LONG LIVE MAO TSE-TUNG'S THOUGHT

"Renmin Ribao" editorial commemorating the 45th anniversary of the founding of the Communist Party of China.
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Chairman Mao Tse-tung, the great leader of the Chinese people
Long Live Mao Tse-tung's Thought

—in Commemoration of the 45th Anniversary of the Founding of the Communist Party of China

Today we commemorate the 45th anniversary of the founding of the Communist Party of China in the midst of the upsurge of China's great proletarian cultural revolution, in an excellent situation of magnificent revolutionary struggle of the people all over the world.

Our Party is a great, glorious and correct Party.

Our Party, founded and nurtured by Comrade Mao Tse-tung personally, is a Party armed with Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's thought, a proletarian revolutionary Party that integrates theory with practice, maintains close ties with the masses of the people and has the spirit of conscientious self-criticism, a proletarian revolutionary Party which has gone through the most acute, the most arduous, the most protracted and the most complex struggles in revolutionary history.

Throughout the 45 years of our Party's history, Comrade Mao Tse-tung has closely integrated the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution and the world revolution. Our Party's great victories during those 45 years are the great victories of Mao Tse-tung's thought.

Mao Tse-tung's thought has been developed in the course of the practice of our people's democratic revolution, socialist revolution and socialist construction; it has been developed in the struggle of our Party and the Marxist-Leninists of various countries against imperialism and modern revisionism; it has been developed in the course of summing up the new experiences in the struggle of the oppressed people and oppressed nations against imperialism and the reactionaries of various countries; it has been developed in the course of summing up the new experiences in international proletarian revolution and proletarian dictatorship since the Great October Socialist Revolution; it has been developed in the course of drawing the grave, painful lesson from the fact that the Soviet Khrushchov clique has usurped Party, army and government leadership and has led the Soviet Union from the socialist system on to the road of restoration of capitalism.

A revolutionary leader like Comrade Mao Tse-tung who has undertaken such protracted, complex, acute and many-sided struggles is rare in history, just as Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin were. Precisely because Comrade Mao Tse-tung is on all occasions supremely skilled at applying Marxist-Leninist dialectical and historical materialism in summing up the new experiences in all kinds of revolutionary struggles, Mao Tse-tung's thought has been and is the sole correct guiding principle in the different stages of the Chinese revolution and a powerful ideological weapon of revolution in the hands of the oppressed people and oppressed nations against imperialism, modern revisionism and all reactionaries.

Mao Tse-tung's thought is Marxism-Leninism inherited and developed with genius, creatively and in an all-round way in the era in which imperialism is approaching complete collapse and socialism is advancing to victory all over the world; it is the acme of Marxism-Leninism in the present era; it is living Marxism-Leninism at its highest. Comrade Mao Tse-tung is the greatest Marxist-Leninist of the present era.

Lenin once said that Marxism "has had to fight for every step forward in the course of its life." Mao Tse-tung's thought has been developed in the struggle against all sorts of powerful enemies, in China and abroad, and it has also been developed in the struggle against various opportunist ideas within the Party.

There has been a red Marxist-Leninist line, with Mao Tse-tung's thought as its guiding principle, running right through the long history of our Party ever since it was founded. Throughout the period of democratic revolution, the Party's correct line represented by Comrade Mao Tse-tung engaged in serious struggle with Right opportunist lines on two occasions and with "Left" opportunist lines on three occasions. Comrade Mao Tse-tung's position of leadership over the whole Party was established at the Tsanui Meeting in January, 1935. As a result of the rectification campaign which went on throughout the Party from 1942 onwards, the Party's Seventh National Congress in 1945 established Mao Tse-tung's thought as the guiding ideology for our whole Party, the guiding principle for all the work of the Party.

