Comrade Mehmet Shehu's Speech At Peking Mass Rally

- Led by the Communist Party of China, the People's Republic of China has become a bastion in defence of Marxism-Leninism and socialism which no force on earth can destroy. Glory for ever belongs to the heroic Communist Party of China and the successor to the cause of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin the great Comrade Mao Tsetung.
- The gigantic battle with imperialism and revisionism is of tremendous and decisive historic significance to human destiny.
- The people's tide of anger against U.S. imperialism is mounting throughout the world and it will sweep U.S. imperialism from the face of the earth. The Albanian people, Party and Government wholeheartedly support the heroic struggle of their brothers in southern and northern Vietnam against the U.S. aggressors, and sternly condemn the so-called "unconditional negotiations" advocated by the imperialists and the Khrushchov and Tito revisionists.

• A real union is being formed ideologically and materially between imperialism and Khrushchov revisionism to oppose the various peoples' struggle for freedom, to oppose socialism and communism and to establish the U.S.-Soviet world hegemony. The Khrushchov revisionists are the biggest saboteurs and splitters in the international communist movement and the anti-imperialist national-liberation movement of all peoples. They are the biggest betrayers of Marxism-Leninism. We will never separate the struggle against modern revisionism from the struggle against imperialism but will carry the struggle to expose revisionism through to the end. Ignominious defeat is in store for modern revisionism and imperialism.

Dear Comrade Chou En-lai, Dear Comrade Teng Hsiao-ping, Dear Brothers and Sisters,

We on the delegation are deeply moved for we have received your brotherly and boundlessly enthusiastic welcome, enjoyed the kind hospitality of the Chinese people and felt the love of the 700 million great Chinese people for us, a love which is as pure as sunlight, as revolutionary as an erupting volcano and as inspiring as the ever-victorious theory of Marxism-Leninism.

We on the delegation feel very much at home here in People's China, which is thousands of miles away from our homeland People's Albania, because both your China and our Albania belong to the revolution and both you and we are loyal revolutionary fighters. We are marching shoulder to shoulder along the great road to socialism and communism. We are holding the same banner, which was made by Marx and Engels and held high by Lenin and Stalin, but trampled underfoot by Khrushchov and his followers, and which has now been held high again by the glorious Chinese Communist Party headed by Comrade Mao Tse-tung, the Albanian Party of Labour headed by Comrade Enver Hoxha and other Marxist-Leninist Parties. We on the delegation are exceedingly happy because today we have the opportunity, on behalf of the people, the Party of Labour and the Government of Albania and Comrade Enver Hoxha himself, to give fraternal and revolutionary salute to you, participants of this grand rally, and through you to the heroic fraternal Chinese people, the great Chinese Communist Party and Comrade Mao Tse-tung, the glorious leader of the Chinese people and great friend of the Albanian people.

The joy. enthusiasm, friendship and militant solidarity so wholeheartedly and passionately expressed by the Chinese people and their outstanding leaders for our people, our Party and our country have filled us with infinite revolutionary ardour and deeply moved us.

The generous hospitality and warm welcome accorded to our delegation by you in different parts of your country are intended for the Albanian people and the Albanian Party of Labour headed by Comrade Enver Hoxha. We sincerely thank you for your high appraisal of the struggle and labour of our people and Party. Our Party and our people have only done their bounden duty as members of the revolutionary ranks on the Marxist-Leninist front. We will convey this great revolutionary friendship to our people and Party, and

May 6, 1966

we assure you that our people, Party and Government will for ever cherish this friendship as a most valuable treasure.

The Albanian Party and people look on the internationalist friendship between Albania and China as a great historic victory along our revolutionary path and for our revolutionary struggle. This friendship has been forged by our two Marxist-Leninist Parties headed respectively by Comrade Mao Tse-tung and Comrade Enver Hoxha. Our friendship is a friendship between peoples. Our unity is Marxist-Leninist unity. Our friendship and unity can in no way be overwhelmed by any storm. They serve the supreme interests of our two peoples, the solidarity of the international communist movement, the great cause of world peace and the struggle of all peoples for freedom. They are noble and great, eternal and inviolable. They are a great blessing for our two peoples and international communism. They strike our enemies - imperialism and revisionism - with awe and plunge them into a quandary. They are based on the theories of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism and on the common struggle of the peoples for socialism and communism.

Our great friendship is daily growing stronger. The unity of our two Parties and countries in ideology and action is being steadily strengthened. The task assigned us by our people, Party and Government is to strengthen the friendship and unity between our two Parties and two peoples. The exchange of visits between the leading cadres of our two countries and Parties has been extremely helpful to the strengthening of the friendship between our two countries. In particular, the visit of Comrades Chou En-lai and Chen Yi and others to Albania in 1954-65 has left behind in Albania a deep memory of friendship and solidarity and further consolidated our great friendship and unbreakable unity.

Small socialist Albania on the Adriatic and big socialist China on the Pacific are an integral whole, for they are bound together by a proletarian internationalist friendship which is not affected by space and geographic environment. It makes no difference between a big country or a small country, between a "big" nation or a "small" nation or between different races, and revolutionary Parties are not categorized into "patriarchal Party" and "filial Party." Common ideals and struggles and Marxism-Leninism have bound them together.

