

MEHMET SHEHU

ON THE STAND
OF THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF ALBANIA
TOWARDS THE WARSAW TREATY

TIRANA, 1968

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**Chairman of the Council of Ministers
of the People's Republic of Albania**

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OF THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF ALBANIA
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Comrade Deputies,

This Session of the People's Assembly has been convened at the request of the Government, in compliance with the decision of the 5th Plenum of the Party Central Committee, assembled on the 5th of this month, with a view to examining the proposal on the denunciation of the Warsaw Treaty and to relieving the People's Republic of Albania of every obligation stemming from this treaty. For this, it is necessary that the People's Assembly should abrogate the law N^o. 2063, dated May 28, 1955 on the ratification of the Treaty of friendship, collaboration and mutual aid, concluded on May 14, 1955 in Warsaw, between the People's Republic of Albania, the People's Republic of Bulgaria, the People's Republic of Hungary, the German Democratic Republic, the People's Republic of Poland, the People's Republic of Rumania, the Union of the Soviet Socialist Republics and the Czechoslovak Republic.

The Council of Ministers decided to present to the People's Assembly the proposal on the denunciation of the Warsaw Treaty and the withdrawal of the People's Republic of Albania from this treaty, following a careful and responsible examination of the situation created in the Warsaw

Treaty organisation and following the approval by the Party Central Committee.

It is known that the Soviet revisionist leadership and the revisionist leaderships of the other countries participating in the Warsaw Treaty have long excluded «de facto» the People's Republic of Albania from the Warsaw Treaty. This has happened because the People's Republic of Albania has never accepted the activity of the Soviet revisionist leadership for the violation and throwing over of the principles and provisions of the Warsaw Treaty and to turn this treaty into a tool in its hands to dictate its chauvinistic and great state will on the countries and peoples participating in the treaty, so that, as it is said in the Declaration of the Party Central Committee and of our Government on the aggression of the Soviet revisionists and their satellites against the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic and the Czechoslovak people, «the Warsaw Treaty, from a peace treaty has been turned into a treaty of enslaving war, from a treaty of defence against the imperialist aggression, it has been turned into an aggressive treaty against the very socialist countries».

It is high time for the People's Republic of Albania to withdraw from the Warsaw Treaty «de jure» as well, and this action will be carried out by us, the representatives of the Albanian people, being fully aware that this is a revolutionary action which fully complies with the supreme class interests of our socialist homeland and of revolution in general in the present-day conditions.

As it is known, the Warsaw Treaty was signed

in 1955 with the free will of the 8 (eight) participating socialist states. This treaty expressed the policy of these countries for the defence of their common interests and aims from the aggressive plans and aims of the NATO imperialist military bloc, created and led by the United States of America, in which part is taken also by revanchist West Germany. Thus, when the Warsaw Treaty was created, it was aimed at the defence of the participating countries against the imperialist aggression and West German revanchism, it was a defence treaty, just, indispensable and which fully complied with the supreme interests of the countries participating in it. The Warsaw Treaty was created as a counter-weight to the NATO imperialist treaty. The Warsaw Treaty was based on the lofty principles of Marxism-Leninism, the brotherly friendship of the sovereign and equal socialist states, their determination for the further strengthening of the internationalist fraternal relations, of collaboration and all-out mutual aid, respect for sovereignty and national independence, noninterference in the domestic affairs of one another. The Warsaw Treaty was an expression of the relations of internationalist proletarian solidarity existing between the participating countries at the time of its signature.

The Albanian people greeted the Warsaw Treaty as a factor of great political, military and economic importance which was to play a great rôle not only in the defence of the participating countries against the aggressive plans and policy of the NATO powers, but also to contribute to the fur-

ther strengthening and development of each participating state, on the basis of the fraternal collaboration of the participating countries in the treaty, on the road of socialism and communism, to contribute, likewise, to the all-out strengthening of the entire socialist camp and of peace in Europe and in the world.

Such were the principles, the spirit and lofty aims for which the Warsaw Treaty was created 13 years ago.

But, during these 13 years, the situation has radically changed. The Soviet revisionist leadership, implementing the counterrevolutionary revisionist line mapped out at the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, gradually changed the character of the Warsaw Treaty, it thoroughly upset its defensive character and turned it into a tool in its hands to enslave the peoples of the very countries participating in this treaty. The Soviet Khrushchovite leadership, in contrast with the principles of the Warsaw Treaty and with the interests of the socialist camp, of the freedom of the peoples and of world peace, concluded and is constantly developing the «holy alliance» with U.S. imperialism for the domination of the world by the United States of America, which is the main force of world imperialism, and by the Soviet Union, which has become the main force of modern revisionism and of counterrevolution in the world. They and their lackeys that belong to the Warsaw Treaty have long excluded «de facto» the People's Republic of Albania from the Warsaw Treaty, inasmuch as the Party of Labor of Albania does

not submit to the revisionist dictate of the Khrushchovite leadership of the Soviet Union. The Moscow revisionist clique is acting in the most dissolute way against the interests of socialism, for the defence of which the Warsaw Treaty has been created, so that it finally went to such lengths as to carry out the most humiliating action for the Soviet Union and the Soviet people, the thorough-going crime through the fascist type aggression against the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic and the Czechoslovak people.

In these conditions, to remain in the Warsaw Treaty, to call oneself a member of the Warsaw Treaty would mean to belong to an aggressive, antisocialist treaty, to be a lackey of the Kremlin revisionist clique and to back up its counterrevolutionary actions against the freedom of the peoples of the socialist countries, to back up its policy against the liberation struggle of the peoples, against peace in Europe and in the world, and the policy of the Soviet — U.S. collaboration for the domination of the world by these two great powers.

The Government of the People's Republic of Albania, led by the correct Marxist-Leninist general line of our glorious Party, has always remained true to the aims for which the Warsaw Treaty was created and to the obligations stemming from this treaty. In all its attitudes and activity it has fully implemented the fundamental provisions of this treaty. At the same time, the Albanian government has waged a principled, consistent and very difficult and complicated struggle against the undermining activity carried out by the revisionist

leadership of the Soviet Union and its lackeys in the Warsaw Treaty for the distortion and throwing over of the principles on which the Warsaw Treaty was based.