At the Party's Seventh National Congress, Comrade Liu Shao-chi pointed out: Comrade Mao Tse-tung "is a creative Marxist of genius." The emergence and development of Mao Tse-tung's thought "is the greatest achievement and glory of our Party and the Chinese people in their long struggles and it will be a boon to our nation for generations and generations." And "it will make great and useful contributions to the struggle for the emancipation of the people of all..."
countries in general, and of the nations in the East in particular."

The founding of the People's Republic of China marked the entry of our country into a new era, that of socialist revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat. The socialist revolution is a revolution for the complete abolition of the exploiting classes and private ownership; it is incomparably more profound and incomparably broader than the democratic revolution. After the socialist transformation of the ownership of the means of production is completed in socialist society, classes and class contradictions still remain. Although the form of class struggle has changed, the class struggle does not end. During the period of the dictatorship of the proletariat, there is extremely complicated and sharp class struggle. The class enemy at home and abroad harbours bitter hatred towards our socialist cause. At home, the exploiting classes which have already been overthrown and are being gradually eliminated put up a desperate fight, desperate resistance. They still exist, and they are not reconciled to their defeat. They work in collusion with the new bourgeois elements that emerge, and constantly try to stage a counter-revolutionary come-back. Imperialism, modern revisionism and the reactionaries of all countries are constantly plotting in all sorts of ways to attack, to undermine, to disintegrate, and to subvert our socialist system. And this acute domestic and international class struggle is inevitably reflected within our Party.

In the 16 years since the founding of our People's Republic, the Marxist-Leninist leadership of the Central Committee of the Party headed by Comrade Mao Tse-tung has waged three big struggles against anti-Party revisionist cliques.

The first was against the anti-Party alliance of Kao Kang and Jao Shu-shih.

This struggle took place in 1953, at the crucial moment when China's socialist revolution began to develop on a large scale. The Party at that time put forward the general line for socialist industrialization and the socialist transformation of agriculture, handicrafts and capitalist industry and commerce. In this situation, in which class relations in our country were undergoing violent change and the class struggle was extremely tense, these ambitious careerists and conspirators Kao Kang and Jao Shu-shih, agents of the bourgeoisie who had wormed their way into the Party, could no longer restrain themselves. Working energetically at their conspiratorial activities, they made a vain attempt to seize the highest Party and state power, in order to bring about a bourgeois counter-revolutionary come-back. The Central Committee of the Party headed by Comrade Mao Tse-tung fought these counter-revolutionary elements resolutely. And at the Fourth Plenary Session of the Seventh Central Committee of the Party in 1954, and at the Party conference in 1955, this anti-Party alliance was thoroughly exposed and smashed.

Thanks to the victory in this struggle, the whole Party rallied still more closely under the banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought and around the Party's Central Committee headed by Comrade Mao Tse-tung, thus ensuring the great victory in socialist transformation.

The second big struggle was against another small handful of people of a Right opportunist, or revisionist, anti-Party clique.

In 1958, the Central Committee of the Party headed by Comrade Mao Tse-tung put forward the general line of going all out, aiming high and achieving greater, faster, better and more economical results in building socialism. Inspired by it, the people of the whole country buoyantly went forward in a great new upsurge of socialist revolution and socialist construction. This was a new great leap forward. In the course of this great leap forward the people's communes emerged throughout the country's rural areas. Our Party's general line for building socialism, and our people's great leap forward and the people's communes which emerged under the guidance of this general line, threw the imperialists, the modern revisionists and the reactionaries at home and abroad into a great panic and aroused their greatest hatred, so that they launched a concerted and frenzied attack on us. At the Lushan meeting of the Party in 1959, a handful of ambitious bourgeois careerists and schemers who had wormed their way into our Party and who had the support of the Khruschev revisionist clique launched a ferocious attack on the Party's Central Committee headed by Comrade Mao Tse-tung. They put forward a thoroughly revisionist programme intended to replace the Party's general line for building socialism, in the vain hope of dragging our country back on to the capitalist road.