We Albanian people say, "A friend in need is a friend indeed." We are proud of our great friendship with the fraternal Chinese people, who, under the bold and determined leadership of the Communist Party of China, formed a sworn relationship with our country and became our friends and comrades sharing weal and woe in the grave situation and difficult days which our Party and people went through when they repulsed the unbridled attacks by the Khrushchov revisionists, the Titoites and the U.S. imperialists.

Dear brothers and sisters! Allow me, in fulfilment of the task entrusted to me by the Central Committee of our Party, by Comrade Enver Hoxha and the Albanian people and Government, to express hearty thanks and deep gratitude to you — to the Chinese people, the Chinese Communist Party and the Chinese Government — for the precious internationalist and brotherly aid you have given and are giving us generously, which helps us to smash the imperialist and revisionist blockade and push ahead our socialist construction on the basis of the Five-Year Plan for developing the national economy.

Comrades!

Chairman Mao Tse-tung proclaimed the founding of the People's Republic of China on Tien An Men Gate on October 1, 1949. The farther we are from that day of historic significance, the higher is the prestige of the great Chinese revolution. The victory of the great Chinese revolution has completely changed the balance of world forces, tipping it in favour of the people of the whole world striving for socialism and peace.

The great Chinese revolution is a continuation of the great October Socialist Revolution.

China's revolutionary cause has become a great school for revolutionary struggles of world significance and a source of inspiration. China has pointed out the path for all peoples' struggle for freedom and given them courage and confidence. China has demonstrated to the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America — "the countryside of the world" — how to pin down world imperialism and how to shake off the shackles of imperialism by following the example of China's revolutionary struggle.

Liberated from centuries of dark rule, China has inherited a long history and an ancient culture and is showing the stature as an invincible giant, powerful and stalwart, staunch and wise. Those myopic bourgeois, imperialist and revisionist "prophets," who have for many years "predicted" the failure of the China experiment — how piteous and debased they now look before this red giant, China! There is a saying of the Albanian people: "The dogs bark, but the caravan goes on." The Chinese caravan, the socialist caravan, the people's caravan of 700 million is advancing towards socialism and communism with full confidence.

Every time we come to People's China, we see with joy and pride the tremendous progress you, as outstanding fighters for the great cause of socialism and communism, have made within a very short historical period. We see with our own eyes how your beloved country has taken on a completely new look. Old China was a land plagued by poverty, oppression, disasters, famine, disease and natural calamities which took a toll of the lives of millions, a land in which the domestic feudal class and the U.S., Japanese and other foreign imperialists battened on the people. Today, China has become a powerful country in which the people are the masters and which is scaling the heights in science, technology and culture.

Under the leadership of the Party and Comrade Mao Tse-tung, the Chinese people, through their revolutionary and selfless labour, have turned China, which used to be called "the sickman of the East" into a country very powerful politically, economically and militarily. The Chinese people have successfully fulfilled the first two Five-Year Plans, and now they have begun with redoubled energy the fight for the realization of the Third Five-Year Plan. In accordance with the revolutionary principle of self-reliance in building socialism, China is now modernizing her agriculture and raising agricultural production year by year. China's socialist agriculture has become the powerful foundation of her national economy, which guarantees the rise of the people's living standards. China's neighbour - bourgeois India with a population of several hundred million is now in the grips of U.S. imperialism and Khrushchov revisionism, and poverty and famine are snatching the lives of people there. Here lies the contrast between two opposing social systems and ideologies.

China's new industry is making rapid progress. Today, China can manufacture high-quality motorcars, tractors, aeroplanes, ships as well as equipment for metallurgical, mining and chemical industries. power plants, heavy machine-building and the production of high-precision machine-tools, synthetic chemicals and petroleum. China makes her appearance in the world as a country capable of designing and building projects by herself. She is in possession of modernized and rare materials and equipment, such as the 12,000ton hydraulic press and blast furnaces with a volume of over 1,500 cubic metres. More than 95 per cent of the rolled steel and 90 per cent of the industrial machines are home-made. China has attained selfsufficiency in petroleum. She can also manufacture complete sets of equipment for making chemical fertilizers. Her industrial products are of high quality. With their creative talents and omnipotent hands, China's outstanding scientists have manufactured atom bombs for the defence of socialist China, thus breaking the international monopoly of atomic weapons by imperialism and Khrushchov revisionism. People's China is advancing in big strides in all spheres of life and in socialist construction.

These brilliant successes are due to the correct general line of the Chinese Communist Party and the selfless labour of the great Chinese people. The Albanian people regard these achievements and successes as their own, from which they draw inspiration, and they sincerely wish the fraternal Chinese people ever greater achievements and successes.

