

# PEKING REVIEW

20

May 13, 1966

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Reaches a New High**

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***Never Forget the Class Struggle***

A WEEKLY MAGAZINE OF CHINESE NEWS AND VIEWS

# PEKING REVIEW

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# Comrade Mao Tse-tung Meets Mehmet Shehu and Other Albanian Comrades

Comrades Mao Tse-tung, Chou En-lai, Lin Piao, Teng Hsiao-ping and Wu Hsiu-chuan held talks with Comrades Mehmet Shehu, Hysni Kapo, Abdyl Kellezi and Nesti Nase. Both sides were completely at one on all questions discussed.



Comrade Mao Tse-tung meets Comrades Mehmet Shehu (right) and Hysni Kapo (left)

**M**AO TSE-TUNG, Chairman of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, met Mehmet Shehu, Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Albanian Party of Labour and Chairman of the Council of Ministers, and all comrades of the Albanian Party and Government Delegation he led.

Among those present on the occasion were Chou En-lai, Vice-Chairman of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and Premier of the State Council; Lin Piao, Vice-Chairman of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party; Teng Hsiao-ping, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the

Chinese Communist Party; Wu Hsiu-chuan, Member of the Party's Central Committee; Wang Ping-nan, Vice-Foreign Minister; and Hsu Chien-kuo, Chinese Ambassador to Albania.

Comrades Mao Tse-tung, Chou En-lai, Lin Piao, Teng Hsiao-ping and Wu Hsiu-chuan held talks with Comrades Mehmet Shehu, Hysni Kapo, Abdyl Kellezi and Nesti Nase. The talks proceeded in an extremely intimate and friendly atmosphere. Both sides were completely at one on all questions discussed.

Later, Comrade Mao Tse-tung gave a banquet in honour of the Albanian comrades.

# China Successfully Conducts Nuclear Explosion Containing Thermo-Nuclear Material

- A great victory for Mao Tse-tung's thought.
- A major achievement which strengthens China's national defence and safeguards national security and world peace.

## Press Communique

**A**T 16:00 hours (Peking time) on May 9, 1966 China successfully conducted over its western areas a nuclear explosion which contained thermo-nuclear material.

This experimental nuclear explosion is a new important achievement scored by the Chinese people in their efforts to further strengthen their national defence and safeguard the security of their country and the peace of the world.

The complete success of this nuclear test was ensured by the Chinese People's Liberation Army and China's scientists, technicians and broad sections of workers and functionaries, who, under the correct leadership of the Communist Party of China and holding still higher the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought, gave prominence to politics, adhered to the "four firsts,"\* creatively studied and applied Chairman Mao's works, carried out the policy of self-reliance and hard work formulated by the Central Committee of the Party and Chairman Mao, and gave play to the spirit of collective wisdom and efforts and wholehearted co-operation by combining the leadership, the experts and the masses and integrating education, research and production. It is a great victory for the Party's general line of socialist construction. It is a great victory for the three great revolutionary movements of class struggle, the struggle for production, and scientific experiment. It is a great victory for Mao Tse-tung's thought.

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, the State Council and the Military Commission of the Central Committee of the Party extend their warm congratulations to all the commanders and fighters of the People's Liberation Army who took part in this test and to all the workers, engineers, technicians, scientists and other personnel who contributed to it, and express the hope that they will redouble their efforts and achieve new and continuous successes in the struggle for the further strengthening and the modernization of our country's national defence.

China's purpose in conducting necessary and limited nuclear tests and in developing nuclear weapons is to oppose the nuclear blackmail and threats of U.S. im-

perialism and its collaborators and to oppose the U.S.-Soviet collusion for maintaining nuclear monopoly and sabotaging the revolutionary struggles of all oppressed peoples and nations. The Chinese people's possession of nuclear weapons is a great encouragement to the peoples who are fighting heroically for their own liberation as well as a new contribution to the defence of world peace.

At the time of the explosion of China's first and second atom bombs, the Government of the People's Republic of China already issued statements explaining China's fundamental stand on the question of nuclear weapons and concretely proposed the holding of a summit conference of all the countries of the world to discuss the complete prohibition and thorough destruction of nuclear weapons.

Since then, in disregard of the statements of the Chinese Government, U.S. imperialism has continued to develop and mass produce nuclear weapons of various kinds, further expanded its nuclear bases all over the world and stepped up its nuclear blackmail and threats against China and the whole world. China's sole purpose in developing nuclear weapons is defence, and her ultimate aim is to eliminate nuclear weapons. We solemnly declare once again that at no time and in no circumstances will China be the first to use nuclear weapons. The Chinese people sincerely hope that a nuclear war will never take place.

We are deeply convinced that a nuclear war can be prevented provided that all peace-loving people and countries work together and persevere in struggle. As in the past, the Chinese people and Government will continue to carry on an unswerving struggle, together with all other peace-loving people and countries, for the noble aim of completely prohibiting and thoroughly destroying nuclear weapons.

*(Hsinhua News Agency, May 9.)*

\*The "four firsts" are: First place must be given to man in handling the relationship between man and weapons; to political work in handling the relationship between political and other work; to ideological work in relation to other aspects of political work; and, in ideological work, to the ideas currently in a person's mind as distinguished from ideas in books.—Tr.

# Premier Chou's Four-Point Statement on China's Policy Towards U.S.

In his interview given to Mr. Ejaz Husain, correspondent of the Pakistan paper "Dawn" on April 10, 1966, Premier Chou En-lai made a four-point statement on China's policy towards the United States of America. The full text is as follows:

(1) China will not take the initiative to provoke a war with the United States. China has not sent any troops to Hawaii; it is the United States that has occupied China's territory of Taiwan Province. Nevertheless, China has been making efforts in demanding, through negotiations, that the United States withdraw all its armed forces from Taiwan Province and the Taiwan Straits, and she has held talks with the United States for more than ten years, first in Geneva and then in Warsaw, on this question of principle, which admits of no concession whatsoever. All this serves as a very good proof.

(2) The Chinese mean what they say. In other words, if any country in Asia, Africa or elsewhere meets with aggression by the imperialists headed by the United States, the Chinese Government and people def-

initely will give it support and help. Should such just action bring on U.S. aggression against China, we will unhesitatingly rise in resistance and fight to the end.

(3) China is prepared. Should the United States impose a war on China, it can be said with certainty that, once in China, the United States will not be able to pull out, however many men it may send over and whatever weapons it may use, nuclear weapons included. Since the 14 million people of southern Vietnam can cope with over 200,000 U.S. troops, the 650 million people of China can undoubtedly cope with 10 million of them. No matter how many U.S. aggressor troops may come, they will certainly be annihilated in China.

(4) Once the war breaks out, it will have no boundaries. Some U.S. strategists want to bombard China by relying on their air and naval superiority and avoid a ground war. This is wishful thinking. Once the war gets started with air or sea action, it will not be for the United States alone to decide how the war will continue. If you can come from the sky, why can't we fight back on the ground? That is why we say the war will have no boundaries once it breaks out.

## Defence Ministry Spokesman's Statement

# Strongest Protest Against Grave U.S. War Provocation

**F**IVE fighter planes of U.S. imperialism intruded into China's air space over the area to the northeast of Makwan, Yunnan Province, at 16:17 hours on May 12 and launched guided missiles in a surprise attack on Chinese aircraft in training flight. One Chinese plane was shot down. When Chinese fighter planes counter-attacked, the U.S. air pirates fled helter-skelter southwestward. A spokesman of the Chinese Ministry of National Defence, in a statement on the evening of May 12, sternly condemned U.S. imperialism for its act of war provocation and expressed the strongest protest in relation to the serious incident.

"This is an extremely grave incident, a long-premeditated, systematic act of war provocation by the Johnson Administration," the spokesman said. "The incident took place at a time when the United States is sending massive reinforcements to south Vietnam and extending its bombing of north Vietnam. It took place after the United States had openly declared China as its main enemy and Dean Rusk had clamoured that 'there are of course risks of war with China,' and

followed the repeated intrusions by U.S. military aircraft into China's territorial air for provocations. This cannot but rouse our sharp vigilance."

The spokesman continued: "The Chinese people and the Chinese People's Liberation Army are extremely indignant at this serious incident of provocation by U.S. gangster aircraft. They have long been prepared against the sinister schemes of U.S. imperialism to extend its war of aggression. The debt in blood owed by U.S. imperialism to the Chinese people must be repaid. We solemnly warn the U.S. Government: The great Chinese people are not to be trifled with. In his interview given to a correspondent of the Pakistan paper *Dawn*, Premier Chou En-lai made perfectly clear China's policy towards the United States of America. Please keep his four-point statement clearly in your minds. Should the U.S. imperialists insist on extending the war and imposing war on the Chinese people, well then, go ahead please. We will certainly take them on right to the very end."

# The Mortal Enemy Must Pay for Its Old and New Crimes

**H** EINOUS U.S. imperialism had the audacity to send five fighter planes into China's air space over the area to the northeast of Makwan in Yunnan Province. They launched a surprise attack on Chinese aircraft on a training flight, fired guided missiles at them and shot one down. This is an extremely grave incident, a direct and naked war provocation against China on the part of U.S. imperialism. The Chinese people and the Chinese People's Liberation Army are most indignant at this piratical act committed by the U.S. Government. A spokesman of the Chinese Ministry of National Defence has sternly condemned this shameless crime of the U.S. bandits and issued the strongest protest against the U.S. Government. We solemnly warn the U.S. aggressors: You will have to pay back this debt, and pay dearly! The provocateurs must be punished as they deserve! U.S. imperialism must bear full responsibility for the serious consequences of its war provocation!

Of late, while madly extending its war of aggression in Vietnam, U.S. imperialism has publicly declared that China is its main enemy and has made much noise that "there are of course risks of war with China." Thus it is no accident that this serious incident of the U.S. air pirates intruding into China's territorial air and suddenly attacking Chinese aircraft should take place precisely at this time; nor is this an isolated event. It is a planned and deliberate action of the Johnson Administration, a serious step taken by U.S. imperialism in an attempt to extend its war of aggression in Vietnam to China.

The arch criminal U.S. imperialism is the biggest bully in the world today and the mortal foe of the Chinese people. It persists in occupying China's territory Taiwan and over the years has encroached on China's territorial air and sea hundreds of times. It has continuously attacked Chinese merchant ships, strafed Chinese fishing vessels and killed and wounded Chinese fishermen on the high seas. The debt for its crimes against China is higher than the mountains and the hatred it has sown in the hearts of the Chinese people is deeper than the oceans. Now, the U.S. air pirates having intruded deep into Yunnan Province and shot down a Chinese training plane have added a new hatred to the old. We absolutely will not forgive the U.S. aggressors.

This brazen war provocation of the U.S. bandits is certainly not a sign of U.S. imperialism's strength and is certainly not a sign that everything is all right

with it. Confronted by the incomparably great power of people's war in Vietnam, tens of thousands of U.S. aggressor troops have been wiped out and hundreds and thousands of U.S. aircraft have been shot down or destroyed. The "peace talks" frauds which the Johnson Administration planned with great pains, and which have the close collaboration of the Soviet modern revisionists, have burst one after another like so many soap bubbles. In these circumstances, the U.S. aggressors have gone so far as to recklessly launch a direct war provocation against China. This shows that a dog will jump over a wall in desperation and that U.S. imperialism is capable of doing anything evil. We must heighten our vigilance a hundredfold and stand ready in battle array.

U.S. imperialism's rabid war provocation against China has completely exposed different kinds of lies of the Johnson Administration, which talked about its so-called readiness to "ease" Sino-American relations and professed that "the United States does not intend to attack" China. By its naked provocative acts, it tells us that the aggressive and war-making nature of U.S. imperialism will not change, not even one iota, that at all times we must never forget the enemy, and at all times we must never forget the danger of war. We must hold high the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thinking, resolutely carry through and implement the five-point principle on putting politics first [see *Peking Review*, No 4, January 21, 1966, p. 5 — P.R. Ed.] and make great efforts to turn the principle into solid action, so as to heighten the political consciousness of our armed forces, deepen their hatred for the enemy, place all work on a footing of readiness to fight, and do our work for war-preparedness well. If U.S. imperialism insists on imposing war on us, we shall rise to resist without the least hesitation and fight to the end. Whatever weapons the U.S. aggressors may use, be it conventional or nuclear, no matter how many U.S. aggressors may come, be it several million or ten million, we will finish every one of them off, lock, stock and barrel. U.S. imperialism vainly hopes to only fight a war in the air and on the sea, not a ground war — this will absolutely never be. If you can come from the sky, we can fight back on the ground. Once the war breaks out, it will have no boundaries. In persistently pushing ahead with its policies of aggression and war, U.S. imperialism will some day be sent to the gallows by the Chinese people and the people of the whole world.

("*Jiefangjun Bao*" [*Liberation Army Daily*]  
editorial, May 13.)

# The Great Chinese People Are Not To Be Trifled With!

**F**IVE U.S. fighter planes intruded into China's air space over the area of Yunnan on May 12 and, in a surprise attack, shot down a Chinese plane in training flight. This brazen war provocation against China by U.S. imperialism has greatly enraged the Chinese people. We sternly condemn this heinous crime committed by U.S. imperialism.

A spokesman of the Chinese Ministry of National Defence has expressed the strongest protest against this war provocation by U.S. imperialism. He pointed out that the Chinese people and the Chinese People's Liberation Army "have long been prepared against the sinister schemes of U.S. imperialism to extend its war of aggression. The debt in blood owed by U.S. imperialism to the Chinese people must be repaid." This statement has expressed the indomitable will of the 650 million Chinese people. U.S. imperialism should understand that the great Chinese people are not to be trifled with.

It is by no means fortuitous that U.S. planes, flying in formation, intruded so deep over the Chinese mainland. People are clearly aware that U.S. imperialism is shifting its strategic focal point from Europe to the Far East. U.S. imperialism is steadily escalating its aggression against Vietnam. It is continuing to bring reinforcements to south Vietnam and the number of the

U.S. aggressor troops there has reached more than a quarter of a million. It has sent B-52 bombers on raids against north Vietnam, extending the area of its bombing. During the past fortnight or so, the U.S. authorities time and again clamoured that "there is no sanctuary" in their war of aggression in Vietnam. Everybody knows what U.S. imperialism means by "there is no sanctuary." It means that the U.S. air pirates will intrude into China's territorial air space in a more frantic way. This was fully borne out by the deliberate provocation of May 12. This cannot but rouse the Chinese people's sharp vigilance.

On April 10, when he was interviewed by the correspondent of the Pakistan paper *Dawn*, Premier Chou En-lai made China's policy towards the United States perfectly clear in his four-point statement. The U.S. Government should always keep this in mind.

We hereby warn the U.S. Government seriously that your war provocations can in no way frighten the Chinese people. We Chinese people mean what we say. Should the U.S. imperialists dare to impose war on us, we will certainly take them on right to the very end. We will make sure that, once in China, the U.S. aggressors will not be able to pull out. We Chinese people will certainly wipe out the U.S. aggressors lock, stock and barrel.

*("Renmin Ribao" editorial, May 13.)*

## Albanian Delegation Concludes Visit

# Militant Unity Reaches a New High

**T**HE Albanian Party and Government Delegation, carrying with them the Chinese people's deepest friendship of comrades-in-arms towards the heroic Albanian people, left Peking for home on May 11 after concluding their visit to China. They were seen off at the airport by Comrades Liu Shao-chi, Chou En-lai, Chu Teh, Teng Hsiao-ping and other Party and state leaders and more than 10,000 Peking citizens.

On the eve of departure, Comrade 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 People's Republic of Albania, gave a farewell banquet in the Great Hall of the People in Peking. Liu Shao-chi, Chou En-lai, Chu Teh and Teng Hsiao-ping were among those attending. Cordiality and solidarity prevailed in the banquet hall. Chairman Shehu's and Premier Chou En-lai's speeches were enthusiastically received. (Full text of both speeches will be published in our next issue.)

Comrade Shehu said that the extremely warm and brotherly reception accorded the delegation by the Chinese people "fills our hearts with the ever-growing, the purest, most sincere, most revolutionary, internationalist and eternal friendship between our two Parties and two peoples."

**Glory For Ever to Comrade Mao Tse-tung and His Great Contributions.** He stated: "Our meeting with the great leader Comrade Mao Tse-tung will remain for ever in our hearts. We had several meetings with Comrade Mao Tse-tung before. But every time we met him, we were further inspired by his great thought and theories, his firm adherence to Marxist-Leninist principles and his communist simplicity."

"The Albanian people and the Albanian Party of Labour have infinite admiration for Comrade Mao Tse-tung. He is not only the great leader of the Chinese people and the Chinese Communist Party but also the

faithful successor to the great cause of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin.

"The Chinese Communist Party has always given brilliant leadership to the Chinese people because it is in possession of the immortal Marxist-Leninist ideas and the great thought and theories of Mao Tse-tung. Hence, glory goes to Comrade Mao Tse-tung, who belongs not only to China but also to Albania, to the whole socialist camp, the entire international communist movement and the progressive mankind as a whole! Glory for ever goes to Comrade Mao Tse-tung and his great contributions!"

Premier Chou En-lai said in his speech that the visit to China of the Albanian Party and Government Delegation "has pushed to a new high the fighting unity which has long existed between us."

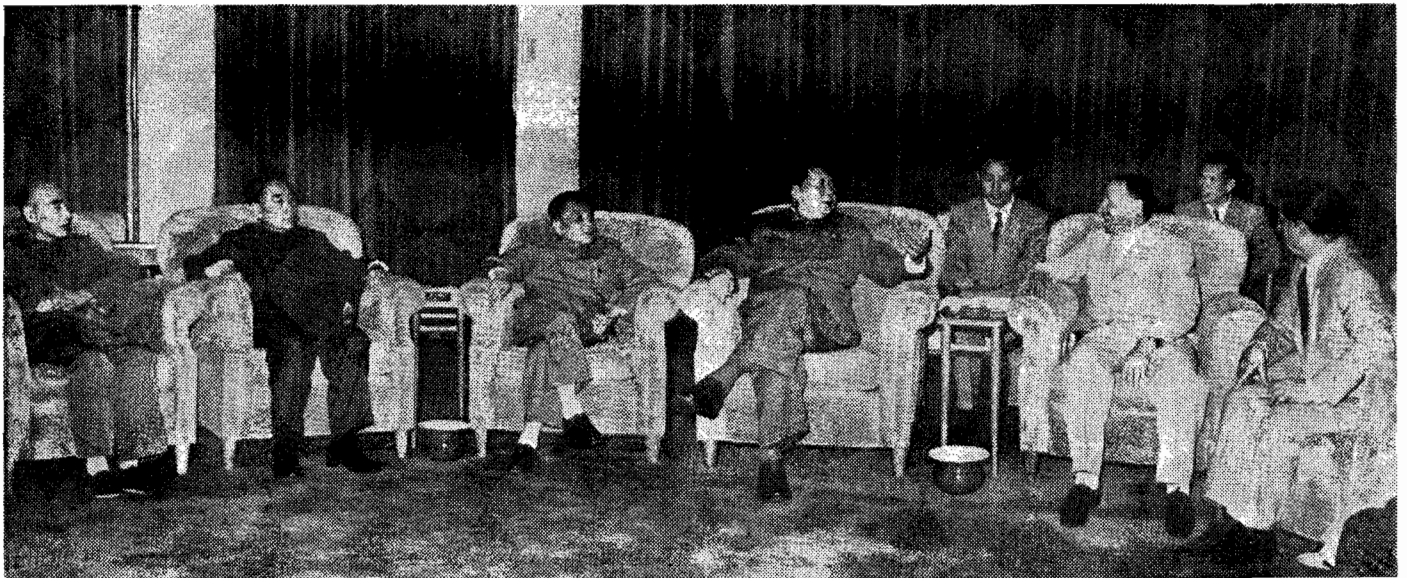
He said: "Let us hold still higher the ever-victorious banner of Marxism-Leninism, the banner of opposing imperialism headed by the United States and all reactionaries and the banner of opposing modern revisionism with the leading group of the C.P.S.U. as its centre, rally the revolutionary people of the whole world, advance bravely and fight shoulder to shoulder for world peace, national liberation, people's democracy and socialism, and for a new world without imperialism, without capitalism and without exploitation of man by man."

Chinese Party and state leaders held several talks with the Albanian comrades. A joint statement was signed, which was described by Chairman Shehu as an



Comrade Mao Tse-tung warmly shakes hands with Comrade Mehmet Shehu

embodiment of the unbreakable unity between the two Parties and two countries and "one more important document to constantly strengthen the great friendship and the revolutionary fraternal co-operation between our two peoples and our two Parties." Premier Chou praised it as "a document of historic significance," "a new milestone in the annals of great friendship and



Comrade Mao Tse-tung and other Chinese leaders hold talks with Albanian comrades. Front row (from right): - Hysni Kapo, Mehmet Shehu, Mao Tse-tung, Teng Hsiao-ping, Chou En-lai and Lin Piao



fraternal co-operation between our two Parties and two countries."

During their stay in China, the distinguished guests went on a round of tours of Harbin, Shanghai and Hangchow. Just as in Peking, and in Kunming when they were on their way to the capital, they were accorded enthusiastic welcomes which expressed the deepest sentiments of the Chinese people for the heroic Albanian people. The welcome they received wherever they went was a powerful demonstration of the Chinese and Albanian peoples' determination to fight side by side in carrying the struggle of opposing imperialism and modern revisionism through to the finish.

### In Harbin

Although May Day was over, a festive atmosphere prevailed in this capital city of Heilungkiang Province. The beating and clanging of drums and cymbals filled the air. Flags and colourful banners flew everywhere. At the specially decorated airport tens of thousands were on hand to cheer and greet the envoys from Albania when they arrived on the morning of May 3. Streamers with welcome slogans in Albanian and Chinese added more colour to the greeting.

**China Is the Main Bastion of Marxism-Leninism.** The next evening, the Albanian delegation was given a banquet by Sung Jen-chiung, First Secretary of the Northeast Bureau of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party. Among those present were Premier Chou En-lai and Li Fu-chun, Member of the Political Bureau of the Party's Central Committee and Vice-Premier, who both had accompanied the Albanian comrades from Peking. Comrade Shehu made an extremely enthusiastic speech at the banquet, saying: "We have seen a marvellous thing in different parts of China: the Chinese people are putting politics and Mao Tse-tung's thinking in first place." He pointed out that this would ensure great achievements by the Chinese people in the future and the triumph of Marxism-Leninism throughout the world. "This is because People's China is the main bastion of Marxism-Leninism, the centre of the communist movement and the standard-bearer of Marxism-Leninism. Comrade Mao Tse-tung is the great leader of the Chinese people, and also of the international communist movement."

Comrade Shehu said that since the betrayal by the Khrushchov revisionist clique, the centre of the international communist movement has shifted from the Soviet Union to China and the eyes of the revolutionaries of the whole world have turned to Peking and Mao Tse-tung. The Chinese Communist Party has always persisted in holding high the banner of Marxism-Leninism, which was trampled on by the modern revisionists. "Who was it who said to the revisionists: Stop trampling on the banner of Marxism-Leninism? It was Comrade Mao Tse-tung, the Chinese Communist Party, Comrade Enver Hoxha and the Albanian Party of Labour," he added.

**China and Albania Will Forge Ahead Shoulder to Shoulder.** Earlier that day the Albanian guests had been given a rousing welcome at a 10,000-strong workers' rally. The square where the rally took place was a sea of red banners. Huge streamers bore the slogans: "Long live Comrade Enver Hoxha!" and "Long live Chairman Mao!"

Comrades Li Fu-chun and Abdyl Kellezi, Member of the Central Committee of the Albanian Party of Labour and President of the Albania-China Friendship Association, addressed the rally. Both acclaimed the militant friendship and revolutionary solidarity between the two Parties, countries and peoples of China and Albania in the struggle against U.S.-led imperialism and Soviet modern revisionism.

### In Shanghai

On May 5, more than 600,000 Shanghai citizens crowded the streets for a distance of a dozen *li* from the airport to the Guest House to welcome the Albanian Party and Government Delegation on its arrival from Harbin. The cheering crowds waved small national flags of Albania and China, flowers, banners and balloons and wildly applauded as the motorcade passed by. They sang and danced and shouted "Enver-Mao Tse-tung!" "Mao Tse-tung-Enver!" Young girls showered petals on to the cars. Below a huge Albanian national flag made entirely of flowers, workers performed the traditional lion dance. Near the Guest House, an amateur choir formed by 4,000 workers and students sang *Tirana-Peking*.

