

ON THE PRESENT INTERNATIONAL SITUATION

*From the Report to the 5th Plenum of the CC
of the PLA*

September 5, 1968

Dear comrades,

At its meeting of September 3, 1968, after examining and analyzing the international situation in general and the tragic events which occurred recently in the Socialist Republic of Czechoslovakia in particular, and after studying the political, military and juridical situation in the Warsaw Treaty in the light of the fascist aggression committed by the Soviet, Polish, East-German, Hungarian and Bulgarian governments against Czechoslovakia, the Political Bureau decided to call this session of the Plenum of the Central Committee of the Party and to present for discussion and approval the conclusions reached on this now aggressive treaty. Before informing you about those decisions and proposals of the Political Bureau, I want to point out some aspects of the present international events, and the tasks which emerge for our Party, people and state in these situations. The denunciation of the Warsaw Treaty by the People's Republic of Albania precisely at these very favourable political moments, with all the political, ideological, juridical and other rights and reasons on our side,

will certainly raise the prestige of the Party, the people, the Government and the People's Republic of Albania still higher in the eyes of all progressive peoples of the world. On the other hand, in denouncing this aggressive treaty from which it has long been excluded *de facto* by the revisionist members of this treaty, the People's Republic of Albania strengthens its positions and averts a possible danger of aggression of which we have long been aware in our struggle against the Soviet revisionists, a danger which was fully confirmed in the case of Czechoslovakia.

I want to stress that when the Warsaw Treaty was signed (in 1955), the situation was different, but it has now changed completely because, since the betrayal of the Soviet and other revisionists, the character of this treaty has been totally transformed both politically and ideologically, and militarily.

At the time the Warsaw Treaty was signed, that is, after the death of Stalin and before the Bucharest Meeting, about February 1956, when the revisionists' views of the Nikita Khrushchev group had still not come to light to their full extent, there were evident signs of some sort of incitement towards political and ideological liberalism in the Soviet Union and especially in the direction of a rapprochement with the Yugoslav revisionists. However, at that time, the Soviet revisionists had not yet come out openly with their theses and the political moments seemed to be such that they called for the signing of the Warsaw Treaty, which was created to safeguard the independence of all the socialist states individually and the socialist camp as a whole against imperialist aggression and the aggressive bloc of NATO and to prevent interference in their internal affairs. Hence, it was correct and progressive for us to sign the Warsaw Treaty, the situation required this, therefore our Party and Government endorsed and signed it.

It must be said, however, that even at that time for us the Warsaw Treaty existed only on paper, because the military relations concerning the defence of our country, the supply of armaments in the context of this Treaty, and the respective agreements were concluded between two states only, the Soviet Union and Albania, while in regard to other questions, as a member country of the Warsaw Treaty, we were treated only as stage extras in the full sense of the term. The other member countries of the Warsaw Treaty were in the same position. Perhaps the Soviets may have held separate meetings with the other member countries of this Treaty without the participation of Albania, but we noticed that the joint meetings were purely formal, as was the case of the meetings held from time to time to elect the general secretary of the Consultative Political Committee and the commander-in-chief. Hence, in a few words, the Warsaw Treaty did not function as a collective organ of the member countries.

When we exposed the great betrayal of the Soviet revisionists and all other modern revisionists, then their hostile attitude towards the Party, the Government and the People's Republic of Albania in all fields, political, ideological, economic and military, was displayed openly. Thus, far from being a means of defence for our Party and people, the Warsaw Treaty constituted a threat to the freedom and independence of the country. In fact, even then the revisionists had *de facto* excluded us from the Treaty. The Political Bureau and the Central Committee of our Party have long been clear about this political and military situation in the Warsaw Treaty, therefore with the breach in relations with the revisionist countries, our whole defence has been built as an all-sided defence, ready for any kind of danger or attack both from the imperialist countries and from the revisionist countries.

In fact, even though we were excluded from the

Warsaw Treaty we have always opposed its unjust actions, but its member countries never accepted our demands. They may have taken some secret internal decision and expelled us from the Warsaw Treaty, but even if they have not taken this secret decision, effectively we are expelled.

