

Warsaw Treaty Has Become Instrument for Soviet Revisionists' Aggression Against and Enslavement of the People of Member States

— Speech by Comrade Shehu at session of Albanian People's Assembly

COMRADE MEHMET SHEHU, Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Albanian Party of Labour and Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Albanian People's Republic, delivered a speech at the session of the Albanian People's Assembly on September 12 on the denunciation of the Warsaw Treaty and the withdrawal of the People's Republic of Albania from it.

Comrade Shehu said: 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 Organization and following the approval by the Party Central Committee.

The Soviet revisionist leadership and the revisionist leadership of the other countries participating in the Warsaw Treaty have long excluded de facto the People's Republic of Albania from the Warsaw Treaty.

The time has come 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.

Comrade Shehu said: The Warsaw Treaty was concluded 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 overturned the previous correct Marxist-Leninist line of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union of Lenin-Stalin and replaced it with the Khrushchovite counter-revolutionary revisionist line. The 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union marked the beginning of counter-revolution

in the Soviet Union, as well as in many other socialist countries, it marked a disastrous counter-revolutionary turning point for the Soviet Union and created tremendous difficulties for the entire international communist movement.

In the course of events, with the implementation of the revisionist and counter-revolutionary line of the 20th Congress on the part of the Khrushchovite leadership of the Soviet Union, the Albanian Party of Labour under the leadership of its Central Committee headed by Comrade Enver Hoxha, as a result of its revolutionary class clear-sightedness 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, still within the framework of the Warsaw Treaty. This resistance has gone through 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 servitors. 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 very first manifestations of violation of these interests by Nikita Khrushchov and his crew, and so on and so forth.

But the frictions between our Party and Government, and the Soviet revisionist leadership, were transformed into an explosion at the Bucharest Conference and especially at the Moscow Conference of the Communist and Workers' Parties, in 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 in the history of our Party, but also in 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 constitutes an exceptional contribution by 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.

This revolutionary, consistent and courageous stand by 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 unprecedented way their counter-revolutionary and chauvinist activity against our Party, our Government and our people.

Comrade Shehu went on to denounce the Soviet revisionist clique for using the Warsaw Treaty Consultative Political Committee, from 1961 onward, to savagely attack the People's Republic of Albania, unscrupulously violating 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 a military character, and scheming to carry out military intervention against Albania by utilizing the Vlora naval base.

Comrade Shehu said: The Soviet Government, extending the ideological differences also to state relations with Albania, violated and wrecked unilaterally all the agreements which had been concluded. It cancelled all the credits extended to the People's Republic of Albania by regular agreements for the 1959-65 period, it cancelled all the agreements duly concluded between the two countries, it withdrew all the Soviet specialists from Albania, it suspended completely all co-operation and economic, trade, technical-scientific and cultural relations, and it organized an 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 so far as to make an open call to the Albanian people, from the rostrum of their 22nd Congress, for counter-revolution, 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 upset the situation in Albania in favour of revisionism and counter-revolution. But all these plots failed shamefully owing to the revolutionary vigilance, to the steel-like unity and determination of our Party and our people.

Comrade Shehu said: The Soviet Government, beginning from 1961, following with consistency and great zeal the course of the alliance with the United States of America, has made numerous deals with U.S. imperialism to the detriment of the interests of the socialist countries and of the peoples of the world; it has concluded a series of agreements which are entirely detrimental to the interests of socialism and revolution and which are to the advantage of U.S. imperialism.

In 1963, the Soviet revisionist leadership concluded with the United States of America and Britain the ill-famed tripartite Moscow treaty on the partial prohibition of nuclear weapons tests, and a few months ago the Soviet revisionists also concluded with the American imperialists the "treaty on non-proliferation 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 Article 7 of the Warsaw Treaty, and it is opposed to these agreements between the reactionaries and the imperialists.**