It is known that the Warsaw Treaty was created in May 1955, while at the beginning of 1956 there was held the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, where the arch-revisionist Nikita Khrushchov upset the previous correct Marxist-Leninist line of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union of Lenin-Stalin and replaced it with the Khrushchovite counterrevolutionary revisionist line. The 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union marked the beginning of counterrevolution in the Soviet Union, as well as in many other socialist countries, it marked a counterrevolutionary disastrous turning-point for the Soviet Union and created tremendous difficulties for the entire international communist movement.

With the course of events, with the implementation of the revisionist and counterrevolutionary line of the 20th Congress on the part of the Khrushchovite leadership of the Soviet Union, the Party of Labour of Albania, under the leadership of its Central Committee headed by Comrade Enver Hoxha, by its revolutionary class perspicacity that characterizes it, perceived the real aims of the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and, remaining faithful to Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, started its resistance to the aims of the Soviet revisionist leadership also within the framework of the Warsaw Treaty This resis-

tance has undergone the process of its development, passing from simple remarks and initial resistance up to the active and open action against the revisionist line of the Soviet Khrushchovite leadership and its lackeys. We opposed at the very outset, in various forms, to the extent we were allowed by the circumstances of that time, the conclusions of the 20th Congress, so that this initial resistance by our Party was quickly perceived by Nikita Khrushchov. We have opposed the pressures of the Khrushchovite leadership of the Soviet Union to weaken the defensive might of our country, we have striven for the implementation of the principle of equality in the context of the direction of the activity of the Warsaw Treaty, we have insisted on the defence of the interests of socialism and of the socialist camp against the first manifestations of violation of these interests by Nikita Khrushchov and his circle, etc.

But the frictions of our Party and our Government with the Soviet revisionist leadership were transformed into explosion at the Bucharest Conference and, especially, at the Moscow Conference of the Communist and Workers Parties, in the year 1960. There, our Party openly attacked the whole undermining activity of the Soviet revisionist leadership headed by Nikita Khrushchov, and this heroic and revolutionary action of our Party will remain one of the most brilliant pages not only of the history of our Party, but also of the history of the entire international communist and workers movement. The speech delivered by Comrade Enver Hoxha at the Moscow conference, in November 1960,

will remain an everlasting glorious monument in the history of the international communist and workers movement, it makes up an exceptional contribution of our Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha to the exposure of the Khrushchovite revisionist clique and to the defence of the purity of Marxism-Leninism on a world scale.

These revolutionary consistent and courageous attitudes of our Party infuriated the revisionist leadership of the Soviet Union and its vassals. Beginning from that time, Nikita Khrushchov and his collaborators intensified in an exceptional way their counterrevolutionary and chauvinistic activity against our Party, our Government and our people.

In this way, in open contrast with the spirit and provisions of the Warsaw Treaty, in March 1961, the Soviet government, headed by Nikita Khrushchov, transformed the meeting of the Warsaw Treaty Consultative Political Committee from a consultation meeting between equal partners, into a tribune of calumnies, pressures and blackmail against the People's Republic of Albania, and sought in every way to dictate to our Party and Government the great state will and policy. In opposition to all norms of organisation and functioning of the Warsaw Treaty and entirely departing from the discussion of the items on the agenda for which the consultative Political Committee was convened, under the dictate of the Soviet Government at this meeting savage attacks were launched against the People's Republic of Albania, most clumsily distorting the facts about the correct policy of the Albanian Government and about the

situation of the Albanian-Soviet relations. This meeting, which has remained as a black spot in the Warsaw Treaty history, has served as an open starting point for the entire later activity, exceptionally hostile and anti-Albanian, which the Soviet Government and the governments of the other member countries of this treaty and lackeys of the Soviet revisionist leadership have carried out for years in succession against our socialist country within the framework of the Warsaw Treaty.

At the meeting of the Warsaw Treaty Consultative Political Committee which was held in the month of August 1961, the Soviet Government of Nikita Khrushchov and the governments of the other countries participating in the treaty, infuriated by the principled and inflexible attitude of our Party and Government in defence of the interests of our socialist homeland and of Marxism-Leninism, in defence of the very principles on which the Warsaw Treaty was built up, went still further. Under false and absurd pretexts, they went to such lengths as to deny the lawful right of the delegation of the People's Republic of Albania to take part in this meeting. Such an attitude, essentially hostile, discriminatory and in flagrant opposition to the treaty provisions, was another desperate attempt of the Soviet revisionist leadership to impose its reactionary will on our country, to establish its hegemony within the framework of the Warsaw Treaty and to treat the members of this treaty not as members with equal rights, but like humble servants, obedient to the Moscow revisionist dictate.

Beginning especially from 1961, the Soviet re-

visionit Government and the governments of the other member countries of the Warsaw Treaty, have unscrupulously violated the provisions of this treaty as to the rights of the People's Republic of Albania concerning the United Command of the treaty armed forces and the other questions of military character.

The article 5 of the Treaty stipulates that the United Command «... will function on the basis of the jointly fixed principles», and that the contracting parties «... will adopt also other coordinated measures that are needed to strengthen their defensive capacity, with a view to defending the peaceful work of their peoples, guaranteeing the inviolability of their borders and territories and ensuring the defence from any possible aggression». The Declaration on the creation of the United Command says likewise that «the Defence Ministers or other military leaders of the signatory countries of the treaty are appointed Deputy General Commanders of the united armed forces». But the Soviet revisionists and their followers, in full opposition to these just provisions, have organized numerous meetings with the participation of the Defence Ministers of the other Warsaw Treaty states and of their military representatives, without asking and without inviting the representatives of the People's Republic of Albania and in their absence. At these meetings they have examined various problems of political and military character and they have adopted important decisions on questions relating to the strengthening of fighting pre-

paredness of the armed forces of these countries, as well as many other questions.

The other Warsaw Treaty countries, under the dictate of the Soviet revisionist leadership have organized many times military exercises and manoeuvres without the participation of the People's Republic of Albania.