The recent events in Czechoslovakia confirm what we long ago foresaw, that the Warsaw Treaty no longer has the character it had when it was created. All the member countries of the Warsaw Treaty in which the revisionist cliques are in power, with the exception of Rumania, attacked Czechoslovakia in a perfidious fascist manner, i.e. they used the Warsaw Treaty as a means to oppress and enslave a member country of this Treaty, hence what the Political Bureau of our Party had foreseen came to pass, and the political situation created is such that we should denounce this Treaty. The denunciation of the Warsaw Treaty in this international situation will find the complete support and endorsement of the entire Albanian people and our Party, as well as of progressive democratic elements of the world and genuine Marxist-Leninists, who will approve this political action of the People's Republic of Albania. In this way, our defence will be strengthened, sympathy for and the authority of the Party, the Government and the People's Republic of Albania in the international arena will be increased, because in these moments, when the Soviet revisionists are threatening to put even the countries of the Warsaw Treaty themselves to the torch, we slap them in the face with their own fascist acts and publicly and courageously expose them.

But is the denunciation of the Warsaw Treaty in our favour in these international circumstances? In this situation created by the Soviet revisionists, in the conditions of the sharpening of the crisis which has gripped the capitalist countries, when the Soviet-US alliance to sup-

press the liberation struggles of the peoples of the world is being strengthened more and more, we say that this denunciation is in our favour. We consider that the existence of the Warsaw Treaty played no positive role at all in the defence of our country. On the contrary, it was a danger which will remain even after we revoke this Treaty. So, in this case we lose nothing. The other enemies, the imperialists, likewise, do not relinquish anything, they want to attack and enslave us, just as before, therefore, in this direction nothing is changed. As regards the threats to and the defence of our country, the denunciation of the Warsaw Treaty alters nothing.

Up till yesterday, in theory, the US imperialists and their friends might have said that they must not attack Albania, because the forces of the Warsaw Treaty might be set in motion. For us this theoretical supposition is valueless, because whether or not Albania is in the Warsaw Treaty can have no affect in regard to the strategy of NATO in the Balkans, therefore the imperialists could attack us in both eventualities.

However, in these circumstances the denunciation of the Warsaw Treaty by the People's Republic of Albania assumes special importance. When we denounce the Warsaw Treaty, the member countries of NATO cannot put forward the excuse. «We are attacking Albania because it is a member country of the Warsaw Treaty», but they will be attacking a country which is not a member of the Warsaw Treaty, so we deprive them of this argument. Thus, in both instances the denunciation of the Warsaw Treaty in no way harms the cause of the defence of our country. This act is one hundred per cent in our favour. The propaganda of the modern revisionists will scream, «Now Albania has linked itself with NATO», etc. but no one will swallow this; let them bark as they have done until now. because life itself and the de-

terminated revolutionary stands of our Party and people will certainly expose them mercilessly. Therefore, comrades, it is good that we should discuss this question of great importance and take a decision on it.

The Central Committee of the Party has full knowledge of the development of events in the international arena and especially of the events in the Socialist Republic of Czechoslovakia and other revisionist countries. «Zëri i popullit» and all the press of our country have given detailed information about these events, have taken the proper revolutionary stand towards them, and made penetrating analyses to explain the origin of the treacherous and aggressive revisionist acts, both those by the Soviet revisionists and their aggressor satellites and those by the Czechoslovak revisionist traitors and capitulationists. Therefore, we think that it is not necessary for us to go over the events chronologically.

I want to re-emphasize what our Party and its Central Committee foresaw correctly, namely that the great crisis in the camp of the modern revisionists is being confirmed and growing deeper with each passing year. All these events and those which are bound to occur in the future, which will be even more catastrophic to the revisionists, are the result and consequence of their betrayal of Marxism-Leninism, of the capitalist course they have taken in ideology, policy, economy, in the organization of the party, the state and the economy.

The liquidation of the victories of socialism in their countries by the Soviet and other revisionists, the transformation of the Marxist-Leninist parties into bourgeois social-democratic parties, the transformation of their economies into capitalist economies brought about as an inevitable result the alteration of their internal and external policy into a chauvinist, oppressive, fascist policy, a policy of ruling their peoples through force and terror, the

alteration of the objectives of the various alliances concluded among them into enslaving political, economic and military alliances in favour of the most powerful revisionist state, which is the Soviet Union, and to the detriment of its satellites, and finally a policy of the creation of the Soviet-American alliance for the division of spheres of influence, for the domination of the world by the two great powers, for the armed and unarmed struggle against the international communist movement, socialism, and peoples' national liberation wars.

