often, Comrade Ambassador? I recommend that you visit the provinces of Jiangxi, Wuhan, Sichuan, and Anhui; you should come and look at the disturbances where they happen and how the problem is being solved there. Staying in Beijing only is not interesting.

Comrade Vasil Nathanaili: In March of this year, at your recommendation, Comrade Mao Zedong, I visited the provinces of Shaanxi, Shandong, and Heilongjiang.

Comrade Mao Zedong: Did you go by yourself?

Comrade Vasil Nathanaili: Yes, I went by myself.

Comrade Mao Zedong: You could also take some of the comrades of the embassy with you. Beijing is quiet; when I say quiet I mean that it is not experiencing any fierce fighting. The same goes for Shanghai, which does not have any fierce fighting or skirmishing. Did you see any rifle battles? Or were there only fights with fists, rocks, and knives, or other weapons of ancient times?

(At this point all stood up and the conversation was over.)



**Excerpt from the forthcoming CUIHP  
e-Dossier:**

**“Much Listening, Little Speaking: Chinese  
Foreign Ministry Documents on the 1956  
Hungarian Revolution, 23 October – 4  
November 1956**

**by Peter Vámos**

**Record of Conversation between Premier Zhou Enlai  
and the Hungarian Ambassador to China, [Ágoston]  
Szkładán, 2 November 1956 [Excerpts]**

*[Source: PRC FMA, 109-01038-02. Obtained by Péter  
Vámos and translated by Péter Vámos and Gwennyth A.  
Jones.]*

**Ambassador Szkładán:** I come to bid farewell in a difficult situation. My train leaves on Sunday, I shall leave Beijing and travel to Moscow. In Moscow I shall see what the news is, and then I shall decide [whether to return to Budapest].

**Premier Zhou:** The Chinese people maintain a friendly relationship with the Hungarian people, and we hope that the cause of socialism in Hungary can proceed. Have you read the Soviet government's [30 October] declaration, and our [1 November] statement in connection thereto?

**Szkładán:** I have read the Soviet government's declaration, and heard the Chinese government's statement only from the translation of Chinese-speaking comrades. At present, the situation in Hungary is still unclear. We also receive news from home, but these news items contradict each other in turn. Revolutionary committees are being formed everywhere, and the Foreign Ministry is not functioning.

**Zhou:** Has a revolutionary committee also been formed in the Foreign Ministry?

**Szkładán:** We receive telegrams and instructions from the Foreign Ministry's Revolutionary Committee.

**Zhou:** The people in their entirety want to follow path of socialism, this is laid down in the constitution, and not imposed by others.

**Szkładán:** Yes.

**Zhou:** But then if you leave the socialist camp, this will damage the people's interests.

**Szkładán:** This is Hungary's tragedy. After the liberation, three million peasants received land, and the workers gained power. If those who criticized the government in the past saw that this is the restoration of capitalism, they would be sorry.

**Zhou:** Nagy has declared neutrality, he wants [Hungary] to leave the Warsaw Pact, and demands that the four great

powers assure its neutrality.

**Szkładán:** We also received this news from the Revolutionary Committee. When [they] see that this is restoration, they too will stand bravely on the side of the Soviets.

**Zhou:** Nagy's statement yesterday is that he wants to leave the socialist camp.

**Szkładán:** The people around Nagy think this way, but the vast majority do not agree.

**Zhou:** I hope that conscious people will be able to reverse the situation. How do you see it?

**Szkładán:** I myself don't know how this situation could be resolved. According to the most recent news, the workers have declared that if their demands are not met, they will not resume work. They have economic demands, and it is possible that they have political ones too.

**Zhou:** What is Comrade Kádár's opinion? I spoke with him at the time of the eighth congress.

**Szkładán:** Kádár is First Secretary of the Party, member of the Cabinet, he reorganized the Party and changed its name. The president of the Social Democratic Party, Anna Kéthly, is a long-time opportunist.

**Zhou:** And Kádár?

**Szkładán:** In general, I would say that Kádár is a serious man. He has spent time in prison but can cast aside his personal passions, and he approaches problems on the basis of principles. When we came to China together, I too spoke to him on the airplane. I also agree with the speech he delivered at the Chinese Party congress.

**Zhou:** When I spoke to Kádár, I said that Hungary proceeded calmly against Comrade Rákosi. Along with pointing out his errors, his achievements were also pointed out at the same time. Comrade Kádár also agreed with this opinion.