In the past 17 years, China has appeared on the world arena as a great international force, a great defender and powerful supporter of the people of the world striving for freedom and independence, and an important factor in defence of peace and the security of mankind. Today, she enjoys high fame and prestige among the people of the whole world, particularly among the peoples who rise in armed resistance against imperialist aggression and the peoples on the continents of Asia, Africa and Latin America swept by revolu-

May 6, 1966

tionary storms. With her manpower, economic and military potentials, with her ancient culture and civilization, and with her high-level of science and technology that are successfully overtaking those of developed capitalist countries, People's China has become the powerful mainstay of the forces of socialism and of all peoples striving for freedom. No solution of any major international question is possible today without the participation of People's China. The attempt of U.S. imperialism and the Soviet revisionist leadership to isolate People's China, or to "contain" her in their own words, has failed and will always fail.

People's China has won the sympathy of the people of the whole world by her wise peace-loving foreign policy. Her proposals for easing the international situation and defending peace are known to all. It is clear to all that the People's Republic of China has been waging a firm, principled struggle in support of all peoples' causes of national liberation and social emancipation. The whole world knows that People's China is the initiator and unswerving follower of the well-known Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence among countries with different social systems. China long ago put forward the proposal for making the Pacific region a zone free of atomic weapons and the proposal for a conference of the heads of all countries of the world on the complete prohibition and thorough destruction of nuclear weapons. China has made effective and tremendous contributions to the strengthening of Afro-Asian solidarity and the anti-imperialist front of the people of the world and to the breaking of the shackles of colonialism and neo-colonialism. People's China as a socialist country wholeheartedly loves peace. China does not have a single soldier or a single military base on foreign soil. But the imperialists and their lackeys have set up hundreds of military bases around China and made incessant aggressive provocations against her. The U.S. Government has occupied China's territory of Taiwan by armed force. China's aircraft have not encroached on U.S. air space, but U.S. aircraft have encroached on China's air space and have been shot down. It is the U.S. imperialists and the Khrushchov revisionists who are trying to build an "anti-Chinese wall" and an aggressive "iron encirclement" around People's China, and not People's China that is taking such actions. In spite of all this, the imperialists and revisionists are shamelessly asserting that People's China is "bellicose." It is perfectly natural that they should do all this to us Marxist-Leninists; we must not expect our enemies to say good things about us or present us with bouquets. If the enemies abuse us, that proves we are taking a correct road.

The People's Republic of China is a powerful and sincere champion of all peoples who are fighting to free themselves from the imperialist yoke. She not only renders political and moral support but also gives economic support and tremendous aid to those peoples and countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America, who have freed themselves from the imperialist shackles. People's China is giving such aid not out of self-

interest but out of her sense of internationalist duty, feeling that she must help those countries and peoples selflessly and unconditionally. The only purpose of People's China in rendering economic aid to those countries is to strengthen their economic independence so that they can develop their own national economies by relying on their own efforts and not on foreign capital.

There is a world of difference between the economic aid given by the People's Republic of China to those countries and the so-called aid provided by the U.S. and other imperialists and the Khrushchov revisionists. U.S. imperialist "aid" is aimed not at strengthening the independence of the recipient countries but at controlling them and enslaving their people. This is a new form of colonialism under the label of "aid." The Soviet revisionists will never give you a single ruble of economic aid without conditions attached, such is the case with political and military as well as economic aid. Every U.S. dollar from imperialism, which is stained with the blood of workers, is a wedge down the throat of the people. Every ruble from Khrushchov revisionism is a bomb under the feet of the people. But China's aid is no fraud or trap. She does not seek to dupe or enslave you. China's aid is aid between brothers and between freedom-fighters, it is disinterested. We Albanians are better witnesses than any other people before the whole world, we can testify to the incomparable generosity and unusual sincerity, the true internationalism, the purity of heart and the dignity of the Chinese people. All these are fully embodied in the aid provided by the People's Republic of China to other countries and peoples just as in that provided to the People's Republic of Albania in the past and the present. The people and progressive leaders of all countries highly appraise the sincere and disinterested aid rendered by the People's Republic of Only reactionary and counter-revolutionary China. cliques which rule over the people, only blind slaves of imperialism and Soviet revisionism deny that the economic aid by the People's Republic of China is friendly, disinterested and internationalist in spirit.

The People's Republic of Albania fully supports the foreign policy of peace of the People's Republic of China and believes that Taiwan will be liberated. The day will certainly come when the United Nations, which is now controlled by U.S. imperialism, will respectfully invite the People's Republic of China to take her seat in it. China is having more and more friends. What great Stalin said 40 years ago about the forces of the Chinese revolution will be proved true as it has been up to now. Stalin said, "Those who do not see those forces and do not reckon with them to the degree that they deserve will suffer for this."

Dear brothers and sisters!

Under the leadership of their Party of Labour headed by Comrade Enver Hoxha, the Albanian people, "with a pick in one hand and a rifle in the other," have surmounted the great difficulties caused by the imperialist and revisionist blockade, in the main successfully fulfilled the Third Five-Year Plan, and have now plunged into the labour for the fulfilment of the Fourth Five-Year Plan.