Practically, the Warsaw Treaty forces have been transformed into component parts of the armed forces of the Soviet Union. The Defence Ministers of the countries participating in the treaty not only no longer have any competence to perform their functions as Deputy General Commanders of the treaty's united armed forces, but things have gone to such lengths that the General Commander of the Warsaw Treaty united forces is always one of the Deputy Defence Ministers of the Soviet Union who receives orders from the Defence Minister of the Soviet Union and from the Kremlin Khrushchov clique and not from the Treaty's Consultative Political Committee. Likewise, the General Staff of the united forces is entirely in the hands of the Soviet army officers, as a component branch of the General Staff of the Soviet Army, while the other countries participating in the treaty have no say whatever in the matter: they must only obey the orders and decisions of the men of the Soviet Khrushchov clique in everything.

In this way, within the framework of the Warsaw Treaty there has remained no sign whatever of the principle of equality between the countries participating in the treaty, the same as, if

not worse, than in the North Atlantic Treaty where the U.S. imperialists are ruling.

It is also known that in September 1957, within the framework of the collaboration between the Warsaw Treaty member countries, there was concluded the agreement between the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of Albania on the creation of the military-naval base of Vlora. This was both in the interest of the defence of the People's Republic of Albania as well as in the collective interest of the strengthening of the defence of the socialist camp within the framework of the Warsaw Treaty. But the Vlora base was remaining an Albanian base where, in accordance with the agreement, only we Albanians were commanding, it was subject to the orders of the Albanian Government, and all the military-naval means were property of the People's Republic of Albania. However, the Government of the Soviet Union, in contrast with the provisions of the Warsaw Treaty and of the other agreements concluded within the framework of this Treaty between the Government of the People's Republic of Albania and the Government of the Soviet Union, sought by all means to impose its will of a great state chauvinist on our Government and on our armed forces, trying to have the Soviet military-men behave themselves at the Vlora base as if the latter were not on the territory of the People's Republic of Albania, but as if it were on the territory of the Soviet Union or of some vassal country. Our Party and our Government opposed with the greatest determination all these attempts of the Soviet revisionist leadership and

defended with dignity the interests of the Albanian People and of our socialist homeland.

Finally, in May 1961, the Soviet Government headed by Nikita Khrushchov, in contrast with the agreements concluded with our Government and in an arbitrary way, robbed us by force of 8 (eight) submarines which were the property of the Albanian State and which were moored at the Vlora base, as well as the Albanian warships that were moored at the Sevastopol port, and the Soviet military-men left the Vlora base. The Soviet Union expelled all the Albanian army officers and military-men on probation, who were studying at military schools and academies in the Soviet Union and, at the same time, demanded the departure, within 24 hours, from the territory of the Soviet Union of the permanent representative of the General Staff of the People's Army of the People's Republic of Albania under the United Command of the Warsaw Treaty in Moscow.

The Soviet military-men sent to the Vlora base, carrying out Nikita Khrushchov's directives, sought in all their ways to provoke a pretext for a Soviet military interference against the People's Republic of Albania for dark purposes of occupation and in opposition to the provisions of the Warsaw Treaty. But the Party Central Committee and our Government showed themselves vigilant towards these dark aims of the Soviet revisionists, acted in a cool manner and with determination defending with dignity the supreme interests of the Albanian people, until the Soviet revisionists withdrew completely from the Vlora base. The de-

fence of the interests of the homeland and of the people by our Party, our Government and our army within the framework of our relations with the Soviet revisionist leadership concerning the Vlora military-naval base, caused the Soviet revisionists to be exposed in their dark aims against the sovereignty of our country and led to the final departure of these provocators from our territory. We consider a friend like a friend, whereas the enemies have no place on Albanian territory.

The Warsaw Treaty provisions stipulated also that the contracting parties «will act in the spirit of friendship and collaboration, so that the economic and cultural relations between them should further strengthen and develop, following the principles of mutual respect for their independence and sovereignty, as well as of noninterference in their internal affairs» (article 8). In contrast with these principles and provisions, the Soviet Government, extending the ideological differences also to state relations with our country, violated and destroyed unilaterally all the concluded agreements: it cancelled all the credits accorded to the People's Republic of Albania through regular agreements for the 1959-1965 period, it cancelled all the agreements duly concluded between the two countries, it withdrew all the Soviet specialists from Albania, it fully suspended all collaboration and economic, trade, technical and scientific and cultural relations and organized the economic, political and military blockade against socialist Albania.

On the other hand, the arch-renegade Nikita

Khrushchov made great promises to the Greek chauvinists for the fulfilment of their aspirations against the territorial integrity of the People's Republic of Albania.

Pursuing this hostile road, the Soviet revisionists went as far as to make an open call on the Albanian people, from the rostrum of their 22nd Congress, for counterrevolution, to overthrow the Marxist-Leninist leadership of our Party and State and to replace it with a revisionist leadership that would be a servant of the Khrushchovite leadership of the Soviet Union. The Soviet revisionist leadership plotted actively several times, indeed in close collaboration with the external enemies of our country, to change the situation in Albania in favor of revisionism and counterrevolution. But all these plots failed with shame owing to the revolutionary vigilance, to the steel-like unity and determination of our Party and our people.

The article 3 of the Warsaw Treaty stipulates that «the contracting parties will consult one another on all the important international questions relating to their common interests, being guided by the interests of the strengthening of peace and international security».

But this important provision of the Warsaw Treaty has long been buried by the Soviet revisionist leadership, especially as regards its consultation with socialist Albania. The Soviet leadership has acted and is acting at its will, it consults none of the Warsaw Treaty members as to what it will do on the international arena, but it dictates its will to them, it forces them to approve «without

reservations» every step of the Soviet revisionist leadership in international issues. The Government of the People's Republic of Albania was not consulted, it was not invited to the meeting and was not even informed of the arbitrary, unjust and unjustifiable postponement of the signature, within the year 1961, of the Peace Treaty with the two German states, or only with the German Democratic Republic where there was to be settled at the same time the issue of West Berlin, as it was long decided in common.