This whole course of betrayal traversed by the Khrushchevite revisionists and their lackeys since the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union is an uninterrupted sequence of resounding defeats for them. The pyramids they have set up along this road are pyramids with shaky, rotten foundations, erected with great desperate efforts, which have exposed them totally and definitively in the eyes not only of revolutionary communists and the international communist movement, but also of all honest people of the world.

All this feverish treacherous activity of the Soviet revisionists and their servants has taken place while the general crisis of world capitalism, headed by US imperialism, was in the process of growing deeper. Precisely in order to rescue world capitalism from its grave crisis and the revolution, the Khrushchevite revisionists and their servants took upon themselves the role of scabs and traitors to the revolution and peoples' national liberation wars, under the despicable slogans of «a world without wars, a world without arms», «peaceful coexistence», etc. Naturally, at the favourable revolutionary moments, within the great general crisis of world capitalism, the crisis in the ranks of the modern revisionists, these new capitalists, was bound to become increasingly deeper and more acute.

In the first place, the Soviet revisionists would lose their hegemony and absolute political, ideological and economic control over their satellites and all the revisionist chiefs of various parties. This defeat for them would be brought about not only by the influence of their anti-Marxist ideology and the new forms which were adopted, but also because US imperialism, in the first place, and world capitalism, each separately and all of them together, would undertake, as they did, to «build bridges» in order to precipitate the undermining of the Soviet domination, to activate polycentrism and centrifugal tendencies from Moscow, to encourage liberalization in the life of the countries where the revisionists rule.

The Soviet revisionists suffered colossal loss of prestige and authority, as well as economic damage from this development, and the more they lost, the more closely the traitor clique of the Kremlin linked itself with US imperialism, which, thanks to its alliances with the Soviet revisionists, was able to overcome the Indonesian crisis, the Dominican and Indo-Pakistan crises, the crisis in its relations with France and many others.

The Soviet revisionists are greatly worried because they want to have control over all the revisionists of the world, whom they need so desperately to sing in harmony with them and set up a smoke-screen. Above all, the Soviet revisionists are trying to preserve their political, ideological, economic and military hegemony over their satellites in Europe.

The big game which is being played in Europe is over the unification of Germany. This is the aim of Bonn and US imperialism. On their part, they are making efforts to ensure the liquidation of the German Democratic Republic without a war. The elimination of the German Democratic Republic from the map of Europe and the creation of a new Reich is the key to liquidating

Soviet influence over its European satellites and developing friendly relations of the latter with Bonn. The offers of Bonn are making some headway with the revisionist cliques. The Soviets, Zhivkov, Gomulka, Tito, even Ulbricht, and others are very keen on the huge credits they receive from Bonn and are welcoming the German tourists gleefully. This induced the Soviet Union, Yugoslavia and Rumania to establish diplomatic relations with Bonn. The Czechs and Bulgarians, not to mention the Hungarians, were ready to follow suit.

The Soviet revisionists are afraid and will not commit themselves to signing the peace treaty with the German Democratic Republic, which they are sacrificing for the sake of the Soviet-American alliance. Then what do they put as a counter to the solution of this basic problem? Hot air — the meeting and the unfeasible proposals of Karlovy Vary and the ideological disintegration in their camp, or the coming abortive Moscow Conference!

In these international circumstances the Czechoslovak crisis, which had been simmering for about a year, came to a head. It was an internal crisis of Czechoslovak revisionism, in which the Soviet revisionists were involved up to their elbows as we have already analysed and, generally speaking, the facts have proved our analysis correct.

The Dubček clique overthrew the Novotny clique and set off at a headlong gallop towards the West. The strategic-military balance of the defence of the Soviet Union was upset. In the opinion of the Soviets, the German Democratic Republic and the People's Republic of Hungary were endangered, not only politically but also militarily. Thus, events were precipitating. The Soviet, German and Polish revisionists were in great trouble. Following the example of Czechoslovakia, demonstrations against Gomulka began in Poland. Nothing could hold back the Germans of Ulbricht. They were only awaiting the signal.