The next morning, accompanied by Comrade Chou En-lai and Comrade Teng Hsiao-ping, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, Comrade Shehu and his party toured places of interest in the metropolis—the Shanghai Industrial Exhibition and the Yunghsin Seamless Tubing Mill—and called at the Shanghai Children's Palace.

**Denounces the Leading Group of C.P.S.U. for Serving As a Special Detachment of U.S. Imperialism.** Teng Hsiao-ping and Hysni Kapo, Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Albanian Party of Labour, made important speeches at a workers' mass rally in the Kiangnan Shipyard on May 6. (For texts see pp. 10 & 16.) They sharply denounced the modern revisionists, centred round the leading group of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, for their betrayal of Marxism-Leninism and for serving as a social prop of international imperialism and as a special detachment of U.S. imperialism in disrupting the revolutionary struggle of the peoples.

**No Force Whatever Can Impair Our Friendship.** The Albanian guests were given a banquet that evening by Mayor Tsao Ti-chiu. Comrade Shehu made a speech at the banquet.

He said: "It is the view of the Albanian Party of Labour that those who refuse to resolutely oppose the

(Continued on p. 39.)

# Comrade Hysni Kapo's Speech

- **Marxist-Leninists must wage principled, open, persistent, resolute and uncompromising struggle to crush modern revisionism and promote the world's Marxist-Leninist revolutionary movement.**
- **All attempts by U.S. imperialism and modern revisionism to contain, isolate and encircle China are doomed to fail, as they did before. The Albanian people are convinced that, should the enemy dare invade China, the glorious Chinese people will sweep them from the face of the earth lock, stock and barrel.**
- **Though the Khrushchov revisionists have met with defeat, they are not willing to abandon their anti-Marxist and anti-socialist road. Changes in their tactics and outrageous deception by them prove that, on the one hand, they are besieged by difficulties and, on the other, they are determined to carry out in all fields the line of Khrushchovism without Khrushchov. The 23rd Congress of the Soviet Communist Party was the newest farce stage-managed by the Brezhnev-Kosygin-Suslov clique to mend its torn mask and carry its activities of betrayal still further.**

**It is incontestable that genuine students of Lenin and Stalin and the glorious Soviet people cannot tolerate the pushing of the Soviet Union by these renegades on to the road of complete capitalist degeneration. The day is surely coming when the Khrushchov revisionists will be judged.**

**Dear Comrades,  
Chinese Brothers and Sisters!**

The Party and Government Delegation of the Albanian People's Republic feels very glad and happy to have come into your midst, into the midst of the brothers and comrades-in-arms who are struggling for the great cause of socialism and communism. It is a great joy for the delegation to visit your great city and meet the workers. This city has a glorious history and an outstanding revolutionary tradition to its credit. It has waged a great struggle against imperialism and feudal oppression and made valuable contributions to the victory of the Chinese revolution; it is also making valuable contributions to the great and glorious cause of the socialist construction of China. All this is common knowledge.

Please allow me, in the name of all the members of the delegation, to express our heartfelt thanks for your warm and fraternal reception, and for your affection and internationalist friendship for the people and the Party of Labour of our country. Please allow me, on behalf of the Albanian people, the Government of the Albanian People's Republic, the Albanian Party of Labour and Comrade Enver Hoxha himself, to convey our warmest revolutionary regards, our profound respect, our greatest affection and feeling of eternal friendship to you, to the workers at the Kiangnan Shipyards, the people of Shanghai city and their leaders, to all fraternal Chinese people, the Government of the People's Republic of China and the glorious Communist

Party of China, and to your great leader and our close friend, Comrade Mao Tse-tung.

In the past two years, our people have experienced times of unforgettable joy and encouragement. They twice played host to the Party and Government Delegation of the People's Republic of China, headed by Comrade Chou En-lai, Premier of the State Council. The two visits to Albania by Comrade Chou En-lai were events of historic significance which once again manifested the profound fraternal friendship of the great Chinese people and your Marxist-Leninist Party for our Party, our people and our country. Our Party and people have sent us to your great country, bringing to you, all the heroic people of China, the equally fraternal, sincere and everlasting friendship of the people of the small country of Albania. There is an old saying among us: "Separate mountains will never come together; people once parted will meet again."

It is true that China and Albania are separated by thousands of mountains and rivers. But brothers and comrades can always find the opportunity to meet. Chinese comrades and brothers: Our people have always felt and will for ever feel close to you, because the hearts of our two peoples beat in unison and they have the same goal and ideal to pursue and the same path to follow. Our two peoples and two Parties are forging ahead shoulder to shoulder, building socialism, defending the purity of Marxism-Leninism, striving for the victory of the communist cause and the cause of peace and freedom, opposing U.S.-led imperialism, opposing

Khrushchov revisionism and its followers and opposing the Tito gang of renegades, and enemies of all descriptions. The ever-triumphant Marxist-Leninist ideology is the ideology to which the glorious Chinese Communist Party and the Albanian Party of Labour constantly adhere in their activities, and is the very foundation of our internationalist and revolutionary friendship. The fraternal relations and militant co-operation between the peoples of our two countries and between our two Parties are founded on the basis of this ideology. The constant consolidation of our militant friendship is beneficial to what our people are building now and to its brilliant future, and it is in the fundamental interest of the peoples of the countries of the socialist camp and of the international proletariat and the people all over the world.

Apart from its geographical encirclement by capitalism, Albania is now subjected to the all-round and savage blockade in the political, economic and military fields by the Khrushchov revisionists. It is precisely at this most difficult juncture that the friendly and fraternal Chinese people, the glorious Chinese Communist Party headed by Comrade Mao Tse-tung, stand on the side of the people of our country. The Albanian people and the Albanian Party of Labour will never forget this. The Chinese people and the Chinese Communist Party support the just struggle of our Party and, as internationalists, selflessly help the people of our country to overcome these great difficulties and to build socialism. Comrades: Please allow me to extend the boundless thanks of the entire Albanian people, the Albanian Party of Labour and the Albanian Government for the tremendous support and assistance that the fraternal Chinese people have consistently given to the people of our country. Under the leadership of the Party of Labour, headed by Comrade Hoxha, the Albanian people will persistently and unswervingly struggle for our common cause and gloriously fulfil the internationalist obligation to safeguard the southwest outpost of the socialist camp and the victory of socialism by the Adriatic Sea, and will further strengthen our great friendship. This great friendship has filled the people of our two countries with pride, gladdened our friends but galled our common enemies, the imperialists, the Khrushchov revisionists and the reactionaries of all countries.

Let our friendship become the example of genuine friendship for the people of all countries. Let our friendship become a powerful weapon with which to expose the hypocrisy of the so-called friendship that the imperialists and revisionists have talked of so vociferously. Under "friendship," "friendly assistance" and other demagogic slogans, the imperialists and revisionists are trying to conceal their plan for enslavement and the contrivance of plots, coups d'etat and counter-revolutionary activities to jeopardize the freedom and independence of the people of various countries. They have been doing evil things under the guise of "friendship," as an old saying of our people puts it, "kill you at night and weep for you in the daytime." The people

of our country have for a long time personally experienced the consequences of their so-called friendship. It is enough only to recall the Khrushchov revisionists' activities of betrayal. Under cover of the word "friendship," they have been hatching schemes, openly opposing our Marxist-Leninist Party and our socialist country and overtly and covertly collaborating with international imperialism and reaction to carry out one blockade after another to damage the fundamental interest of the people of our country.

The revisionist leaders of the Soviet Union, just like the U.S. imperialists, are making use of demagogic slogans such as "friendship," "solidarity" and "unity" while, behind the backs of the people of various countries, they have already done and are still doing a lot of evil things. But it is just like the old saying: Lies have short legs. Today, we are in a different era. The tricks and lies of imperialism and its lackeys, the modern revisionists, will not meet with such easy acceptance as they have hoped. The heroic struggle which is being carried out by the glorious Chinese Communist Party in opposing imperialism and modern revisionism, and the struggles being carried out by the Albanian Party of Labour and other Marxist-Leninist and progressive Parties and forces, have enabled the peoples of various countries to see more clearly the ferocious features of imperialism headed by U.S. imperialism and the open betrayal by the present Soviet leadership and its followers, and to rise up and fight against them.

At this critical moment of the international communist movement and the national-liberation movements of peoples, the presence of the great People's China and the presence of the glorious Communist Party headed by Comrade Mao Tse-tung — the great leader of the Chinese people and the international proletariat and the respected friend of our Party and our people — who are standing in the forefront of the struggle against imperialism headed by U.S. imperialism, are unswervingly defending the purity of Marxism-Leninism and opposing the revisionist renegades, are supporting with all their strength the struggle of all peoples for freedom, national independence and socialism and are striving for genuine friendship among peoples and the defence of peace, is a tremendous blessing for mankind, for the revolutionary struggle of the world proletariat and the revolutionary anti-imperialist and anti-colonialist struggles of the peoples the world over. Here, we once again want to draw attention to an objective fact: The great Chinese revolution is the direct continuance of the Great October Socialist Revolution. This is because the great People's China and Chinese Communist Party are the first to have held aloft the banner of the October Revolution, pushed ahead the cause of the October Revolution and developed the tradition of the October Revolution, thus exercising a strong influence on the development of the world revolution and the liberation movement.

Dear comrades!

It is nearly 17 years since October 1, 1949, when the great Chinese people under the leadership of the Chi-

nese Communist Party headed by Comrade Mao Tse-tung became the master of their own destiny and founded a powerful and unconquerable socialist bastion — the People's Republic of China. Progressive mankind throughout the whole world have rejoiced at this event of world historic significance and regarded it as its own victory. The victory of the Chinese revolution has dealt a fatal blow at the system of world capitalism and this is an event bringing great happiness to all oppressed people and all revolutionaries. The victory of the Chinese revolution has radically changed the balance of world forces, tipping it in favour of socialism, freedom and democracy. New China has become the beacon of the oppressed peoples in Asia, Africa and Latin America. The victory of the Chinese revolution has pushed forward in an unprecedented way the anti-imperialist revolution and the democratic revolution in these areas and the world over.

Progressive mankind throughout the whole world is filled with boundless joy at the great achievements that the 700 million people of the Chinese People's Republic have made in the past and are continuing to make. Even the boldest prophet could not have foretold that all this would be accomplished in such a short period. Within a very short space of time, China has developed from a semi-colonial country into a powerful socialist country in which the economy, culture, and the people's prosperity and well-being are daily growing. Under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party and under the guidance of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Tse-tung's thinking, the Chinese people have held high the three red banners of the general line in building socialism, the big leap forward and the people's commune, and have not only heroically overcome tremendous natural calamities but have also broken through the many obstacles and the blockade perfidiously imposed by the Khrushchov revisionists. The Chinese people have readjusted their economy in accordance with the policy of "agriculture as the foundation and industry as the leading factor" and have established a strong material basis for socialism. The Albanian people are overjoyed to learn that you have reaped good harvests in agriculture in four successive years, with relatively big increases in the output of food grains, cotton, sugar-bearing crops and tobacco, and that there have been new developments in your industrial production and a new leap forward in the increase in variety and improvement in quality of its products, which have guaranteed to the people the steady supply of consumer goods in large quantities. The Chinese people have the right to be proud of their great victories, such as the tremendous progress in the development of the chemical industry, the discovery of great wealth — oil, the rapid development of the oil industry, the vigorous development of scientific and technical research and the successful explosion of two atom bombs. The friends of the Chinese people have indeed the right to be overjoyed. Your efforts to reach the world's most advanced levels in science and technology have already achieved brilliant results. The Albanian people are convinced that our great friends and bro-

thers, the talented Chinese people, will accomplish this historic task with outstanding success.

The Albanian people know that the workers, intellectuals and the other working people in Shanghai have made great contributions to the attainment of these splendid achievements. Comrades, all the workers and staff members in Shanghai, you have in an incomparable way transformed pre-liberation industry and developed it. You have set up some new branches of industry and developed to a high level the metallurgical, automobile, electrical machinery, chemical, shipbuilding and other industries. Today we have witnessed all these great achievements. Our joy knows no bounds when we see your brilliant achievements in production, when we see your production technique reaching the highest level and your products being welcomed on the world market. The workers and other sections of the people of our country find a source of endless encouragement in your great victories. Dear comrades: We extend to you our hearty congratulations on these successes and wish you increasing successes in the future in the interest of your great socialist motherland.

Under the leadership of the Communist Party, the heroic Chinese people have constantly held aloft the red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thinking, advanced in big strides on the broad road of socialist revolution and socialist construction and carried out the general line of going all out, aiming high and building socialism with greater, faster, better and more economical results. Along this road, you are exerting every effort, striving to fulfil the arduous but glorious tasks set for the magnificent Third Five-Year Plan. This Five-Year Plan will further help to build China into a country with modern agriculture, modern industry and modern science and technology, and will further help to strengthen China's national defence. The high revolutionary consciousness of the industrious, talented and revolutionary Chinese people, their creative, tenacious spirit, the militant way in which they have mobilized themselves and worked, their deep understanding of the political significance of the tasks set by the Party and Comrade Mao Tse-tung and their highly conscious efforts to perform them — all these ensure that they will win great new achievements in the socialist construction of their motherland. The Albanian people firmly believe that their friends and brothers, the Chinese people, will successfully fulfil the tasks set for the Third Five-Year Plan. The Albanian people sincerely wish the Chinese people continuous and still greater victories on the glorious road of socialism.

The great achievements of the Chinese people on all fronts have tremendously raised the international prestige of the People's Republic of China. These achievements are of world historic significance. They have borne out the correctness of the general line of the Chinese Communist Party and showed the vitality of the omnipotent teachings of Marxism-Leninism. The revolutionary forces of the whole world joyfully welcome these victories.

Dear comrades, respected friends!

The Albanian people fully and unreservedly support the principled and firm foreign policy of the People's Republic of China, the cornerstone of which is assistance and all-out support to the revolutionary struggle for freedom, national independence and socialism of the exploited classes and oppressed people the world over, safeguarding of the freedom and independence of the world's people, opposition to imperialist aggression and the imperialist-revisionist plots, fraternal friendship among peoples, mutual respect and non-interference in each other's internal affairs. Today, People's China is bearing the main burden in the struggle against imperialism and colonialism. It gives unreserved support to the struggle of the people of all countries and has made the greatest contributions to the revolutionary anti-imperialist struggle of the people of Asia, Africa and Latin America, the storm-centres of the world's revolution. People's China is waging a resolute, revolutionary and Marxist-Leninist struggle against U.S. imperialism, the international gendarme and the No. 1 enemy of the world's people. The Chinese Communist Party and the Government of the People's Republic of China are pursuing a brilliant policy of peace. The Chinese Communist Party and the Chinese Government have raised aloft the banner of pure Marxism-Leninism and mercilessly exposed as renegades the Khrushchov revisionists. The Khrushchov revisionists have betrayed the ideology of Marxism-Leninism, sold out the fruits of the victory of socialist revolution and the fundamental interests of the Soviet people and the international communist movement, and entered into open collusion with U.S. imperialism to dominate the world. The correct, revolutionary and Marxist-Leninist policy of the People's Republic of China has propelled and is powerfully propelling the international situation to advance in the direction favourable to the peace forces, freedom and socialism.

Dear comrades! Friends!

On the whole, the development of the present international situation is favourable to socialism but unfavourable to capitalism. It is favourable to the people opposing imperialism and neo-colonialism and loving freedom, to the progressive forces opposing the reactionaries and to Marxism-Leninism, but unfavourable to revisionism and the enemies of Marxism-Leninism. This feature of the international situation once again attests to the correctness of Comrade Mao Tse-tung's thesis that "the East wind prevails over the West wind." Of course, the international situation is not developing in a straight line, but is advancing through revolution and struggle along a rough path. This is an irresistible law of history. Today, the future of the people is brighter and more radiant than ever before. Indeed, it can be seen everywhere in the world that the people have awakened and are rising up to oppose imperialist aggression. Instead of waiting passively for death, they have taken positive action in a thousand and one ways. Asia, Africa and Latin America have become the principal arenas of the present struggle,

where the contradictions of the contemporary world are most sharply concentrated. The primary aggressive force and the mainstay of the reactionaries in these areas, U.S. imperialism, is having a very hard time. The events happening in Vietnam, Laos, the Congo (Leopoldville), Angola, Portuguese Guinea, Ecuador, Venezuela, Colombia and Peru and many other countries in the world have clearly proved this. But, the most eloquent proof of the unconquerable strength of the people of all countries and of the fact that imperialism is a "colossus with feet of clay" is the heroic struggle of the Vietnamese people and the historic victories they are continuously winning in their struggle against U.S. imperialism and its lackeys.

The fraternal Vietnamese people are carrying on a most heroic struggle and have repeatedly dealt destructive blows at the U.S. aggressors, who are occupying south Vietnam and wantonly bombing the north. More than 250,000 U.S. aggressors are pinned down in the present unequal struggle with the heroic Vietnamese people. U.S. imperialism which has committed heinous crimes and is attempting to destroy the will to resist of the freedom-loving south Vietnamese people, is rapidly coming face to face with complete failure.

The heroic struggle and brilliant victories of the fraternal Vietnamese people give U.S. imperialism a severe headache. The intrusion of U.S. imperialism into south Vietnam is just like a mouse running into a cage and not being able to get out of it. Under such circumstances, U.S. imperialism is seeking a way out by all sorts of means: it is strengthening its military measures on the one hand and resorting to political manoeuvres on the other. But, all is of no avail, whether it is "escalation" of the war or "proposal for peace talks," whether it is the whipping up of more mercenary forces from the U.S. satellites or the vicious plot of the Khrushchovites who try to help the U.S. aggressors out of their predicament, to befuddle the Vietnamese people and force them to agree with the holding of "peace talks" with the murderers. All the attempts of the U.S. imperialists, carried out with the help and support of their partners — the modern revisionists — perpetually to occupy south Vietnam by force and to turn south Vietnam into its base for aggression against other countries in Asia, especially against the People's Republic of China, will suffer shameful defeat.

By their valiant fighting, the Vietnamese patriots have won tremendous victories and won acclamation and support from all people who cherish freedom. Their struggle against U.S. aggression and for the freedom and unification of their fatherland has made enormous contributions to the cause of freedom and peace throughout the world. It has more and more clearly exposed the decadence of U.S. imperialism and effectively pushed U.S. imperialism closer to its grave. Like the Chinese people, the Albanian people will always remain faithful friends and inseparable comrades of the fraternal Vietnamese people. We will always give all-out support to the Vietnamese people. Our Party and Government

always firmly support the four-point stand of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam for settlement of the Vietnam question and the five-part statement of the South Vietnam National Front for Liberation for settlement of the Vietnam question. There is no other way, nor can there be any such as the modern revisionists and the imperialists proposed. It is the stand taken in regard to the Vietnamese people's struggle in resisting U.S. aggression that enables us to distinguish clearly those who are truly opposing U.S. imperialism and unreservedly supporting the fraternal Vietnamese people from those who, like the revisionist leaders of the Soviet Union, are undermining the heroic struggle of the Vietnamese people behind a facade of "aid," and are attempting to profit from it and strengthen Soviet-U.S. collaboration.

Now it is clear to all that the centre of gravity of the U.S. global strategy has shifted from Europe to Asia with People's China as its main target. The United States is pursuing policies of "containment" and aggression, policies hostile to the People's Republic of China. It is occupying China's territory of Taiwan, depriving the Chinese people of their legitimate status in the United Nations and is instigating the Indian reactionaries to commit aggression against the People's Republic of China. It has made more than 400 serious military provocations against China, etc. The ring-leaders of U.S. imperialism have clamoured on many occasions for a major war, sooner or later, against the People's Republic of China. In pursuit of this plan, they attempt to work hand in glove with the Khrushchov revisionists to rig up a "ring of fire" around China ranging from south Korea, Japan, Taiwan, the Philippines, south Vietnam, Laos, Thailand and "Malaysia" down to India. In the recent period, because of the rabid activities conducted by U.S. imperialism, the "Japan-ROK treaty" was concluded which is directed primarily against the Korean Democratic People's Republic; U.S. imperialism is attempting to set up an aggressive Northeast Asia treaty organization, expanding military bases and its nuclear fleet in the Pacific region; U.S. imperialism is stepping up its war in south Vietnam and attacking the Democratic Republic of Vietnam from the air; U.S. imperialism is intensifying its intervention in Laos and its aggression against Cambodia; representatives of U.S. imperialism recently visited its satellite countries in Asia; this was coupled with the Indian Prime Minister's visit to the United States and the U.S. backing for the Indian reactionaries. And all this was done in co-ordination with Kosygin's sinister activities in Tashkent, his agreement with Humphrey after talks in Delhi, the new Soviet-Mongolian treaty following Brezhnev's trip to Mongolia, the Japanese Foreign Minister's visit to Moscow and the conclusion of the Soviet-Japanese agreement, Mrs. Gandhi's visit to Moscow and the Soviet Union's all-out economic and military assistance to the Indian reactionaries, and so on. The "Holy Alliance" between imperialism and modern revisionism is obviously directed against the People's Republic of China.

All attempts by imperialism and revisionism to contain, isolate and encircle China are doomed to fail, as they did before. Such activities by the imperialists and the Khrushchov revisionists reveal their weakness, not strength. They are a desperate struggle aimed at prolonging their precarious life and evading inevitable punishment by history. Great China stands erect like an invincible giant. Today, China possesses all that is possible and necessary to smash the whole aggressive plan of imperialism, revisionism and their lackeys. The Albanian people are convinced that, should the enemy dare to invade China, the glorious Chinese people will sweep them from the face of the earth lock, stock and barrel. On the side of China are all the revolutionary and peace-loving peoples the world over who are rising wave upon wave and valiantly fighting against the sworn enemies of mankind. The enemy is no more able to halt the victorious march of People's China and the world revolution than he can stop the sun from rising.

Because of the sharpening contradictions in the imperialist camp today, U.S. imperialism finds itself in greater difficulties than ever before. These contradictions are going to become even more acute. The partners of U.S. imperialism are no longer willing to bow to the United States, instead they want to preserve their own strength; they are no longer willing to act as pawns in the adventuristic plans of U.S. imperialism, instead they want to act in line with their own interests. The fiasco of the U.S. imperialists in Vietnam and the sharpening within the United States of the class struggle and the struggle of the working masses against the policy of aggression have greatly weakened the position of U.S. imperialism.

The internal situation of revisionism, especially of Khrushchov revisionism, is even worse. The anti-Marxist line of betrayal which they have followed since their 20th Party Congress, a betrayal of the Soviet people, of the socialist camp, of communism and the world revolutionary movement and the cause of the people who are striving for freedom, and the principled struggle waged by the Marxist Parties and the Marxist forces to expose modern revisionism, have brought disastrous defeat to the revisionists and landed them in an awkward situation. This led to the ignominious downfall of Khrushchov, the chieftain of modern revisionism. Khrushchov's fall was a heavy blow to the whole of international revisionism and deepened the split and contradictions in the revisionist clique. At present, the process of the dividing off of the healthy forces of Marxism-Leninism from the revisionist Parties and the process of the drawing of a clear line between the Marxist-Leninists and the modern revisionists are developing and intensifying. New Parties and Marxist-Leninist groups have now been established in many countries and are growing with each passing day. There is no doubt that other Marxist-Leninist groups and Parties will be established and will plunge into open struggle against betrayal by the modern revisionists. At present, there is more need than ever for

principled, open, persistent, resolute and uncompromising struggle such as is being waged by our two Parties and all other Marxist-Leninists, so as to crush modern revisionism and promote the world's Marxist-Leninist revolutionary movement.

Though the Khrushchov revisionists have met with defeat, they are not willing to abandon their anti-Marxist and anti-socialist road. Changes in their tactics and outrageous deception by them prove that, on the one hand, they are besieged by difficulties and, on the other, they are determined to carry out in all fields the line of Khrushchovism without Khrushchov. The 23rd Congress of the Soviet Communist Party was the newest farce stage-managed by the Brezhnev-Kosygin-Suslov clique to mend its torn mask and carry its activities of betrayal still further. However, neither the Tito-type economic policy, nor the hundred new assurances for "well-being" and "strengthening the economy" given to the Soviet people after so many failures and so much empty talk, nor the despicable attacks and slanders against China and Albania, nor the splitting activities of the type of stopping up one's ear while stealing a bell, nor the new promises for "unity," nor the playing with revolutionary words and the warning to the U.S. aggressors after expressing the intention to adhere to peaceful coexistence and peaceful economic competition with the U.S. aggressors, etc., can help them.