Although the article 7 of the Warsaw Treaty stipulates that «the contracting parties pledge themselves not to participate in any coalition or alliance whatsoever and not to conclude any agreement whatsoever, whose aims are in contrast with the aims of this treaty», the Government of the Soviet Union, beginning from the year 1961, following with consistency and great zeal the course of the alliance with the United States of America, has carried out numerous bargainings with U.S. imperialism to the detriment of the interests of the socialist countries and of the peoples of the world and has concluded a series of agreements which are entirely to the detriment of the interests of socialism and revolution and to the advantage of U.S. imperialism.

In the year 1963, the Soviet revisionist leadership concluded with the United States of America and Britain the ill-famed tri-partite Moscow Treaty on the Partial Prohibition of the Nuclear Weapons Tests, and a few months ago the Soviet revisionists concluded with the U.S. imperialists also the

Treaty on Nonproliferation of Nuclear Weapons. The Government of the People's Republic of Albania has not been consulted at all about these agreements, as provided for by the article 7 of the Warsaw Treaty, and it is opposed to these agreements between reactionaries and imperialists.

The Tri-partite Moscow Treaty and the Treaty on Nonproliferation of Nuclear Weapons supplement one another, they serve the same objectives. By means of these treaties, the two great powers, the Soviet Union and the United States of America, aim at securing for themselves a position of supremacy towards the countries not possessing atomic weapons, at placing these countries under their control and at resorting to the blackmail of nuclear weapons to facilitate the implementation of the global strategy of the U.S. — Soviet alliance, which is the most thorough-going plot towards socialism and communism, towards the peoples fighting against imperialism, for their freedom, independence and national sovereignty.

Our Government has condemned these two treaties as a new U.S. — Soviet counterrevolutionary plot against the interests of the peoples and which are in flagrant contradiction with the spirit and provisions of the Warsaw Treaty.

These two imperialist-revisionist treaties are directed, in the first place, against the People's Republic of China, to «contain» People's China, so that she should not have nuclear weapons. But this plot of the U.S. — Soviet counterrevolutionary alliance has long failed, too: Great People's China, which accounts for one-fourth of the world's popu-

lation, resolutely advancing on the road enlightened by the Marxist-Leninist teachings and ideas of Comrade Mao Tse-tung, has long finally broken the imperialist-revisionist nuclear monopoly, and there is no treaty, plot and force in the world capable of curbing and preventing her from marching always ahead on the road of revolution, socialism and communism.

The real strength of a nation and a people does not consist in arms but in men, in their conscience because in the last analysis the fate of the war is not decided upon by weapons, but by man. And the new man, genuine revolutionary, of socialist China, or of socialist Albania, is much stronger than any imperialist or revisionist nuclear arsenal in the world. We wish that the nuclear potential of the People's Republic of China become ever stronger because nuclear weapons in the hands of the 700-million strong revolutionary people of China, brought up with the teachings and ideas of the great Marxist-Leninist, Comrade Mao Tse-tung, are only in the service of real peace in Asia and in the world, in the service of the defence of the sovereignty of the People's Republic of China, of the defence of the interests of the freedom of the peoples and of revolution.

The Soviet revisionist leadership has made bargains with the U.S. imperialists on questions relating to «European security» as well as on the conclusion of an agreement for a «non-aggression pact» between the Warsaw Treaty and the NATO, etc. All this has been done without consulting the Albanian Government and in opposition to the

Warsaw Treaty provisions. By these actions, the Soviet revisionist leadership has channelled the Warsaw Treaty into the service of the interests of U.S. imperialism, against the interests of socialism, of the freedom of the peoples and of peace in the world.

The use of the Warsaw Treaty by the Soviet revisionists as a tool against the liberation and revolutionary struggle of the peoples, is mirrored also in the demagogical attitudes and in the plots hatched up within the framework of this treaty concerning the struggle of the Vietnamese people against the U.S. aggressors. The Soviet revisionists and their lackeys in the Warsaw Treaty make a big fuss about the «aid» which they give to the Vietnamese people in their struggle against the U.S. aggressors and, on the other hand, they leave no stone unturned to help the U.S. imperialists to subdue the heroic struggle of the Vietnamese people through the so-called «peace talks» which are nothing else but a big plot of open betrayal against the heroic struggle of the Vietnamese people and in the service of U.S. imperialism.

Under the mask of the Warsaw Treaty, the Soviet revisionist leadership and its servants pose themselves in this treaty as «the most fiery defenders» of the Arab peoples in their just struggle against the Israeli-imperialist aggression, while, on the other side, they do everything in their power to undermine the struggle of the Arab people and to back up the aims of U.S. imperialism through the Israeli aggressive action.

All these actions not only have discredited the Warsaw Treaty before all the peoples of the world, but they have turned it into a tool in the hands of the Moscow chauvinist revisionists for the attainment of their aims using it as an important lever in the further and continuous deepening of the Soviet — U.S. alliance for the domination of the world by these two great powers.

Comrade Deputies,

Starting from the beginning of the year 1961, the Government of the People's Republic of Albania has not been consulted and has never been invited to attend the numerous meetings that have been held within the framework of the Warsaw Treaty, and it has never been informed by the participants in these meetings of the decisions that have been adopted there. For all these decisions and actions, which in general are in contrast with the interests of the People's Republic of Albania, of socialism and peace, the People's Republic of Albania bears no responsibility whatsoever.

The Soviet Government and the governments of the other member states of the Warsaw Treaty, denied our country its lawful rights in the treaty, they placed it in conditions of inequality and discrimination, they sought to humiliate it by all sorts of intrigues, attacks and conspiracies. But the People's Republic of Albania, by its correct and heroic attitude, caused all the attempts and hostile actions of these renegades to

fail. It has patiently undertaken serious, repeated approaches to the Warsaw Treaty organs and to the governments of the member states, calling on them to reflect on the situation created in the fold of the treaty and to mend without delay the great damages caused to the supreme interests of the member states and to the whole of the socialist camp.

In its official notes and letters addressed to other Warsaw Treaty member governments, our Government had warned them of the serious dangers that were threatening the Warsaw Treaty due to their anti-Albania and anti-socialist actions.