Comrade Shehu pointed out: Our Government has condemned these two treaties as a new U.S.-Soviet counter-revolutionary plot against the interests of the peoples, and in flagrant contradiction to 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 counter-revolutionary alliance has long since failed too. Great People's China, which accounts for one-fourth of the world's population, resolutely advancing on the road illuminated by the Marxist-Leninist teachings and ideas of Comrade Mao Tse-tung, has long since finally broken the imperialist-revisionist nuclear monopoly, and there is no treaty, plot or force in the world capable of curbing or preventing her from marching steadily forward 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 consciousness, because in the last analysis the outcome of a war is not decided by weapons, but by man. And the new man, genuinely 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 will become ever stronger because nuclear weapons in the hands of the 700-million-strong revolutionary people of China, nurtured with the teachings and ideas of the great Marxist-Leninist, Comrade Mao Tse-tung, are

entirely 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 deals 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 NATO, etc. All this has been done without consulting the Albanian Government and contrary 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 revolutionary and liberation struggles of the peoples is mirrored also in the demagogic attitude and in the plots hatched within the framework of this treaty concerning the struggle of the Vietnamese people against the American aggressors. The Soviet revisionists and their servitors 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 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 lackeys pose themselves in this treaty as "the most zealous defenders" of the Arab people in their just struggle against the Israeli-imperialist aggression. On the other hand, they do everything in their power to undermine the struggle of the Arab people and to back up what U.S. imperialism aims at achieving 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 chauvinist Moscow revisionists for the attainment of their aims, using it as an important lever to further and deepen Soviet-U.S. collaboration for the domination of the world by these two great powers.

Comrade Shehu said: From the beginning of 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 of the decisions that have been adopted in these meetings. The People's Republic of Albania bears no responsibility whatsoever for all these decisions and actions, which in general are contradictory to the interests of

the People's Republic of Albania, of socialism and peace.

The Soviet Government and the governments of the other member states of the Warsaw Treaty denied our country its lawful rights under the treaty. They placed it in a position of inequality and discrimination and 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 patiently and seriously made 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 framework of the treaty and to repair without delay the great damage caused to the supreme interests of the member states and to the whole of the socialist camp.

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

All the official documents addressed to the Warsaw Treaty members by our Government 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 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 Council for Mutual Economic Aid 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 tsars of the Kremlin, not only as regards the interests and rights of Albania, but also as regards the rights and interests of socialism and of peace in general."

Comrade Shehu said: Our Party and Government have long ago warned the Warsaw Treaty member countries that the Soviet revisionist clique is seeking to use this treaty as "an instrument of its big-power chauvinist policy" and that "it is placing the Warsaw Treaty in the service of the policy of Soviet-American collaboration."

These objective forecasts made by our Party and Government were confirmed by life itself. The recent barbarous aggression on the part of the Soviet revisionists and their servitors, members of the Warsaw Treaty, against the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic and the Czechoslovak people and the military occupation of the whole territory of Czechoslovakia by their armed forces have most clearly confirmed these forecasts before the whole world.

The military aggression against Czechoslovakia is aggression against a country which is a member of the Warsaw Treaty, as is the case of 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 in the name of the Warsaw Treaty and in the most perfidious manner. It is a fascist-type aggression.

Comrade Shehu said: Both the Novotny revisionist group and the Dubcek revisionist group in Czechoslovakia are products of the extension to Czechoslovakia of the implementation of the revisionist line of the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. 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 the aggression. This was a shameful capitulation of the Czechoslovak revisionist clique before the foreign invaders, and the worst betrayal of the interests of the Czechoslovak people.

During the humiliating negotiations that were held under duress in the Kremlin, the head of Czechoslovak revisionism Alexander Dubcek and his closest collaborators Cernik, Smrkovsky, etc., were brought into the negotiations hall by the Soviet revisionists, humiliated and browbeaten into submission, while Soviet tanks were carrying out the occupation of all Czechoslovakia by violence and were crushing under their treads the Czechoslovak people. In these conditions of fascist-type dictate, the latest Moscow agreement between the Czechoslovak revisionist leaders and the Soviet revisionist leaders was signed. The Dubcek-Svoboda clique, to save their skins, capitulated still further. They accepted the conditions of the Soviet occupation of Czechoslovakia and thereby turned themselves into a clique of collaborationists and quislings carrying out blindly and humbly the orders of the savage invaders to suppress the freedom of the Czechoslovak people.

Comrade Shehu said: 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 high treason of the Czechoslovak revisionist leadership headed by Dubcek, who, placing themselves in the full

service of the invader, are performing the functions of a collaborationist and quisling government and carrying out the orders dictated by the occupier 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 chieftains 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 organized resistance, though on a rudimentary scale, and are manifesting opposition also to the Dubcek-Svoboda collaborationist clique.