It is incontestable that genuine students of Lenin and Stalin and the glorious Soviet people cannot tolerate the pushing of the Soviet Union by these renegades on to the road of complete capitalist degeneration. The day is surely coming when the Khrushchov revisionists will be judged.

The Albanian Party of Labour places a high evaluation on the very tremendous contributions made by the fraternal Chinese Communist Party in exposing and crushing Khrushchov revisionism, in defending the purity of Marxism-Leninism and in strengthening the Leninist unity of the socialist camp, the international communist movement and the international workers' movement. The consistent and principled struggle by the Chinese Communist Party in this field has been and will always be a brilliant example of fidelity for all revolutionaries in the world and an inspiration to the Marxist-Leninist forces fighting for communism. Future generations will always feel gratitude to the Chinese Communist Party.

Conscious of their own lofty tasks, our two Parties, now and in future, will, together with Marxist-Leninist Parties and forces the world over, continue to wage resolute struggle to expose thoroughly and crush the Khrushchov revisionists and their followers who have now become dangerous ideological agents in the service of imperialism.

Esteemed comrades and friends!

Along the shore of the Adriatic so far away, the Albanian people, under the leadership of the Albanian

Party of Labour headed by Comrade Hoxha, with pick in one hand and rifle in the other, are doing their utmost for the country's socialist construction and stand guard day and night in defence of their own socialist victory. The Albanian people successfully fulfilled their Third Five-Year Plan (1961-65) and are now working to carry out the Fourth Five-Year Plan. The present plan marks an important new step that we are taking to complete the building of socialist society. At present, the masses of the working people of our country are full of revolutionary drive and zeal. This situation came into being six months ago with the appeal of the Central Committee of our Party and our Government to the masses of people to take part in the discussion and drawing up of the Fourth Five-Year Plan; this situation reached a new high point with the open letter of the Central Committee of our Party to all the members of the Party, the working people and to the officers and soldiers. With a creative spirit, all the workers, peasants and intellectuals are struggling to carry out the tasks of increasing agricultural and industrial production and developing culture, and strengthening national defence, tasks which they have set for themselves. Functionaries of the Party and state and all members of the Party are working to foster a revolutionary working style and forge closer ties with the masses so as to keep pace with and direct the militant spirit of the masses more effectively. The Marxist-Leninist mass line of our Party has found expression in this work, with the result that the political consciousness of our working people has risen. Our Party is now working persistently to enable the masses to understand the current situation and their decisive role in socialist construction so that they can overcome all difficulties and strive constantly for new victories. Our Party is trying to bring into fuller play the enthusiasm of the masses for the socialist construction being undertaken through their own efforts. Our Party is constantly stepping up communist education among the working people and is struggling to eliminate all alien things in the effort to block every possible way for revisionism and capitalism to stage a come-back, to ensure that our country engages at all times in socialist construction, to defend our country from encroachment, and to continue to fulfil our internationalist duty with glory. Our people are convinced that by relying on their own strength and hard work and with international assistance from the fraternal Chinese people, they will achieve new victories in all fields.

Our Party and Government are working for the socialist construction of our country and, at the same time, carrying out a revolutionary foreign policy. Our Party and Government firmly oppose the policies of war and aggression of U.S. imperialism, unreservedly support the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America in their struggle for liberation and try to maintain friendly relations with all countries, neighbouring countries in the first place, on the basis of mutual respect and equality. Our Government firmly opposes

the re-arming of Bonn Germany by imperialism, and has always opposed the revanchist plan for expansion which threatens the German Democratic Republic and other socialist countries in Eastern Europe. Our Government has always supported the Democratic Republic of Germany and maintains that a peace treaty should be concluded with Germany at the earliest date. This is the most correct way to solve the German question and check the aggressive design of the West German revanchists.

Dear comrades: In conclusion, please allow me to assure you that the unity between our Party and people and the glorious Chinese Communist Party and the great Chinese people is unbreakable. Our Party and people will wage a tit-for-tat struggle against imperialism headed by the United States, the Khrushchov revisionists and all reactionaries for the defence of peace, freedom, democracy and socialism, no matter what the sacrifices or difficulties. In the struggle to

defend the purity of Marxism-Leninism and ensure the victory of our great ideal of communism, we shall always remain your comrades and friends and stand or fall together.

Long live the unbreakable friendship between the Albanian people and the great Chinese people!

Long live the friendly and fraternal Chinese people and the heroic people of Shanghai!

Eternal glory to the Chinese Communist Party, long-tested leader of the Chinese people and unconquerable and tireless fighter for Marxism-Leninism!

Long live Comrade Mao Tse-tung, great leader of the Chinese people and the Chinese Communist Party, worthy successor to the cause of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, and esteemed friend of our Party and people!

Long live the great solidarity of the people of the world against imperialism!

Glory to Marxism-Leninism!

### At Shanghai Mass Rally

## Comrade Teng Hsiao-ping's Speech

- We must resolutely oppose U.S. imperialism, the common enemy of the world's people, resolutely oppose modern revisionism centred round the leading group of the C.P.S.U. and push forward the revolutionary cause of the international proletariat and the people of the world.
- The 23rd Congress has further demonstrated that the leading group of the C.P.S.U. has degenerated into irreconcilable enemies of Marxism-Leninism, incorrigible renegades from the international communist movement, saboteurs of the revolutionary movement of all peoples and accomplices of U.S. imperialism. Marxist-Leninists must never seek unity with it but must draw a clear-cut line of demarcation between themselves and it politically, ideologically and organizationally. We must not show flexibility towards it, but must wage principled struggle against it. We must never make any compromise with it, but must fight it to the finish.
- We have consistently stood for the formation of an international united front against U.S. imperialism and its lackeys. This united front has as its basis the great unity of all the revolutionary peoples of the world, and therefore it is the broadest united front and not a narrow one. It must uphold a genuine revolutionary line which reflects the aspirations of all the revolutionary peoples of the world, and therefore is the most genuine united front and not a sham one. It is a united front against U.S. imperialism. The leading group of the C.P.S.U. naturally cannot be included in this united front, since it not only does not oppose, but actively serves, U.S. imperialism.

Dear Comrade Mehmet Shehu,

Dear Comrade Hysni Kapo,

Dear Comrades of the Albanian Party  
and Government Delegation,

Comrades and friends,

The Albanian Party and Government Delegation headed by Comrade Mehmet Shehu have come to our

country for a friendly visit and have brought with them the profound friendship of the Albanian people, which is a tremendous inspiration to us Chinese people. The 650 million Chinese people heartily and warmly welcome our closest comrades-in-arms. Wherever the delegation go, there is a festive atmosphere of mass jubilation and an enthusiastic wave of unity and friendship between the peoples of China and Albania. This is a vivid expression of the militant friendship of



true proletarian internationalism between us. It fully testifies to our unity in the struggle against imperialism and modern revisionism.

The Albanian Party of Labour is a great, glorious and correct Marxist-Leninist Party. The People's Republic of Albania is a socialist country which adheres to the dictatorship of the proletariat, steadfastly follows the road of socialist revolution and remains loyal to the revolutionary cause of the international proletariat. The Albanian people is a heroic people who fear neither brute force nor difficulties and who dare to struggle and dare to win. Under the leadership of the Albanian Party of Labour, the Albanian people have achieved brilliant successes in socialist revolution and socialist construction and have made great contributions in the struggle against imperialism, reaction and modern revisionism.

All these achievements have been won under the wise leadership of the Central Committee of the Albanian Party of Labour headed by Comrade Enver Hoxha. Together with his close comrades-in-arms, Comrade Enver Hoxha has creatively integrated the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the practice of Albania's struggle and of the international struggle and worked out a correct line and correct policies, thus enriching and developing Marxism-Leninism.

The Chinese Communists and people have great admiration for the thorough revolutionary spirit of the Albanian Communists and people. The Albanian comrades have stood firm as a rock before the threat and blackmail of imperialism and its lackeys and carried out tit-for-tat struggles. They have waged a protracted and resolute struggle against the traitorous Tito clique of Yugoslavia. When the Khrushchov revisionists stirred up an adverse current against communism, against the people and revolution, they stepped forward, upheld principle and stood in the forefront of the Marxist-Leninist ranks in an uncompromising and persistent struggle against the renegades. Bringing into play the spirit of uninterrupted and thoroughgoing revolution, the Albanian Party of Labour has taken a whole series of important measures of revolutionization in the political, economic, military, cultural and ideological fields as well as in the fields of Party and other work, unfolding a mass movement on an extensive scale in its determination to carry the socialist revolution through to the end. Today, a new revolutionary upsurge is taking place on all fronts in Albania. This heroic spirit and revolutionary practice of the Albanian Communists and people have set a brilliant example in the revolutionary cause of the international proletariat and the world's people.

Comrades and friends! The present situation is very favourable for the struggle of the Marxist-Leninists and revolutionary people of the world against imperialism and modern revisionism. Imperialism headed by the United States is in a process of accelerated dis-

integration. Pounded by the revolutionary waves of the people in the world, and especially in Asia, Africa and Latin America, U.S. imperialism has suffered one heavy defeat after another and finds itself in dire straits. To carry on its last-ditch struggle, U.S. imperialism needs the service of modern revisionism. With the leading group of the C.P.S.U. as its centre, modern revisionism serves as a social prop of international imperialism and as a special detachment of U.S. imperialism to disrupt the revolutionary struggle of the peoples, playing a role which no imperialists, reactionaries or old revisionist renegades can play.

It has been the consistent view of our Party and the Albanian Party of Labour that ever since the 20th Congress, the leading group of the C.P.S.U. has been pursuing a revisionist line of restoring capitalism, capitulating to imperialism, opposing the people's revolution everywhere and opposing Marxism-Leninism. The distinguishing feature of modern revisionism whose centre is the leading group of the C.P.S.U. is fear of imperialism, of the masses of the people and of Marxism-Leninism. In a word, they fear any revolution made by the oppressed peoples and nations, help imperialism and reaction to maintain their moribund rule and sabotage the revolutionary movement of all peoples.

The downfall of Khrushchov marked the utter bankruptcy of the revisionist line. After the advent to power of the new leaders of the C.P.S.U. some people say that they have changed. We say that they have not changed. The men remain unchanged; they belong to the same old Khrushchov cast. The line remains unchanged: it is still the revisionist general line formulated at the 20th and 22nd Congresses of the C.P.S.U., the line of "peaceful coexistence," "peaceful competition," "peaceful transition," "the state of the whole people" and "the Party of the entire people"; it is still the general line of Soviet-U.S. collaboration for the domination of the world. The change, if any, is merely that they are now pursuing Khrushchovism without Khrushchov. Compared with Khrushchov, they have gone still farther on the road of revisionism, their position is weaker and therefore they are more cunning in their tactics. As Comrade Shehu has rightly pointed out: "The revisionist 23rd Congress of the C.P.S.U. is a continuation of the 20th and 22nd Congresses," "a congress of Khrushchovism without Khrushchov" and "a congress of the weakening and degradation of modern revisionism."

True Marxist-Leninists and thorough dialectical materialists should in no circumstances be confused by appearance but must grasp the essence of things behind the appearance. The 23rd Congress has further demonstrated that the leading group of the C.P.S.U. has degenerated into irreconcilable enemies of Marxism-Leninism, incorrigible renegades from the international communist movement, saboteurs of the revolutionary

movement of all peoples and accomplices of U.S. imperialism.

Our Party and the Albanian Party of Labour both maintain that in order to oppose U.S. imperialism, it is imperative to oppose modern revisionism whose centre is the leading group of the C.P.S.U. Marxist-Leninists must never seek unity with it but must draw a clear-cut line of demarcation between themselves and it politically, ideologically and organizationally. We must not show flexibility towards it, but must wage principled struggle against it. We must never make any compromise with it, but must fight it to the finish.

In combating the revisionism of the Second International, Lenin said, "Unity with opportunism means unity between the proletariat and its national bourgeoisie, i.e., submission to the latter, a split in the international revolutionary working class." He also said, "The aims of socialism at the present time cannot be fulfilled, and real international unity of the workers cannot be achieved, without a decisive break with opportunism, and without explaining its inevitable fiasco to the masses."

The Communist Party of China and the Albanian Party of Labour, true Marxist-Leninists and thorough proletarian revolutionaries, are dauntless and have no fear of any hobgoblins. To be a revolutionary, one must have steadfastness of principle and indomitable courage and must absolutely not adopt a pragmatic attitude or an eclectic, i.e., opportunist attitude. There can be no middle road in the struggle between Marxism-Leninism and revisionism. Only when Marxist-Leninists are free from vacillation in all circumstances, can they lead the cause of revolution to final victory. The modern revisionists vilify us as "dogmatists," "adventurists" and "sectarians"; they produced one more fashionable epithet during the 23rd Congress of the C.P.S.U., labelling us as "Left revisionists." As a matter of fact, what they attack is nothing but Marxism-Leninism, proletarian principle and steadfastness, proletarian internationalism and the revolutionary line of the proletariat.

True Marxist-Leninists and thorough proletarian revolutionaries have no fear of imperialism. Imperialism and all reactionaries are paper tigers and can be defeated. A convincing proof is that U.S. imperialism, which looks like a colossus, has been badly battered by the Vietnamese people. In contrast to the modern revisionists who fear imperialism, we Marxist-Leninists are not afraid of imperialism but despise it, and we dare to wage a tit-for-tat struggle against it. If, like the leading group of the C.P.S.U., we were afraid of imperialism, then we would inevitably follow it in submitting to imperialist pressure and take the road of not daring to oppose imperialism and carry on revolution.

True Marxist-Leninists and thorough proletarian revolutionaries have no fear of revisionism. Revisionism is likewise a paper tiger, and it is entirely possible to defeat it. In the beginning, Khrushchov gave himself grand airs and was very arrogant. We were not afraid of him, waged struggles against him and defeated him. Each generation of revisionists is weaker than the last; the present leading group of the C.P.S.U. is far flabbier than Khrushchov, and there is still less reason to be afraid of it. Revisionism fears imperialism. Whoever fears revisionism is bound to fear imperialism. If even the accomplice of imperialism were to be feared, no firm opposition to imperialism would be possible. If we submitted to the pressure of revisionism and moved around in response to its baton, we would inevitably embark on a road departing from Marxism-Leninism.

True Marxist-Leninists and thorough proletarian revolutionaries have no fear of war. Imperialism uses war to threaten and deal with the revolutionary people. Fearing war itself, modern revisionism whose centre is the leading group of the C.P.S.U. also uses it to intimidate the revolutionary people. It follows a policy of capitulationism and appeasement towards imperialism, opposes and undermines the revolutionary struggles of all peoples and attempts to stamp out all revolutionary wars. Its actions only encourage imperialist aggression and aggravate the danger of imperialism launching a war. Marxist-Leninists are doing just the opposite. We firmly believe in the strength of the masses of the people and resolutely rely on people's war to defeat any counter-revolutionary war launched by imperialism. It is not we but the imperialists who want war, and it is no use being afraid. If one is afraid of war, one has no choice but to lay down one's arms and surrender to imperialism. If one is afraid of war, one has no choice but to refuse to support the revolutionary struggles of all peoples, and even undermine their revolutionary wars, in betrayal of proletarian internationalism.

True Marxist-Leninists and thorough proletarian revolutionaries have no fear of being isolated. The U.S. imperialists want to isolate us, and so do the revisionist leading group of the C.P.S.U. They are rallying monsters of all kinds to knock together a counter-revolutionary "Holy Alliance," in an attempt to isolate China, Albania, all Marxist-Leninist Parties, all Marxist-Leninists and all revolutionary forces. We are not afraid of being isolated, and we shall never be alone. Marx and Engels were not afraid of being isolated, nor were Lenin and Stalin, because they were not alone. Compared with the days of Marx and Engels or with those of Lenin and Stalin, today the revolutionary cause of the international proletariat has greatly developed and the ranks of Marxist-Leninists have greatly expanded. Marxist-Leninists represent the trend of his-

tory, they stand for the will of the proletariat and the overwhelming majority of the world's population. The people who constitute over 90 per cent of the world's population are with us. The imperialists and the revisionists are divorced from and diametrically opposed to the people. It is they who are really alone. Why has the revisionist leading group of the C.P.S.U. raised the cry of "united action"? It is because they are fearfully alone and wish to make us help them extricate themselves from isolation by deceiving the masses. In no circumstances will we take any "united action" with them, prettify them, or give them any help, not even a straw.

In order to isolate U.S. imperialism to the maximum and deal it the heaviest possible blows, we have consistently stood for the formation of an international united front against U.S. imperialism and its lackeys. Comrade Mao Tse-tung has issued this call:

The people of the countries in the socialist camp should unite, the people of the countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America should unite, the people of all continents should unite, all peace-loving countries and all countries subjected to U.S. aggression, control, interference and bullying should unite, and should form the broadest united front to oppose the U.S. imperialist policies of aggression and war and safeguard world peace.

Such is the united front we want to form. This united front has as its basis the great unity of all the revolutionary peoples of the world, and therefore it is the broadest united front and not a narrow one. It must uphold a genuine revolutionary line which reflects the aspirations of all the revolutionary peoples of the world, and therefore is the most genuine united front and not a sham one. It is a united front against U.S. imperialism. The leading group of the C.P.S.U. naturally cannot be included in this united front, since it not only does not oppose, but actively serves, U.S. imperialism. If this united front were to include an accomplice of U.S. imperialism, could it not also include U.S. imperialism itself? Would not the united front against the United States then become a united front with the United States? This is absolutely impermissible. We must neither unite with U.S. imperialism nor with its accomplice, the leading group of the C.P.S.U.; we can only unite with revolutionaries and all those who oppose U.S. imperialism and its lackeys. We must unite with all forces in the world that can be united with, support and assist the liberation struggle of all peoples, strike down U.S. imperialism and its lackeys and strive for the victory of the revolutionary struggle of all oppressed peoples and nations.

At present, the revolutionary struggle of all peoples against imperialism and its lackeys has entered

upon a new stage. All Marxist-Leninists are being tested amidst the tempestuous storm of international class struggle. The tasks facing the Marxist-Leninists and all revolutionary people of the world are both glorious and arduous. We must resolutely oppose U.S. imperialism, the common enemy of the world's people, resolutely oppose modern revisionism centred round the leading group of the C.P.S.U. and push forward the revolutionary cause of the international proletariat and the people of the world.

Comrades and friends! Holding high the great red banner of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Tse-tung's thought, the Chinese Communist Party and the Chinese people are vigorously pushing ahead the three great revolutionary movements — class struggle, struggle for production, and scientific experiment. All our cadres and the masses of workers, peasants and soldiers have started an enthusiastic campaign to study Mao Tse-tung's works; they regard Mao Tse-tung's thought as the supreme guidance for all work. In order to consolidate and further develop the dictatorship of the proletariat and the socialist system and to prevent the restoration of capitalism, we are carrying on the socialist revolution in depth on the political front, and particularly on the ideological and cultural fronts, while continuing it on the economic front. Only by carrying the socialist revolution on all fronts through to the end will it be possible to ensure the complete victory of the socialist cause and create the conditions for the future transition to communism.

The friendship and unity between the Chinese and Albanian Parties and peoples and the two countries are based on Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. Our two Parties are completely at one in defending and developing Marxism-Leninism, in upholding the world revolutionary cause of the proletariat, in persevering in the fight against imperialism headed by the United States and modern revisionism centred round the leading group of the C.P.S.U., in persisting in socialist revolution and socialist construction, in consolidating the socialist system and preventing the restoration of capitalism, and in giving prominence to politics in all work and following the mass line. For the victory of our common cause, we shall for ever support and assist each other, fight shoulder to shoulder and advance side by side.

Long live the Albanian Party of Labour headed by Comrade Enver Hoxha!

Long live the great friendship and fighting unity between China and Albania!

Long live the great revolutionary unity of the people of the whole world!

Long live ever-victorious Marxism-Leninism!

# Speech by Comrade Hysni Kapo At Higher Party School

*Following is the full text of the speech delivered on May 9 by Hysni Kapo, member of the Albanian Party and Government Delegation and Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Albanian Party of Labour, at the Higher Party School of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party. — Ed.*

**Dear Comrades:**

Our delegation feels particularly happy and greatly honoured today to have come into your midst and to have the opportunity to convey to you the warm, fraternal greetings from the Albanian Communists and the entire people of Albania. Though separated from here by mountains and seas, the Communists and the entire people of Albania find their hearts beat in revolutionary unison with the hearts of the glorious Chinese Communists and the great fraternal people of People's China, and are marching shoulder to shoulder with them in the van of the historic struggle against imperialism and its agent modern revisionism and for the victory of the sacred cause of socialism and communism throughout the world.

It is precisely this common struggle under the brilliant leadership of our two Parties that has broken the geographical barriers and has forged the great friendship as unshakable as our towering mountains and the steel-firm revolutionary solidarity between our two peoples. We are fully convinced that the current visit by the Delegation of the Albanian Party of Labour and the Government of the Albanian People's Republic to the Chinese People's Republic will strengthen our internationalist friendship and solidarity in the interest of the common cause and the struggle of all Marxist-Leninist forces.

Now, please allow me to present the views of the Albanian Party of Labour on a number of questions concerning opposition to imperialism, opposition to modern revisionism and Albania's socialist construction.

## **The Development of the International Situation Is Favourable for Socialism, For People's Revolution in All Countries, And for Opposing Imperialism, Reactionaries and Revisionism**

Today, the world is in the glorious historic era of the transition from capitalism to socialism, the era of the powerful revolutionary storm of socialism and national liberation, the era of the collapse of imperialism

and the disintegration of the colonialist system, and the era of worldwide victory for socialism and communism.

### **Revolution Is Surging, Imperialism Is Declining and Disintegrating**

Though temporary, isolated twists and turns have occurred, yet, on the whole, the current international situation is still developing in the direction favouring opposition by the socialist forces to imperialism, opposition by the freedom-loving people of all countries to imperialism and colonialism, opposition by the forces of progress to the forces of reaction and opposition by the Marxist-Leninists to the modern revisionists.

The Albanian Party of Labour takes an optimistic view of the developing international situation. This optimism and confidence are based on the working of the objective law of social development and on the invincible power of socialism — the new social system which will definitely take the place of the decrepit and decadent capitalist system.

In partnership with all sorts of renegades from socialism, the international bourgeoisie, imperialism and world reaction are dashing around like mad beasts, and resorting to every possible means, in a futile attempt to impede and halt the advance of socialism and its victory on a world scale. But life has proved the bankruptcy of this. They failed to prevent the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution and the founding and advance of the first socialist country in the world. Their futile attempt to wipe out socialism during World War II suffered crushing defeat. Even though the only socialist country at the time, the Soviet Union pulverized Hitlerite Germany, then the major strike force of world imperialism. The people's revolution was victorious in a number of countries in Europe and Asia, and the socialist camp was established. Neither the Japanese militarists, nor the reactionary Chiang Kai-shek clique which had the full support of U.S. imperialism were able to prevent the victory of the great Chinese Revolution, a victory which fundamentally changed the balance of world forces in favour of socialism. Neither imperialist aggression nor the temporary sway of revisionism in the Soviet Union and certain other socialist countries can turn back the wheel of history. In the contradiction between socialism and capitalism — the foundation for the development of the whole world at present — the socialist forces are the principal aspect of the contradiction which determines the trend of the course of contemporary history.

The imperialist attempt to impede and halt the collapse of the system of colonialist enslavement and to suppress and subdue the powerful waves of the national-

## Albanian Guests at Higher Party School

ON May 9, Comrade Mehmet Shehu and the Albanian Party and Government Delegation led by him received a very warm welcome from teachers and students when they visited the Higher Party School of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party.

The Albanian comrades were given a standing ovation when they entered the auditorium in the company of Comrades Teng Hsiao-ping, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party; Li Hsien-nien, Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee; Kang Sheng, Alternate Member of the Political Bureau; Lin Feng, Member of the Central Committee and President of the Higher Party School; and Wu Hsiu-chuan, Member of the Central Committee.