In its note of February 5, 1962, after mentioning the continuous violations of the Warsaw Treaty by the Soviet Government concerning the People's Republic of Albania, our government pointed out that «... every Warsaw Treaty meeting held without consulting and without inviting also the Government of the People's Republic of Albania and every decision adopted at such a meeting are unlawful and unbinding, for in such conditions of brutal violation of the rights of a member state, the Warsaw Treaty itself remains without acting force, for which are responsible the governments of the other participating states in the treaty».

Likewise, in its note of March 14, 1963, our government once more stated that «... the Soviet Government headed by Nikita Khrushchov and, following it, the governments of the other member states, for a longtime now not only are not implementing the Warsaw Treaty concerning the People's Republic of Albania, but they have completely violated this treaty».

In its letter addressed to the meeting of the Warsaw Treaty Consultative Political Committee in January 1965, our government called the attention of the member states to the fact that they were allowing the Soviet government to carry out acts which had as their aim the degeneration of the treaty. That letter forcefully stressed that «..... a special responsibility rests with the other member states for having allowed the Soviet government headed by Nikita Khrushchov to carry out actions exceptionally hostile towards the People's Republic of Albania, a socialist state and an equal effective member of the Warsaw Treaty».

In its note of July 19, 1966, our government pointed out: «the Government of the Soviet Union, brutally ignoring the sovereign rights of the Warsaw Treaty member states, continues unscrupulously to violate the fundamental principles and provisions of this treaty, seeking to use it as a tool of its chauvinistic policy of a great power, and as a means of capitulation before U.S. imperialism».

All the official documents of our government, addressed to the Warsaw Treaty members, clearly mirror the entirely correct, Marxist-Leninist and internationalist attitude of our Party and Government towards the situation created in the treaty as a result of the harmful actions of the Soviet Government and of the governments of the other member countries.

Comrade Enver Hoxha said at the 5th Congress of our Party: «Our Party and Government have waged and are waging a resolute struggle against

the criminal attempts of the Khrushchovite revisionists and their followers to use the Warsaw Treaty and the Mutual Economic Aid Council as an instrument of pressure, intervention and aggression against our country. We shall defend our rights through to the end and we shall insistently expose the betrayal and conspiracies of the new Czars of the Kremlin, not only as regards the interests and rights of Albania, but also regarding the rights and interests of socialism and of peace in general».

Comrade Deputies,

Our Party and Government, as you see, have long warned the Warsaw Treaty member countries that the Soviet revisionist clique is seeking to use this treaty «as an instrument of its great power chauvinistic policy», and that «it is placing the Warsaw Treaty in the service of the policy of the Soviet-U.S. collaboration».

These objective forecasts of our Party and Government were confirmed by life itself. This is most evidently shown before the whole world by the recent barbarous aggression on the part of the Soviet revisionists and their lackeys, members of the Warsaw Treaty, against the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic and the Czechoslovak people, by militarily occupying the whole territory of Czechoslovakia through their armed forces.

The military aggression against Czechoslovakia is an aggression against a country which is a

member of the Warsaw Treaty, as is the case with the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, on the part of five other countries, also members of the Warsaw Treaty — the Soviet Union, the German Democratic Republic, the People's Republic of Poland, the People's Republic of Hungary and the People's Republic of Bulgaria. The aggression was carried out on behalf of the Warsaw Treaty, in the most perfidious manner. It is a fascist-type aggression.

The aggression against Czechoslovakia and the latter's military occupation by the Soviet revisionists and their satellites, definitely buried all the just principles and aims which the Warsaw Treaty had at the time when it was created 13 years ago. This shameful aggression definitely turned the Warsaw Treaty into an enslaving instrument, into an aggressive pact in the hands of the Soviet revisionist clique for the implementation of its great state chauvinistic policy, for the suppression of the freedom of the peoples and the enslavement of the very member countries of this treaty.

The source of the aggression of the Soviet revisionists and their satellites against Czechoslovakia is to be sought and found at the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, which overthrew the Marxist-Leninist line of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union of Lenin-Stalin and replaced it with the counterrevolutionary revisionist line of Nikita Khrushchov. The implementation of the line of the 20th Congress by the Moscow Khrushchovites led to the complete bourgeois degeneration of life in the Soviet Union, to the transformation of the Soviet Union into a capi-

talist state and into a center of modern revisionism, into the most thorough-going and profitable ally of U.S. imperialism.

The 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union brought about a vigorous flourishing of modern revisionism in all the countries of People's Democracy in Europe, with the exception of the People's Republic of Albania where the banner of Marxism-Leninism was raised still higher in the hands of the Party of Labor of Albania and its Central Committee headed by Comrade Enver Hoxha.

Both the Novotny revisionist group, as well as the Dubcek revisionist group in Czechoslovakia are a product of the extension of the implementation of the revisionist line of the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union also to Czechoslovakia. The difference between these two Czechoslovak revisionist groups consists only in the extent of their submission to the Moscow revisionist clique: the Novotny group stood for the complete submission of Czechoslovakia to the Brezhnev-Kosygin clique, whereas the Dubcek group was seeking to detach itself from this Khrushchovite clique of the Soviet Union.

When the occupation armies of the Soviet revisionists and their satellites suddenly and perfidiously attacked the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic and the Czechoslovak people, the Dubcek and Svoboda revisionist clique called on the Czechoslovak people and ordered the army not to resist aggression. This was a shameful capitulation of the Czechoslovak revisionist clique before the

foreign invaders, it was the highest betrayal of the interests of the Czechoslovak people.

But the betrayal of the Dubcek-Svoboda clique did not end at that. It is known that the Soviet invaders, from the very first day of their aggression and occupation, arrested Dubcek and his closest collaborators and deported them to the Soviet Union. On the third day of the occupation, the Soviet revisionists inasmuch as they were unable to find a basis for the creation of a puppet government as they had hoped, compelled the President of Czechoslovakia, Ludwig Svoboda, to go to Moscow to be dictated to the occupation conditions. Svoboda went to Moscow and kissed with great love the hangmen of the Czechoslovak people, Brezhnev, Kosygin and Podgorny.

