

## STATEMENT

Delivered by Comrade Todor Zhivkov at the Meeting of the  
Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Treaty Member-States,  
After the Second Declaration of the Albanian Delegation Leader Beqir Balluku  
(Transcript)

Comrades,

Following the second declaration of the Albanian delegation leader Comrade Beqir Balluku, we want to reiterate that the Albanian comrades, the leadership of the Albanian party and state, have adopted and are conducting an adventuristic course of action. This course of action is radically opposed to the interests of the Albanian people; it contradicts the interests of the socialist community, the unity and solidarity of the socialist countries, and Lenin's policy of peaceful coexistence between countries with different social systems.

Clearly, unless the Albanian comrades understand the deleterious route they have taken, there will be serious consequences for the Albanian people, for the People's Republic of Albania, and for socialism in Albania.

We are already fed up with being "taught" Marxism-Leninism by the Albanian comrades. What a nasty lack of modesty! They are teaching Marxism-Leninism not to someone else, but to the Central Committee of the Bolshevik Party! This is really an unenviable position and fate! They have the monopoly over Marxism-Leninism; they have the right to be the sole "judges" and "defenders" of the purity of Marxism-Leninism!

Instead of "teaching" us Marxism-Leninism, let the Albanian comrades take a closer look at their own party and state leadership and reveal the hand that has led them to this situation. We are deeply convinced that if they apply the right approach and look around, they will uncover the Albanian Beria, they will know who was an officer in [King] Zog's army, and who has graduated from an American college.

Comrade Beqir Balluku, as far as Comrades Liri Belishova and Kocho Tashko are concerned, we definitely need to state that their destiny is not merely an internal affair of the Albanian Labor Party. The history of the international communist and working-class movement includes more than one case of pursuing genuine communists. However, this

movement has always defended real communists and faithful Marxists-Leninists against the terror and persecution they have had to endure, against attempts to destroy them physically. What? You want to forbid us, the international communist movement, from defending the real Marxists-Leninists Liri Belishova and Kocho Tashko and other honest Albanian communists against persecution and repression by the Albanian leadership just because they have declared their support for the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the other fraternal parties, for the consolidation of the unity and solidarity of the socialist camp? It is the only reason that you qualify them as enemies of the Albanian Labor Party and the Albanian people; you create an unbearable environment of persecution against the honest Albanian communists and friends of the Soviet Union. And you want us to keep silent and to quietly observe this arbitrary act of yours and the shameful methods of revenge? No, this could not happen! The fate of Liri Belishova and Kocho Tashko is an issue for all fraternal parties because tolerating such methods of retaliation means undermining the reputation of socialism in front of all honest people in the world. I am convinced that not only our fraternal parties in the socialist countries, but also the entire international communist and working class movement will defend Comrades Liri Belishova, Kocho Tashko and the other honest Albanian comrades because they are real communists and faithful Marxists-Leninists, loyal comrades and friends of the Soviet Union and the socialist community, and honorable sons of the Albanian Labor Party and the Albanian people.

As far as the naval base in Vlorë is concerned, we need to think: What kind of naval base will it be under current conditions in Albania? Obviously, the suggestions made by the Supreme Commander of the Unified Armed Forces of the Warsaw Treaty Organization Marshal Grechko in his letter to the Albanian minister of defense after Beqir Balluku's two statements at the meeting of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Treaty Organization are insufficient. We share Comrade Khrushchev's concerns that given the current situation in Albania, it might be more reasonable to move this Warsaw Treaty naval base. The Albanian comrades should not forget that the naval base in Vlorë is needed mainly by the People's Republic of Albania, by the Albanian people, and through their conduct and course of action, they [the Albanian comrades] are taking historical responsibility for the Albanian Labor Party and the Albanian people.

I feel obliged, comrades, to say that we, the Bulgarian communists, unreservedly trusted the Albanian leadership. We established very close and sincere relations. I visited Albania at the end of 1959. I was received very well then. We conducted friendly talks with the Albanian comrades, with Comrade Enver Hoxha and other Albanian leaders. They asked us to provide additional assistance to Albania. I can inform you that even though Bulgaria has weaker economic capabilities compared to the developed socialist

countries, even though our country gets credits from the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia and other countries, we granted Albania 35 million rubles. We realize now that we were wrong about the Albanian leadership. Unfortunately, the Albanian comrades were not honest with us.

We hope that the leadership of the Albanian Labor Party will have the courage to change this hazardous course of action, to change this non-internationalist attitude toward the Soviet Union, toward the socialist camp, toward the Warsaw Treaty Organization. This will be in the interests of the Albanian people, in the interests of socialist construction in Albania. We would be truly happy if this happens. Thank you for your attention.

*(Central State Archive, Sofia, Fond 378-B, Opis 1, File 60, p. 26-31)*

*[Translation by Jordan Baev]*