In Dresden the Dubček clique resisted its opponents who met later in Warsaw and gave it the ultimatum we know and which our Party's press has analysed correctly, taking a resolute and principled stand.

You know about the subsequent meetings organized by the Soviet revisionists and their lackeys at Černa na Tissu and Bratislava(1), and the communiqués they issued. You also know about the military manoeuvres of the five member countries of the Warsaw Treaty in Czechoslovakia and later along its borders; you know of the «triumphal» visits of Tito and Ceausescu to Prague. You are informed about all these things from our press, which commented on them extensively, in the true Marxist-Leninist way.

The articles and commentaries of our press and Radio Tirana have been followed with great interest and have enhanced the authority of our Party because of its heroic, resolute, just, Marxist-Leninist stand. Within Czechoslovakia in particular, they have made great impression, because of their clarity and objectivity.

The fascist attack on and occupation of Czechoslovakia by the Soviet revisionists completely tore the mask from the clique in the Kremlin. Moreover, even the methods they used, ranging from pressure, blackmail and the Judas' kisses in Bratislava, down to their sudden attack, in the darkness of the night, without any fact to serve even as a formal excuse for their brutal armed intervention, show this intervention in its real fascist imperialist light. They sullied the prestige of the Soviet Union as the first socialist country!

1 At Černa na Tissu in eastern Slovakia, talks were held between the Political Bureau of the CC of the revisionist party of the Soviet Union and the presidium of the revisionist party of Czechoslovakia. At Bratislava a meeting was held between delegations of the revisionist parties of the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia, Poland, the German Democratic Republic, Hungary and Bulgaria.

Through their hostile activity the Soviet revisionists have been working systematically, according to a fiendish plan, to wipe out that colossal credit that the Soviet Union had gained in the eyes of the world as the first socialist country. This is the greatest loss communism has suffered and it will take time, blood and sweat for the true Soviet communists and all the Marxist-Leninists of the world to regain that credit. As for the Soviet revisionists themselves, they have lost even what little credit they may have had among the revisionists of other countries and among vacillating opportunist elements, because in appearances, at least, all this filth, this scum of international communism is not in agreement with the brutal and aggressive acts of the Soviet revisionists, does not reconcile itself to Soviet imperialism and hegemony. This scum is part and parcel of that national capitalism which aims to strengthen its hegemony over the others. This scum was hoping that, at least, the Soviet revisionists would not transform their policy of «peaceful coexistence» into a policy of brutal force which would jeopardize the hegemony of the other capitalist countries of which the revisionists are lackeys.

Therefore, with the brutal occupation of Czechoslovakia, we see that nearly all the revisionist parties of the world, wherever they are, with the French Communist Party and the Italian Communist Party at the head, are openly declaring themselves opposed to the armed occupation of Czechoslovakia by the Soviet revisionists. Just as we foresaw, the split in the ranks of modern revisionism is growing deeper, though they will not break off relations with one another and will get them going again formally. Nevertheless, the basis of these parties is rotten, shaky, almost non-existent and is collapsing completely. Their national bourgeoisie will wreak havoc among the ranks of these parties in order to weaken and liquidate

even that relatively small influence they still have left.

For some months at least the revisionist Communist Party of the Soviet Union will be alone, isolated, will have on its side only those four parties which followed it in the attack on Czechoslovakia, and a few lickspittles of the *apatride** emigrants, who have no «followers» apart from themselves and whose only ideal is the Soviet ruble.

Thus, as we predicted, the revisionist conference in Moscow has been compromised, and even if the Soviets manage to hold it, they will do so only by means of threats and the force of the ruble, and it will be an utter farce.

Above all, the armed attack on Czechoslovakia has been a catastrophe, suicide, for the Soviet revisionists. The fact is that this act is a blow to their policy of «peaceful coexistence» and a self-inflicted defeat for their liberal revisionist policy. The revisionist Left in the Soviet Union, or the «revisionist conservatives», as they insist on being called, forced the liberals into silence and here considerations of strategic defence and prestige played the main role. The enemy was at the door, and the knife was at their throats.