Our Party, Government and people have faith in the revolutionary spirit of the fraternal Czechoslovak people. We are confident that the Czechoslovak people will not reconcile themselves to the occupation of their homeland, but they will fight this occupation by a war of liberation and people's war in various forms. We are confident that the Czechoslovak people will not reconcile themselves to the collaborationist Dubcek leadership or to anyone else who would submit to the dictate of the occupier. We are confident that the Czechoslovak people will fight against the fiendish schemes of the imperialists and revanchists. Under the leadership of 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, including that of armed struggle, until the complete liberation of their homeland from the foreign invaders 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 occupier, by the demagogy of internal revisionists and collaborationists, by the flattery 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 people of the world, including among them the people of the Soviet Union, Poland, the German Democratic Republic, Hungary and Bulgaria who are suffering under the heel of the same revisionist cliques of their respective countries that engineered 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 their just struggle for freedom and socialism.

Comrade Shehu pointed out that the aggression by the Soviet revisionists and their servants against Czechoslovakia and the Czechoslovak people has severely stained the reputation and honour of the Soviet Union,

of the Soviet people, of the Soviet soldier. 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 on them by the revisionist renegade clique which is ruling today in the Kremlin. We are confident that they will rise one day just as they rose during the Great October Revolution and overthrow the revisionist traitorous leadership and bring the Soviet Union back to the correct road of Lenin and Stalin.

Comrade Shehu said: The Soviet revisionist leadership has degenerated so far that it has lost all feeling and reason of human morality. Its morality is perfidy itself. This clique of renegades has behaved perfidiously with regard to the Albanian people, it behaves perfidiously towards the Vietnamese people, it behaves perfidiously with regard to the Arab people, it behaves perfidiously towards the Czechoslovak people, it behaves perfidiously with regard to anyone. And who can trust any more the Soviet revisionist clique? Nobody in the world, not only their enemies, but also their friends do not trust the perfidious present-day Kremlin rulers.

All the tactical actions of the Soviet revisionist leadership, including here 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-American 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 comes under 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 people's power, the United States of America will certainly interfere to quell the revolution under the treads of its tanks, and the Soviet revisionists, if they are still in power at that time, will accept this interference of U.S. imperialism because Spain is within the American sphere of influence.

U.S. imperialism today accepts the occupation of Czechoslovakia by the five Warsaw Treaty countries 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 U.S. aggression.

Today, the freedom and sovereignty of the peoples and the peace of the world are seriously endangered. This danger stems from American-Soviet collaboration. This counter-revolutionary collaboration has as its ultimate aim the domination of the world by these two big 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 counter-revolutionary action of the American-Soviet collaboration is based for the realization of their enslaving aims — domination of the world by the means of the club, fire and the 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 Soviet revisionism, and big-power chauvinism.

"Peace" in Europe — war in Asia — this is the main pivot of the global strategy of the American-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 in the way of the U.S.-Soviet imperialist and revisionist plans for the domination of the world.

Great People's China, Comrade Shehu said, 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-strong 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 spearheads against the People's Republic of China. They had had great hopes to "take the fortress from within" in China. But these hopes of theirs were smashed to smithereens by the great proletarian cultural revolution which was initiated and is being led by the great Marxist-Leninist, Comrade Mao Tse-tung. The great Chinese proletarian cultural revolution, with Marxism-Leninism, swept away all the garbage from the present-day Chinese society, it purified the Chinese people's revolutionary ranks of the revisionists headed by China's Khrushchov, of the agents and the enemies of revolution and socialism. The great proletarian cultural revolution has multiplied the force and revolutionary vitality of the Chinese people, and frustrated the counter-revolutionary 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 graves, for then nothing will save them and a sure death lies in store for them.

We learnt with great joy about the completion, in these recent days, of the establishment 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 of 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 fail shamefully. Standing together 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 historical course of events is inevitably leading to the burial of capitalism and revisionism which is its offspring, it is leading to the triumph of socialism and communism.

Comrade Shehu said: By withdrawing from the Warsaw Treaty, the People's Republic of Albania is taking a revolutionary step. The Warsaw Treaty no longer serves socialism and peace, it no longer serves 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 big-power chauvinistic narrow interests of the Soviet revisionist leadership, as well as the U.S.-Soviet counter-revolutionary alliance for the domination of the world. This treaty has been turned into an instrument of aggression against the peoples in the same way as the North Atlantic Treaty which is led by the United States of America.