The Fourth Congress of the Albanian Party of Labour in 1961 pointed out that the People's Republic of Albania had built up the economic foundation for socialism and that thereupon it entered a new stage, the stage of the building of socialist society. The fulfilment of the Third Five-Year Plan of 1961-65 marked an important step forward our people took in this stage. At present, Albania is working for the building of a socialist society and for the transformation of Albania from an agricultural-industrial country into an industrial-agricultural one. In our work in building socialism, we adhere to the principle of building socialism through self-reliance.

The total value of industrial output of 1965 was 34.8 times that of 1938 and 139 per cent of that of 1960. During the Third Five-Year Plan period, there was an increase of 26 per cent in oil industry, 68 per cent in power industry, 111 per cent in machine-building industry, 142 per cent in chemical industry, 24 per cent in building material industry, 36 per cent in light industry, 35 per cent in food processing industry, etc.

The total value of agricultural output of 1965 was 228 per cent of that of 1938 and 132 per cent of that of 1960. Although there were serious drought in three years and unprecedented waterlogging in the five years during the Third Five-Year Plan period, grain output still increased by 51 per cent, rice by 29 per cent, cotton by 45 per cent, tobacco by 76 per cent, etc.

During the Third Five-Year Plan period, investment and construction were respectively increased by 43 and 67 per cent over the Second Five-Year Plan period. More than 80 per cent of the investment and construction were those in economic enterprises for the further priority development of the productive forces.

The national income of 1965 was 31 per cent over that of 1960 and five times that of 1935. On the basis of the increase in social products, the cultural level of the people has risen and the people's livelihood has improved.

At the 22nd Congress of the C.P.S.U., N. Khrushchov asserted that the Albanian leaders had been "sold" to imperialism "for thirty pieces of silver." He "predicted" that without his aid, socialist Albania would not be able to stand even for 15 days. And he organized a water-tight and all-round blockade on Albania, a small socialist country. But time is the most impartial and relentless judge. Time has proved that Khrushchov and his successors have sold their souls to U.S. imperialism, that Khrushchov did not stay to see the revisionist 23rd Congress, that the revisionist programme adopted at their 22nd Congress has brought about drastic economic and political failures, and that, on the other hand, the People's Republic of Albania, relying on its own efforts and with the internationalist help from the People's Republic of China, has been successfully building socialism. Far from being a failure, the Third Five-Year Plan of Albania was in the main

successfully fulfilled. The Albanian Party of Labour is proudly preparing to welcome its Fifth Congress, proud as the victor in the struggle against the blockade imposed by the imperialists, the revisionists and Khrushchov and his ilk who have toadied to imperialism. The People's Republic of Albania has achieved all these successes while waging tit-for-tat struggles against U.S. imperialism and its stooges, against Khrushchov revisionists and against the Tito clique which is a dangerous agent of U.S. imperialism and is in power in a neighbouring country of Albania.

The Central Committee of our Party has in recent months adopted a series of important measures, such as: improve the working method and style of state organs, simplify state administrative organs and economic institutions, readjust the ratio between the highest salary and the average wage of the working people, reappoint political commissars in military units and establish the Party committee system in command of all work in the armed forces and abolish military ranks.

The recent resolutions of the Central Committee of our Party, and particularly its open letter to the entire people issued in early March this year, are aimed at putting these measures into practice.

The measures adopted by our Party in the past and at present are aimed at further carrying out the mass line persistently followed by our Party, giving prominence to politics in a more all-round way, further raising the socialist consciousness of the working people, and blocking all sources liable to generate revisionism and vulnerable to the infiltration of bourgeois ideology. The point of departure of our Party is as follows: although the exploiting classes have long been eliminated and an economic foundation has been built for socialism, class struggle is still going on in our country as it is in the world; and so long as class struggle still exists at home and abroad, there is the possibility for the emergence of revisionism and the restoration of capitalism. In order to prevent the repetition in our country of such tragedies as those occurring in the Soviet Union and many other countries where revisionism holds power, our Party has taken and will take all necessary measures on the basis of the theory of Marxism-Leninism and in the light of our concrete conditions.

The People's Republic of Albania pursues a foreign policy of peace. It follows a policy of brotherly cooperation and complete equality towards other socialist countries, unreservedly supports the international working class in its struggle against capitalist oppression, unreservedly supports the oppressed peoples in their struggle for national liberation and against imperialism, and follows a Leninist policy of peaceful coexistence with non-socialist countries. We do not harm others, nor do we allow others to harm us. We consistently stand for the improvement of relations with neighbouring countries, but this is not for us alone to decide.

May 6, 1966

The geographic encirclement by imperialism and revisionism can never isolate Albania. Today, the People's Republic of Albania maintains diplomatic relations with 34 countries and has trade relations with more than 40 countries and regions in the world.

Our enemies are vociferously clamouring for "isolating" Albania. But socialist Albania has never felt alone. It has never been isolated and will never be isolated by any force. The People's Republic of Albania is a peace-loving country. It is an active fighter in the ranks of the people who constitute over 90 per cent of the world's population. The Albanian Party of Labour is an active fighter in the advanced ranks of the world's Marxist-Leninist front formed by the overwhelming majority of Marxist-Leninists in the world. The Albanian people have many allies. Their strongest and truest ally is the 700 million Chinese people, who are "friends in life and death" as our people put it. Everybody should be clear that the friendship and alliance between the People's Republic of China and the People's Republic of Albania are unbreakable and effective at all times, difficult or smooth.