There are rumours that there will be a «changing of the guard» in the present Soviet revisionist leadership. Naturally, the existing crisis in the Soviet revisionist leadership will grow deeper, however, there must be no illusions about those who may be brought in eventually. They will be just like those who may go out — all of them are putschists and revisionists.

However, a «changing of the guard» will, to some extent, shake the slumbering Ivan out of his deep sleep. Under the pressure of events, he may begin to think a little about why such things are happening and what

* without homeland (French in the original).

he should do about them. This is the positive aspect of the possible change. These changes will weaken the revisionist leadership and encourage resistance to it. In the ranks of the satellites, too, a «changing of the guard» in the Kremlin could and must touch off a chain-reaction, bringing changes, if not immediately, at least gradually, among some of them, if not everywhere.

In any case, some months prior to the attack on Czechoslovakia, the «conservative Left» took peripheral military measures to ensure the «rear» and «front lines» of the Soviet Union. On this occasion it strengthened its occupation of Poland and the German Democratic Republic and, after the military occupation of Czechoslovakia, from which the Soviet troops will never be withdrawn, reinforced its garrisons in Hungary and Bulgaria, where the Soviet troops are dressed in the uniform of the Bulgarian army. All this has been dictated by the Soviet revisionists' fear of a total disintegration and the complete break-away of their satellites from the Soviet Union, as well as of an analogous or revolutionary outbreak in the Soviet Union itself. Hence, we are entitled to put forward the hypothesis that this may have been the objective of this whole operation.

Thus, whether or not there is a «changing of the guard» in the Kremlin, the Soviet revisionists are panic-stricken over events both inside and outside their country, and they have put the question of maintaining this situation first, even by armed force, even by armed occupation of Czechoslovakia, although they know and are convinced that neither the Poles, nor the East-Germans, nor the Hungarians agree with them. At the present juncture, these satellites are obliged to express their sham solidarity with these acts of the Soviets, at least for the time being.

Hence, from now on, solutions to problems and contradictions, which will become more profound and abrasive

between the Soviet revisionists and their satellites, the other members of the Warsaw Treaty, will be imposed by force by the Soviet Union or eventually, result in armed clashes. There is no other way they can go.

Of all the satellites of the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia is the most typical example. It was occupied and the others have been occupied. Now the Soviet occupation forces will make the law in the Czechoslovak Republic. They will appoint the leadership of the Czechoslovak party and government. If it is held, the congress of the «Czechoslovak Communist Party» will be conducted according to directives from Moscow. Thus, Czechoslovakia has been transformed into a Soviet colony. Poland, the German Democratic Republic and Hungary, not to mention Bulgaria which has long been transformed into a Soviet colony, will undergo similar transformations. This is their course which only armed conflicts among different cliques can alter; it is a course which endangers only the Soviet colonial yoke, **while the proletarian revolution is the best means to put a definitive end to this tragedy and intrigue hatched up by the Soviet imperialists and world imperialism.**

Therefore, these moments are very favourable to the true Marxist-Leninists, the revolutionaries everywhere in the world. They must organize and mobilize their peoples in resistance and armed struggle against both modern revisionism and imperialism.

With the fascist-type aggression they committed against the Czechoslovak people and the Czechoslovak Republic, the Soviet revisionist aggressors suffered a great and ignominious defeat. All world opinion has risen against them. Their action is immoral, cynical and fascist. There is no political, ideological or juridical basis in their action. All their arguments to justify their aggression are unfounded and false. The betrayers of Marxism-Leninism

and the leaders of the treacherous course of revisionism are in no position to accuse the Czechoslovak revisionists of having betrayed Marxism-Leninism or of taking the revisionist course.

The Soviet revisionist traitors, who are the political and ideological partners, friends and allies of US imperialism, are in no position to accuse the Czechoslovak revisionists of moving towards a close alliance with world capitalism.

The Soviet revisionist traitors, who have reduced the Bolshevik Party to a degenerate party, a party without the Leninist spirit and norms, a social-democratic party which they keep in existence only for the sake of its name, are in no position to accuse the Czechoslovak revisionists of destroying the Czechoslovak Communist Party and transforming it into a social-democratic party.