Under the leadership of Comrade Mao Tse-tung and the Party's Central Committee, our Party rose in unison and dealt this anti-Party clique a resolute rebuff, thoroughly smashing its schemes and safeguarding the correct leadership of the Party's Central Committee headed by Comrade Mao Tse-tung, safeguarding the Party's unity and its general line for building socialism. This was followed by one victory of our people after another on all fronts. The seeds sown in the great leap forward in 1958 and 1959 have been proved to bear abundant fruits.

The victory in the struggle in 1959 against the anti-Party clique of Right opportunists was another great victory for Mao Tse-tung's thought. It was of great historic significance in our country's advance along the road of socialism.

The third big struggle is the one against the recently exposed counter-revolutionary clique which opposes the Party, opposes socialism and Mao Tse-tung's thought.

These anti-Party elements are representatives of the bourgeoisie who sneaked into the Party, government, army and cultural departments and usurped important posts. They are more insidious and cunning in their activities than the two previous anti-Party cliques which had been crushed. For a long period, they waved
"red flags" to oppose the red flag and donned the cloak of Marxism-Leninism, of Mao Tse-tung's thought to oppose Marxism-Leninism, to oppose Mao Tse-tung's thought. They put up the deceptive signboard of supporting the Party and socialism, while carrying on counter-revolutionary intrigues against the Party and against socialism.

The question of the great proletarian cultural revolution came to the fore with the gradual deepening of our country's socialist revolution and the step-by-step development of the socialist education movement. Taking the reactionary stand of the bourgeoisie, this counter-revolutionary clique did their utmost to resist and oppose the line of the great socialist cultural revolution formulated by the Central Committee of the Party and Comrade Mao Tse-tung, to resist and oppose the guiding principle on the question of classes and class struggle in socialist society put forward by Comrade Mao Tse-tung at the Tenth Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee of the Party, and to oppose the carrying through to the end of the socialist revolution. From a number of important positions under their control in the fields of journalism, education, art and literature, in the academic field and in publishing and other branches of culture, they waged an all-out class struggle for the bourgeoisie against the proletariat, spread bourgeois, revisionist poison widely and launched frantic attacks against Mao Tse-tung's thought, against the Party's Central Committee headed by Comrade Mao Tse-tung, and against the socialist system. They tried in a hundred and one ways to shield the bourgeoisie Right, attack the proletarian revolutionaries, suppress the revolutionary movement of the worker, peasant and soldier masses, and resist and sabotage the great proletarian cultural revolution. They reached out to grab power in the Party, army and government. Their aim was to usurp the leadership of the Party, army and government and to restore capitalism. Once conditions ripened, they would have staged a counter-revolutionary coup d'etat like the one staged by Khrushchev.

And their efforts to seize hold of the pen had the sole purpose of preparing public opinion for the restoration of capitalism and a counter-revolutionary coup.

The thorough exposure and smashing of this counter-revolutionary clique in the great proletarian cultural revolution is an immense new victory for Mao Tse-tung's thought. It is a great event, ensuring the continuous development of China's socialist revolution, consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat, preventing a usurpation of leadership by revisionism and a come-back of capitalism, preventing a counter-revolutionary coup and counter-revolutionary subversion, a great event affecting the destiny of the whole Chinese people and, broadly speaking, also the destiny of the people of the world.

The three big struggles that have occurred inside our Party in the last 16 years have been struggles between Mao Tse-tung's thought and ideas which are against Mao Tse-tung's thought, struggles between the Marxist-Leninist line and the revisionist line, between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, and between the road of socialism and the road of capitalism.

Chairman Mao Tse-tung has said: "Opposition and struggle between ideas of different kinds constantly occur within the Party; this is a reflection within the Party of contradictions between classes and between the new and the old in society. If there were no contradictions in the Party and no ideological struggles to resolve them, the Party's life would come to an end." He has also pointed out: "Class struggle is an objective matter which is independent of men's will. This means that it is inevitable and that it is impossible to avoid even if men want to. One can only guide it along its course of development and so wrest victory."