Dear comrades!

We take an optimistic view of the development of world events. Our realistic optimism and our confidence in the victory of all the peoples and of socialism are well based on facts. The facts and the objective development of events show that the balance of world forces is increasingly favourable to socialism and the revolutionary struggle of all peoples and unfavourable to imperialism and modern revisionism. The struggle of the international working class and the fight of various peoples for liberation against imperialism are surging forward wave upon wave, pounding the positions of imperialism with irresistible force.

Imperialism headed by the United States, the most ruthless exploiter of peoples, the international gendarme suppressing the struggle of peoples for freedom, has not been able, and will never be able, to stamp out this struggle or vanquish socialism. We are living in an era when imperialism is approaching its doom. The sharp and irreconcilable contradictions within the imperialists' aggressive alliances and within U.S. imperialism itself are constantly increasing and becoming daily more acute. The days when U.S. imperialism could ride roughshod have gone for ever. Not only the oppressed peoples but its partners too are now defying the orders of U.S. imperialism and openly opposing it. The people's tide of anger against U.S. imperialism is mounting throughout the world and will sweep U.S. imperialism from the face of the earth. The working people in the United States itself have begun to awaken and to oppose the Johnson Administration.

The aggressive nature of the U.S. policies for world domination and for shackling all peoples by terrorist means has become ever more overt. This only shows the weakness and decadence of imperialism, and does not show its strength. In order to bring all peoples

under its rule, U.S. imperialism has used such means as propaganda, espionage, conspiracy, sabotage, secret diplomacy, peace corps, advisers' mission, atomic pressure, social deception, threats and intimidation. More than these, it does not scruple to resort to open aggression and the use of armed force to plunge peoples with their freedom and independence into misery. It has taken the place of German Nazism in the international arena.

Whether in Vietnam or in the Dominican Republic, whether in the Congo or in Laos, U.S. imperialism has been committing armed aggression. But the more imperialism resorts to extremist means in order to prolong its life and maintain its capitalist rule and world hegemony, the worse its predicament, the nearer its doom, the greater its isolation and the stronger the peoples' hatred and opposition against it. By dispersing its troops in all parts of the world, the United States now finds that its own position has changed from one of encircling the peoples of various countries into one of being encircled by them. Today the United States has become more isolated than ever.

The undeniable decadence and weakness of U.S. imperialism has now been revealed clearer in Vietnam than anywhere else in the world through the fraternal Vietnamese people's heroic struggle. U.S. imperialism has thrown its regular troops, modern weapons and its top-notch military personnel into Vietnam in an attempt to strangle and stamp out the Vietnamese people's revolutionary struggle, enslave south Vietnam and bring north Vietnam to its knees so as to turn the whole of Vietnam into a base for U.S. aggression against the People's Republic of China. Ten years have passed. What is the result? Under the leadership of the National Front for Liberation, the south Vietnamese people have carried on heroic and legendary struggles and have now liberated nearly four-fifths of their territory and about ten million people. By their heroic struggle, the south Vietnamese patriots will sooner or later bury the Yankees in the sea. The U.S. aggressors went there to encircle and attack others, but under the blows of the people's forces for freedom, they are now in a position of being encircled and knocked about. The strategy of people's war is triumphing over the imperialist global strategy; the people fighting for freedom are triumphing over the weapons in the hands of the aggressors; the people are defeating the murderers; the Vietnamese people's struggle has exploded the myth that U.S. imperialism is impregnable and invincible. Once again it demonstrates to the people of the world that imperialism looks like a real tiger but is actually only a "paper tiger." The people's war is now digging the grave for it.

The Albanian people, Party and Government highly appraise the international significance of the Vietnamese people's heroic struggle and highly appraise the most valuable, practical, effective, sincere and generous aid given them by the great Chinese people, the loyal ally and brother of the Vietnamese people. The people, Party and Government of Albania consider and feel that the heroic struggle of Vietnam is their own struggle and their own cause. They will always wholeheartedly support their brothers in northern and southern Vietnam as they have done in the past. Our Party and Government fully support the four-point stand of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the five-part statement of the South Vietnam National Front for Liberation, which constitute the only foundation for the correct settlement of the Vietnam question, and sternly condemn the so-called "unconditional negotiations" advocated by the imperialists and the Khrushchov and Tito revisionists, which are only one more scheme against the Vietnamese people.

We are convinced that the Vietnamese people will certainly win complete victory in their heroic struggle by defeating the U.S. aggressors.

Brothers and sisters!