In an address of welcome, Comrade Kang Sheng said: "All comrades of the Albanian Party and Government Delegation are dear comrades-in-arms who have long been fighting side by side with us. The Albanian Party of Labour is a long-tested, glorious, great and correct Marxist-Leninist Party. Under the leadership of Comrade Enver Hoxha, it has won brilliant victories and made tremendous contributions both in the struggle against U.S.-led imperialism and against modern revisionism, which is centred around the leading group of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, and in socialist revolution and socialist construction. We are very glad about it." "In the recent period," he added, "the Albanian Party of Labour has adopted a series of significant revolutionary measures in further developing Marxism-Leninism, in further combating imperialism and modern revisionism and in regard to socialist revolu-

tion and socialist construction. The Albanian Party of Labour has very valuable experience which we should study."

Comrade Hysni Kapo then delivered an important speech in which he made a profound analysis of the current international situation and elaborated on the struggle against imperialism and modern revisionism and the question of socialist revolution and socialist construction in Albania. His speech was enthusiastically applauded. Comrade Teng Hsiao-ping affectionately embraced him.

Comrade Lin Feng thanked Comrade Kapo for his excellent Marxist-Leninist report. "We shall earnestly study this report and draw on the adherence to Marxist-Leninist principles and the daring to struggle and go forward in uninterrupted revolution which characterize the Albanian Party of Labour and people headed by Comrade Hoxha," he said. "Under the leadership of the Party Central Committee and Comrade Mao Tse-tung, we teachers and students at the Higher Party School of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party will hold high the great red banner of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Tse-tung's thinking, always remain thoroughgoing revolutionaries and serve the Chinese people and the world revolution." Comrade Lin Feng ended his speech with the cry: "Long live the great friendship and militant unity between the two Parties and peoples of China and Albania!" and "Long live invincible Marxism-Leninism!"

To the ringing applause of the whole assembly, Comrade Teng Hsiao-ping raised his hand and gave the call: "Glory to the Albanian Party of Labour and Comrade Enver Hoxha!"

liberation struggles of the enslaved peoples has met with defeat, and there is no hope for success. This movement is one of the great forces of contemporary social progress. It has swept infinitely great areas of Asia, Africa and Latin America, thus wrecking the rear of imperialism and dealing it most powerful and direct blows. This also proves that profound weaknesses exist in the position of world imperialism. In the contradiction between imperialism headed by U.S. imperialism and the oppressed peoples — one of the sharpest contemporary contradictions — the forces of the people of all countries who oppose imperialism and colonialism represent the principal aspect of the contradiction.

The further, continual weakening and deterioration of imperialist positions is also clearly shown in the increasingly acute contradictions within the imperialist camp itself. The drastic contraction of the domain of imperialist rule as a result of the establishment of the socialist camp and the struggles waged by the people of

all countries against imperialism and for national liberation, and the seeking of world hegemony by the U.S. have battered the ship of imperialism which is gaping at the seams. The current international situation shows that the collapse and disintegration of imperialist alliances is developing precipitously. After World War II, U.S. imperialism exercised economic, political and military control over other imperialist countries which had been weakened during the war and were declining economically. Now the situation is entirely different. Countries like France, Britain, West Germany and Japan have rehabilitated their economy and all wish to rid themselves of all forms of subservience to the U.S. France has challenged the U.S. in the most outspoken manner and recently took a series of measures that undermine the very foundation of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, including measures to withdraw its forces from NATO joint command, to expel all foreign armed forces and military bases from French territory, etc. This position of France's is a serious blow

to this aggressive pact and hegemony by U.S. imperialism. The contradictions among the imperialists are deepening with each passing day. Other imperialist pacts — the Southeast Asia Treaty Organization and the Central Treaty Organization — are also in the process of crumbling and falling apart.

The U.S. war of aggression in Vietnam provides vivid proof of the disintegration of the imperialist alliance. If U.S. imperialism can be said to have secured military and material aid from all its NATO allies during the Korean war, then, in its war of aggression against Vietnam, the U.S. is virtually isolated, since its allies refuse to burn their own hands in pulling the chestnuts out of fire for the U.S.

### **Modern Revisionism Represents the "Second Front" of Imperialism in Opposing Socialism And Freedom-Loving Peoples**

Precisely because imperialism, in the first place U.S. imperialism, has landed in a profound crisis and because a fundamental change, adverse to it, has taken place in the balance of power, imperialism has been compelled since World War II to seek new weapons and methods of fighting in order to contain and repulse the forces of socialism, undermine and split the socialist camp and the revolutionary forces, cause the socialist system to degenerate and change its nature, and prepare for aggression against the socialist countries. The old means of splitting, such as the Social Democratic Party, which has long been exposed and utterly discredited as a renegade to the proletariat and the cause of socialism and as the agent of the bourgeoisie in the working-class movement, can no longer fully meet the new requirements of imperialism in the new circumstances. The revisionist agents in the ranks of the Marxist-Leninist Parties of the socialist countries are being wooed by imperialism. For nearly twenty years, U.S. imperialism has spent thousands of millions of dollars in grooming the agent Tito to oppose Marxism-Leninism, the communist movement and the socialist camp, and obstruct the revolutionary upsurge of the international working class and the struggle of all peoples against imperialism and colonialism. This traitorous gang, which is continuing desperately to serve its master's aims, can no longer completely satisfy the needs of the imperialists, particularly the U.S. imperialists. Tito and his gang have been exposed and the attempts and plots of the imperialists against Marxism-Leninism have failed. Modern revisionism, headed by the Khrushchov revisionists, which has emerged on the stage of history as an offshoot of the imperialist policy of blackmail and subversion, has kindled hope among the imperialists of realizing their schemes. Revisionism today, as an offshoot of imperialism, is in fact the "second front" of imperialism in opposing socialism and the freedom-loving peoples of the world.

Both during the period of Khrushchov and after his removal from office, the principal objective set by the Soviet revisionists for their foreign policy has been

Soviet-U.S. co-operation whatever the conditions or cost. They are in effect playing the game of U.S. imperialism, adapting themselves to the needs of its policy, and creating every opportunity for U.S. imperialism to implement its policies of enslavement, reaction and aggression against the socialist countries and the peoples who have risen to struggle for liberation. The Soviet leaders today are not content with their clinging to the notorious treaty on the partial cessation of nuclear tests between Britain, the Soviet Union and the U.S.; they are working hard to make a new deal on the so-called "non-proliferation of nuclear weapons." Their aim is to try at all costs to preserve the nuclear monopoly of the two big powers in order to oppose China and bring pressure to bear on other peoples and nations who refuse to bow to their will. The current revisionist leaders of the Soviet Union have once again put forward in the United Nations Khrushchov's proposal to build a "U.N. standing army," or, in other words, to build a kind of international gendarmery for imperialism and revisionism to suppress the world revolutionary movement and the liberation movement. They voted in favour of resolutions for "cease-fire" and "reaching national reconciliation" in the Congo, the Dominican Republic and other countries, thus giving U.S. imperialism and the reactionary forces a helping hand in carrying out their counter-revolutionary schemes. In their acts of betrayal, the Soviet leaders have gone to the length of openly collaborating with such sinister lackeys of U.S. imperialism as the Chiang Kai-shek gang, the south Korean puppets and "Malaysia" so as to carry out the deceptive U.S. programme for "Asian economic development" the purpose of which is in reality to undermine the anti-U.S. struggles of the Asian peoples and exploit and enslave them in the new forms of neo-colonialism. The revisionist leadership of the Soviet Union is bending every effort to help the U.S. imperialists extricate themselves from their impasse in Vietnam and, by hook and by crook, to create favourable conditions for bringing about so-called "peace talks" on Vietnam.

Where U.S. imperialism runs into snags, there the Khrushchov revisionists and their followers come to its aid. Take Europe, for instance. As is well known, the U.S. is trying in every way to maintain its rule in Western Europe and to vitiate the attempts of France and other European countries to be rid of this rule. The U.S. is buttressing West Germany and even arming it with atomic weapons, both to counter France's anti-U.S. actions and to turn West Germany into a major strike force against the socialist countries on this continent. With the help of the U.S., German revanchist militarism is rising again and has already become a dangerous hot-bed for war and a serious menace to the independence and territorial integrity of the European socialist countries, in the first instance, to the German Democratic Republic. Confronted by this situation, what position has the Soviet leadership taken? Instead of resolutely opposing the U.S. actions to establish hegemony in Europe and the revanchist plans of Bonn, instead of making use of the contradictions be-

tween the imperialist countries so as to isolate U.S. imperialism and drive it out of Europe, the Soviet revisionist leadership has pursued a capitulationist policy which is in the interests of U.S. imperialism and German militarism. It has abandoned effective solutions for European questions, removed the question of Germany from the agenda and followed a policy of appeasement and "not aggravating things" in Europe. This has enabled U.S. imperialism to free its hands and encouraged it to extend its aggression in the East, against Vietnam, particularly against the Chinese People's Republic.

These are the pro-imperialist, anti-socialist true colours of the heirs to Khrushchov, the Soviet modern revisionists.

### **U.S. Imperialism Is the Arch Enemy of the People Of the Whole World**

After World War II, U.S. imperialism inherited the mantle of Hitlerite fascism — the No. 1 shock force of world imperialism, the most vicious and dangerous enemy of the people of all countries and the main bastion of world reaction — and, making use of the modern revisionists' activities of betrayal, particularly in recent times, has greatly intensified its aggressive activities against the socialist countries and launched offensives along a broad battlefront, in an attempt to beat back and strangle the liberation movement in Asia, Africa and Latin America. The armed aggression against Vietnam and the Dominican Republic, the reactionary military intrigues in Indonesia, Ghana and a series of other countries in Africa and Latin America (in all these cases the blood-stained hands of U.S. imperialism can be seen) and many other facts in current international life clearly show that U.S. imperialism is intensifying its aggressive and bellicose reactionary line, and that the Khrushchov revisionists' policy of betrayal is doing harm to socialism and the cause of the people of all countries and helping imperialism.

Imperialism and colonialism in its various manifestations, the whole capitalist system of enslavement and all reactionary and decadent social forces have been sentenced to death by history, no matter where they carry out their activities. However, the Albanian Party of Labour, like all Marxist-Leninist political parties, has never held the view that these dark forces will die automatically or make a voluntary and "peaceful" exit from the stage of history. No, absolutely nothing of the sort will happen. In order to defeat imperialism and its agent, modern revisionism, in order to achieve the liberation of the oppressed colonial people and countries, to win final worldwide victory of the revolution, and to establish a new world without oppression and exploitation of man by man, struggle must be waged again and again: political and ideological struggle to raise the revolutionary consciousness of the people everywhere and to expose the enemy and renegades; continuous revolutionary struggle must be

waged, particularly armed struggle that will lead to the victory of the revolution. Only those who are naive or renegades from the socialist cause such as the Khrushchov revisionists and their friends will have and spread the illusion that because the balance of power has tipped in favour of socialism, the imperialists have now given up their idea of destroying socialism, have accepted or are ready to accept "peaceful competition" with socialism, that the imperialist colonialists will give up their enslavement and exploitation of colonial and dependent countries and even take part in a competition to aid these countries, that the monopoly capitalist class will hand over political power to Communists in a "peaceful way" and that the imperialist chieftains have now become "sensible," "practical" and "peace-loving."

As the imperialists draw nearer to their doomsday, their counter-attack against the people everywhere is becoming more vicious. To maintain their own existence and to regain lost ground, they will not hesitate to use the most barbarous means and commit the most heinous crimes. Reactionary forces on the verge of extinction have always resorted to frantic struggles and adventures. As Comrade Mao Tse-tung says: "Make trouble, fail, make trouble again, fail again. . . till their doom; that is the logic of the imperialists and all reactionaries the world over in dealing with the people's cause, and they will never go against this logic. This is a Marxist law." (Mao Tse-tung, "Cast Away Illusions, Prepare for Struggle," *Selected Works*, Volume IV). This thesis is entirely correct, very important and of practical significance.

The barbarous aggression against Vietnam is the clearest expression of the current target of U.S. imperialism. What it pursues is not simply to stifle the liberation movement of the heroic south Vietnamese people and to perpetuate U.S. rule over there, but, in so doing, it also attempts to show its strength to the people of Asia, Africa and Latin America who have risen in struggle against imperialism, and to intimidate them and force them to give up. This aggression is also a means of intimidation to test the strength of the socialist countries and force them to give up their support for the revolutionary liberation struggle of the people of the enslaved countries. Finally, this aggression is a component part and a link of the whole project of U.S. imperialism against the People's Republic of China. U.S. imperialism regards the People's Republic of China as its main enemy and is directing its main blow today against it.

However, it is in Vietnam that the weakness of imperialism and the invincible power of the peoples in their struggle for freedom and independence are being demonstrated most clearly. The struggle waged by the Vietnamese people against overwhelming odds has refuted the fallacy about the might of U.S. imperialism and its weapons, and has shown the whole world the decadent nature of imperialism. This struggle has

shown with growing clarity that the Vietnamese people will certainly win, that the advance of the liberation struggle of the peoples against imperialism cannot be stopped and that victory belongs to them. The imperialists and modern revisionists will certainly be overthrown.

Our Party regards the heroic struggle of the Vietnamese people as a struggle of great international significance. It is not only a sacred struggle to defeat foreign aggressors for national liberation, but also a great internationalist struggle in support of the world liberation movement against imperialism and in defence of the interests of socialism throughout the world. That is precisely why this struggle is receiving unlimited sympathy and support from the people of the whole world today. That is precisely why the Albanian Party of Labour has repeatedly, openly, clearly and resolutely expressed its unreserved support for the heroic struggle of the friendly and fraternal Vietnamese people. Our Party and people regard as their own the cause for which the Vietnamese people are struggling. They have always stood and will always stand shoulder to shoulder with the Vietnamese comrades on the same front, the same barricade, in the tit-for-tat and an-eye-for-an-eye struggle against U.S. imperialism because the enemy of Vietnam is also the enemy of all mankind, the enemy of the freedom of the people and the enemy of socialism and communism.

Judging by the trend of international affairs, particularly by recent developments, it is becoming ever clearer that the aggressive activities and intrigues of U.S. imperialism, which enjoy all-out support from the modern revisionists, have as their main target the great People's Republic of China. There has come into existence a "Holy Alliance" of imperialism and revisionism against People's China and its Communist Party. China is today the powerful bastion against imperialism and in support of the world revolutionary and liberation movements. The Chinese Communist Party, led by Comrade Mao Tse-tung, is holding high the ever-victorious and pure banner of Marxism-Leninism. It is carrying the cause of socialism and communism forward unwaveringly, and is engaged in a persistent and uncompromising struggle to safeguard revolutionary Marxism-Leninism against the revisionists' activities of betrayal. People's China is today an insurmountable obstacle to the plot for world domination of the U.S. imperialists and the Soviet revisionists. This situation has made the imperialists and their lackeys, the modern revisionists, quake in their boots. That is why they are strengthening their "Holy Alliance" and jointly plotting against the People's Republic of China. In the interests of this "Holy Alliance," Johnson, Brezhnev, Kosygin and their like are frantically arming the Indian reactionaries and instigating them to carry out aggressive provocations against China. In the interests of this alliance, they are pulling the Japanese militarists into the anti-China activities, fanning anti-China hysteria in Indonesia, and are signing open

and secret Soviet-U.S. agreements aimed against People's China. But, in the final analysis, the imperialists, Khrushchov revisionists and their followers have gained nothing from these anti-China machinations. Great People's China is growing stronger and more prosperous every day in its march forward. The People's Republic of China is a great and strong socialist country with tremendous economic and military potential. Its 700 million glorious people, rallying around the Communist Party and Comrade Mao Tse-tung, are united as one and steeled politically, ideologically and militarily. They are fully prepared for any eventuality and ready to repulse and smash any possible aggression. People's China enjoys high prestige internationally, and has the sympathy and support of all Communists, revolutionaries, the broad masses and progressives in the world.

Whether in good times or hard, whether on quiet days or turbulent, no matter what the difficulty or sacrifice, the Albanian Communists and the Albanian people have stood and will always stand shoulder to shoulder and hand in hand with the fraternal Chinese people and the glorious Chinese Communist Party in the sacred struggle for our common cause. It is today the lofty internationalist obligation of every true revolutionary and every true Marxist-Leninist to unite with People's China and to safeguard it against any plot of aggression by U.S. imperialism.

#### **Imperialist Schemes of Aggression Will Certainly Meet Utter Defeat**

The U.S. imperialists are intensifying their aggression and intrigues to achieve their aims. At the same time, they are carrying out large-scale propaganda to try to cause panic and spread defeatism in the ranks of the revolutionaries and working people. They attempt to divorce the people from resolute struggle against imperialism. The revisionist-capitulationists are delightedly and vociferously seizing the opportunity to spread propaganda in favour of their line of betrayal, the line of "peaceful co-existence," "peaceful competition," "peaceful liberation" and "peaceful transition," as the only correct path to follow.

But despite all the blackmail and trickery of the imperialists, revisionists and all reactionaries, they cannot in the least shake the firm confidence in inevitable victory of the Marxist-Leninists and revolutionaries, or divorce the people from resolute struggle against imperialism.

In certain countries, for example Indonesia, the revolutionary forces are in temporary retreat. Domestic reaction, with the full support of the imperialists, Tito and the Khrushchov revisionists, are swooping down like wild beasts on the Indonesian Communist Party. It is true that the fraternal Indonesian Communist Party is being dealt heavy blows. But does this mean that the domestic and international reactionaries are victorious? Does it mean that the revolution and Marxist-Leninist revolutionary thinking will no longer



play a role in Indonesia? Does it mean that the Indonesian Communists will not draw the lessons and rise again in struggle and continue the struggle till complete victory is won? No. The Marxist-Leninists have never regarded the road to victory as straight and smooth. The experience of the world revolutionary movement has shown that the revolution advances, both on a national and on an international scale, with twists and turns and in an ebb and flow.

The revolutionary forces are readied and steeled in struggle, draw lessons from both good and bad things and carry socialism and the cause of people's liberation forward till final victory. A fundamental characteristic that distinguishes a thoroughgoing revolutionary from an opportunist and traitor to revolution is the stubborn struggle to carry the revolution on and on in the teeth of difficulties and obstacles, unwavering confidence in the victory of our just cause, despising the enemy no matter how strong and fearful he may appear and an ability to counter enemy attacks resolutely, expertly and with a vengeance.

The present course of the international situation has provided new, concrete evidence that the policy advocated and pursued by the modern revisionists for what they called peace and peaceful coexistence, the policy of capitulation because of faint-heartedness before imperialist threats and adamant refusal to oppose imperialism, is a very dangerous policy of betrayal. This policy is not in the least helpful to the cause of peace. On the contrary, it does great harm to the cause, and encourages and prompts imperialism to aggression and bellicose action. Experience has shown that the only correct attitude is to maintain high revolutionary vigilance and to be alert at all times, so as to smash any imperialist venture in aggression, wage firm and unrelenting struggle against it, support the liberation struggle of the people of all countries against imperialism by all means without reservation, make use of contradictions within the imperialist camp to deepen its split, isolate U.S. imperialism — the main enemy — and unite all genuine anti-imperialist forces in the world into a broad front against this main enemy. This is also the only correct and effective way to defend peace. The Albanian Party of Labour, like the Chinese Communist Party, has always persisted unwaveringly in this Marxist-Leninist revolutionary stand.

### **Carry Through to the End the Struggle To Expose and Smash Modern Revisionism**

The struggle against imperialism is inseparable from the struggle against revisionism. It is impossible to wage resolute struggle against imperialism without waging resolute struggle against revisionism at the same time, and vice versa. Today, U.S. imperialism and Khrushchov revisionism constitute the two greatest

common enemies of socialism and the people of the world.

### **The Mission of Revisionism Is to Preserve Capitalism Indefinitely and Eradicate Socialism**

Modern revisionism is an offspring and ally of imperialism, and a special agent in the international communist movement on its behalf. The revisionists have always vigorously served imperialism in all fields by their political line and practice. The historical mission of revisionism is to preserve the system of capitalism indefinitely where it is still in power, and to restore capitalism where it has been overthrown.

One of the most important characteristics of modern revisionism is that it is now in power in certain socialist countries, especially the Soviet Union. Today, revisionism not only exists as a trend of thought for some Parties in power, but constitutes the political line of the state there. It is indeed most tragic that revisionism has arisen within the oldest and most experienced Party, the one which enjoyed the highest prestige in the world, and that it infiltrated into the leadership of the first and the most powerful socialist country, the Soviet Union. Now, by taking advantage of the full might of the Soviet state, its prestige and capacity, revisionism is trying to defend and extend itself. This is one of the chief reasons why modern revisionism has become so widespread and poses such a great danger today. No revisionism in the history of the international communist movement has reached the scale of Khrushchov revisionism and become so dangerous.

Khrushchov revisionism is a direct continuation of the older revisionism of Bernstein, Kautsky, Trotsky, Bukharin, Browder and Tito. No matter how they try to disguise themselves, the revisionists are all of one family of renegades from Marxism-Leninism and socialism. The social role they play is the same: They are all propagandists of bourgeois ideology and agents and lackeys of the bourgeoisie in the working-class and communist movement. The essence of their viewpoints is the same: Abandonment of the fundamental theses of Marxism-Leninism and negation of class struggle, socialist revolution and dictatorship of the proletariat. The differences among them are only with regard to the forms, tricks, tactics and methods they adopt to oppose Marxism-Leninism, and the slogans and arguments they use in trying to cover up their acts of betrayal.

Khrushchov revisionism first came into the open at the 20th Congress of the C.P.S.U. with a frantic and vicious attack upon J.V. Stalin, Lenin's co-worker and successor to his cause. Renegades from Marxism-Leninism everywhere joined in the chorus of Khrushchov revisionism. They lauded the 20th Congress of the C.P.S.U. to the skies, saying that it signalled the opening of a new era in the international communist movement. Yes, indeed it was the opening of a "new era," for it exposed to the light of day Khrushchov

revisionism, the greatest betrayal of Marxism-Leninism and the cause of socialism and the most dangerous revisionism in the history of the international communist movement. From then on, Khrushchov revisionism has developed and has established a comprehensive system both in theory and in practice, which are embodied in the new Programme of the C.P.S.U., the code of modern revisionism.

The revisionist line is reflected in concentrated form in the so-called "fight against the cult of the personality and its consequences," in the "struggle against dogmatism" and "creatively developing Marxism," in the theories of so-called "peaceful coexistence," "peaceful competition," and "peaceful transition," and the "Party of the entire people" and the "state of the whole people," in the slogans of "humanism" and "democratization" and in "flexibility of policies," etc.

But what is the real meaning of all these formulations which have been proclaimed with such a fanfare of trumpets?

Under the signboard of "combating the cult of the personality and its consequences," the Khrushchov revisionists have attacked the Marxist-Leninist general line of the glorious Party of Lenin and Stalin, have hurled the dirtiest slanders at the socialist system, the Communist Party and the dictatorship of the proletariat, have trampled underfoot the Leninist principles guiding the relations between masses, class, Party and leaders, and have edged out and eliminated politically healthy revolutionary cadres.

Under the signboard of "combating dogmatism" and "creatively developing Marxism," the revisionists have attacked Marxism-Leninism, declaring it "outmoded" and negating its fundamental principles. They have abandoned class struggle, socialist revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat, substituting class reconciliation, social reform and bourgeois democracy.

Under the signboard of "peaceful coexistence," "peaceful competition" and "peaceful transition," the revisionists have embarked on the road of intimacy and collaboration with the class enemy, the road of obstruction and sabotage of the revolution, in order to preserve the capitalist system indefinitely. The dogma of the Khrushchov revisionists has become one of peace under any conditions and at any price, peace with anyone, and peace above all. In their eyes, there is only one kind of contradiction in the world, that is, the contradiction between war and peace, the contradiction between life and death.

Under the signboard of a "Party of the entire people" and a "state of the whole people," the revisionists have negated the proletarian character of the Communist Party and of the socialist state, and have embarked on the road of degeneration and restoration from socialism to capitalism. In those countries under the rule of the modern revisionists, the degeneration from socialism to capitalism has affected all spheres — political, economic, and ideological.