**Szkładán:** Comrade Rákosi also practiced self-criticism.

**Zhou:** Hungary committed some serious errors in the past, under the influence of Stalin. The masses demand that these errors be rectified. But the present leadership has led the masses in the opposite direction. How about Nagy?

**Szkładán:** There were continuous problems with Nagy. Rákosi frequently criticized him. He however thought that Rákosi was criticizing him for personal reasons, while these were all questions of principle. It now appears that Rákosi was right. Who would have thought that Nagy would waver like this? It is possible that he was scared. He said there were a few things that he did not do. He said that when he first gave a radio speech, it was because others forced him to do it. It is possible that the Revolutionary Committee forced him.

**Zhou:** Is the Revolutionary Committee not the seven-member Cabinet?

**Szkładán:** The Revolutionary Committee is something different, it is not the seven-member Cabinet. They say



that they convey the opinion of the people, demand that the Soviet army should leave, and so on. In other words, they are those counter-revolutionary elements.

**Zhou:** Is Nagy in the Revolutionary Committee?

**Szkladán:** He is not. The Revolutionary Committee presents its demands toward Nagy. It appears that Nagy's position is between the Party and the Revolutionary Committee. What sort of people constitute the revolutionary committees? Of the National Revolutionary Committee, I do not know Dudás, I have never heard of him. The Foreign Ministry Revolutionary Committee has seven members, of whom I know some. When I was ambassador to Moscow, one of them was my secretary, but as he was a believer and wanted to be a pastor, I sent him home. Another is the son of a factory owner, who was earlier dismissed from the Foreign Ministry, and only regained his position later. A third [Sándor Józsa] is from the Far East Department. They are all lower-ranking people.

**Zhou:** Have they all been rehabilitated, irrespective of what kind of errors they committed?

**Szkladán:** Yes. The Foreign Minister, [Imre] Horváth is a communist, and has now been replaced. Nagy himself acts as Foreign Minister.

**Zhou:** From whom does the Embassy now take orders? Those of Nagy, or of the Revolutionary Committee?

**Szkladán:** When we received the message from the Revolutionary Committee, I advised that we should not accept it, but the "revolutionary" youth supported [it].

[...]

**Zhou:** At the Embassy, are those who agree with the Revolutionary Committee's initiatives in the majority or the minority?

**Szkladán:** They are in great majority.

**Zhou:** Are you the minority?

**Szkladán:** Yes. There are many debates within the embassy. Yesterday we held an assembly with the participation of more than fifty people, and debated the matter of forming a revolutionary committee. I did not agree with the formation, and said that if it came into being, it could become the object of ridicule. Some experts agreed with my opinion. In the end it did not come into being. Now they slowly come to understand that the people's democracy is in danger.

**Zhou:** What is the situation with the counselor [József Száll]?

**Szkladán:** He has gone to Japan. I think he too agreed with the initiatives of the Revolutionary Committee. He too has been dissatisfied with the party in the past. With the sole exception of attaché [József P.] Szabó, all diplomatic staff of the embassy are party members. The position of First

Secretary Endre Galla is unclear. To what I say, he does not oppose; to what others say, he does not oppose. The Second Secretary, Barna Tálas, is a wild revolutionary, his wife is Polish. He says that we must follow Poland's example.

[...]

**Szkladán:** Those who are rallying and demonstrating are primarily young people, students, and writers.

**Zhou:** Are the workers also going on to the streets to demonstrate?

**Szkladán:** The workers are on strike, but I have not come across any trustworthy news items according to which the workers too would go out onto the streets to demonstrate. There are some foreign news agency reports of such, but it is not certain that they are true.

**Zhou:** Have not many people who emigrated come back home?

**Szkladán:** Yes. According to the public figures the number is not great, but the Austro-Hungarian border has been opened, and it is certain that a good few have entered.

**Zhou:** How many had left?

**Szkladán:** Between twenty and thirty thousand people, the precise number is difficult to say.

**Zhou:** They are dissatisfied with socialism, and defying authority.

**Szkladán:** Clearly. Nagy said that the current riots are economic in character, but this is not true. Paris radio said that there are many people in Hungary who acquired military training on the Austrian border, and that they would return once again to Hungary.