During the forced and humiliating negotiations that were held in the Kremlin, the Soviet revisionists brought from deportation, humiliated and reduced to their knees before them, into the negotiations hall, the head of Czechoslovak revisionism, Alexander Dubcek and his closest collaborators, Cernik, Smrkovski, etc., while the Soviet tanks were exercising the iron occupation throughout Czechoslovakia and were crushing under their tracks the Czechoslovak people. In these conditions of the fascist-type dictate there was signed the latest Moscow agreement between the Czechoslovak revisionist leaders and the Soviet revisionist leaders. The Dubcek-Svoboda clique, to save their skin from death, capitulated still further, they accepted the conditions of the Soviet occupation of Czechoslovakia and turned thereby into a clique of collabora-

tionists and quislings in order to carry out blindly and humbly the orders of the savage invaders for the suppression of the freedom of the Czechoslovak people.

Our Party, Government and people denounce and condemn with the greatest determination, both the brutal aggression of the Soviet revisionists and their servants against Czechoslovakia and the fraternal Czechoslovak people, as well as the Czechoslovak revisionist leadership headed by Alexander Dubcek, who placed themselves in the full service of the invader and are performing the functions of a collaborationist and quisling government carrying out the orders dictated by the occupationist for the enslavement of the Czechoslovak revolutionary people.

Our Party, Government and people congratulate the fraternal Czechoslovak people on the fact that, despite the repeated calls of the Czechoslovak revisionist chiefs to unconditionally submit to foreign occupation and not to put up any resistance whatsoever in defence of the homeland, they met the occupation of their homeland with an organized resistance, although in its initial size, and are manifesting their opposition also to the Dubcek-Svoboda collaborationist clique.

Our Party, Government and people have faith in the revolutionary spirit of the fraternal Czechoslovak people, they are confident that the Czechoslovak people will not reconcile themselves with the occupation of their Homeland, but they will fight against this occupation in all the forms of the liberation and people's war. They are confident that

the Czechoslovak people will not reconcile themselves to the collaborationist Dubcek leadership or to anyone else that would submit to the dictate of the occupationists, they are confident that the Czechoslovak people will fight against the fiendish schemes of the imperialists and revanchists. Under the leadership of the genuine Marxist-Leninist communists and of the revolutionary working class, the Czechoslovak people will for sure develop their struggle for freedom leading it towards higher forms also of the armed struggle, up to the complete liberation of their Homeland from the foreign invader and the restoration of the dictatorship of the proletariat in Czechoslovakia. They must not allow themselves to be deceived by illusions and compromises, by the promises of the occupationists, by the demagoguery of local revisionists and collaborationists, by the flatteries of the imperialists and by the «sympathy» of sham friends. The Czechoslovak people's struggle for freedom will be a protracted and difficult one. But it will without fail lead to the victory of the Czechoslovak people. In their sacred struggle for freedom and socialism, the Czechoslovak people are not alone, they enjoy the sympathy of all the freedom-loving peoples of the world, including here the peoples of the Soviet Union, Poland, of the German Democratic Republic, Hungary and Bulgaria who are suffering under the heel of the same revisionist cliques of their respective countries that organized and carried out the aggression against Czechoslovakia and her occupation. On the side of the Czechoslovak people are all the real revolutionaries of the world. The

Albanian people will always stand on the side of the Czechoslovak people in the latter's just struggle for freedom and socialism.

The aggression of the Soviet revisionists and their lackeys against Czechoslovakia and the Czechoslovak people terribly stained the reputation and honor of the Soviet Union, of the Soviet people, of the Soviet soldier. Whereas during the Second World War the Soviet soldier of Stalin came in Czechoslovakia as liberator, today, blindly carrying out the orders of the Brezhnev-Kosygin revisionist clique, the Soviet soldier presents himself before the Czechoslovak people as an occupationist, as a «zakhvatchik» — as he is rightfully called by the Czechoslovak people. What terrible and tragic changes since the death of great Stalin! But we have faith in the Soviet people and in the genuine revolutionary communists of the Soviet Union, we are confident that they will not tolerate for long this humiliation brought to them by the revisionist renegade clique which is ruling today in Kremlin, we are confident that they will rise one day, just as they rose during the Great October Revolution, and will overthrow their revisionist traitorous leadership and will bring the Soviet Union back to the correct road of Lenin and Stalin.

The Soviet revisionist leadership has so much degenerated that it has lost all feeling and reason of human morals. Only perfidy is its morals. This clique of renegades has perfidiously behaved with regard to the Albanian people, it is perfidiously behaving towards the Vietnamese people, it is

perfidiously behaving with regard to the Arab people, it perfidiously behaved towards the Czechoslovak people, it perfidiously behaves with regard to anyone. And who can trust anymore the Soviet revisionist clique? Nobody in the world, not only their enemies, but also their friends do not trust the present-day perfidious Kremlin rulers.

All the tactical actions of the Soviet revisionist leadership, including its actions within the framework of the Warsaw Treaty, are subject to the ultimate aims of its global strategy which is based on the Soviet-U.S. alliance for the domination of the world.

Why do the U.S. imperialists accept the occupation of Czechoslovakia by the armies of the five Warsaw Treaty countries? Because the spheres of influence have long been divided: Czechoslovakia belongs to the Soviet revisionist domination. Tomorrow, should the working class, let us say in Spain, rise in revolution for the overthrow of the Franco dictatorship and the establishment of the People's Power, certainly the United States of America will interfere to quell the revolution under the chains of its tanks, and the Soviet revisionists, if they will still be in power at that time, will accept this interference of U.S. imperialism because Spain belongs to the American sphere of influence.

While U.S. imperialism is accepting today the occupation of Czechoslovakia by the five Warsaw Treaty countries, it does so in exchange for the active collaboration of the Soviet revisionist leadership to organize the capitulation and the quelling

of the struggle of the Vietnamese people against the U.S. aggression.

Today the freedom and sovereignty of the peoples, the world peace, are seriously at stake. This danger draws its source from the U.S.-Soviet collaboration. This counterrevolutionary collusion has as its ultimate aim the domination of the world by these two great powers. The NATO aggressive bloc, which is an enslaving tool in the hands of the United States of America, on the one hand, and the Warsaw Treaty, which has been turned into an enslaving tool in the hands of the Soviet revisionist leaders, on the other, are the foundation of the aggressive force on which the counterrevolutionary action of the U.S.-Soviet collaboration is based, for the realisation of their enslaving aims for the domination of the world by means of the club, fire and sword.