It is perfectly normal and in accord with objective laws that, after each big struggle, our Party has purified itself of the handful of the alien class elements who had wormed their way into it. Our Party has become ever more united and consolidated and its combat strength has increased following each of these struggles. Here there is no straw for imperialism, modern revisionism and the domestic and foreign reactionaries to clutch at, and it is futile for them to dream of it.

The three big struggles that have occurred inside our Party in the last 16 years show that the criminal activities of the anti-Party cliques were all directed towards staging counter-revolutionary coups and transforming the dictatorship of the proletariat into a dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. If their criminal schemes had not been exposed, they would undoubtedly have struck a vicious blow against the people.

If their schemes had succeeded, the proletarian state power, the state power of the people, gained after the sacrifice of so much blood over scores of years of fighting, would have been ruined overnight, and our people would again have been oppressed and exploited and made to live like beasts of burden. Imperialism would have made a come-back, Khrushchev revisionism would have ridden roughshod over us, and our country would once again have been reduced to a colony or semi-colony.

We Communists, the revolutionary proletariat and all who support the socialist system and the dictatorship of the proletariat, must not take such matters lightly; we must deal with them very seriously. We are entirely capable of seeing through and exposing these anti-Party cliques and thwarting their schemes, because our Party is one which has conducted revolution under the leadership of Comrade Mao Tse-tung for decades, because our Party is armed with Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's thought, and is of the same flesh and blood as the masses and rich in revolutionary experience. There is nothing much to these anti-Party elements. Once their schemes are exposed, they are immediately besieged by the broad masses of the people and seen as the paper tigers that they really are.

The great thought of Mao Tse-tung is the biggest barrier to the schemes of all anti-Party cliques trying
to stage a counter-revolutionary coup d'état. Consequently, they always direct their attacks against it. When there is any mention of Mao Tse-tung's thought, they get upset, start swearing and cursing, fly into a rage and even get quite hysterical, just like the imperialists and the Khrushchev revisionists. Whoever supports Mao Tse-tung's thought and advocates the study of it, is bound to meet with opposition and attacks from them; they spread rumours and slanders and are capable of anything, however foul. They especially fear the direct grasp of Mao Tse-tung's thought by the masses of workers, peasants and soldiers. They oppose the creative study and application of Chairman Mao's works by the masses of workers, peasants and soldiers, labelling it as "over-simplification," "philistinism" and "pragmatism." They issue prohibitions and bans to make Mao Tse-tung's thought inaccessible to the masses of workers, peasants and soldiers. However, the more they prohibit, ban and oppose, the more enthusiastically the masses of workers, peasants and soldiers show their love for Chairman Mao's works and study them with the greatest eagerness.

The historical experience of our Party during the past 45 years proves that Mao Tse-tung's thought is the soul and the source of life of our Party. The ambitious anti-Party careerists who plot to usurp Party, army and government power must debate, distort, attack and oppose Mao Tse-tung's thought. And to ensure that our Party never degenerates and our country never changes colour, we must always take Mao Tse-tung's thought as our Party's guiding ideology, as the common ideological foundation of unity and revolution for the entire Party. This is true today and will remain true a hundred or a thousand years from now, it will remain true for ever. One's attitude towards Mao Tse-tung's thought is the yardstick distinguishing the genuine revolutionary from the sham revolutionary and the counter-revolutionary, the Marxist-Leninist from the revisionist. Anyone who opposes Mao Tse-tung's thought, now or in the future, will be a mortal enemy of the revolution and the people and will be condemned by the whole Party and denounced by the whole nation.

As early as 21 years ago, Comrade Liu Shao-chi pointed out to the whole Party: "The important task now is to mobilize the entire Party to study and disseminate Mao Tse-tung's thought and to arm our membership and the revolutionary people with it, so that it becomes an irresistible force in practice."

Comrade Chou En-lai has said: "Arming our cadres and working people with Mao Tse-tung's thought is a vital prerequisite for carrying our socialist revolution forward to the end and for the smooth progress of our socialist construction. It is also the fundamental way to overcome bourgeois ideology, revisionism and dogmatism and prevent their emergence."

