

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!

(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