Today it is the historic duty of all the peoples of the world to rise up, to unite and fight without compromise and through to the end against the U.S.-Soviet alliance for the domination of the world, to frustrate the aggressive plans of this alliance, to save the freedom of the peoples and the sovereignty of the nations from the danger threatening them on the part of the two worst enemies: U.S. imperialism and the Soviet revisionism great state chauvinism.

«Peace» in Europe — war in Asia, — this is the main pivot of the global strategy of the U.S.-Soviet alliance. All and every action of these two imperialist powers, in the last analysis, is aimed at this.

Why are all the spears, both those of the U.S. imperialists and those of the Soviet revisionists, directed towards Asia? Because there stands great People's China, which has become the most powerful and insurmountable obstacle on the way of the U.S.-Soviet imperialist and revisionist plans for the domination of the world.

Great People's China has become the most powerful bulwark of socialism and communism in the world. The genuine revolutionaries and the freedom-loving peoples see in the People's Republic of China their powerful and invincible ally, the unyielding and consistent defender of the freedom of the peoples that holds high and pure the banner of Marxism-Leninism. While for U.S. imperialism and Soviet revisionism the 700-million great China, tempered with the Marxist-Leninist ideas of Mao Tse-tung, is their worst enemy. Without overcoming the Chinese obstacle, the U.S. imperialists and the Soviet revisionists cannot attain their ultimate strategic aim for the domination of the world. Therefore, they have directed their main spears against the People's Republic of China. They had greatly hoped to «get the fortress from within» in China. But these hopes of theirs were reduced to rubble by the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution which broke out and is being led by the great Marxist-Leninist, Comrade Mao Tse-tung. The Great Chinese Proletarian Cultural Revolution swept away through the Marxist-Leninist broom all the garbages in the present-day Chinese society, it purged the Chinese people's revolutionary ranks of the revisionists headed by China's Khrushchov, of the

spies and enemies of revolution and socialism. The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution has multiplied the forces and intensified the revolutionary vitality of the Chinese people, and frustrated the counterrevolutionary hopes of the imperialists and revisionists for the liquidation of socialism in China. Should the U.S. imperialists and Soviet revisionists engage one day in a military adventure against Great People's China, by this action they will dig their own grave, for then nothing would save them and a sure death would lie in store for them.

We learned with great joy about the conclusion, in these recent days, of the setting up of Revolutionary Committees in all the provinces, cities and autonomous regions of the People's Republic of China, with the exception of the province of Taiwan. This is a brilliant victory of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, of Comrade Mao Tse-tung's teachings and ideas. We wholeheartedly congratulate the glorious Communist Party of China, the heroic Chinese working class, the fraternal Chinese people and their great leader, Comrade Mao Tse-tung, on this historic victory for the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, we wish them further and continuous victories on the road of socialism and communism, for the good of the great Chinese people, for the good of the international proletariat and of all the peoples of the world.

The U.S.-Soviet plans will ignominiously fail. With great People's China and with the People's Republic of Albania, who are giving tit-for-tat

to the U.S. imperialists and the Soviet revisionists, are all the freedom-loving peoples of the world, all the genuine revolutionaries in the world. The general historic course of events is inevitably leading to the burial of capitalism and revisionism, which is the latter's offspring, it is leading to the triumph of socialism and communism.

Comrade Deputies,

For all the reasons explained above, the Council of Ministers, in compliance also with the decision of the Party Central Committee, proposes to the People's Assembly to decide on the denunciation of the Warsaw Treaty and the People's Republic of Albania be relieved of the obligations stemming from this treaty. I invite you, comrade Deputies, to unanimously approve the proposal on the withdrawal of the People's Republic of Albania from the Warsaw Treaty.

By withdrawing from the Warsaw Treaty, the People's Republic of Albania makes a revolutionary stride. The Warsaw Treaty serves no longer the cause of socialism and peace, it serves no longer the cause of the working class and proletarian internationalism, it has lost the ideological and class basis on which it was created, it now serves the revisionist bourgeoisie, it serves the great state chauvinistic narrow interests of the Soviet revisionist leadership, as well as the U.S.-Soviet counterrevolutionary alliance for the domination of the world. This treaty has been turned into an instru-

ment of aggression against the peoples, in the same way as the North Atlantic Treaty which is led by the United States of America.

Withdrawing from the Warsaw Treaty, we show to the whole world that the Albanian people do not recognize zones of influence of the great imperialist and revisionist powers and refuse to be a member of an aggression coalition.

We performed our duty as revolutionaries: we strove in every way that the Warsaw Treaty should serve the just aims for which it was created. This was impossible to achieve due to the antisocialist activity of the Soviet revisionist leadership, and the Warsaw Treaty lost its original character, it turned from a treaty of defence of the socialist countries against imperialist and revanchist aggression, into a treaty of aggression and into a tool in the hands of the Soviet revisionists to liquidate the freedom of the peoples of the countries participating in this treaty. Socialist Albania cannot allow to stain its revolutionary banner by further continuing to be a member of the aggressive Warsaw Treaty. It will hold high and stainless the banner of revolution against all enemies and against all hostile treaties, both against the imperialist NATO treaty and against the revisionist Warsaw Treaty.

We know that the Soviet revisionists and their followers will propagandize with much fuss that, by withdrawing from the Warsaw Treaty, the People's Republic of Albania «will remain defenceless and at the mercy of aggression by the NATO military bloc or other external enemies of Albania». We do not need the enemies to «pity» us. We

answer to them with Comrade Enver Hoxha's words at the 4th Congress of the Democratic Front: «... there are not born yet, either yesterday or today, those brave men that can intimidate the Albanians» and «Albania's borders are defended by a people and a Party that shower bullets into the mouths of all those who would dare to molest them».

We have never lived under the shadow of the Warsaw Treaty. We have always based the defence of our country on our own forces on the steel-like revolutionary marrow of the Albanian people and of their heroic Party of Labor and on the internationalist solidarity of the peoples and the numerous friends of Socialist Albania.