**Zhou:** Among the demands of the crowd, there may those of economic character, but the bourgeois reactionaries and the imperialists want to overthrow the authorities. The leaders must unite with the great majority of the crowd, and they must fight against the reactionaries. But at this moment they are heading in the opposite direction.

**Szkladán:** The imperialists sow discord in the middle, want to profit from the middle. Unfortunately, upright people also took part in the demonstrations, they were too naïve, perhaps now they will see more clearly.

**Zhou:** Are there many in the crowds' number who follow the Revolutionary Committee?

**Szkladán:** A rather large part of them do. But as people come to see clearly the character of the Revolutionary Committee, they will see that they are striving for restoration, and it is possible that they will no longer believe in the Revolutionary Committee. In the embassy this is precisely the situation. As they see this danger, they will come to stand on the side of the Party.

**Zhou:** To what extent are the people dissatisfied with the Soviet Union?

**Szkladán:** As far as I can tell, more and more bitterly.

**Zhou:** Is this because of the past, or because the Soviet army is now helping to re-establish order in Hungary?

**Szkladán:** The Revolutionary Committee successfully fanned the flames of anti-Soviet sentiments. They say that the relationship between our countries is not equal, and so on. They say that Hungarian-Soviet friendship must be developed on the basis of equality.

**Zhou:** How many Party members are there?

**Szkladán:** 750,000 people. Some have been killed, and we are receiving an ever increasing number of names of Party members committing suicide.

**Zhou:** Some have been killed?

**Szkladán:** Yes. I do not know the exact number, but the number is growing.

**Zhou:** There is surely reactionary activity.

**Szkladán:** Yes.

**Zhou:** Is it not the case that the counter-revolution was not put down thoroughly in the past?

**Szkladán:** It is.

**Zhou:** During the suppression of the counter-revolution, the crowds were not mobilized, and not as Comrade [CCP Central Committee member] Luo Ruiqing said at the 8th Party congress?

**Szkladán:** Yes. Many people have been rehabilitated.

**Zhou:** Are there many rehabilitated among the intelligentsia?

**Szkladán:** Yes.

**Zhou:** Are the old intelligentsia many?

**Szkladán:** Their number is many. They constitute the majority of the intelligentsia.

**Zhou:** And the old intelligentsia are many in the scientific, educational and industrial institutions?

**Szkladán:** They all stayed there.

**Zhou:** Have you carried out ideological re-education work?

**Szkladán:** We have tried.

**Zhou:** As in China?

**Szkladán:** No. Only on a rather superficial level. We gave out some honors and medals, this is how we wanted to win them over, we carried out very little ideological training work.

**Zhou:** We only took up the intellectuals' question afterward, and proclaimed the Hundred Flowers policy once the counter-revolutionary suppression campaign and ideological re-education had run their course.

**Szkladán:** We also suggested many times that we should learn from China's experiences, but it is too late now.

**Zhou:** We also paid insufficient attention to you. Naturally, our experiences cannot be forced upon others, they are not wholly applicable to others. In the past, we did very little in the area of becoming acquainted with and researching your real situation.

**Szkladán:** [Our experiences are] not wholly applicable, but we can learn from each other. Comrade Kádár likes

Comrade Ho Chi Minh's attitude very much, he also wants to learn from Comrade Ho Chi Minh's attitude.

[...]

**Zhou:** An exceptionally difficult period is ahead of you.

**Szkladán:** It is very unfortunate. We hope that we can find a way out.

**Zhou:** It will be very tough.

**Szkladán:** Yes. It is my personal opinion that the fraternal countries might extend a little assistance to Hungary in the economic sphere, so that we avoid Hungary relying directly upon America. In the past, investment during the course of [national] construction was too much, and the total of our debts to the western countries is very high.

**Zhou:** Whether the West's control will materialize in the sphere of economics, that is only one question. But what is even more important is politics. You want to leave the socialist camp, you want to exit the Warsaw Pact – this is dangerous. There may be such people who are against this, and there will be more struggles in the future. The future is very tough. The question is whether it will be possible to organize the conscious people and continue the fight for the reversal of the situation. The Chinese people support the Hungarian people, and the struggle of Hungarian Party members for democracy, equality, independence and socialism.

**Szkladán:** Thank you.

**Zhou:** The people fighting for socialism and the party membership can count on the support of the Chinese people and party.

**Szkladán:** Thank you.

[...]