The Soviet revisionists, who themselves are building capitalism in the Soviet Union, while destroying socialism with its laws, norms and organizational forms, are in no position to accuse the Czechoslovak revisionists of building capitalism and destroying socialism in their own country.

The Soviet revisionists, who are taking huge credits from world capitalism, are in no position to accuse the Czechoslovak revisionists of taking and wanting to take credits from the capitalists.

The Soviet revisionists, who have diplomatic and other links with Bonn, are in no position to demand that the Czechoslovak revisionists should not establish similar relations with Bonn.

We could extend the list of similar stands of the Soviet revisionists. The question arises and answers itself: What political, moral, ideological or juridical right have the Soviet revisionists over the Czechoslovak revisionists? What right have they to call the Czechoslovak revisionists to account and, worse still, to attack the Czechoslovak

people with arms and occupy the Czechoslovak Republic? No right whatsoever!

Hence, all this confirms what we have said, that the revisionists are traitors, imperialists, fascists. With what they did in Czechoslovakia they have discarded any disguise, have proved that for them, just as for the fascists, friendship, principles, alliances, treaties, democracy, freedom, independence or sovereignty of the peoples, simply do not exist. They trample over all these things, crush them under their jackboots, suppress them with fire and steel.

The official Soviet revisionists' justification for their aggression against Czechoslovakia is, in itself, a great self-exposure. Among other things, they claim that they were invited to intervene in Czechoslovakia by «Czechoslovak personalities» whose names they dare not mention, probably because it is a fraud, but even if such people exist they are nothing but despicable traitors, Soviet agents, collaborationists and hateful quislings. Intervention in a country is justified only when there is an official call for help from that country's legal government. Neither the Czechoslovak Government, nor the President of the Republic, neither the Central Committee or Parliament invited them. When Hitler attacked Czechoslovakia, he at least forced President Haša to put his signature to an official document.

When the Soviet revisionist occupiers undertook this act, they knew that the Czechoslovak leadership would go down on its knees the next day. In fact, this revisionist leadership which did capitulate, which left the borders open and did not give the order for the country to be defended, capitulated in Moscow for the second time and entered the service of the invaders. But the Soviets will have to make great efforts to find people they can rely on one hundred per cent, with whom they may at least

form the shadow of a quisling government of some stability. This will be their next great defeat. Of course they will find stooges and traitors, but the resistance will not be put down. The Soviets will find some Czech Kadar, but things will take a different course from that of Hungary.

Their barbarous act will prevent the Soviet revisionists from carrying out the reorganization of the Czechoslovak Communist Party as they intended, and without this they cannot legalize their fascist deed. With great difficulty they may manage to hoodwink some of the people, just enough to overcome the initial difficulties and create the impression that «the intervention was necessary and saved the situation, everything has been brought back to normal and our friendship continues», and then there will be exchanges of delegations with embraces and Judas' kisses. But this will solve nothing. With every passing day the situation in Czechoslovakia will become more difficult for the occupiers and more favourable for the revolutionaries.

The true Czechoslovak Marxist-Leninists will have to organize an underground Czechoslovak Marxist-Leninist Communist Party as quickly as possible; they will have to organize the front of resistance on principled, but not sectarian, foundations, will have to lead the Czechoslovak working class and people from the present passive defence into active defence, with strikes and demonstrations, armed attacks and, eventually, the organization of partisan warfare. The moments their nation is going through now are very favourable and they must be utilized to the maximum, not waiting for anything from anybody. The talks, negotiations and concessions to the occupiers must be attacked mercilessly. The hopes of help from the imperialists will have to be exposed and intervention by them or their agents who, at every stage, will try to seize con-

trol of the leadership of the resistance, must be attacked

The passive resistance of the Czechoslovaks is a positive beginning, but it does not solve everything. It allows the occupiers time to organize themselves, too. They want a period of calm to complete their plunder and aggression. They need this also to placate public opinion in their own countries, which they deceive brazenly.

Therefore, the Czechoslovak Marxist-Leninist revolutionaries must understand the great importance of the organization of armed resistance for the awakening of public opinion in the Soviet Union and the other revisionist countries. They must understand that they must make the rear of the revisionist occupiers unstable and insecure, and bring pressure to bear on the treacherous leaderships of their countries.