Under the signboard of "humanism" and "democratization," the revisionists have abandoned the Party spirit of the proletariat and discarded the revolutionary ideal. In the name of Christian humanity, they have undertaken reconciliation with all class enemies and rehabilitation of all the renegades and enemies to socialism and even decided to build a monument in memory of them. They have become captives of illusions of bourgeois democracy and have given bourgeois ideology and agents of imperialism scope to do whatever they want.

Under the signboard of "flexibility of policies" and of "combating sectarianism and adventurism," the revisionists have completely deserted principled policy — the only correct policy — and have made unprincipled compromises and concessions, striking all kinds of bargains, plotting schemes and establishing alliances with class enemies who oppose the people, the revolution and socialism.

Under the signboard of "aid," "international division of labour" and "specialization and co-operation in production," the Soviet Khrushchov revisionists have trampled on the peoples of other socialist countries and their sovereignty, grossly interfered in their internal affairs, plotted acts of sabotage against them, selfishly exploited them by every conceivable means, obstructed the independent development of their economy, put pressure on them in all fields, from the political and economic to the military field, and have gone so far as to set up blockades, plot military provocations, sever diplomatic relations, and publicly issue counter-revolutionary calls, in order to dominate them.

Taking advantage of the reputation and prestige of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the leading clique of the Soviet Union has brought the idea and practice of the "baton" and the "patriarchal Party" into the international communist movement. They have trampled underfoot the Marxist-Leninist criteria and principles for relations among fraternal Parties, and have established a relationship of feudal patriarchal domination and submission. They openly attacked the Albanian Party of Labour, the Chinese Communist Party and other fraternal Parties at the 22nd Congress of the C.P.S.U. and the congresses of other Parties, and have instigated and supported hostile elements and anti-Party elements to carry out subversive activities against Marxist-Leninist Parties. In international democratic organizations, they have engaged in large-scale splitting activities.

The essence of the Khrushchov revisionist line is the friendship and collaboration between the Soviet Union and the United States for world hegemony by these two great powers. Friendship and collaboration with the biggest and most vicious enemy of the people of the world — this is the highest ideal of the Soviet revisionists for which they have sacrificed and are prepared to sacrifice all, to sacrifice the freedom and

independence of the peoples of all countries and the interests of the revolution and socialism.

Following in the footsteps of the older revisionists and the modern social democratic parties — the ideology and anti-communist propaganda of the older revisionists, the modern social democratic parties and the bourgeoisie are the mental nourishment of the Khrushchov revisionists — the Khrushchov revisionists, headed by the Soviet leadership, have in fact erased all lines of demarcation between friend and foe. They collaborate with imperialism in opposing socialism, with the United States in opposing the peoples of all countries, with all the reactionaries in opposing revolutionaries, and with the Tito clique and all kinds of renegades from the working class in opposing Marxism-Leninism and those Parties faithful to Marxism-Leninism.

### **The Albanian Party of Labour Regards the Struggle Against Modern Revisionism As Its Lofty Internationalist Obligation**

Faced with a situation in which the modern revisionists are treacherously selling out and wildly attacking Marxism-Leninism, the Communist Parties and socialist countries, the fraternal Communist Party of China in particular and the world revolutionary movement, the Communist Party of China, the Albanian Party of Labour and all genuine Marxist-Leninists must undertake this great historic task: Resolutely to safeguard Marxism-Leninism and to conduct a tit-for-tat struggle against the modern revisionists, turncoats of Marxism-Leninism, to conduct the struggle to the end so as to unmask completely and defeat the Khrushchov traitors' gang and their followers.

The firm principled stand taken by the Communist Party of China, the Albanian Party of Labour and other Marxist-Leninist Parties and forces in their just struggle against the Khrushchov revisionist trend has infuriated and terrified the Soviet revisionists. They have started to concentrate all their fire-power against the Marxist-Leninist Parties and the forces of Marxism-Leninism in an attempt to remove the main obstacles to their treacherous sell-out and to impose their revisionist line on the world communist movement. The great Communist Party of China and the Albanian Party of Labour have become the principal targets of their attacks.

The Khrushchov revisionists thought it would be very easy to deal with the Party of a small socialist country such as the Albanian Party of Labour, so as to give a good lesson to any Party that might dare to rise up in opposition against the treacherous sell-out by Khrushchov. To achieve this objective, they resorted to hostile actions more frenzied than those taken by the most rabid imperialists against the Albanian Party of Labour and the People's Republic of Albania.

From the time of liberation, the people of my country never experienced such hardships as the situation created for them by the revisionist turncoats headed by the Khrushchov clique. However, our Party and

people rallied as one around the Party Central Committee headed by Comrade Enver Hoxha, and the Khrushchov revisionists and their followers met with ignominious defeat. Our Party and people went through this great, historical test victoriously. Life has proved that the calculations of the revisionists have no basis in fact.

Whence has the Albanian Party of Labour — a small Party of the people in a small country besieged on all sides by the enemy — derived the strength, the courage, the fortitude and determination in their struggle against modern revisionism? These derive from the all-conquering Marxism-Leninism on which are based all the activities of our Party; they derive from the correct line upheld by our Party and the great cause it is faithfully defending and fighting for — the cause of communism; they derive from the steel-like unity in our Party's ranks tempered in the Party's revolutionary struggles, from the unbreakable unity between the Party and the Albanian people forged by our Party, and from the unity of the world proletariat.

The Albanian Party of Labour had tests of strength with revisionism before the advent of Khrushchov revisionism. In its early days — from the period of the national-liberation war to the post-liberation period — the Albanian Party of Labour carried out fierce struggles against revisionism of the Yugoslav Tito clique. Our Party and people had tasted all the flavours in the armoury of the Yugoslav "special brand of socialism," ranging from its intrigues, subversion and slanders to provocative acts along the border and plots to overthrow people's rule in Albania. The 20 and more years of struggle conducted by our Party against Yugoslav revisionism is a big school which taught our Party not only how to distinguish Marxists from turncoats, but how to oppose and defeat the traitors and how to safeguard the purity of Marxism-Leninism and the Marxist-Leninist unity of the world communist movement.

As big-Party and big-nation chauvinists, the Khrushchov revisionist clique failed to learn from the painful lesson which the Titoists had had in dealing with the Albanian Party of Labour and small Albania. The Khrushchov gang has on many occasions tried to make our Party depart from its principled stand, and compel it to give up its struggle against Tito revisionism. However, our Party has not departed from its correct line and fallen into the pit dug by Khrushchov and his followers. Experience of life itself has taught our Party many things. Our Party rejected the proposal put forward by Khrushchov before the convening of the 20th Congress, which aimed at friendliness towards the Tito clique, absolving it and dragging this "Trojan horse" into our ranks. Although Khrushchov tried all kinds of threats and tricks, our Party never ceased its principled struggle against Yugoslav revisionism, because it holds that the Tito clique is a gang of turncoats, a U.S. imperialist agent working to undermine the socialist camp and to crush the revolutionary and

liberation movements in the world. Life has shown that our Party is completely correct. Joint documents of the world communist movement have solemnly denounced the Yugoslav revisionists as traitors to Marxism-Leninism, as agents of imperialism. But Khrushchov and his like have brutally trampled on these documents, embraced Tito, the sinister enemy of socialism, collaborated with him, and declared that Yugoslavia was a "fraternal socialist country," and that the League of Communists of Yugoslavia was a "fraternal Marxist-Leninist Party." And today, Brezhnev and Kosygin and their followers are working hand in glove with this "fraternal Marxist-Leninist Party" and "fraternal socialist country" in the service of imperialism, and transforming their Parties into social democratic parties, restoring capitalism in their socialist countries and organizing an imperialist-revisionist crusade against Marxism-Leninism.

In its struggle against the Tito and Khrushchov revisionism, the Albanian Party of Labour has always maintained a principled stand. The modern revisionists allege that our Party has a so-called "morbid self-respect," a "sentimentalism," a "narrow-minded nationalist interest," is "agitated" and "stubborn." But such things had always been and always will be alien to the Albanian Party of Labour. Staunch faith in Marxism-Leninism and in the noble interests of the revolution and socialism, which are indivisible from the interests of our motherland and our people and the interests of freedom and independence and of our country's advance on the road of socialism — all this has inspired our Party in taking its stand on all issues and in its resolute and unwavering struggle to expose modern revisionism.

Like all other Leninist Parties and forces, the Albanian Party of Labour, in the struggle against revisionism, persists in the revolutionary line set by the Moscow Declaration and the Moscow Statement, and opposes the treacherous line of the 20th and 22nd Congresses of the Khrushchov revisionists; it defends the line of uniting the people throughout the world against U.S. imperialism and its lackeys, and opposes the revisionist line of uniting with U.S. imperialism and its stooges; it defends the line of carrying out the revolution against imperialism and capitalism, and opposes the revisionist line of safeguarding imperialism and capitalism; it defends the line of advancing the revolutionary cause of the people of the countries which have taken to the socialist road, and opposes the revisionist line of restoring capitalism; it defends the line of uniting the socialist camp and the world communist movement on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, and opposes the line of splittism and big-nation chauvinism of the Khrushchov revisionists.

The Albanian Party of Labour realizes that these are the only lines which comply with the interests of the world proletariat and the oppressed nations and peoples. These lines unite all the revolutionary processes and movements of the present period into a unified stream and direct the spearhead against the U.S. imperialist counter-revolutionary global strategy. These

lines are pushing the world revolution forward. Hence, the Albanian Party of Labour, in full unity with the fraternal Communist Party of China and all Marxist-Leninist Parties and forces in the world, will carry out in the future these revolutionary lines in their struggle for the freedom, peace and independence of the people of all lands, for the cause of socialism and against imperialism and revisionism.

### **Great Difficulties and Contradictions Confront The Khrushchov Revisionists**

Because they have followed a splittist and treacherous line that benefits only the imperialists and reactionaries, the Khrushchov revisionists are meeting with big defeats every day, and are confronted by numerous difficulties and insolvable contradictions. They have deep contradictions with the Communists, the working class and the people of the Soviet Union and with the Communists, working class and people throughout the world. They have always been and are now confronted with tremendous contradictions between the Soviet people who persist in the socialist line and U.S. imperialism. The aim of U.S. imperialism is to bring to naught the historic victories of the Soviet people and to transform the Soviet Union into a capitalist country through "peaceful evolution." The Khrushchov revisionists always have sharp contradictions with their revisionist allies. The principled struggle carried out by the Chinese Communist Party, the Albanian Party of Labour and other Marxist-Leninist Parties and forces to unmask modern revisionism is of decisive significance. This struggle has torn off the mask of the Khrushchov revisionists, exposed their traitors' faces, intensified the difficulties and contradictions within the revisionist front and strengthened the upsurge of the anti-revisionist forces and the anti-revisionist struggle in the world.

In order to deceive the people and distract their attention from his treacherous policies, Khrushchov held out to the people the promise of a happy land, a perfect paradise, and material things in abundance after he took over, alleging that communism and lasting peace could be won in a few years, and that a world without arms, armies and wars would be established not later than 1960. But what do we find today, after those demagogic statements and promises? Nothing but his failures. Nothing but the bitter reality of Soviet economy and politics and greater tension in the world situation. Nothing has been won, but there has been defeat everywhere. Instead of an advance to communism, there has been a retreat to capitalism. Instead of the peace prayed for, there has been an intensification of imperialist aggression. Instead of a world without arms, there has been a new expansion of the arms race.

The "great" economic reform of the Khrushchov clique has dragged the Soviet economy up a blind alley. There has not been any rise in the national income or in the tempo of industrial growth. On the contrary, a continuous fall has taken place. Capital construction

has declined. There has been an increasing accumulation of unsaleable goods. With depletion of grain stores, the Soviet Union has turned from an exporter of grain to the largest wheat importer of the world. Today the Soviet people have to depend on the merchants of the United States and other countries to send them bread grains because for the Soviet revisionists the vast Russian steppes and fields have failed even to feed the Soviet people. As a result of the new economic reform, Khrushchov's successors have brought about further retreats in the Soviet economy. Capitalist principles have become fundamental in economic organization and management. Socialist ownership has been gradually replaced by ownership of the privileged bourgeois stratum unscrupulously fostered by the revisionists, who put their "ideal" of profits and material incentives above all. The revisionists have left the door wide open for the infiltration of bourgeois ideology and the spread of Western way of life, for the penetration of decadent bourgeois thought into literature and art, and for the corruption of the people, the youth in particular. They have constantly enlarged their co-operation with imperialism, especially with the United States, not only in trade, but in culture and science. They have accepted loans and the investment by foreign capital, so that they have built with their own hands the "Johnson bridge" between East and West, which in fact is a bridge of peaceful evolution to capitalism.

Not only has the renegade line of the Soviet revisionists penetrated deep into the domestic life of the Soviet Union, but into the satellite countries too — the socialist countries of Europe. This line has been reflected in the fields of economy, culture, politics and the relationships among these countries. Bourgeois thought, capitalist principles of management and U.S. dollars have penetrated these countries on an ever-greater scale and scope. Today all these countries are strengthening their ties with the imperialists, especially the United States and with the Tito clique. All the Khrushchov revisionists have set the Tito clique's experience and example as their prototype.

The Khrushchov revisionist line has had grave consequences in all the Communist Parties of the capitalist countries whose leadership has embarked on the road of revisionism. This line has turned the Parties in many capitalist countries into a detachment of the bourgeoisie that serves to sabotage revolution, stifle militancy, and paralyse the revolutionary will of the masses. It has caused these Parties to degenerate from parties for socialist revolution into social reformist parties, like social democratic parties. But this line has brought grave failure to the revisionists in these countries, because their allies — the social democrats and bourgeois elements of all shades — demand a new "guarantee" by the revisionists that the Soviet Union and other countries under their rule speed up and intensify the process of retrogression from socialism to capitalism.

In these circumstances, the contradictions have sharpened and deepened among revisionists, among various revisionist cliques, among revisionist parties,

and among revisionist countries. In reaction to the policies of great-nation chauvinism and of the "baton" of the Soviet leaders, a policy of local nationalism and a centrifugal tendency have come into being among the revisionists of other countries. They are rising against Soviet decrees and orders. Now every revisionist country is trying its best to protect its own economic, political and military interests, pitting its own interests against those of others and fighting desperately for its own sphere of influence. The Council for Mutual Economic Assistance and the Warsaw Pact Organization have become organizations very much like the "Common Market" and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. U.S. imperialism and its long-time agent the Tito clique have been fervently anticipating still bigger quarrels, and deeper contradictions among the revisionists, and the weakening of the control and influence of the Soviet leaders over other revisionists, so that it will be easier for them to lead these countries more rapidly into the orbit of imperialism.

This serious situation has caused extreme anxiety among the Soviet revisionist leaders. They are trying their best to stop the gaps in the revisionist front and to halt the centrifugal tendency. Can the Soviet revisionists achieve this aim? No, they cannot. They will definitely fail. Revisionists are men without principle. Where there is no principle, there cannot be unity; their theories are a variant of bourgeois ideology, containing the seeds of contradictions, nationalism, discord and separatism.

Despite their deep contradictions, all these revisionists represent the same adverse current. They are identical in their common aim of opposing Marxism-Leninism, revolution and socialism. Their common concern is how to consolidate their revisionist position, how to save themselves from failure and how to lengthen their life.

Obviously all these contradictions within the revisionist ranks are advantageous to the Marxist-Leninist forces, which should make use of the contradictions to weaken the revisionist front further. Our Party believes that to carry out consistently an unswerving, principled struggle against the modern revisionists will deepen the contradictions in the revisionist ranks.

As a result of the anti-revisionist revolutionary activities by the Chinese Communist Party, the Albanian Party of Labour, other Marxist-Leninist Parties, and all Marxist-Leninist forces who have risen to oppose resolutely the renegade activities of the revisionists, there have been a hastening and a deepening of the process of division between the Marxist-Leninist forces and the revisionist forces. Today scores of Marxist-Leninist groups and new Parties have been established in various countries (including some socialist countries under revisionist rule, such as Poland). This process will go further as time passes, for it fully accords with objective law. Where there is revisionism, there is resolute resistance and opposition by revolutionary Communists who are devoted to the ideal of communism.

The establishment of Marxist-Leninist groups and new Parties is not the work of the Chinese Communist Party and the Albanian Party of Labour, as the modern revisionists charge. They slander our two Parties as carrying out "factionist activities" in other Parties. The splitting of many Communist Parties is of the revisionists' own making and results from their renegade line and their violation of democratic principles in applying pressure in inner-Party life. Today the struggle within and without the Parties in various countries is simply a reflection of this struggle between Marxism-Leninism and revisionism on an international scale, a struggle between two lines within a country.

The revisionists have charged that the revolutionary Communists, the Marxist-Leninist groups and new Parties are "renegades," "anti-Party elements," "Trotskyites" and "adventurists." This has not caused the slightest uneasiness among the Marxist-Leninists, because you being abused by the enemy shows that the road you have taken is right. Revolutionary Communists will not fear any threats nor intrigues engineered by the revisionists in collaboration with the reactionaries. Nothing can prevent the inevitable process of division between the forces of Marxism-Leninism and those of modern revisionism. The slanders, intrigues and threats by the revisionists only serve to show that they are terrified of the increasing strength of Marxism-Leninism and its revolutionary struggle against revisionism, in which they see their inevitable doom.

The Albanian Party of Labour has publicly enunciated its stand. It has never given up, and will not give up, its support for all Communists who take a Marxist-Leninist stand, oppose imperialism and are for revolution. The Albanian Party of Labour regards this as a lofty internationalist obligation, for our Party sees the future in the growth and development of the new Marxist-Leninist forces. We see the triumph of Marxism-Leninism over revisionism. If we must make a self-criticism, the only point we can make is this: we should be giving more support and aid to these new revolutionary forces than we are now doing.

Of course, as the struggle against revisionism develops, like the struggle against imperialism it has ups and downs and twists and turns. However, the general trend is that the Marxist-Leninist movement against revisionism is forging ahead while the anti-Marxist, revisionist tide is on the decline. The revisionists reached their crest in 1960. From then onward, revisionism began to recede. If the 1960 Bucharest meeting is regarded as calling a "halt" to the revisionist line, if the Moscow Meeting of Representatives of Communist and Workers' Parties that same year is regarded as the first telling blow to the revisionists, then, in the past few years since, the blows and defeats suffered by revisionism have pushed it into a deep, general crisis. The most vivid expression of this crisis and the inevitable aftermath was the bankruptcy of the ring-leader of modern revisionism, Nikita Khrushchov. This represented the utter bankruptcy of the whole revisionist line and a great victory for the forces of

Marxism-Leninism. It once again proved that whoever opposes Marxism-Leninism, revolution and the objective law of social development is doomed to meet with ignominious defeat.

Khrushchov fell a year and a half ago, but the substance of Khrushchov revisionism has not changed one bit. Nor could it be otherwise. Those who overthrew Khrushchov were Khrushchov's closest colleagues and collaborators. Brezhnev and Kosygin, Mikoyan and Suslov are the formulators and operators of the Khrushchov revisionist policy. Like Khrushchov, they are also the political representatives of the Soviet privileged bourgeois stratum; therefore, they carry out the same bourgeois and capitulationist policies that Khrushchov once did. They threw Khrushchov out of the political arena not because they had differences of principle with him, but because Khrushchov had been thoroughly discredited and had become discarded card in their game. So it was necessary at last to throw him into the dust bin like a squeezed-out lemon. The basic aim of this change was to save revisionism and continue with Khrushchovism, but only without Khrushchov.

But the present Soviet leaders who inherited the Khrushchov line in all fields also inherited the critical difficulties and contradictions Khrushchov left behind both in domestic and international affairs. The downfall of Khrushchov forced these difficulties and contradictions more into the open and deepened them on many fronts. The dialectic of the matter is this: the attempts to overcome these difficulties and contradictions on the basis of the Khrushchov line which had created them could only sharpen the difficulties and contradictions.

The 23rd Congress of the C.P.S.U. once again revealed that the weakness of the international revisionist front is general. If, at the earlier Congresses, the 20th, 21st and 22nd Congresses, the Khrushchov revisionists were on the offensive, at the 23rd Congress they were in a wholesale retreat and on the defensive. They cunningly side-stepped all the most acute questions, like the question of Stalin, the question of relations with the Chinese Communist Party and the Albanian Party of Labour, the downfall of Khrushchov, the failure in agriculture, the degeneration into the bourgeois in art and culture, the question of Germany, etc. At the Congress, they did not even dare to mention their pet slogans "the Party of the entire people," and "the state of the whole people." Many of the present Soviet leaders did not even address the Congress.

All this is striking proof that the 23rd Congress showed not the strength of the Khrushchov revisionists but their weakness; not their victories in all spheres of life but their defeats; not unity on the revisionist front but existence of profound contradictions among the Soviet revisionists and between the Soviet revisionists and other revisionist factions; not a favourable situation for the Soviet leadership but a very difficult one owing to the growing resistance of C.P.S.U. members and the Soviet people to their policy of

betrayal, owing to the pressure on them because of the struggle of the Marxist-Leninists and the revolutionaries throughout the world, which has made all their trump cards valueless and is pulling off all their masks.

The line of the 23rd Congress was the same as that of the 20th and 22nd, the same Khrushchov line, but without Khrushchov. The present Soviet leadership repeatedly avowed that it would always be loyal to that line without retreating a single step. The Congress embodied the sinister intrigues of Khrushchov's inheritors: they hide their hands after throwing a stone; they talk glibly of opposing imperialism but are pro-imperialist in deeds; they want sham unity and work for a real split; they pretend to correct "past mistakes" but in fact intensify the revisionist line. The Soviet leaders need all these demagogic intrigues in order to pacify the domestic situation and make their line more acceptable to the other revisionists. But no matter how hard the present Soviet leadership tries to cover up the signs of their betrayal, they can never achieve this. They are doomed to failure.

The Soviet leadership had the effrontery to invite the Albanian Party of Labour to attend the 23rd Congress of the C.P.S.U., which made it seem as if nothing had ever happened between the two Parties and that everything was normal. We rejected this and refused outright to accept their invitation. This was done because the Central Committee of the Albanian Party of Labour has long been convinced that the present Soviet leadership, like the one during the Khrushchov period, are incorrigible renegades and they have turned the Soviet Union, the birth-place of the October Revolution and of Lenin and Stalin, into the centre of world modern revisionism.

The Albanian Party of Labour places an extremely high evaluation on the persistent, revolutionary, principled stand taken by the Chinese Communist Party and several other fraternal Parties in not attending the 23rd Congress of the C.P.S.U. The Communist Party of China had made many, many efforts to help the Soviet leadership get out of the old rut and strike out anew by abandoning revisionism and returning to the stand of Marxism-Leninism. But if these efforts came to naught, it is because the Soviet leadership, infected with the disease of big-nation, big-Party chauvinism, is the frantic enemy of Marxism-Leninism and the great Chinese people and wilfully pursued a pro-imperialist policy and fell ever deeper into the quagmire of betrayal. It is of extraordinary great significance that the Chinese Communist Party and several other fraternal Parties did not attend the 23rd Congress of the C.P.S.U. This was a most valuable contribution to the present international communist movement in drawing a line between Marxist-Leninists and modern revisionists, and between genuine revolutionaries and renegades to revolution and socialism.

The present Soviet leadership has drawn certain lessons from the sad experience of the bankrupt Khrushchov. But their cunning schemes, sinister intrigues,

their hard efforts to don new masks, and deceptive words of being "faithful" to Marxism-Leninism, revolution and the socialist cause can never hoodwink Marxist-Leninists. Marxist-Leninists persist in dialectical materialism, the fundamental premise of which is to distinguish clearly between the illusory and the real, form and content, appearance and essence, and words and deeds. From the time of the struggles of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin to the present struggle against Khrushchov revisionism, a wealth of experience has been accumulated by Marxism-Leninism in the struggle against revisionism. Today, relying on this experience, Marxist-Leninists have no difficulty in exposing the true face of any renegade, no matter what masks he might wear.

### **Unity in the Communist Movement Can Be Achieved Only by Casting Out and Struggling Against the Revisionists**

The present Soviet leaders, faced with enormous difficulties and contradictions and in order to gain a certain period of calm in which to recover their vitality and accumulate new strength, to be used for turning over to the offensive, have continually striven to narrow down and cover up the differences between Marxism-Leninism and revisionism. They make the arbitrary assertion that the differences in the communist movement are "not serious and not important." They also declare that "the things that unite us are primary," while "the things that divide us are secondary," as a means of bringing the polemics between Marxism-Leninism and revisionism to an end. Now they also state arbitrarily that polemics is a bad thing which, in their words, "can only help the imperialist enemies."