The national-liberation movement of various peoples, the international communist movement and the struggle of the proletariat in capitalist countries have inflicted on imperialism one defeat after another. However, world imperialism headed by the United States is mobilizing all its strength and working everywhere in collusion with its allies and agents, including the Khrushchov and Tito revisionists and all the reactionaries and neo-colonialists. Today, a real union is being formed ideologically and materially between imperialism and Khrushchov revisionism to oppose the various peoples' struggle for freedom, to oppose socialism and communism and to establish the U.S.-Soviet world hegemony.

Renegades like Brezhnev, Kosygin and Suslov of the leading group of the C.P.S.U. have openly collaborated with the U.S. imperialists. They are conducting unbridled activities in all fields, both at home and abroad, in order to serve the global strategy of U.S. imperialism.

The Khrushchov modern revisionists have forfeited the fruits of victory of the great October Socialist Revolution, undermined the dictatorship of the proletariat and replaced it with the dictatorship of the revisionist privileged stratum. They are going backward and leading the Soviet Union to capitalism. They have made the Soviet Union break away from other fraternal socialist countries and fasten it to the chariot of the U.S. imperialist policy. They undermine and split the socialist camp and the international communist movement. They have launched the meanest counter-revolutionary attacks on the Albanian Party of Labour, severed diplomatic relations with Albania and openly schemed to subvert the people's power in Albania. They have openly set themselves against the Chinese people and the Chinese Communist Party, closely colluded with the U.S. imperialists and the reactionaries of all countries, and stopped at nothing in opposing China.

The Khrushchov revisionists have become the biggest saboteurs and splitters in the international communist movement and the anti-imperialist nationalliberation movement of all peoples. They unite with

Peking Review, No. 19

the reactionaries and the Indian bourgeoisie to oppose China and Pakistan; they unite with the Indonesian terrorists and Right-wing generals who are in the service of U.S. intelligence to massacre the Indonesian Communists and masses; they merge with the Tito clique, an anti-communist special detachment of U.S. imperialism, and keep entirely in step with the Tito clique; they unite with the Japanese militarists politically and economically and do their utmost to reach compromise with all the reactionaries in Europe, including the revanchist Germany in Bonn and the Pope in Rome; and they spare no effort to sabotage the Vietnamese people's struggle, just as they sold out the interests of the Congolese people in the past and are ready to sacrifice the interests of the German Democratic Republic, all for the sake of collaboration with imperialism. There is no end to their betrayal.

The revisionist 23rd Congress of the C.P.S.U. is a continuation of the 20th and 22nd Congresses, the only difference being the absence of Khrushchov. It is a congress of Khrushchovism without Khrushchov. However, the 23rd Congress is also one of the weakening and degradation of modern revisionism. It demonstrates that modern revisionism with the Soviet Khrushchovist leadership as its centre is going downhill and, like imperialism, is getting weaker and weaker. The Congress has solved none of the major international questions which affect the interests of the Soviet people under the revisionist rule and the interests of the modern revisionists as well. This indicates the weakness and not the strength of the modern revisionists.

The Soviet Khrushchovist leadership had the impudence to invite the Albanian Party of Labour to send a delegation to the 23rd Congress. We sternly rejected this impudent invitation. To the Albanian Party of Labour, the Khrushchov revisionists are the worst renegades from Marxism-Leninism. They betrayed the Soviet people in the first place, betrayed the fraternal peoples of the socialist camp, the international communist movement and the people of the whole world. Marxism-Leninism teaches us that we must treat enemies and renegades as they deserve. That is what we have been doing and will always do in future. But Brezhnev, Khrushchov's disciple, barefacedly held out an olive branch at the 23rd Congress in an attempt to make us agree with him. Can it be that they are still unaware of our views? We always hold that there is nothing that unites us with the revisionists but everything that separates us from them. We treat them as enemies, not as friends, because they are enemies, not friends. We absolutely must not, and we never will, separate the struggle against modern revisionism from the struggle against imperialism, for the modern revisionists have betrayed Marxism-Leninism, and it is certain that they will not turn back and that the people will dig the grave for them. Struggle between opposing forces is unavoidable and cannot be covered up. Here, two opposite and mutually exclusive ideologies are locked in a struggle. Therefore, there can be no unity between us and the ideology that excludes Marxism-

May 6, 1966

Leninism and no unity between us and revisionism. This is how we look at the problem: Unity of the international communist movement can certainly be achieved, but it can be achieved only in the absence of modern revisionism and in the struggle against it.

A clear line of demarcation between truth and falsehood, between the correct and the crooked, between revolution and counter-revolution and between the peoples and their enemies separates the Marxist-Leninists from the modern revisionists. In the life-anddeath struggle between the two opposing ideologies and between the two opposing worlds, this abysmal gap cannot be concealed either by demagogy or the screen of silence against principled debate. On the ideological questions of principle, there is no peaceful coexistence, silence, conciliation or compromise, nor can there ever be. But there is and will always be principled and uncompromising ideological struggle until Marxism-Leninism has won complete victory over revisionism.

The Albanian Party of Labour will carry the struggle to expose revisionism through to the end. It will for ever stand shoulder to shoulder with the Chinese Communist Party and all true Marxist-Leninist Parties and Marxist-Leninists. It is convinced that final victory will certainly belong to us and to Marxism-Leninism and that ignominious defeat is in store for modern revisionism and imperialism.