The total boycott of the revisionists' occupation armies is a good tactic and the more complete it is, the better its results will be. The hatred for them among the people must be fanned up. Let the Soviet soldiers draw conclusions if they wish. At the same time, it will be necessary to carry out propaganda, instilling defeatism among the troops of the occupation army in order to enlighten them and expose modern revisionism. Khrushchevite revisionism, the betrayal by the Soviet leadership, their destruction of socialism. The Soviet soldiers must be told that when Stalin was alive, they entered Czechoslovakia as liberators, whereas now that the anti-Stalinist traitors have emerged as their leaders, they have come to Czechoslovakia as invaders. It is good, indeed essential, to do such work but we think that it will still be insufficient if the occupation forces are not attacked with arms and driven beyond the borders of Czechoslovakia, because otherwise they are not going to leave there.

As you have seen. Czechoslovakia is being defended from various positions. Our position, like that of any

other genuine Marxist-Leninist party, is the most correct, revolutionary, Marxist-Leninist position, which defends freedom, independence, sovereignty and genuine socialism in Czechoslovakia. From this position our Party fights and thoroughly exposes the revisionist invaders, headed by the Soviet revisionists, along with US imperialists and the world capitalist bourgeoisie, as well as the Czechoslovak capitulationist revisionists, old and new, together with the reactionary Czechoslovak bourgeoisie.

It was clearly apparent that US imperialism and the world capitalist bourgeoisie gave the Soviets a free hand to act in the Czechoslovak crisis. Their only intervention was a superficial, journalistic propaganda. In the secret Soviet-US agreements reached at Camp David and Glasboro, (2) the two aggressive superpowers have divided the spheres of influence between them, and have certainly defined their common strategy and tactics for the domination of the world. This is being applied on a wide scale under cover of «peaceful coexistence». This is confirmed not only by the events in Czechoslovakia and the signing of a series of treaties and agreements between the USA and the Soviet Union, but also by all the treacherous anti-revolutionary stands of the Soviet leadership in connection with Latin America, the Israeli aggression against the Arab countries, it is confirmed to the best by the very cordial «coexistence» and the division of spheres of influence between the Americans and the Soviets in the Arab countries and in the whole Middle East, it is demonstrated by the very cordial friendship between the US 6th Fleet and the Soviet Fleet which cohabit in the waters and ports of the Mediterranean like two close

2 Reference is to the agreements reached in the Eisenhower-Khrushchev talks, in September 1959 and the Johnson-Kosygin talks in June 1967

and true allies that have the same aim — to keep the peoples of the Mediterranean under their yoke, to exploit them brutally in every way and to suppress any revolutionary movement there by force of arms.

In the aggressive fascist war which the two imperialist great powers, the USA and the Soviet Union, are preparing, naturally they are trying to impose their will and policy on all the members of NATO and the Warsaw Treaty respectively, and if other means fail, they will do so by force of arms and other pressure. These two aggressive imperialist states want all the «rear areas» throughout the world to be tranquil and under their complete domination. Will they achieve this? Time will show. But this will not be possible for a long time to come, because contradictions in their ranks will make themselves felt and grow deeper.

The revisionist clique of Belgrade has been active in defence of the Czechoslovak revisionists and has opposed the occupation of Czechoslovakia. Now Tito is faced with difficult alternatives. The situation in his country is confused, and in this state of confusion and political, ideological and nationalist degeneration, he has to re-organize the defence of his country, because from now on he can no longer count on the help of the Kadars, Dubčeks and company. Yugoslavia today is encircled by the Soviet revisionists who are dictating everything by force of arms to their satellites of the Warsaw Treaty.

Thus, for the Yugoslav leaders, as they themselves have officially declared, the defence of their northern and eastern borders has emerged as an urgent task. The organization of Yugoslav defence against any attempt at an invasion of Yugoslavia by the Soviets is in our favour. We must follow these developments with the greatest attention.