To elucidate the character of the current differences in the communist movement is a vital matter of principle. The right or wrong of the stand one takes on the current polemics, on the question of unity and on the general line which ought to be followed by Marxist-Leninist Parties is dictated by whether one's understanding of these differences is correct or distorted. The current differences in the world communist movement are not partial differences on minor questions, not questions of tactics, or of ways and means of opposing the common enemy, but are fundamental, strategic differences of principle, and are differences that concern the general line. They are not differences between comrades among Marxist-Leninists, but differences between Marxist-Leninists and revisionists, between Communists and renegades, between revolutionaries and counter-revolutionaries. They are not academic differences about abstract questions, but differences on most real and concrete questions directly affecting the fate of world's peoples, the fate of the revolution, of socialism and peace. It is certainly not the case, as the revisionists try in every way to suggest, that the differences are between the Chinese Communist Party and the Albanian Party of Labour on the one hand and the C.P.S.U. and the entire world communist movement on the other hand. They are in-

ternational differences, differences in the entire communist movement, between different Parties and within many Parties.

There is nothing at all that enables Marxist-Leninists to unite with revisionists, there is only what separates them. Some people say that there are common ideas that unite us. But are there any ideas common to Marxists and revisionists? Our ideas are Marxism-Leninism while their ideas are revisionism, which is an expression of bourgeois ideology in both theory and practice. Others say that the common programmes laid down at the Moscow conferences held in 1957 and 1960 can unite us. To us Marxist-Leninists the Moscow Declaration and the Moscow Statement are undoubtedly programmes for struggle and work, but the revisionists have discarded these programmes and replaced them by the revisionist programme which they adopted at the 22nd Congress of the C.P.S.U. Still others say that the struggle against the common enemy, imperialism, can unite us. But, can there be any enemy common to Marxists and revisionists? The common enemy of Marxist-Leninists — imperialism headed by the United States — is the common friend of revisionists. Still others say that what can unite us are “a common social and economic system” and “a common final goal — the building of socialism and communism.” However, while Marxist-Leninists defend and strengthen the social and economic system of socialism and struggle for the victory of socialism and communism, the revisionists follow a line that causes the social and economic system of socialism to degenerate and, following after the Tito clique, go along the road of “peaceful evolution” towards capitalism, thus undermining the cause of socialism and communism.

Can there be anything like unity when a profound gap exists between us and the revisionists and when we and they take diametrically opposing positions on all contemporary questions?

Lenin said: “Unity is a great thing and a great slogan. But what the workers’ cause needs is the unity of Marxists, not unity between Marxists, and opponents and distorters of Marxism.” (Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 20.)

The unity of the communist movement can be established only on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. To discard principles and unite with opportunists and revisionists is not to fortify unity but to undermine unity, it is not to serve the unity of the proletariat but means, in Lenin’s words, “unity of the proletariat with the national bourgeoisie and a split in the international proletariat, the unity of lackeys and a split among the revolutionaries.” (Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol 21.)

The present split in the world communist movement is the outcome of the traitorous line and activities carried out by the modern revisionists. Opportunism and revisionism are the political and ideological root causes of the split. This split was not pre-destined nor will it be eternal. It will be overcome sooner or

later and a new unity will certainly be established on a new, still higher level. The history of the world communist movement shows that things have always been like that. However, the Albanian Party of Labour insists that a real unity based on principle can be achieved only in this way: launch open and resolute struggle against splittists, opportunists and revisionists and expose them, until they are completely defeated. Our Party has consistently struggled and will continue to struggle for this unity. We cannot unite with Khrushchov revisionists and such a unity is absolutely impossible. The other road to “unity” upheld by vacillators is a road departing from principles, the middle of the road or an attitude of sitting on two chairs at the same time, a road of unprincipled compromise, a road that aggravates the split and undermines unity, and this is a road unacceptable to our Party. It is impermissible to barter with principles. It will not do to stop half way in upholding principles. The struggle must be carried through to the end if the enemy is to be defeated and victory is to be ensured. This has always been and will continue to be our Party’s stand. Our Party has never harboured any illusion about Khrushchov revisionists, fondly hoping that they would turn away from their traitorous road. There is a saying that a hunchback can straighten himself up only when he has stepped into the grave. Our Party, together with the Chinese Communist Party and all the Marxist Parties and Marxist-Leninist forces in the world that are loyal to revolutionary theories, the cause of the people of the world and the cause of socialism, will carry the struggle against modern revisionism through to the end no matter how protracted and difficult it may be.

### Rebutting the Revisionists’ Deceptive Propaganda About “United Action”

The present leaders of the Soviet Union, trying in a thousand and one ways to bring the polemics to a close so that they can carry out their traitorous activities unmolested, have raised a hue and cry about what they call “united action.” Putting on the mask of opposing imperialism, they declare that differences should be laid aside and unity be effected through “united action” in struggle against imperialism. Such deceptive slogans were also made much use of by the 23rd Congress of the C.P.S.U. sponsored by the Khrushchov revisionists, and are being shouted on every hand. But is it possible to take united action with the Khrushchov revisionists in the struggle against imperialism? This question, too, concerns a matter of principle. Our Party has its consistent stand on this question.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung, developing further the ideas of Marx and Lenin in the new circumstances following World War II, has put forward the great strategic slogan of establishing an international united front against U.S. imperialism, with the unity of the international proletariat as its nucleus and the unity of the international proletariat with the oppressed peoples, who together make up 90 per cent of the world’s



population, as its basis. This united front also includes the unity with all political forces subjected to U.S. aggression, control, interference and bullying, and the utilization of all contradictions that can be utilized, so as to isolate the chief enemy, U.S. imperialism, and deal it crushing blows.

To our Party, the only correct criterion to determine whether this or that social force could be drawn into the anti-imperialist united front is the attitude it takes towards U.S. imperialism, whether it truly opposes U.S. imperialism or enters into an alliance with it. Now, not only Marxist-Leninists but the anti-imperialist forces, too, are well aware of the pro-imperialist, traitorous stand taken by the Khrushchov revisionists and their followers. They oppose imperialism in words but befriend it in deeds. In appearance they pose as friends of the people of all countries and as champions of their rights and liberty, but in reality they are uniting with the U.S. imperialists behind the scenes and are the enemy of the people of the world. The Khrushchov clique of renegades regard the U.S. imperialists, the chief enemy of the people of the world, as their closest friends. They direct the spearhead of their struggle against the Marxist-Leninist political parties and the revolutionary Communists all over the world and regard them as the chief enemy. By carrying out a whole set of policies of uniting with U.S. imperialism and befriending it, of undermining the struggle of the people of all countries and splitting the anti-imperialist revolutionary forces, the revisionist leadership of the Soviet Union has put itself outside the united front against the U.S.-led forces of imperialism and old and new colonialism. Such being the case, it is utterly impossible to take united action with the modern revisionists who are a lackey and an ally of imperialism; there is no other way but to fight them openly and resolutely. The anti-imperialist front of the people of the whole world will grow strong and consolidated in the unrelenting struggle against imperialism, headed by the United States, and its lackey and ally, the Khrushchov revisionists.

In order to deceive public opinion and make political capital, the Khrushchov revisionists have declared that "the differences, no matter how profound and serious, should not become an obstacle to concerted action in opposing U.S. aggression against Vietnam and supporting the just struggle of the Vietnamese people." They said: "Lack of unity and concerted action on the part of the socialist countries is the principal cause of the U.S. imperialists' expanded aggression against Vietnam." According to them, the culprits responsible for this situation seem to be the Chinese Communist Party and the Albanian Party of Labour.

Without a shadow of doubt, the split in the socialist camp is being made use of by imperialism and serves to encourage the latter's aggression against the people of all countries. But, the culprits responsible for this situation are neither the Chinese Communist Party nor the Albanian Party of Labour; they are none other than those who are making a hullabaloo about unity, the Khrushchov revisionists themselves. Opportunism and

revisionism have always been the root causes of all splits, and in itself a split is simply the organizational expression of opportunism and revisionism. This correct Marxist conclusion has been confirmed by many current happenings. It should be stressed that the Khrushchov revisionists must bear the direct historical responsibility for the serious situation created as a result of the expanded U.S. aggression against Vietnam. They are following a policy of non-opposition to imperialism and surrendering to and colluding with it. They have encouraged and are now encouraging imperialism to expand its aggression against Vietnam, and are inspiring it to extend its aggressive war to the countries in Southeast Asia, and particularly, to the Chinese People's Republic.

The stand taken in respect of the just struggle of the Vietnamese people is a touchstone by which to judge the political stand of different people, different parties and different countries. Today, the question that faces the people is whether to stand with the Vietnamese people and energetically oppose U.S. imperialism or to side with U.S. imperialism and oppose the Vietnamese people. There is no middle way. It is impossible to be both the friend and ally of the Vietnamese people and the friend and ally of the U.S. imperialists — the murderers of the Vietnamese people. The fact is that at a time when a socialist country is subjected to savage attacks and the U.S. gangsters bomb this country every day and wage destructive war against the south Vietnamese people by using all kinds of weapons including bacteriological and chemical weapons, the leaders of the Soviet Union never even give a thought to breaking off, at least, political, economic and cultural relations with the invader of a fraternal country. On the contrary, they are still more actively following the line of strengthening friendly collaboration between the Soviet Union and the United States, directly or indirectly supporting the U.S. "peace talks" fraud, holding sincere talks with U.S. imperialist chieftains and trying by all kinds of means to save U.S. imperialism from defeat in Vietnam. They are putting pressure on the Vietnamese people to make them follow their example of agreeing to surrender and submit to U.S. imperialism.

At the 23rd Congress of C.P.S.U., Brezhnev said: "In connection with American aggression in Vietnam and with other aggressive acts of American imperialism, our relations with the United States of America have deteriorated." But he could produce no facts to confirm the alleged deterioration in relations with the United States because there are no such facts. On the contrary, Soviet-U.S. relations are getting closer. The reason is very clear: The U.S. imperialists know very well that the words "oppose imperialism" spouted by the leaders of the Soviet Union are nothing but empty talk, that their "voicing support" for the fighting Vietnam is demagogic propaganda, and that their "assistance" to the struggle against imperialist aggression is a swindle. Brezhnev himself is true to Khrushchov's line of Soviet-U.S. collaboration for world domination. He said at the Congress: "We have repeatedly declared that we are

prepared to develop our relations with the U.S.A., and now we maintain this position."

How can unity be restored to the socialist camp, even on the Vietnam question, when the leaders of the Soviet Union are working hand-in-glove with U.S. imperialism, and pursuing a policy opposed to the very interests of the Vietnamese people and the other peoples of the world? What kind of united action can be taken between Marxist-Leninist Parties and the Khrushchov revisionists when the leaders of the Soviet Union are taking united action with the U.S. imperialists against Vietnam and China? Under such conditions, united action with the Khrushchov revisionists would mean undertaking action in co-ordination with the United States and becoming its accomplice against the Vietnamese people.

It is for all these reasons that the Albanian Party of Labour turned down the proposal for "a conference of the Communist and Workers' Parties of the Warsaw Treaty countries and of the socialist countries in Asia to discuss concerted aid to the Vietnam Democratic Republic" and pointed out that this was a revisionist trick to turn all the socialist countries into accomplices in crime. For the situation today makes it clear that the Khrushchov revisionists' aim is not to aid Vietnam but to undermine its struggle, and to provide camouflage for their new crime. Their new crime is their encouragement and support to the imperialists in preparing to attack the People's Republic of China, the main obstacle in the way of the schemes of the imperialists and revisionists. The Albanian Party of Labour unreservedly and fully supports the just struggle of the Vietnamese people.

### **Shoulder to Shoulder With the Chinese Communist Party, the Albanian Party of Labour Will Carry Through the Struggle Against Modern Revisionism to the Very End**

At the 23rd Congress, the Khrushchov revisionists, as before, shed crocodile tears. They declared, through their spokesman, Brezhnev: "Our relations with the Parties of two socialist countries, with the Communist Party of China and the Albanian Party of Labour, unfortunately remain unsatisfactory." He emphatically said that they had done everything they could and were ready to do anything possible to improve relations with our two countries and our two Parties. What a disgraceful falsehood!

The deterioration in the relations between our two socialist countries and our two Marxist-Leninist Parties on the one side and the leaders of the Soviet Union on the other is the direct result of the pursuit by the latter of an anti-Marxist, treacherous policy of betrayal. It is the direct result of their line of "peaceful coexistence," "peaceful competition" and "peaceful transition." It is the direct result of their insistence on the policy of Soviet-U.S. collaboration and their obstruction and undermining of the peoples' revolutionary and liberation struggles. It is the direct result of their "anti-Stalinist" line, their denigration and corruption

of the socialist system and their re-writing of the verdict on the renegade Tito clique and all the other renegades and enemies of socialism. It is the direct result of their insistence on a policy of chauvinism and splittism, their savage attacks and pressure on the Albanian Party of Labour, the Chinese Communist Party and other fraternal Parties.

It is the leaders of the Soviet Union who first made public attacks on the Albanian Party of Labour, giving vent to the dirtiest accusations and slanders. They stamped underfoot all economic, trade and military agreements and contracts, and stripped bare the military base of Vlora, and actually excluded Albania from the Warsaw Treaty. They co-ordinated their actions with the Tito clique and the U.S. Sixth Fleet, plotting to destroy socialist Albania. They roughly severed diplomatic relations with our country.

Was Khrushchov the only culprit in all this? Were not the present leaders of the Soviet Union his close accomplices? If it was only Khrushchov to blame, what have they done to correct these fatal errors? In fact, they are only playing demagogic tricks to deceive the Communists and the people of the Soviet Union. In fact, they are still following the Khrushchov line in regard to our country and Party as well as the Chinese Communist Party and the Chinese People's Republic. The present leaders of the Soviet Union have stated that there are no grounds for suspicion between Khrushchov and themselves, and not even the slightest difference on the question of the international communist movement and in the stand against China and Albania.

At the 23rd Congress the Khrushchov revisionists again advocated holding bilateral meetings and talks as well as calling an international conference of all the Communist and Workers' Parties in the world. Without the least ambiguity the Albanian Party of Labour has publicly stated that it has no relations whatsoever with the Soviet revisionist leaders, and that if the Parties of the European socialist countries do not publicly admit their serious errors of principle and openly correct the serious errors they have made with regard to the Albanian Party of Labour and the People's Republic of Albania, it will not take part in any conference convened by these Parties. In particular, the Albanian Party of Labour will attend no conference in which the present renegade Soviet leaders participate. The present Soviet leadership has not departed from the Khrushchovist stand of anti-Marxism, anti-socialism and pro-imperialism; nor does it want to depart from it.

In the circumstances in which the Khrushchov revisionists are persisting in the line of revisionism, chauvinism and splittism, the Marxist-Leninists have only one road to follow. And that is to carry on a resolute and thorough principled struggle against modern revisionism, the great danger that poses an unprecedentedly serious threat to the international communist movement. The Albanian Party of Labour is faithful to its internationalist duty and to the cause of social-

ism and communism. It has consistently carried out, and will continue to carry out, a tit-for-tat struggle to expose and completely and thoroughly smash Khrushchov revisionism.

The Albanian Party of Labour highly appreciates the resolute, thorough and unswerving struggle carried out by the glorious Chinese Communist Party against modern revisionism. The Chinese Communist Party has all along held high the banner of Marxism-Leninism, and has continually raised it to still greater heights. It is safeguarding and developing the revolutionary qualities and traditions of the international communist movement. The Chinese Communist Party has to its credit the major historic merits of not only defending our invincible theory against the attacks of the Khrushchov revisionists, but of further developing it in the new circumstances of the present times. Today the Chinese Communist Party and the Chinese People's Republic have become the invulnerable bastion of socialism and the powerful base of world revolution.

The present generation of Communists highly appreciates the immense role and contribution of the Chinese Communist Party and Comrade Mao Tse-tung. So will the future generations, and they will never forget it. Comrade Mao Tse-tung is the loyal successor to the great cause of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin who fought for the revolutionary cause of the international proletariat and the people all over the world. The Chinese Communist Party has become a great and brilliant example which inspires all Communists and revolutionaries, and it enjoys the profound respect and love of the people all over the world, because of its highly principled stand, its consistent revolutionary spirit, its boundless faith in revolution and the socialist cause, its courage and staunchness and its heroic struggle in defending Marxism-Leninism.

### **The Albanian People Are Building Socialism With Hoe in One Hand And Rifle in the Other**

"It is generally agreed that opportunism is no chance occurrence, sin, slip, or treachery on the part of individuals, but a social product of an entire period of history." (Lenin, *Collected Works*, Volume 21.) As an international phenomenon, modern revisionism has its profound causes in objective reality, and has its social-economic basis and its cognitive, ideological and theoretical origins. To recognize all the objective and subjective factors involved is of tremendous importance for the effective carrying out of the struggle against modern revisionism and the prevention of the emergence of revisionism in the future.

### **The Tragic Example of the Soviet Union Is A Serious Lesson for Marxist-Leninists**

The Albanian Party of Labour has drawn useful lessons from the tragic example of the Soviet Union.

The Soviet Union had been building socialism for 36 years, yet immediately after the Khrushchov revisionist clique came to power they abolished the dictatorship of the proletariat and established the dictatorship of modern revisionism, causing the Soviet Union to take the road of the restoration of capitalism.

What has this example shown? It has shown:

First, that the struggle between the road of socialism and the road of capitalism is a long-term one. So long as the bourgeoisie and imperialism and their politics and ideology exist, so long as class struggle exists at home and abroad, there will be struggle between the two roads.

Second, that the danger of the restoration of capitalism in a socialist country comes not only, or not mainly, from the outside, from the armed aggression of imperialism, but from within, or mainly from within — from degeneration towards capitalism and revisionism. Lenin has said: "There is no class that can overthrow us: the majority of the proletarians and the rural poor are behind us. Nothing can ruin us but our own mistakes." (Lenin, *Collected Works*, Volume 32.)

Third, that the conclusion drawn by the 1957 Moscow Declaration is correct, namely, the internal source of revisionism in socialist countries is the existence of bourgeois influence, and the existence of the remnants and manifestations of the ideology, morality and psychology of the bourgeoisie and the petty bourgeoisie. For all kinds of reasons, these remnants will remain for a long time, even if the original exploiting classes are wiped out. The external source of revisionism is surrender to imperialism which, by hook or by crook ("peacefully" and violently) exerts political, economic, ideological and military pressure.

Fourth, that the major social basis for the emergence of revisionism in socialist countries is the rising bourgeois stratum. This stratum is made up particularly of Party and state cadres and intellectuals who have degenerated and become bourgeois elements. The reasons for this are the influence of bourgeois ideology at home, imperialist pressure from abroad, and such principles followed by the cadres and intellectuals as high wages, large emoluments, big payments to authors, and various forms of embezzlement and corruption, which are detrimental to the people's interests. The revisionist leadership is nothing but the political representative of this bourgeois stratum.

Fifth, that the subjective weaknesses play the decisive part in the coming to power of revisionism in socialist countries. As is well known, it was precisely because of the weaknesses of the revolutionary cadres of the older generation, and their lack of vigilance, courage and steadfastness, that renegades such as Khrushchov and Mikoyan who for a long time had cleverly hidden themselves in the Soviet leadership were able to usurp leadership of the Party and state through counter-revolutionary coup d'etat and intri-

gues, and so put into effect their treacherous line of opposition to communism.

Because of all this, our Party told all our people clearly that more than ever now we must not slacken our revolutionary vigilance even for a single moment, but that we must further heighten our vigilance and not become giddy with success already won or sleep easily. This is also because the People's Republic of Albania, a small socialist country, is situated in a Europe which is full of revisionism, is surrounded on all sides by imperialism and revisionism and is under heavy pressure from the imperialist bourgeoisie and from the modern revisionists; moreover, the expansion by U.S. imperialism of its acts of aggression and the active support it is getting from the Khrushchov revisionists have daily intensified the contradictions between socialism and the people of all countries on the one hand and imperialism and revisionism on the other, and the international situation is becoming more and more aggravated. Our Party fully understands that the struggle to build socialism and safeguard the motherland and the struggle against imperialism and revisionism are one and inseparable. That is why our Party is giving great attention to the raising of the people's Marxist-Leninist political and ideological consciousness, and is constantly educating our Party members and all the working people to become faithful revolutionary fighters, to think, work and struggle always in the spirit of revolutionaries and to be ready at all times to give everything, if necessary even one's life, in the cause of socialism. The militant slogan put forward by our Party to encourage our people has been and still is—build socialism with hoe in one hand and rifle in the other.

This slogan very well reflects the essence of the revolutionary general line which our Marxist-Leninist Party has followed consistently and faithfully.

Comrade Hoxha has said: "In Europe which is full of revisionism, our country and Party stand firmly as an unbreakable bulwark of socialism. As the fighters of such a glorious Party and such a glorious country, we have the vital task of safeguarding this bulwark, crushing the attacks of the enemy and winning victory . . . Only a Party guided by working-class thinking, by Marxism-Leninism, a Party completely true to this thinking, can successfully fulfil its mission, carry forward the proletarian revolution, establish the dictatorship of the proletariat and build socialism and communism." (Closing speech at the Plenary Session of the Central Committee of the Albanian Party of Labour held in July, 1964.)

### **The Three Watchwords in Our Building of Socialism Are: Proletarian Politics in the Forefront, the Mass Line and Revolutionary Education**

In order to push Albania's socialist construction forward, the Central Committee of our Party recently reviewed the work we have done so far in a highly self-critical spirit, criticizing the shortcomings and weak links in our work and adopting some important and

effective measures. All this was explained in an open letter by the Central Committee of our Party to all Party members, working people, and rank-and-file soldiers and commanders. Once again this showed that our Party is strong and mature, that its line is correct and Marxist-Leninist, and its ties with the people are close.

Above all, the adoption of these measures was aimed at establishing revolutionary methods and style of work, at abolishing all bureaucratic phenomena in government offices, at applying the mass line more intensively and strengthening the links with the working people in both town and countryside, at persisting in consultation with the masses on everything and listening to what they say, and at mobilizing them more actively to take part in all aspects of socialist construction and bringing their revolutionary creativeness and initiative into fuller play. The series of measures we have adopted to this end includes simplifying state and Party administration, **drastically cutting out** superfluous documents, reports and forms; **giving more power** to the various local organs of the state so that, in accordance with the principle of democratic centralism, they can work more creatively and use more initiative, strengthening the role of the elected organs of people's political power and placing all the activities of the executive and state organs under the supervision of them and of the people; reviewing the state laws and decrees with the aim of eliminating all undesirable foreign influences, of enabling them to serve the working people better and of revolutionizing them on the basis of Marxist-Leninist principles.

Measures have also been adopted by our Party and Government recently in connection with wiping out alien remnants and manifestations in the ideology of Communist Party members and the working people, with blocking every channel leading to ideological and political degeneration among the people and loss of revolutionary spirit, and with education in a healthy revolutionary spirit so as to train true revolutionaries. This means the type of revolutionary who is able to place the interests of the people, the motherland and socialism above everything, who possesses a correct and revolutionary understanding of life and is imbued with strong perseverance and character, who is able to make every sacrifice and overcome every obstacle and difficulty, and who is in close touch with the people. This type of revolutionary is prepared to exert every effort for the people, the revolution and the cause of socialism, and to give his life if necessary. Among these measures the most important are concerned with the sending of high-ranking Party and government cadres to work for a long time in the basic units; the tempering of government functionaries and intellectuals through physical labour; the sending of large numbers of cadres and workers from the cities to help the countryside; the reduction of high wages, starting with Party and state leaders, so as to maintain a more correct ratio between their wages and the average wages of the working people.

Finally, measures have been adopted to strengthen the national defences of our socialist motherland,

heighten our people's combat readiness, raise the ideological, political and fighting qualities of our People's Army, and develop the revolutionary spirit and traditions of the People's Army. In this connection, apart from the steps taken to bring about an all-round improvement in the people's physical and military training, Party committees have been established in army units and military organizations to give leadership to their work, political commissars have been re-introduced in headquarters at all levels, while military ranks have been abolished. These measures have enabled our People's Army to restore the glorious traditions of the period of our war of national liberation. The Albanian Party of Labour will preserve and further develop these traditions, and regards them as a powerful means of further revolutionizing our army, ceaselessly strengthening our army's militancy and of preventing the growth of any alien phenomena among our military cadres.