Ĵł. After the 22nd Congress of the C.P.S.U., Khrushchov openly unfurled the banner of splitting the socialist camp and the international communist movement, thus speeding up the division within the ranks of the international communist movement. In addition to the Chinese Communist Party, the Albanian Party of Labour and other Marxist-Leninist Parties against modern revisionism in both socialist and non-socialist countries, there have appeared dozens of Communist Parties and Communist and Marxist-Leninist groups, which have broken away from those Communist and Workers' Parties whose leadership is in the hands of the revisionists. These Communist Parties and Marxist-Leninist groups have come into being and grown stronger in the struggle between Marxism-Leninism and modern revisionism in the international communist movement. This is the case with all continents and also with the countries where the revisionists are in power. This shows the growing strength of the Marxist-Leninist front and the decline and disintegration of the revisionist front. The Albanian Party of Labour regards it as its internationalist obligation to support the true Marxist-Leninists against modern revisionism politically and ideologically, hasten the doom of revisionism and win victory for Marxism-Leninism.

In their joint underhand activities U.S. imperialism and Khrushchov revisionism are viciously plotting against the great China, because they know that People's China is the indestructible bastion in defence of people's freedom and of socialism and communism. But what can they do about it? Dark clouds cannot cover up the rising sun. The revolutionary bastion of Mao

Tse-tung's China is impregnable. The more they oppose People's China, the more they expose, isolate and weaken themselves. China has appeared as a socialist giant in the international arena and become the primary factor in the present historical development. In the eyes of the peoples, China assumes an increasingly grand stature, her cause is just and her ideas are pure and radiant. The attempts of imperialism and modern revisionism to isolate, besmirch and vilify China remind us of the story about the bat. Not daring to face the sun. the bat asserts that there is no sun at all in the world. The sun is there nevertheless. The sun of Marxism-Leninism is shining forth brilliantly and will burn to ashes the enemy of all peoples and of socialism.

The Albanian Party of Labour maintains that the greatest contribution of the glorious Communist Party of China and its leader Comrade Mao Tse-tung is to shout "stop" at modern revisionism. This is a contribution in defending Marxism-Leninism and the socialist camp, safeguarding genuine Marxist-Leninist unity and opposing Khrushchov, renegade from the international communist and workers' movement.

Comrade Enver Hoxha, the leader of our Party and our people, said: ". . . we Albanian Communists say with full confidence that under the present circumstances in particular, the existence of the powerful revolutionary People's Republic of China and the existence of the militant and indomitable great Communist Party of China, which is loyal to Marxism-Leninism, and its outstanding leader Comrade Mao Tse-tung are a great blessing for the people of the world and their freedom, for world peace and for the future of Marxism-Leninism and socialism."

Strict adherence to principle, revolutionary firmness, sharp and far-sighted observation, indomitable communist spirit in surmounting all difficulties, uncompromising attitude towards unprincipled conciliation and capitulationist sentiments, the materialist dialectical method in examining things and phenomena and firm stand towards friend and foe — all these are characteristics shown by the Chinese Communist Party in its struggle of world historic significance to defend Marxism-Leninism and socialism against contamination by the revisionists in their betrayal. This great historic struggle has unprecedentedly borne out the powerful strength of People's China and its Communist Party. Led by the Communist Party headed by Comrade Mao Tse-tung, the People's Republic of China has really become an impregnable "Great Wall" and a bastion of socialism which no force on earth can destroy. The U.S. imperialists and the modern revisionists are very much upset for not being able to break through this "Great Wall" and destroy this bastion. Glory for ever belongs to the heroic Communist Party of China and the successor to the cause of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin — the great Comrade Mao Tse-tung.

The open polemics conducted by the Chinese Communist Party to expose the acts of betrayal on the part of the modern revisionists is a contribution of great historic significance to the international communist movement. The Khrushchov revisionists are frightened out of their wits by the open polemics and they dread it as the devil dreads the cross. Why is it so? It is because they cannot possibly refute the indisputable facts on which the Chinese Communist Party, the Albanian Party of Labour and other Parties adhering to Marxism-Leninism based themselves in conducting the open and principled polemics. That was why the Khrushchov revisionist clique dared not face up to their relationship with the Chinese Communist Party and the Albanian Party of Labour at the 23rd Congress, but instead pleaded with us for cessation of polemics and for "peace."

The Albanian Party of Labour holds that at present, and particularly after the 23rd Congress of the C.P.S.U., principled public polemics is the most powerful and indispensable means for Marxist-Leninists to combat the acts of betrayal on the part of the Khrushchov revisionists. For the latter now needs more than ever to cease the polemics and make "peace," so that they may prepare themselves for renewed attacks and have enough time to plot new schemes and new acts of betrayal against Marxism-Leninism and socialism. The 23rd Congress was a meeting held by the Khrushchov revisionists at a time of the bankruptcy of revisionism, when the revisionist front was beating a general retreat under the heavy blows of the open and principled polemics conducted by the Chinese Communist Party, the Albanian Party of Labour and other Marxist-Leninist Parties. The "unity" they advertise is a fraud.