Comrade Lin Piao has pointed out: "China is a great socialist state of the dictatorship of the proletariat and has a population of 700 million. It needs unified thinking, revolutionary thinking, correct thinking. That is Mao Tse-tung's thinking." "It is essential to imbue the workers and peasants with Chairman Mao's thought through the creative study and application of his works. Only so can the mental outlook of the working people be changed and spiritual forces be transformed into tremendous material strength."

Comrade Teng Hsiao-ping has pointed out: "Our Party's greatest merit is that it has the guiding ideology represented by Mao Tse-tung's thought. Mao Tse-tung's thought has stood the test of history. The Chinese revolution was led to victory by no other set of ideas than Mao Tse-tung's thought. And since the victory of the revolution, it is under the guidance of Mao Tse-tung's thought that our socialist revolution and socialist construction have achieved such great successes and are continuously and triumphantly forging ahead."

The Chinese People's Liberation Army, personally founded by Comrade Mao Tse-tung, is an instrument of the dictatorship of the proletariat, loyal to the Party and loyal to the people. The People's Liberation Army launched the movement to creatively study and apply Chairman Mao's works, in response to the call issued by the Military Commission of the Central Committee of the Party and Comrade Lin Piao to "study Chairman Mao's works, follow his teachings, act in accordance with his instructions, and be good soldiers of Chairman Mao." This is a great initiative and has already had immeasurable effect.

The movement by hundreds of millions of the worker, peasant and soldier masses for the creative study and application of Chairman Mao's works is gaining momentum. It is a monumental ideological revolutionary movement unprecedented in human history. It is a tremendous popularization of Marxism-Leninism such as has never been known before. A vast country with a quarter of the world's population is becoming a vast school for the study of Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's thought. When there are several hundred million people armed with Mao Tse-tung's thought, and millions of successors to the proletarian revolutionary cause armed with Mao Tse-tung's thought, then we shall be able to carry our socialist revolution through to the end, lead our country step by step through the transition from socialism to communism, and make still greater contributions to the world revolution.

The broad masses of the workers, peasants and soldiers, the revolutionary cadres and the revolutionary intellectuals must unite closely around the Party's Central Committee and Comrade Mao Tse-tung and resolutely adhere to the instructions of the Party's Central Committee: Remember, never forget, class struggle; remember, never forget, the dictatorship of the proletariat; remember, never forget, to give prominence to politics; remember, never forget, to hold high the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought.

Long live the great Communist Party of China!
Long live the great leader, Chairman Mao!
Long live the great and invincible Mao Tse-tung's thought!

("Renmin Ribao" editorial, July 1.)

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The Sunlight of the Party Illuminates the Road
Of the Great Cultural Revolution

UNDER the correct leadership of the Chinese Communist Party and Chairman Mao Tse-tung, the current great proletarian cultural revolution in our country, a revolution without parallel in history, is gaining victory step by step.

Chairman Mao has said: "The force at the very core that leads our cause is the Communist Party of China."

It is only under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party that the Chinese people can be victorious in all their undertakings and struggles.

The victory of the democratic revolution which toppled the "three great mountains" was won under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party.

All the great achievements in the socialist revolution and socialist construction have been brought about under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party.

Likewise, it is only under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party that the great proletarian cultural revolution is able to triumph.

In short, without the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party it is absolutely impossible for our country to become prosperous, rich and strong and establish the great socialist system free from exploitation of man by man. To think that these things could be achieved without such leadership would be a pure illusion.

Our Party has the great and invincible Mao Tse-tung's thought as the ideological basis for the unity of the whole Party and the revolution, and it has the firm and powerful leadership of its Central Committee at the core of which is Chairman Mao.

Our Party is built in accordance with Chairman Mao's ideas on Party building and his revolutionary style, and it is a proletarian revolutionary Party, one that integrates theory with practice, closely links itself with the masses and has the spirit of self-criticism.