All these measures which our Party has recently adopted are of tremendous importance for our Party, our country and our people. They are revolutionary measures with profound political and ideological content. They are measures for eliminating all negative phenomena which could form a basis for revisionism in our country, for blocking up every channel leading to the kind of revisionist tragedy which has taken place in the Soviet Union, and for ensuring the triumph of the revolution both today and in the generations to come. They are part of the struggle that is being waged on the Adriatic coast to hold high the banner of Marxism-Leninism and socialism and march forward for ever.

The open letter of the Central Committee of the Albanian Party of Labour stated: "To build socialism thoroughly, every member of the Communist Party and every worker should work and consider all questions with the attitude of a revolutionary all the time and wherever he is working. He should be conscious all the time that he is a loyal servant of the people and integrated with the workers, peasants and soldiers in life and in death, and he should be prepared to give up everything, even his life, for the people, the motherland, the revolution and communism. The entire work of the Party organizations and government offices at all levels, and every action of every Communist Party member and real patriot, should be characterized by such conscious political ideology. This is important not only for today but for the future of our socialist motherland; it affects all Party members and all the people; and it affects still more the coming generation that tomorrow will have the relay torch handed on to them."

In all this work, the Albanian Communists and Albanian people have been inspired by the great example of the Chinese Communist Party and the Chinese people, their friends and brothers. They have been inspired by the measures taken by the Chinese Communist Party to carry out revolutionary and class

education among Party members and the working people. The Albanian Party of Labour places an extremely high appraisal on these all-round revolutionary activities of the Chinese Communist Party in safeguarding and victoriously pushing forward the socialist cause of the great People's Republic of China.

Running like a red thread through the whole line of our Party and the measures it has recently adopted are the great ideas of placing proletarian politics in the forefront, the mass line, and the cultivation of the revolutionary spirit. These ideas have taken root in all the activities of our Party and state and in all the life and work of our Party members and working people, and the roots are going deeper and deeper. Because of our line and these measures, the unity of the people round the Party, and the unity of the Party round the Central Committee headed by Comrade Enver Hoxha, are today stronger than ever. Today in Albania, the revolutionary zeal of the masses has erupted like a volcano, in creative activity and effort to fulfil the giant tasks of the Fourth Five-Year Plan, a plan drawn up by themselves on the basis of their own creative, revolutionary insight and the principle of depending primarily on their own strength.

### **The Achievements and Prospects of Socialist Construction in the Albanian People's Republic**

You know how Khrushchov plotted a blockade against us in 1961 when we had just embarked on the Third Five-Year Plan. By imposing an economic blockade on Albania, the Khrushchov revisionists intended to obstruct the carrying out of the Third Five-Year Plan and torpedo socialist construction in Albania. But the revisionists miscalculated. Their plot came a cropper. The Party made public to the people the serious situation it caused and the enormous difficulties confronting them, and pointed out the way for the people to overcome these difficulties. United as one, the Party and the people plucked up courage and set out to surmount the enormous obstacles and difficulties brought on us by the revisionists and to fulfil the Third Five-Year Plan. In these grave and difficult circumstances in which our Party and people found themselves, the fraternal Chinese people extended aid to us. At that time, the People's Republic of China itself had to tackle serious natural calamities, the hostile activities by U.S. imperialism and reactionary forces and the blockade imposed by Khrushchov. It was at such a time that the People's Republic of China provided us with great, fraternal and internationalist aid. This aid was an invaluable guarantee for the fulfilment of the Third Five-Year Plan of our country and the reinforcement of its national defence. The Albanian people and Party of Labour will always cherish deep gratitude.

Taking into account the grave situation in which our country found itself during the Third Five-Year Plan period, the major tasks set in the plan were, on the whole, fulfilled well. Industrial output in 1965 was 39 per cent higher than in 1960. Agricultural output in

the Third Five-Year Plan period recorded a 29 per cent increase over the Second Five-Year Plan period. Using the same base, the investment rose by 43 per cent and new building by 67 per cent. National income in 1965 was 31 per cent higher than that in 1960.

At present, all the people of our country, men and women, old and young, are going all out and working hard to carry out the tasks set for the Fourth Five-Year Plan. This plan will be submitted to the Fifth National Congress of the Party this year for approval. Fulfilment of this plan will ensure new advance by our country's national economy and national culture and improve the people's living standards in accordance with the potential and conditions of our country. It will be another major step taken by the Albanian People's Republic on her road towards completing the building of socialist society.

The plan attaches particular importance to increasing agricultural production more rapidly by the general intensive farming of agriculture. The main task is to raise food production. It is anticipated that every household, village, co-operative and district will become self-sufficient in food and deliver more to the state so as to meet the needs of the people and the national economy still better. We shall do a great amount of work in expanding the production of potatoes, particularly in the hilly and mountainous areas. For it is an important source to satisfy fully the country's needs.

In line with the country's policy of socialist industrialization, industry will grow in the Fourth Five-Year Plan period. We shall give priority to increasing the means of production and in particular developing the mining and refining of ores, the petroleum, metallurgical, machine, chemical, power and building material industries which are an important link in reinforcing the country's economic strength and stimulating the other branches of the national economy.

In this period, we shall start to produce, for the first time, rolled steel, sulphuric acid, phosphorite and nitrogenous fertilizer, caustic soda, soda ash, copper, iron and steel, castings, enamelware, light bulbs, plate window, fibre board, paper and boards, high-grade cotton goods, etc.

To fulfil the Fourth Five-Year Plan, we rely above all on our own strength, on the mobilization and use of all our country's material resources and manpower. However, in the course of carrying out the Fourth Five-Year Plan, we shall still enjoy valuable aid from the People's Republic of China, which is an important factor in the growth of our country's productive forces. We express the deep and sincere gratitude of our Party and people.

### **Final Victory Belongs to Marxism-Leninism, Socialism and Communism**

Comrades:

Our common struggle against imperialism, revisionism and for the victory of the revolution and social-

ism is a protracted and arduous one. The struggle does not develop in a straight line, but zigzags.

Lenin said: "Historical action is not the pavement of Nevsky Prospekt. A revolutionary would not 'agree' to a proletarian revolution only 'on the condition' that it proceeds easily and smoothly, that there is, from the outset, combined action on the part of the proletarians of different countries, that there are guarantees against defeats, that the road of the revolution is broad, free and straight, that it will not be necessary during the march to victory to sustain the heaviest casualties, to 'bide one's time in a besieged fortress,' or to make one's way along extremely narrow, impassable, winding and dangerous mountain tracks. Such a person is no revolutionary, he has not freed himself from the pedantry of the bourgeois intellectuals; such a person will be found constantly slipping into the camp of the counter-revolutionary bourgeoisie. . . ." (Lenin, *Collected Works*, Volume 28.)

Marxist dialectics teaches us too that history and the revolution are always forging ahead and cannot do otherwise no matter how complicated and tortuous the road. Every historical twist and turn is relative and partial while the forward movement, the course of progress and the victory of newly born things are absolute and universal. No force in the world can save imperialism and revisionism from being completely crushed, and prevent the complete victory of socialism and Marxism-Leninism.

Today, no matter how strong and awesome the imperialists and revisionism appear, they are in fact very vulnerable, they are decaying from within for they represent the reactionary old forces and are torn by profound contradictions within and without and cannot get support from the people. But the Marxist-Leninist forces and the revolutionary forces are now growing stronger and developing. They represent the future, symbolize the interest of the mass of the people and are supported by them. These forces are indestructible. Centuries of experience demonstrate that in the fierce class struggles of which history is made, victory always goes to the new, progressive forces that represent the general objective trend of the development of society.

In the flames of the struggle against imperialism and modern revisionism, the ranks of the Marxist-Leninists and revolutionaries throughout the world are expanding and tempering themselves. The theory of Marxism-Leninism is being developed and enriched constantly. The world revolutionary movement and the liberation movement are ever mounting.

Our Party of Labour, as an active member of the world Marxist-Leninist forces, is fully conscious of the great historic task today facing the communist movement in defending Marxism-Leninism from being besmirched by the enemy and renegades; it will unite as one with the glorious Chinese Communist Party of Mao Tse-tung and all other Marxist-Leninist Parties and Marxist-Leninist forces in the world, join hands with

them and resolutely carry through to the end the struggle against modern revisionism, the main enemy in the ranks of the present international communist movement, wholeheartedly oppose imperialism and unreservedly support the revolutionary struggle of the Marxist-Leninist Parties and Marxist-Leninist forces in the world, and the revolutionary liberation struggle of the people of all countries against imperialism; it will do all it can to consolidate the victories already won, push forward our common struggle, achieve new victories and thoroughly smash imperialism and modern revisionism.

Our Party and the people of our country are working and struggling for the great cause of socialism and communism. They firmly believe that final victory belongs to the people of all countries and to Marxism-Leninism.

Glory to invincible Marxism-Leninism!

Glory to the Chinese Communist Party and Comrade Mao Tse-tung!

Long live the internationalist unity of the Chinese Communist Party and the Albanian Party of Labour!

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(Continued from p.9.)

Soviet Khrushchov revisionists while opposing U.S. imperialism, those who do not firmly support the profound revolutionary stand of the Chinese Communist Party and those who fail to understand the universal significance of the revolutionary activities of the Chinese Communist Party and the great thinking of Comrade Mao Tse-tung are not staunch Marxist-Leninists."

The Albanian people took pride in sharing an eternal friendship with the great Chinese people, a friendship which developed and was reinforced with each passing day, he added. "No force whatever can impair our friendship."

### In Hangchow

Hangchow, the lake city, provided a spectacular welcome for the Albanian guests on May 7. The explosion of firecrackers, the crash of drums and cymbals and stormy shouts of "Enver-Mao Tse-tung!" "Mao Tse-tung-Enver!" sounded all along the arrival route and around picturesque West Lake. Among the crowd of more than 200,000 welcomers were peasants from scores of kilometres away.

Comrade Li Hsien-nien, Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and Vice-Premier, who had come to Hangchow specially to greet the Albanian comrades, met them at the airport.

**U.S. Imperialism and Its Lackeys Will Inevitably Fail.** In the evening, all the members of the Albanian delegation were guests of honour at a banquet given by the local Party and government leaders. Comrade Kapo spoke at the banquet. He praised the great, militant and unbreakable friendship between the Parties and peoples of Albania and China and pointed out the significance of the victories of the Chinese people in their socialist revolution and socialist construction.

He said that the Chinese Communist Party stood in the forefront of the struggle against modern revisionism headed by the Khrushchov revisionists. It had made outstanding contributions in the defence of the purity of Marxism-Leninism and in the creative development

of Marxism-Leninism in the world today. "The Chinese Communist Party is a brilliant and inspiring example for all Marxist-Leninists and all revolutionary people in the world. It is the principal and indomitable fighter opposing the treacherous and splitting activities of the Khrushchov revisionist clique."

"The People's Republic of China is an impregnable bastion of socialism and world peace. It is an indomitable fighter in opposing the U.S. imperialist policies of war and aggression. It has become an insurmountable obstacle to the sinister plan for world domination pursued by U.S. imperialism and the Soviet revisionists," he continued.

Comrade Kapo sternly denounced U.S. imperialism, the Khrushchov revisionists and their followers and all reactionaries for ganging up in a "Holy Alliance" against the People's Republic of China. He pointed out that "this sinister plan of 'united action' would certainly be smashed and that U.S. imperialism and its lackeys would inevitably fail."

**Struggle on Two Fronts.** During their stay in Hangchow, the Albanian envoys saw a live-ammunition demonstration of shooting by representatives of the militia of Chekiang Province and visited a rural people's commune near the city.

The guests presented a silk banner to the militia and one to a production brigade of the commune. In handing over the banner to the militia, Comrade Shehu said: "This red banner reminds us of the blood shed by the Albanian people in their revolutionary struggle. The star embroidered on the banner symbolizes socialism. And the double-headed eagle means that Albania has been waging a struggle on two fronts both in the past and at present, namely, keeping high vigilance against foreign enemies and wiping them out if they dare to invade us; and preventing the rise of revisionism and the restoration of capitalism at home." The political instructor of the militia thanked Comrade Shehu and said, "We, militia members, educated by Chairman Mao Tse-tung's thinking about people's war, are fully prepared to fight against U.S. imperialism, modern revisionism and all reactionaries if they dare to come."

— OUR CORRESPONDENT

# Never Forget the Class Struggle

Following is a translation of a "Jiefangjun Bao" (Liberation Army Daily) editorial of May 4. — Ed.

THE publication of our editorial *Hold High the Great Red Banner of Mao Tse-tung's Thinking; Actively Participate in the Great Socialist Cultural Revolution* (see *Peking Review*, No. 18, 1966) has evoked great response both in and outside of our People's Liberation Army. The broad masses of workers, peasants, and soldiers and revolutionary cadres, showing a high degree of revolutionary enthusiasm, have sent in a steady flow of articles and letters; they are actively participating in the struggle and voicing their great indignation against the anti-Party, anti-socialist black line in the cultural field. They understand that the current great polemic on the cultural front is definitely not a question concerning only a few articles, plays and films; nor is it merely an academic debate. It is an extremely sharp class struggle. It is a struggle to defend Mao Tse-tung's thinking, a struggle on a cardinal issue of principle. It is an acute, protracted struggle on the question of "who will win" in the realm of ideology, the proletariat or the bourgeoisie.

We must make great efforts to uphold proletarian ideology and eradicate bourgeois ideology in academic work, education, journalism, art and literature and other spheres of culture. This is a crucial question affecting the deepening of our country's socialist revolution at the present stage, a question concerning the overall situation, and an issue of prime importance affecting the destiny and future of our Party and state, as well as the world revolution.

None of us revolutionary fighters should take an indifferent attitude in this struggle. In response to the call of the Party, we must hold high the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thinking, take an active part in this class struggle and resolutely carry this great socialist cultural revolution through to the very end.

CHAIRMAN Mao Tse-tung teaches us: classes and class struggle continue to exist in socialist society, and the struggle still goes on between the road of socialism and the road of capitalism. The socialist revolution on the economic front (in the ownership of the means of production) by itself is insufficient and cannot be consolidated. There must also be a thoroughgoing socialist revolution on the political and ideological fronts. A very long period of time is needed to decide "who will win"

in the struggle between socialism and capitalism in the political and ideological fields. Several decades won't be enough; anywhere from one to several centuries will be required for success.

Chairman Mao's statement has been borne out by the facts. Has there ever been a year, a month or even a day in the more than 16 years since liberation when the class struggle on the cultural front did not exist?

There was, for instance, the criticism of the film *The Life of Wu Hsun* in 1951; the criticism of *Studies on the "Dream of the Red Chamber"* in 1954 and later the criticism of the reactionary ideas of Hu Shih; the criticism of Hu Feng and the struggle against the Hu Feng counter-revolutionary clique in 1955; the counter-attack against the frenzied onslaught by the bourgeois Rightist forces on the cultural front in 1957; the mushrooming of bourgeois and revisionist poisonous weeds in cinema and drama and in literature since 1959 and our struggle against them; the criticism of Yang Hsien-chen's concept of "two combining into one" in 1964 and the current great polemic which, begun with the criticism of Wu Han's *Hai Jui Dismissed From Office*, is now being carried to a greater depth, etc. One struggle follows another, each more profound than the previous. After this black line is uprooted, another may appear in the future and a new struggle will have to be waged.

This shows that class struggle is inevitable; it is independent of man's will. The bourgeois nature of the anti-Party, anti-socialist elements is bound to show itself in a hundred and one ways and it is impossible for them to prevent it showing. These people give verbal support to socialism, but in reality they are wedded to capitalism and cling to the corpse of the bourgeoisie. They harbour a hostility towards the dictatorship of the proletariat and have a deep-seated hatred and resentment for the Party and socialism. Whenever it is opportune they will give vent to such feelings and whenever some wind stirs the grass, they will let them loose. After being exposed again and again, criticized and dealt blows by the broad masses, they have turned to more covert, insidious, roundabout and zigzag tactics to continue their attack against the Party and socialism.

The noteworthy thing is that in the present new situation of class struggle, the offensives launched against us by the handful of anti-Party, anti-socialist elements have new characteristics. They are waving "red flags" to oppose the red flag, and donning the



cloak of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Tse-tung's thinking to oppose Marxism-Leninism and Mao Tse-tung's thinking.

Taking advantage of the functions and powers given them by the Party and Government, they have put under their absolute control some departments and units, refusing the leadership of the Party and carrying out anti-Party, anti-socialist criminal activities through the instruments in their hands.

These people are mostly so-called "authorities"; and they are rather "well known" in society. Those who don't know the truth still look at them with blind faith. They think that they still possess the capital to have a trial of strength with the proletariat and do their utmost to hold on to the stubborn stronghold of bourgeois ideology. Their anti-Party, anti-socialist activities are not isolated, accidental phenomena. They are in tune with the international anti-China chorus raised by the imperialists, modern revisionists and the reactionaries of all countries, in conformity with the activities of the overthrown reactionary classes within the country to attempt a restoration, and in co-ordination with the anti-Party activities of the Right opportunist elements within the Party. Their anti-Party, anti-socialist activities are to a certain extent deceptive and are extremely harmful. Our struggle against them is a life-and-death struggle. We must understand this clearly and maintain a high level of vigilance. As for those who have written a number of bad works but who are one with the Party and socialism, their shortcomings and errors can be rectified in the course of practice. There should be a strict differentiation of those comrades from the handful of anti-Party, anti-socialist elements.

**L**ONG before our nationwide victory, Chairman Mao Tse-tung had warned us: "After the enemies with guns have been wiped out, there will still be enemies without guns; they are bound to struggle desperately against us; we must never regard these enemies lightly. If we do not now raise and understand the problem in this way, we shall commit very grave mistakes."

Invariably capitalism is restored either by violent means or by "peaceful evolution" or by a combination of both. U.S. imperialism and the other class enemies at home and abroad not only try to overthrow us by violence, but also attempt to conquer us by "peaceful evolution," by the use of "sugar-coated bullets." In a hundred and one ways, they are spreading reactionary political and ideological viruses and the bourgeois way of life in an attempt to corrupt and demoralize the Communists, the proletariat and the other revolutionary people, hoping that some weak-minded persons in our ranks degenerate into bourgeois elements and that socialism gradually regresses to capitalism. The fact that the Soviet Union, the first great socialist country, which was founded by Lenin and born amid the roar of the guns of the October Revolution, has been going down the road of capitalist restoration through a process of "peaceful evolution" under the control and manipula-

tion of a handful of revisionists who have usurped the leadership of the Party and state, is indeed a tremendous lesson.

**C**HAIRMAN Mao Tse-tung has taught us: "Class struggle, the struggle for production and scientific experiment are the three great revolutionary movements for building a mighty socialist country. These movements are a sure guarantee that Communists will be free from bureaucracy and immune against revisionism and dogmatism, and will for ever remain invincible. They are a reliable guarantee that the proletariat will be able to unite with the broad working masses and realize a democratic dictatorship. If, in the absence of these movements, the landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries, bad elements and ogres of all kinds were allowed to crawl out, while our cadres were to shut their eyes to all this and in many cases fail even to differentiate between the enemy and ourselves but were to collaborate with the enemy and become corrupted and demoralized, if our cadres were thus dragged into the enemy camp or the enemy were able to sneak into our ranks, and if many of our workers, peasants, and intellectuals were left defenceless against both the soft and the hard tactics of the enemy, then it would not take long, perhaps only several years or a decade, or several decades at most, before a counter-revolutionary restoration on a national scale inevitably occurred, the Marxist-Leninist Party would undoubtedly become a revisionist party or a fascist party, and the whole of China would change its colour."

We must keep firmly in our minds this teaching of Chairman Mao Tse-tung and never forget the class struggle during the period of socialism; we must never ignore the battle against the enemies without guns.

Chairman Mao Tse-tung has taught us: "Any given culture (as an ideological form) is a reflection of the politics and economics of a given society, and the former in turn has a tremendous influence and effect upon the latter" and "a cultural revolution is the ideological reflection of the political and economic revolution and is in their service." Again, he said: "... while we recognize that in the general development of history the material determines the mental and social being determines social consciousness, we also—and indeed must—recognize the reaction of mental on material things, of social consciousness on social being and of the superstructure on the economic base."

In the 16 years since liberation, the economic base of socialism and the political power of the dictatorship of the proletariat have been established in China and are growing stronger with each passing day. The socialist revolution on the economic and political fronts is crowned with great victory. However, the political viewpoint and ideology of the overthrown bourgeoisie and other exploiting classes still have immense influence. They not only impede the development of the economic base of socialism but also try to use bourgeois

and revisionist culture to advocate the restoration of capitalism and pave the way for it.

The question of "who will win" in the ideological sphere is far from settled. We must pay great attention to the reaction of the superstructure on the economic base and to the class struggle in the ideological sphere. The victory of the socialist revolution on the economic and political fronts cannot be consolidated without the victory of the socialist revolution in the ideological sphere.

We must never think that the frenzied attack launched against us by this handful of revisionist and bourgeois elements is merely a "scholar's rebellion" which will amount to nothing big. We must never regard our struggle against them as only "paper polemics" that has no effect on the overall situation. In fact, every counter-revolutionary restoration starts in the realm of the mind—including ideology, the superstructure, theoretical and academic work, literature and art—so as to win over public opinion. This was the way Khrushchov revisionism usurped the leadership of the Soviet Communist Party. Likewise, in Hungary in 1956, it was a number of revisionist and bourgeois writers, artists and intellectuals who organized the Petofi Club and acted as the shock force in the counter-revolutionary riots. The present furious attacks against the Party and against socialism by a handful of revisionist and bourgeois elements in our country constitute their vain attempt to realize their dream of restoring capitalism. If we are not vigilant against these enemies without guns, do not counter-attack resolutely, give bourgeois ideas free rein and allow their plots to be carried out, we will face the danger that the foundations of our socialism will be undermined and our country will change its colour.

**T**HE Chinese People's Liberation Army is an army of workers and peasants created and led by the Party and Chairman Mao Tse-tung; it is the mainstay of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the defender of the cause of socialism. We must keep close watch on the enemies with guns and be always ready to defeat armed attacks by U.S. imperialism and its lackeys; at the same time we must be highly vigilant against the enemies without guns and resolutely crush the bourgeoisie's criminal plots against the Party and against socialism. The cadres and men of our P.L.A. should not only be brave soldiers charging against enemy fire on the battlefield but they should also be staunch proletarian fighters against "sugar-coated bullets" on the political and ideological fronts. We must follow Chairman Mao's instructions, fully recognize the protracted, tortuous and complex nature of class struggle in the period of socialism and never forget class struggle. We must arm our minds with Mao Tse-tung's thinking and observe, analyse and deal with everything from the viewpoint of class struggle and with the method of class analysis. We must criticize erroneous things, uproot poisonous weeds and strike down ogres of all kinds whenever we see them; we must never allow them to run wild and incite and create trouble.

Comrade Lin Piao's directive on putting politics first is precisely based upon Chairman Mao's theory on the existence of classes and class struggle in socialist society. Politics is the struggle of class against class. To put politics first means that we must put proletarian politics first, take Mao Tse-tung's thinking as the guide and class struggle as the key link, and wage the struggle to foster proletarian ideology and eradicate bourgeois ideology. Our armed forces do not live in a vacuum. Through various channels, class struggles in society will inevitably be reflected in our armed forces and in the mind of each of us. We must never underestimate the influence on us of the class struggle in the ideological sphere. Good works of literature and art and good articles can help raise our political consciousness and heighten our fighting will. But bad films, plays, novels and articles, if we do not examine them, boycott them and repudiate them, will poison and gradually change our minds, and lead us on to the wrong track. Historical experience proves that any enemy, however ferocious and whatever his tricks, is not to be feared. What is fearful is that we ourselves may lack vigilance, and let our minds be disarmed. The present great socialist cultural revolution is a most vivid, most practical education in class struggle and is also a test for every cadre and man in the P.L.A. politically and ideologically. Every comrade must closely follow and pay careful attention to the present development of the great cultural revolution with a high sense of political responsibility and great revolutionary fervor, and actively join this great struggle to get himself tempered, educated, remoulded and make himself more politically conscious through the process.