The revisionists are crying that "China has isolated herself." Is China really isolated as they cry? Is Albania really isolated? No, it is neither China nor Albania, but the revisionists, who are isolated. Such isolation has greatly upset them. It is precisely because they have been isolated by the peoples and Communists under their domination that they are noisily crying for "unity." But like the imperialists, the revisionists are subject to the law of dialectics: the people's enemies have changed from those encircling others into those being encircled, from the rulers into the ruled and from the attackers into the attacked. That is why the Khrushchovites cry for "unity," and that is why Lyndon Johnson cries for "unconditional negotiations," for both of them have landed in a position of being encircled and isolated and both are greatly upset.

The people and proletariat of all countries and socialism are engaged in a gigantic battle with imperialism and its revisionist lackeys. This great struggle is of tremendous and decisive historic significance to human destiny and to socialism and communism. This is an arduous and protracted but glorious struggle. It is a struggle between the two worlds: the capitalist world—a poisonous snake on the verge of an abyss and unable to escape punishment for its crimes—on the one hand and socialism, communism and all oppressed peoples on the other. The future belongs to the latter. In order to win freedom, justice and human dignity, to defend the lofty ideals of Marxism-Leninism and to defend socialism and communism, no sacrifice is made in vain. The more tempestuous the people's anti-imperialist storm, the heavier the blows at modern revisionism, reaction and renegades and the closer the unity of the ranks of Marxist-Leninists and the peoples fighting for freedom, the sooner and more assured, the greater and more complete will be the final victory of socialism over capitalism.

Glory to ever-victorious Marxism-Leninism!

Glory to the valiant Chinese Communist Party and its great leader Comrade Mao Tse-tung!

Long live the 700 million fraternal Chinese people who are builders of socialism and heroic fighters for the freedom of all peoples and for the great cause of socialism and communism!

Long live the eternal and unbreakable friendship between Albania and China!

Long live Marxist-Leninist and all other revolutionary forces of the world!

Comrade Chou En-lai's Speech at Peking Mass Rally

- The Albanian Party of Labour headed by Comrade Enver Hoxha, holding aloft the great revolutionary banner of Marxism-Leninism, represents the hope of the hundreds of millions of European people and symbolizes the future of Europe.
- The revolutionary people of the world are now carrying on an intense struggle against U.S. imperialism and its lackeys. U.S. imperialism is beset with difficulties both at home and abroad and is encircled ring upon ring by the revolutionary people of the world. Although the desperate struggles of the imperialists and reactionaries of various countries may make a lot of noise for a time, they cannot in any way change the course of development of world history. In order to extricate itself from its predicament on the Vietnam question, U.S. imperialism, on the one hand, is rapidly escalating the war and, on the other, is frenziedly playing the trick of "peace talks." We wish to warn the U.S. imperialists: you can never succeed in your peace talks fraud, and if you expand the war, even more disastrous defeats are in store for you.
- The leading group of the C.P.S.U. is much worse than Khrushchov. It has degenerated into a renegade from Marxism-Leninism and an accomplice of U.S. imperialism. At the 23rd Congress, it continued to use its dual tactics of sham opposition but real capitulation to imperialism, sham revolution but real betrayal and sham unity but real split in an attempt to deceive the people of the Soviet Union and the whole world. All its fine words about "unity against imperialism" are false and they end on the keynote of uniting with U.S. imperialism and its hatchetmen to oppose China, Albania and all revolutionary people. The fundamental essence of the leading group of the C.P.S.U. is adherence to Khrushchov's revisionist general line.

Dear Comrade Mehmet Shehu, Dear Comrade Hysni Kapo, Dear Comrades of the Albanian Party and Government Delegation, Comrades and friends,

Today, we people of all circles in the capital are holding a grand rally here to welcome the Albanian Party and Government Delegation headed by Comrade Mehmet Shehu. Comrades Shehu and Kapo, our distinguished guests, are outstanding leaders of the Albanian people and the closest comrades-in-arms of Comrade Enver Hoxha. They have brought us the great revolutionary friendship of the entire Albanian people, which is a great encouragement and support to our people. In the name of the Communist Party, the Government and the people of China I extend a warm welcome to the illustrious envoys of the Albanian people.

May 6, 1966

The Albanian people are a heroic people. The People's Republic of Albania was born amidst the raging flames of the fight against the fascist aggressors and grew up in the storm of revolution against imperialism and its lackeys. The Albanian Party of Labour headed by Comrade Enver Hoxha is a long-tested, truly revolutionary Marxist-Leninist Party. It has led the Albanian people in holding high the banner of revolution and steadily pushing forward the cause of socialist revolution and socialist construction. It has resolutely opposed modern revisionism with the leading group of the C.P.S.U. as its centre, thus setting a glorious example for all Marxist-Leninist Parties. It has been loyal to proletarian internationalism and resolutely opposed imperialism headed by the United States, and given allout support to the revolutionary struggles of all oppressed peoples and nations. Such a people, such a