Our Party has developed, grown and been consolidated in the course of struggle against powerful enemies both at home and abroad and against opportunism of all kinds within the Party, and has gone through the severe tests of protracted revolutionary struggles.

Our Party is one that, guided by Mao Tse-tung's thought, has experienced countless hardships with al-

* Imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism. — Tr.

July 1, 1966

most no equal in world history, skilfully steering past hidden shoals in fierce tempests and advancing from victory to victory.

Our Party enjoys the greatest prestige, unshakable prestige, among the people. Our Party represents the highest interests of the proletariat and the broad masses of the working people, and its relationship with the masses of the people is, as Chairman Mao says, like that between fish and water.

Therefore, our Party is worthy of being called a great Party, a glorious Party, a correct Party.

Under the leadership of the Party's Central Committee and Chairman Mao, the overwhelming majority of our Party organizations at all levels, and of our Party members and cadres are good and loyal to the proletariat, to the cause of communism, and to Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's thought. Although some Party members and Party organizations to one degree or another have manifested shortcomings and made mistakes, many of them will be able to rectify these through criticism and self-criticism with the help of the Party and the masses and under their education and supervision.

During the period of the socialist revolution and socialist construction, class struggle is still very acute, and the struggle between the socialist road and the capitalist road is extremely sharp and, furthermore, is protracted. The class struggle and the struggle between the two roads in society are inevitably reflected within our Party. To Marxists, this is nothing strange, but a normal phenomenon conforming to objective laws.

In our Party there is a small handful of anti-Party and anti-socialist representatives of the bourgeoisie. They are class enemies who have sneaked into our ranks or those degenerated elements who have been drawn away from our ranks. They usurped leadership in a number of units and departments. Such things have happened in the past, they have been found to exist now and they may occur again in the future. The fact that the Party can mobilize the masses to uncover them, dismiss such people from office, strip them of their power and resolutely remove them from our ranks testifies to the strong militancy, the unity and the consolidation of our Party.

The great proletarian cultural revolution is a revolution against the ideology of the bourgeoisie and all exploiting classes. As Chairman Mao has said, this is a great revolution that touches the peo-
ple to their very souls. This great cultural revolution is not only a sharp class struggle in society, but, within the Party, it is bound to encounter resistance from those who have not joined the Party ideologically but cling stubbornly to bourgeois ideas.

The touchstone for every member of society, testing whether he supports the dictatorship of the proletariat and the socialist system or not, is his attitude towards the great cultural revolution.

Every Party organization and every Party member will be tested in this great cultural revolution.

The leadership of the Chinese Communist Party armed with Mao Tse-tung's thought is the fundamental guarantee for victory in the great proletarian cultural revolution.

The great cultural revolution can take the correct direction, the revolutionary people can see and think clearly and the movement can develop in a healthy way only with the correct leadership of the Party.

Correct leadership by the Party means being good at following the mass line of "from the masses and to the masses," being good at consulting the masses, listening to their opinions, distinguishing right from wrong and dealing with different things in different ways.

Correct leadership by the Party means relying on the resolute proletarian revolutionaryists, expanding the ranks of the Left, winning over the greatest majority, isolating and splitting up the minority and dealing blows with concentrated force against the diehard anti-Party and anti-socialist counter-revolutionary elements, who account for only a few per cent.

Correct leadership by the Party means constantly raising the proletarian political consciousness of the masses, adopting for the great majority the policy of unity-criticism-unity* and, through the movement, in the end uniting over 95 per cent of the people, including those Party members and non-Party people who have committed mistakes but are willing to correct them and admit the error of their ways.

All good Party members, good functionaries and good Party organizations should courageously take part in this revolution, arm themselves further with Mao Tse-tung's thought and lead the mass movement of this cultural revolution well. They should stand in the van of the movement and among the masses and not be afraid of them or dampen their enthusiasm.