Mao Tse-tung's era is the era in which workers, peasants and soldiers master Marxist-Leninist theory. They are demonstrating their role as the main force in this great socialist cultural revolution. Although the "scholars," "specialists" and "professors" who oppose the Party and socialism don all sorts of cloaks, make grand gestures and deliberately turn simple things into mysteries, they can neither daunt us nor mislead us. We have the invincible weapon of Mao Tse-tung's thinking and ardent hearts loyal to the Party, to socialism and to Mao Tse-tung's thinking. Truth is with us. The cadres and men of our P.L.A. have a firm and clear-cut political stand, their political awareness is sharp and their eyes are clear-sighted. They can distinguish between the enemy and ourselves and between right and wrong. Provided we make efforts to study and apply Chairman Mao's works creatively, arm ourselves with Mao Tse-tung's thinking, dare to despise the so-called "authority" of the revisionist and bourgeois elements and dispel blind faith in them, we will certainly be able to see the true features of these ogres and monsters and expose them to the light of day. Let us hold ever higher the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thinking, resolutely shatter the anti-Party, anti-socialist black line of the bourgeoisie and of revisionism, and carry the great socialist cultural revolution through to the end!

# In Putting Politics First, One Must Constantly Put Mao Tse-tung's Thinking in Command

*Following is the third "Renmin Ribao" editorial (April 22) on putting politics first. The first two appeared in our issues No. 17 and No. 19. — Ed.*

**S**Ocialist revolution and socialist construction are unprecedentedly great undertakings in human history. To accomplish them, Mao Tse-tung's thinking must be kept constantly in command. This is the fundamental question involved in putting politics first. Only by strictly keeping Mao Tse-tung's thinking in command, can revolutionary people have a clear-cut and firm political direction, persistently maintain a vigorous revolutionary spirit, recognize objective laws through practice and work in harmony with these laws; only in this way can our socialist cause advance steadily and be ever victorious.

Man's actions are, without exception, controlled by particular ideas; in a class society, they are controlled by the ideology of one class or another. The revolutionary people, in working to accomplish their historic mission of transforming the world, must first of all transform their subjective world, arm themselves with revolutionary theories and use them to guide their revolutionary actions.

The transformation of the proletariat from a "class in itself" to a "class for itself" was not a spontaneous process. It came about because Marx and Engels, using dialectical and historical materialism, revealed and expounded the laws of capitalist society, summed up the experience of the revolutionary struggles of the international proletariat, and instituted the theory of Marxism with which they educated the proletariat. Marxism as founded by Marx and Engels, and Marxism alone, is the ideological weapon for the proletariat to win emancipation. Lenin and Stalin inherited and developed Marxism. The proletariat, armed with Marxism-Leninism, has consciously waged revolutionary struggle and developed and strengthened the international communist movement; it has overthrown the rule of imperialism and reaction in a number of countries and established the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Marxism-Leninism is a revolutionary and militant theory, which has developed in step with the development of the revolutionary movement of the international proletariat. It has in no way exhausted truth but ceaselessly opens up roads to the knowledge of truth in the course of practice. Ours is an epoch in which capitalism and imperialism are heading for extinction while socialism and communism are advancing towards worldwide victory. During the past half century and particularly since World War II, the revolutionary movement of the international proletariat has undergone a vast, unprecedented development, and a number of new problems have emerged which Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin did not encounter or left unsolved. The authors of the Marxist classics laid the theoretical foundations for scientific communism. Now, the times have set before us a new historic task, that of translating the ideal of communism into reality. How to effect the transition from socialism to communism, and how to realize communism throughout the world, have become theoretical and practical problems that must be solved in real life.

**C**OMRADE Mao Tse-tung has summed up and generalized the rich experience of the Chinese and world revolutions, creatively developing Marxism-Leninism. By grasping the fundamental question, the kernel of Marxist philosophy — the dialectical relationship between practice and knowledge and the basic law of the unity of opposites — Comrade Mao Tse-tung has comprehensively developed dialectical and historical materialism.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung, in a talented and thoroughgoing way, has applied dialectical materialism to the social practice of the three great revolutionary movements of class struggle, the struggle for production, and scientific experiment. He has added new weapons to the theoretical treasure-house of Marxism-Leninism on a series of important issues that arose in the period of the new-democratic as well as the socialist revolution, on domestic as well as international problems, in the political and military spheres as well as economic, ideological and cultural spheres.

Of particular epoch-making significance are Comrade Mao Tse-tung's theories on people's revolution and people's war against imperialism and its lackeys, on socialist revolution and socialist construction, on the need to take a firm grip on class struggle and prevent the restoration of capitalism during the socialist period, on the transition from socialism to communism and on opposition to modern revisionism and dogmatism. These are brilliant examples of the creative application and development of Marxism-Leninism.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung has made great contributions to enriching and developing the philosophy and economics of Marxism-Leninism, and the Marxist-Leninist theories of class struggle, the proletarian political party and military affairs. Mao Tse-tung's thinking marks a new stage of development in Marxism-Leninism. It is the highest peak of Marxism-Leninism in our epoch.

**T**HE practice of the Chinese revolution proves that Mao Tse-tung's thinking is invincible. Once it grips the minds of the great mass of the people, it can change their whole mental outlook, and be transformed into a tremendous material force. The course of our Party's 45-year history shows that, whenever we departed from the guidance of Mao Tse-tung's thinking, we invariably lost our direction and "Left" and Right mistakes occurred. Whenever we have been guided by Mao Tse-tung's thinking and placed it in command, we have been able to march from one victory to another in our cause of revolution and construction. The victory of the Chinese people's War of Resistance Against Japan, the victory of the Chinese people's War of Liberation, and the great achievements in China's socialist revolution and socialist construction have all been won under the guidance of Mao Tse-tung's thinking.

The practice of international struggle also proves that, precisely because we acted in line with Mao Tse-tung's thinking, we have won great victories in the struggles against U.S. imperialism and the reactionaries of various countries and against Khrushchov revisionism. Under the leadership of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party headed by Comrade Mao Tse-tung, the Chinese people are holding aloft the banner of Marxism-Leninism, the banner of proletarian internationalism, the banner of struggle against U.S. imperialism and the banner of struggle against modern revisionism and modern dogmatism, and are giving resolute support to the revolutionary struggles of the peoples of various countries. China's international prestige is rising steadily; we have friends all over the world.

Mao Tse-tung's thinking, having passed the test of the practice of the Chinese and world revolutionary struggles, of the struggle against U.S. imperialism and its lackeys, and of the struggle against Khrushchov revisionism, has already become the powerful ideological weapon of the Chinese people as well as the extremely valuable common treasure of the world's revolutionary people. Mao Tse-tung's thinking is exert-

ing an increasingly great and profound influence in the world.

Putting politics first means putting Mao Tse-tung's thinking first; putting politics in command means putting Mao Tse-tung's thinking in command; putting politics in command over everything means putting Mao Tse-tung's thinking in command over everything. In waging class struggle and making revolution, Mao Tse-tung's thinking must be in command; so must it be in command in waging the struggle for production and conducting scientific experiment.

Mao Tse-tung's thinking is the supreme directive for all our work. The great objective for which we are striving is to win new victories in the Chinese revolution and the world revolution. The purpose of our socialist revolution and construction is to develop the productive forces of society enormously, raise the communist consciousness and moral qualities of all the people to a very high level, gradually narrow the differences between workers and peasants, town and countryside and mental and manual labour and create full material and ideological conditions for the future transition to communism. This includes class struggle both at home and internationally, the fight against nature and the remoulding of our ideology. It is Mao Tse-tung's thinking that provides the revolutionary theory which guides our great struggle.

Mao Tse-tung's thinking is the sharpest weapon for transforming both our own subjective world and the objective world. The purpose of putting politics first and of putting Mao Tse-tung's thinking in command is, above all, constantly to promote the revolutionization of our ideology. Only with the constant revolutionization of our ideology can we observe, analyse and solve problems in class struggle, in the struggle for production, and in scientific experiment fairly correctly.

**T**HE study of Comrade Mao Tse-tung's works enables us to cultivate the proletarian world outlook and so devote ourselves completely to the people and to the revolution, fear neither hardships nor even death, and work wholeheartedly for the majority of the Chinese people and the majority of the people of the world.

Mao Tse-tung's thinking points out to us a clear-cut political direction and enables us to analyse complex situations from a class viewpoint, persist in class struggle and in taking the socialist road, and strive to the end for the great cause of communism.

Mao Tse-tung's thinking teaches us to understand that correct ideas do not drop from the skies nor are they innate in the mind, but come from practice, from class struggle, the struggle for production, and scientific experiment; they come from the masses. By handling things in line with Mao Tse-tung's thinking, through the endless cycle of practice, knowledge and again practice and again knowledge, we are able to gain a fairly correct understanding of the objective world,

discover the laws of class struggle, the struggle for production, and scientific experiment, formulate correct ideas, plans and projects and act in accordance with them to get the anticipated results.

Mao Tse-tung's thinking is the scientific summation of the Party's line, principles, policies and experience in struggle. Our Party's line, principles and policies are all drawn up under the guidance of Mao Tse-tung's thinking. Therefore, we must put Mao Tse-tung's thinking in command in carrying out the Party's line, principles and policies; and in doing so, we must follow his instructions: to start out from the actual situation, master the viewpoint and methods of dialectical materialism in observing and analysing the process of development of objective things, ceaselessly sum up the masses' experience in struggle to enrich and develop the Party's line, principles and policies.

In order to raise the level of work in all areas and departments, it is necessary to persistently put Mao Tse-tung's thinking in command and put politics first, and to solve the question of the relationship between politics and work, between politics and production. It is necessary to really understand that politics is the supreme commander and the soul and that political work is the life-blood of all work. Whatever the nature of the work, we must strictly adhere to the principles of the "four firsts," paying special attention to ideas currently in a person's mind. Practical steps must be taken to correct the mistake of paying attention to work only while neglecting politics, of stressing only production quotas and technical measures while

neglecting class struggle and ideological and political work. We must know that if we do not persist in keeping Mao Tse-tung's thinking in command, in putting proletarian politics first, our work, whatever it may be, will surely stray on to the road of revisionism.

**I**N recent years, a mass movement has risen in China to creatively study and apply Comrade Mao Tse-tung's works. Vast numbers of workers, peasants and soldiers have consciously and directly mastered Marxist-Leninist theory and made it their own sharp weapon in waging class struggle and the struggle for production and in conducting scientific experiment. This is without precedent in human history. The communist spirit of wholehearted service to the people and utter devotion to others without any thought of self, and the philosophical concepts of "one divides into two" and of "the transformation of matter into consciousness and consciousness into matter" have penetrated deep into the minds of the broad masses and are playing an increasingly important part in their struggle to transform their own subjective world and the objective world.

Comrades on all fronts must carry Mao Tse-tung's thinking into effect in their work. We must diligently study Comrade Mao Tse-tung's works and make painstaking efforts to apply what we learn, undertaking study and application over and over again, so as to remould our thinking and improve our work. By putting politics first and always placing Mao Tse-tung's thinking in command in all our work, we will surely be able to continuously make discoveries and inventions, and go on creating and advancing.

## A New Gimmick in the "Peace Talks" Fraud

by "RENMIN RIBAO'S" COMMENTATOR

**U.S.** IMPERIALISM recently has launched a two-pronged offensive on the Vietnam question: It has been steadily escalating its war of aggression while trying hard to hawk its "peace talks" swindle. The Johnson Administration has sought to bring about a "peace talks" situation by war expansion blackmail and at the same time has used "peace talks" as a smokescreen to cover up its moves for a wider war. U.S. imperialism has become quite impudent in applying these counter-revolutionary dual tactics.

The "new call" for "peace talks" made by Washington not long ago through Senator Mansfield is just another trick in the U.S. imperialist counter-revolutionary dual tactics. Is there, after all, anything new in Mansfield's "new call"?

The so-called new call made by U.S. Senate Democratic leader Mansfield on April 18 boils down to two points. 1). "A direct confrontation across a peace

table between ourselves [U.S.] and Hanoi, Peking . . ."; 2). "There would be no better place to locate a peace table of this kind" than in some country in Asia.

Any discerning person can readily see that there is absolutely nothing new in it and that this is purely a worn-out theme of the Johnson Administration—a theme which people are already tired of hearing.

### A Reproduction of Johnson's "Unconditional Discussions"

What is meant by this "direct confrontation"? It is simply a reproduction of the "unconditional discussions" offered by the Johnson Administration more than a year ago. It means asking the Vietnamese people to give up their sacred right to resist aggression, defend their independence and sovereignty and fight

for the reunification of their motherland; it means asking them to sit at a table with the U.S. aggressors whose hands are dripping with the blood of the Vietnamese people, while the United States continues its occupation of south Vietnam and frantic war expansion. It means asking the Chinese people to ignore the issue of right and wrong and renounce their just stand of helping the Vietnamese people carry their struggle against U.S. aggression and for national salvation through to the end, and to assist the United States in carrying out its "peace talks" scheme. In putting forward such an utterly absurd proposal and asking the Vietnamese and Chinese peoples to accept it, Washington is simply day-dreaming.

The talk about "locating a peace table" in some place in Asia is pure nonsense. The Johnson Administration's "peace table" is a trap by which it attempts to gain what it has failed to achieve on the battlefield. Wherever this table may be located, in Europe or Asia, in or outside the United Nations, or anywhere else, it is nothing but a trap. More and more people in all parts of the world are seeing through this "peace talks" deception.

To put it bluntly, Mansfield's "new call" is, therefore, a bluff designed to mislead people. Actually, the stress of the U.S. imperialist activities for its "peace talks" scheme is laid somewhere else.

#### **Errand-Boys for U.S. "Peace Talks" Plot**

To extricate itself from its ever worsening predicament in Vietnam, the Johnson Administration, while intensifying the war, is making use of different channels and people of different shades and hues to peddle its "peace talks" fraud on the quiet.

People have seen that there are quite a number of persons who are willing to offer their services to the U.S. imperialist "peace talks" scheme.

The British Labour Government, which takes care not to lag behind in this respect, has time and again proffered its advice on the question of "peace talks." The Sato government of Japan is most energetic in its service, sending a special envoy to capitals in Asia, Europe and Africa. Co-ordinating with the U.S. effort overtly or covertly, the Indian reactionaries especially try to use India's capacity as Chairman of the International Commission in Vietnam to collude with other commission members to open new channels. U.N. Secretary-General U Thant works in the open and is busy running here and there between North America and Western Europe. All of them are active promoters of the U.S. imperialist "peace talks" swindle.

#### **Soviet Modern Revisionists — No. 1 Salesmen**

It must be pointed out that the Soviet modern revisionists who flaunt the flag of "aid Vietnam against the United States" are the No. 1 salesmen of the U.S. imperialist "peace talks" fraud. During the past year, the Soviet leaders have never ceased their behind-the-scenes activities for these "peace talks." Their clamour for "peace talks" on the Vietnam question has been the

loudest whether at international meetings or in other activities in which they took part or were the sponsors. Right after the recent 23rd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, A.A. Gromyko had an unusual secret talk with the Pope on the Vietnam question. No sooner had the Soviet Foreign Minister stepped out of the Vatican than U.S. "Ambassador" Henry Cabot Lodge stepped in. What is behind this is self-evident. On the Vietnam question, the Soviet modern revisionists have uttered some fine words and have given Vietnam some "aid." Their method in serving the United States has become a little more covert. What they have been actually doing, however, is to co-ordinate with the U.S. imperialist counter-revolutionary dual tactics and peddle the Johnson Administration's "peace talks" formula in an attempt to stamp out the raging revolutionary flames of the Vietnamese people and betray their fundamental interests. No wonder one American bourgeois paper said outright that the Soviet leaders "might become the broker to help us establish an honourable peace in Vietnam."

#### **Johnson Administration in a Tight Spot**

It is not fortuitous that U.S. imperialism has taken such great pains to hawk its "peace talks" plot and that its accomplices and lackeys have worked for it so tirelessly. The U.S. aggressors have never been in such a predicament as the one they have sunk themselves into in Vietnam. The United States has thrown 200,000-300,000 troops into the south Vietnam battlefield; still it has been reduced to a position where it does not have the initiative, and it is getting battered and suffering heavy casualties. Its bombing of north Vietnam has escalated, but the result is that more than 1,000 U.S. aircraft have been shot down. Despite its desperate effort to stabilize the puppet Nguyen Cao Ky regime in the south, this petty ruler's position is shaky and precarious. The Johnson Administration is beset with difficulties at home and abroad and has landed itself in a tight spot. What is in store for it is not a crown of victory but the tolling of the death knell. That is why it is desperately trying to put an end to its predicament and turn the tide of the war. In these circumstances, Mansfield's "new call" and the manoeuvres of monsters of all kinds are all for the purpose of backing the U.S. imperialist policy of occupying south Vietnam and helping the United States get out of the tightening noose round its neck.

But, to whatever extent U.S. imperialism may escalate its war in Vietnam, it will finally collapse in total failure. No matter who may come to Washington's assistance, its "peace talks" manoeuvres will eventually be seen through by more and more people. Those who set themselves against the people will be overthrown by the people, and those who go against the tide of history will be swept away by it. The desperate efforts of U.S. imperialism and its accomplices over the question of Vietnam will only give added impetus to the unity and struggle of the Vietnamese people and other revolutionary peoples, and hasten their own doom.

*("Renmin Ribao," May 5.)*

# China Has Friends All Over the World

**WE** have friends all over the world. Those who are really isolated are U.S. imperialism, the reactionaries of all countries and the Soviet revisionist group." These words were spoken by Vice-Premier Chen Yi at a reception given by the National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference for overseas Chinese and compatriots from Hongkong and Macao and for representatives of China's national minorities who had come to Peking to attend the May Day celebrations.

Vice-Premier Chen Yi, Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and Vice-Chairman of the C.P.P.C.C. National Committee, spoke of the excellent situation at home. He said: "Our great motherland is much stronger than it ever was in the past. Our socialist revolution and socialist construction are developing by leaps and bounds. Full of confidence and in the spirit of self-reliance, the people across the land are building their motherland. Our development has a firm and strong foundation. No matter how the imperialists and reactionaries of various countries may band together to oppose China, no force on earth, however strong, can stop the advance of our great motherland. The days when the Chinese people could not stand with their heads erect before foreigners are gone for ever."

U.S. and other Western propaganda alleges that China has been "isolated," and U.S. Secretary of State Dean Rusk has declared that China's foreign policy has "failed." Concerning this, the Vice-Premier said: "We can tell them straight away that China's foreign policy is correct. We have not failed. We are making more and more friends. China is steadfast in its policies of opposing imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism, assisting the oppressed nations in their struggles for independence, practising peaceful coexistence with Asian, African and Latin American countries with different social systems on the basis of the Five

Principles of Peaceful Coexistence, and carrying out socialist revolution and socialist construction at home. These policies have won the support of the people of the whole country and the praise of the people of the world. Our prestige is rising higher and higher, and this is a fact which can never be changed by the imperialists and a handful of people who oppose China." Quoting Chairman Mao Tse-tung, the Vice-Premier said: "We have friends all over the world."

Chen Yi went on to say: "Mr. Rusk alleges that China has become 'isolated.' But I, as Foreign Minister of China, have not the slightest feeling of isolation. So the question arises: Who, after all, has become isolated? This is really a big question." The Vice-Premier gave the answer: "It is U.S. imperialism and the reactionaries of all countries who are really isolated. We look at the question of whether or not one is isolated from the standpoint of the people of the world. China has the sympathy and support of the people throughout the world. Its diplomatic relations with other countries have developed greatly in recent years. China has established diplomatic relations with 48 countries and economic, trade, cultural and friendly relations with more than 100 countries and regions. This shows that China has more and more friends."

"The people of some countries," he continued, "oppose the foreign policies of their governments. For example, the American people oppose U.S. imperialist aggression against Vietnam and are constantly staging demonstrations against it. Many American soldiers do not want to go to south Vietnam to get killed. This proves that U.S. imperialism has isolated itself by its own policy of aggression. It is U.S. imperialism which is really isolated and which is opposed by the world's people. The Soviet revisionist group tries to beg for peace from U.S. imperialism and to collaborate with it to dominate the world. This policy is unpopular and has met with opposition from

the people of their own country and of the world. The Soviet revisionists have also landed themselves in isolation. We believe that the great Soviet people will not let the revisionist group ride roughshod over them."

The Vice-Premier said that the Chinese people relied on Marxism-Leninism and Mao Tse-tung's thinking and had the unity of 650 million people. "This in itself is not a position of isolation," he said. He thanked all present for their contributions to China's socialist revolution and socialist construction and he proposed a toast to the prosperity of the great motherland and to the health of Chairman Mao, the great leader of the people of all the nationalities of China.

## China-Nepal Agreement

China and Nepal signed an agreement in Peking on May 2 on trade, intercourse and related questions between the Tibet Autonomous Region of China and Nepal.

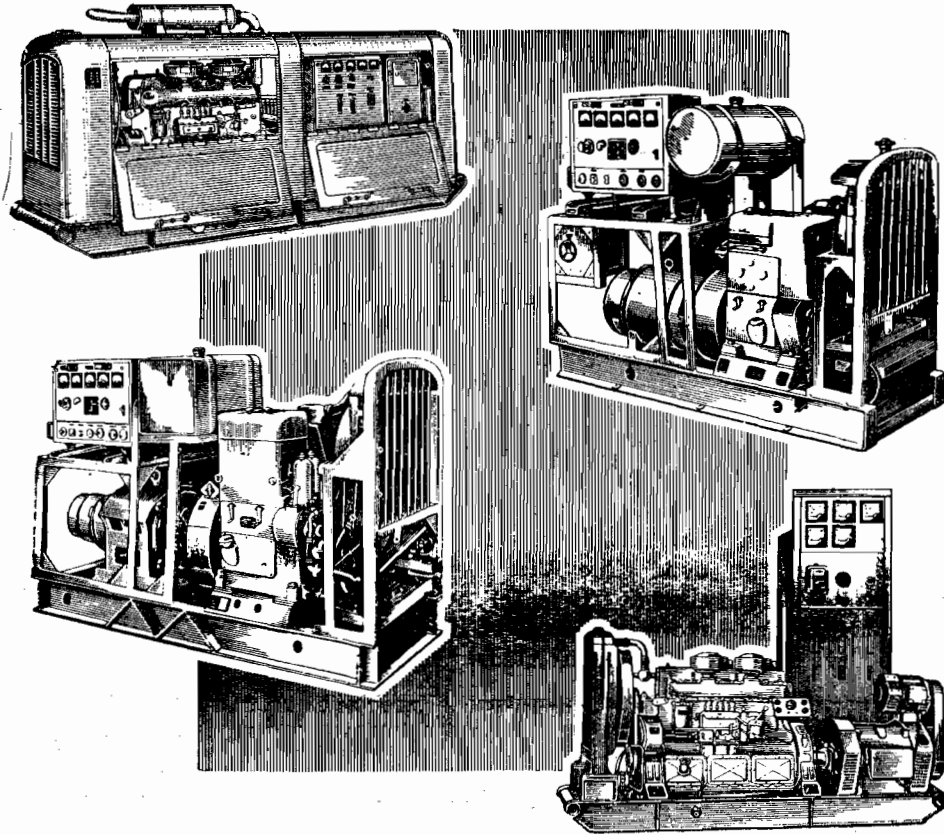
In the spirit of further developing the friendly and good-neighbourly relations between both countries, the two Governments reaffirmed the Five Principles of mutual respect for each other's territorial integrity and sovereignty, non-aggression, non-interference in each other's internal affairs, equality and mutual benefit, and peaceful coexistence as the fundamental principles guiding their relations. Both sides agreed to conclude the present agreement on the basis of the Agreement to Maintain the Friendly Relations Between the People's Republic of China and the Kingdom of Nepal and on Trade and Intercourse Between the Tibet Region of China and Nepal signed by the two Governments on September 20, 1956.

Nagendra Prasad Rijal, who acted as plenipotentiary for the Nepalese Government and is Minister of Industry and Commerce, gave a farewell banquet on the evening of May 2 which was attended by Vice-Premier Chen Yi.

On May Day, Chairman Liu Shao-chi met Minister Rijal and his wife and had a friendly conversation with them.

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