If the U.S. imperialists and their allies of the aggressive NATO bloc will think that the People's Republic of Albania, now that it is withdrawing from the Warsaw Treaty may be «a bit that can be easily swallowed» and they undertake a military aggression to occupy Albania, we respond to them again with these words of Comrade Enver Hoxha: «Not only are Albania's borders insurmountable, inasmuch as they are defended by a brave people and an eagle-like Party which will smash you, but Albania is not alone, neither isolated. If you touch our borders, you must know that to defend Albania the aid which will come to socialist Albania will not recognize state boundaries».

If the Soviet revisionists and their lackeys of the aggressive Warsaw Treaty may think that, with the withdrawal of the People's Republic of Albania from the Warsaw Treaty, they can grant to them-

selves the right to resort to their brutal force and undertake a military aggression against the People's Republic of Albania «to keep» Albania in their enslaving, we answer to them likewise with comrade Enver Hoxha's words: «... in case you raise your knife against us, masked with demagoguery, you may rest assured that we shall point our rifle at you, and the cracking of our rifle will be heard in the Soviet Union and in the other countries where will rise as a tempest on your heads the terrible fist of the Leninists, of the brave and fraternal Soviet people. Thus your deathknell will have been sounded.»

We, the Deputies to the People's Assembly of the People's Republic of Albania, adopting this decision, are honorably discharging our duty as representatives of the people's will, we justify before the people the confidence they have in us, and we assume the whole responsibility before our people and our Party, as well as before the entire international communist movement. We are aware that our decision is just and fully responds to the supreme interests of our people and our socialist Homeland, to the supreme interests of socialism, it serves the strengthening of peace in Europe and in the world.

By withdrawing from the Warsaw Treaty, we deal a heavy blow at the great state anti-socialist and chauvinistic policy which is being passionately pursued by the present-day Soviet leadership, we deal a heavy blow at the U.S.-Soviet collaboration.

We are confident that the peoples of the member countries of the Warsaw Treaty will understand and will welcome the withdrawal of

our country from the Warsaw Treaty, they will consider it as an external aid being given to them in the struggle they are waging against the ruling revisionist cliques of their countries.

The real friend is recognized in difficult days, a saying of our people goes. The most difficult days are being lived today by the Czechoslovak people who are suffering under the domination of foreign occupationists and of the local collaborationist and revisionist clique. By their revolutionary attitude and struggle, the Albanian people show their real internationalist friendship towards the Czechoslovak people. By their consistent revolutionary attitude and struggle the Albanian people show the real internationalist friendship towards the Soviet people and the peoples of other countries where the revisionists are in power.

Comrade Deputies,

By withdrawing from the Warsaw Treaty, the defensive positions of the People's Republic of Albania become still stronger. The Party and the Government have adopted and will adopt all the measures for the strengthening of the defensive power of our country. The Defence Council of the Republic, under the leadership of the General Commander of our armed forces, comrade Enver Hoxha and on the basis of the directives of the Party Central Committee, has considered all the eventualities and has taken all the necessary measures for the strengthening of the country's

defensive might. We are in a position today to cope with any aggression, of whatever power and size it may be. In defence of our socialist homeland are included not only the armed forces, but also the whole armed people, men and women, old and young. The fighting preparedness of the People's Republic of Albania has reached the necessary degree that makes it possible for us to defeat any aggression even in the most difficult circumstances.

The People's Republic of Albania has pursued and is pursuing a peaceful foreign policy. Our country attacks nobody, while others have always attacked us. We will consistently continue our foreign policy of peace and good neighborliness.

The borders of the People's Republic of Albania are inviolable. In case of aggression against our socialist Homeland by external enemies, be they members of the imperialist military NATO block or members of the revisionist military Warsaw Treaty, whoever it may be, then the Albanian people, united to a man around the Party and its Central Committee headed by Comrade Enver Hoxha, will show to the whole world the full magnificence of their revolutionary vitality: the entire people, even the children, will fight for the defence of the Homeland, the war will assume a complicated, lethal character for the aggressor, and it will be boundless, it will be waged in all its forms, according to the principles of the people's war, the front and the rear-lines are merged into a single unity and without distinction between them, army and people will make up a single fighting whole.

The Albanian people are not alone, but they have numerous and faithful friends. In the first place, the best and the most faithful friend of the Albanian people is Great People's China of over 700 million strong, which is the main force in the world against imperialism and revisionism. The great leader of the Chinese people and the closest friend of the Albanian people, Comrade Mao Tse-tung, in his message addressed to the 5th Congress of the Party of Labor of Albania in 1966, said: *«you may rest assured, comrades, that come what may in the world, our two parties and our two peoples will for sure remain together, they will fight together and they will win together»*. And the acting force of the great Albanian-Chinese friendship must not be overlooked by the external enemies of socialist Albania.

With the cause of the Albanian people are also all the freedom-loving peoples of the world, all the real revolutionaries in the world, including also the peoples and real revolutionaries of the Soviet Union and of the other countries where the revisionists are in power.

It is our duty, comrade Deputies, to accompany the decision which we will adopt at this assembly for the withdrawal from the Warsaw Treaty, with a further upsurge of the revolutionary vigor of our Party, the people, the state organs, the mass organisations for the all-out strengthening of the country's defence and for a still better fulfilment of the state plan targets. We must raise the militant slogan *«the pick in one hand and the rifle in the other»* to the highest level in

implementing it for the achievement of still greater victories in the building of socialism and for making the defence system of our socialist Homeland insurmountable by any military power of any eventual aggressor.

Political clarity and proletarian ideological education, placing politics on the forefront, the consistent implementation of the mass line, the strengthening of the steel-like unity of our ranks, the tireless work and reliance on one's own forces, the sharpening of revolutionary vigilance and the strengthening of proletarian discipline, the increase of fighting preparedness for the defence of the Homeland, the revolutionary determination for the implementation of the Party line, — such are permanent fundamental duties which the Party has long laid down for us, and on which stress must be laid today more than ever before.

There is no force in the world that can prevent our people from forging always ahead, victorious, on the glorious road of socialism and communism.

Glory to our heroic Party, to our heroic people and to our heroic army!

Glory to Marxism-Leninism!

关于阿尔巴尼亚人民共和国

对华条约的立场问题

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