As for some of the leading functionaries in our Party organizations at all levels, if they are not anti-Party and anti-socialist they should come to the battlefront without any mental burdens. They should be courageous in self-examination of their shortcomings and mistakes, and open-mindedly accept criticism from the masses. They should not become disgruntled and disheartened just because the masses have posted a few big-character posters and voiced some opinions.

Our Party and the masses of the people are proud of the guidance of the great Mao Tse-tung's thought and are proud of the leadership of the Central Committee of the Party armed with Mao Tse-tung's thought.

Chairman Mao Tse-tung's theory of classes, class contradictions and class struggle in the period of socialism is a new development of Marxism-Leninism. It is a proletarian revolutionary truth that has been tested and confirmed again and again. It is the irrefutable proletarian revolutionary science. This proletarian revolutionary science has been developed in the course of the practice of our socialist revolution and socialist construction. It has been developed in the struggle waged by our Party and the Marxist-Leninists of other countries against imperialism and modern revisionism. It has been developed through the serious and painful lesson that the Khrushchev clique of the Soviet Union usurped Party, army and government leadership in that country and led it away from the socialist system and on to the road to the restoration of capitalism.

The class struggle in China's great proletarian cultural revolution and the multitude of facts brought to light in this class struggle have added fresh proof of the correctness of Chairman Mao's theory of classes, class contradictions and class struggle during the period of socialism.

It is in accordance with this theory of Chairman Mao's which reflects the objective laws that we should conduct the struggle in this great cultural revolution and transform people's inner, subjective world and the objective world, so that we can carry out our socialist revolution and socialist construction better and make it possible for our country to achieve the future transition from socialism to communism.

The road of our great proletarian cultural revolution is illuminated by the sunlight of Mao Tse-tung's thought and the leadership of the Central Committee of the Party.

We shall be invincible provided we resolutely work in accordance with Mao Tse-tung's thought and the instructions of the Central Committee of the Party and Chairman Mao, strengthen the Party's correct leadership of the movement and link leadership by the Party closely with the masses.

In the end, no monsters can escape exposure under the sunlight of Mao Tse-tung's thought and of the Party. Under this sunlight, under the watchful eyes of millions of awakened masses, no monsters can possibly succeed in their attempts to gain something by trickery, to reverse right and wrong, to fish in troubled waters, and to create confusion in people's minds. Still more impossible is it for them to slip through and hope to escape their destined failure.

("Renmin Ribao" editorial, June 24.)

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* This means to start off with a desire for unity and resolve contradictions through criticism or struggle so as to achieve a new unity on a new basis.—Tr.
The Brilliance of Mao Tse-tung’s Thought Illuminates the Whole World

This is the second and concluding part of a report which appeared in “Peking Review,” No. 26.—Ed.

CHAIRMAN MAO’S works enjoy the same high reputation among the many freedom fighters of Mozambique, Zimbabwe, Angola and Azania. Africa’s sons and daughters who are fighting heroically for national independence and liberation have come to see more and more clearly from their own experience that armed struggle is the only correct way for them to achieve victory. They have realized the universal truth of Chairman Mao’s maxim that “political power grows out of the barrel of a gun.” They appreciate the wisdom of his theory of the people’s army and people’s war. That is why many ask for a copy of Chairman Mao’s military writings whenever they meet a Chinese friend.

The fighters of “Portuguese” Guinea, waging an armed struggle for national liberation against Portuguese colonialist rule, carry Chairman Mao’s military works in their packs and study them when they go into battle. Applying Chairman Mao’s theory on people’s war, they have built vast revolutionary bases in the rural areas of their country, and have formed militia units, guerrilla units, and regular forces. They have been conducting a guerrilla war, constantly attacking and wiping out the enemy, and encircling the Portuguese colonialists in a few cities, thus achieving great victories. In 1964 one of our correspondents met Alpha Diallo, vice-commander of a military zone of the patriotic armed forces of “Portuguese” Guinea, and presented him with a badge with a replica of Chairman Mao. Alpha Diallo warmly embraced him, saying that he had been longing for this for many years and would show it to his comrades-in-arms at the front.