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

We performed our duty as revolutionaries: We strove in every way so that the Warsaw Treaty should serve the just aims for which it was created. This was impossible to achieve due to the anti-socialist 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 its revolutionary banner to be stained by further continuing to be a member of the aggressive Warsaw Treaty. It will hold high and unblemished the banner of revolution against all enemies and against all hostile treaties, both against the imperialist NATO and against the revisionist Warsaw Treaty.

Comrade Shehu said: 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 "pity" from our enemies. We answer them with Comrade Enver Hoxha's words at the 4th Congress of the Democratic Front: ". . . there were 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 fire bullets into the mouths of all those who would dare to touch them."

We have never lived under the umbrella of the Warsaw Treaty. We have always based the defence of our country on our own forces, on the steel-like revolutionary bone of the Albanian people and of their heroic Party of Labour, and on the internationalist solidarity of the peoples and of the numerous friends of socialist Albania.

If the U.S. imperialists and their allies of the aggressive NATO bloc should think that the People's Republic of Albania, now that it is withdrawing from the Warsaw Treaty, become "a bit that can be easily swallowed," and should they undertake a military aggression to occupy Albania, we will respond to them with similar words of Comrade Enver Hoxha: "**Not only Albania's borders are insurmountable, inasmuch as they are defended by a brave people and an eagle-like Party which will smash you, but Albania is not alone, nor 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 servants of the aggressive Warsaw Treaty should think that, with the withdrawal of the People's Republic of Albania from the Warsaw Treaty, they can arrogate to themselves the right to resort to their brute force and undertake a military aggression against the People's Republic of Albania, "to keep" Albania tied to their enslaving treaty, we will answer them likewise with Comrade Enver Hoxha's words: ". . . **in case you raise your knife against us, masked with demagogy, 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 there will rise as a tempest over your heads the terrible fist of the Leninists, of the heroic Stalinists, of the brave and fraternal Soviet people. Then your doom will also be sealed.**"

We, the deputies to the People's Assembly of the People's Republic of Albania, in adopting this decision, are honourably discharging our duty as representatives of the people's will, we are justifying before the people the confidence they have in us, and we assume full 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 corresponds 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 to the anti-socialist and big-power chauvinist policy which is being passionately pursued by the present-day Soviet leadership, we deal a heavy blow to the U.S.-Soviet collaboration.

We are confident that the peoples of the Warsaw Treaty countries 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.

Comrade Shehu said: By withdrawing from the Warsaw Treaty, the defensive power of the People's Republic of Albania becomes 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 Republic's Defence Council, under the leadership of the general commander of our armed forces, Comrade Enver Hoxha, on the basis of the directives of the Party Central Committee, has considered all 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. The defence of our socialist homeland includes 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 in the most difficult circumstances.

Comrade Shehu said: 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 bloc or members of the revisionist military Warsaw Treaty bloc, whoever they may be, then the Albanian people, united as one 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 aggressors, and it will be boundless, it will be waged in all its forms according to the principles of people's war, the front and the rear lines will be merged into a single

entity and without distinction between them, army and people will make up a single fighting whole.

Comrade Shehu said: The Albanian people are not alone — they have numerous faithful friends. In the first place, the best and the most faithful friend of the Albanian people is great People's China with a population of over 700 million people, 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 Albanian Party of Labour in 1966, said: **"Comrades, please rest assured that come what may, our two Parties and our two peoples will always be united, will always fight together and be victorious together."** And the real force of the great Albanian-Chinese friendship must not be forgotten by the external enemies of socialist Albania.

Standing on the side of the cause of the Albanian people are also all the freedom-loving peoples of the world, all the genuine revolutionaries in the world, including here also the peoples and genuine revolutionaries of the Soviet Union and the other countries where the revisionists are in power.

Comrade Shehu concluded by saying: It is our duty 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 vigour of our Party, the people, the state organs and the mass organizations, with the all-out strengthening of the country's defence and with 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 while implementing it, so that still greater victories will be achieved in the building of socialism and the defence system of our socialist homeland will become insurmountable to any military force of any possible aggressor.

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

There is no force in the world that can prevent our people from forging steadily forward victoriously 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.