It is a fact that the Soviet revisionists' threat to the

Yugoslav state borders is becoming ever more evident. If a Soviet invasion of Rumania takes place, then the threat to Yugoslavia becomes even greater. In any case, whether Rumania is invaded or submits «peacefully» to the Moscow dictate, nothing changes the threat to Yugoslavia. Only the armed resistance of the Yugoslav peoples can thwart this threat.

Apart from this, even though Yugoslavia is not a member of NATO, in its political and strategic plans NATO considers this country as a part of its defence zone. This border is now in jeopardy and it is likely that the military, strategic, offensive and defensive dispositions of NATO regarding the Yugoslav, Greek, Mediterranean and Adriatic sector will be defined more precisely.

Here the permanent question of the defence of our Homeland emerges. We have always been encircled geographically by savage, perfidious, aggressive, fascist enemies, and the defence of our Homeland has been foreseen and built in such a manner as to face up to any aggressor or group of aggressors at any time. Such a defence must be strengthened to the utmost because of the growing threat I mentioned above. We must always take into account the contradictions among our neighbours in regard to Albania, contradictions which do not operate in the same way in different circumstances and when the balance of forces changes in a given sector or in many sectors of the world.

Therefore, we must be completely ready, always extremely vigilant, must watch the development of events with the greatest attention and draw the most correct deductions possible for the all-round defence of our borders from all quarters, from land, sea and air. Our defence must, as always, be based on realistic assessments, relying mainly on our own armed forces, the armed forces of

the entire people, on a decisive and victorious fight to the end against all our enemies.

In these complicated international situations, especially in Central Europe, but particularly so in the Balkans, the vigilance of the people, the Party, our people's state power and our government must be at its maximum. **We must be very well prepared to cope with any eventuality, even an unexpected one. Nothing must take us by surprise, least of all in the defence of the Homeland, to which we should pay even more attention than at any other time.**

We must strengthen and temper unshakeable confidence in our forces among the Party, the people and the army, must raise the patriotism, courage and heroism of the broad masses of the people to the highest level. All this must be closely linked with very thorough political and ideological work and very revolutionary practical activity. Everybody must be made aware of the internal and international situations, live with both feet firmly on the ground and not indulge in day-dreaming and vain speculation. Every word, every action by anyone must be weighed up and serve only the interests of the Party, the people and socialism.

Thorough-going political and ideological work, implementation of the line and norms of the Party with the greatest precision and iron discipline everywhere will ensure that the patriotism of the masses is profound and has a great meaning, that the heroism of the masses is not something individual or temporary, but massive and permanent. Only in this way is the unhealthy habit of boasting, which leaves you in the lurch at difficult moments, eliminated among the people, only in this way is fear or panic discarded. The source of these evils lies in superficial political work.

When we say that we must be fully prepared, we

must understand the question both from the political, ideological and military aspect, and from the economic aspect. Not only must work in our country continue normally on the correct line which the Congress and the Party have set, but we must organize it still better in every sector, being aware of every situation which arises with advantageous aspects as well as the fresh difficulties it brings. We must leave nothing undone, or put off today's work till tomorrow, because tomorrow there will be something else to attend to. We must work intelligently, with revolutionary vigour and tempo. We must set the masses in motion, have confidence in them, have confidence in the young cadres, must not be sectarian towards them, must help them, correct them when they make mistakes, and entrust them with work of responsibility. It is a sacred party duty for us, the older generation, to do this in an absolutely correct way. When shall we do it, if not now that we are alive and can give our help and experience on this question so vital to the Party?

Young and old must feel themselves totally mobilized in political and practical activities for the great cause of our socialist Homeland. The tough vitality of the Party and people must be more outstanding than ever: the revolutionary vigilance of the Party and the masses against any enemy or evil-doer, open or disguised, internal or external, must be raised higher than ever; we must work harder than ever to temper unity in the ranks of the Party and unity of the Party with the people to the highest degree, through the implementation of the life-giving norms of the Party and uninterrupted waging of class struggle.

The situation in our Party, in our country and among our people is extremely strong. Let us make it even stronger every day. This is our whole aim in life, this

is our main task. That is why the enemies have always broken and always will break their heads. We shall crush them to death if they attempt anything against our Party, our people, and the People's Republic of Albania.

*«Against Modern Revisionism
1968-1970»*