Chairman Mao’s Works Are Indispensable Textbooks for Revolutionaries

We have been in Latin America too. As everyone knows, on this vast continent which has been regarded as the “backyard” of the United States, the flames of the struggle for national liberation are raging and spreading. There, too, we have seen the brilliant rays of Mao Tse-tung’s thought. In February 1963, an electrifying incident shook the whole Western world. Nine young Venezuelan patriots, having seized the ship Anzoatequi by force of arms, fearlessly frustrated interception by U.S. warships and aircraft and sailed it to Brazil. A month later we met these warriors at an international conference in Brazil and one of them told us the story in detail. His name was Jesus, and it was he who had acted as the captain of the captured ship. The soul-stirring battle fought by these courageous Venezuelan youths aroused our boundless admiration. What still lingers in our minds is the deep and burning affection of the Venezuelan revolutionaries for the Chinese people and for our great leader. Before bidding him goodbye, we pinned a dark-red badge of Tien An Men on this fighter’s chest. Excited, he said, “That’s great! This is just what I wanted. When I go back to Venezuela, I’ll wear it on my chest in battle, whether in the mountains or on the plains. I’ll tell my comrades-in-arms that I’ve seen Chinese comrades, shaken their hands and talked with them. We Venezuelan revolutionaries have always had tremendous feelings for the Chinese comrades. For we know that revolutionary China with its seven hundred million people is the strongest force backing our struggle, and we are proud of having a staunch comrade-in-arms like China.” He added, “In Venezuela, the works of Comrade Mao Tse-tung have become the most popular of textbooks, indispensable for every Venezuelan revolutionary.” Clasping our hands firmly, he said, “Please allow me to convey the warm respects of the entire Venezuelan people to the great Comrade Mao Tse-tung and to the great Chinese people.”

The revolutionary people in other Latin American countries have the same fervent desire to study Mao Tse-tung’s thought—living Marxism-Leninism at its highest in our era. In Chile, the study of Mao Tse-tung’s works was a frequent topic of discussion between us and a group of young progressives. They said they studied the works together on Sundays because they were busy during the week. They had studied “Analysis of the Classes in Chinese Society” and other writings of Chairman Mao over and over again with revolutionary passion, and in terms of actual social conditions in Chile. One of them once told us that, as Chairman Mao says, the way to judge whether a youth is a revolutionary is to see whether or not he is willing to integrate himself with the broad masses of workers and peasants and actually does so in practice; hence Chilean revolutionaries must first of all go among the workers and peasants and integrate themselves with
Groups to study Chairman Mao's works have been formed in a number of Mexican schools. Some Mexicans said, "U.S. imperialism is the No. 1 enemy of the people of the world. We Mexicans understand this most clearly. The U.S. imperialists have seized half our territory, we can never forget this debt owing to us!" At a reception given in honour of Chinese guests and attended by dozens of Mexicans, a Mexican girl recited a poem which she had written and which was aflame with enthusiasm. One stanza reads:

Raise your eyes to the East,
The brilliant dawn is glowing,
Its warm rays inspire us,
Breathing hope and confidence.
Mao Tse-tung, your name is on our lips And beats in our hearts.

A trip to Ecuador took us to the home of a leader of an Indian organization in the northeastern part of the country. When we got there, it was already dark. Like many other Indians, the host was a tenant farmer working on a latifundist's land. His was a small low thatched hut under a round roof where the family lived with the cattle, sheep and chickens. He came out to give us a warm welcome when we arrived. The families living in neighbouring huts also turned out to welcome us. They eagerly shook our hands, embraced us and called us brothers. The leader said that although they had never seen Chinese brothers before, they had heard about them and knew they had achieved liberation under the leadership of Chairman Mao Tse-tung and had built their nation into a powerful country. He lit a small oil-lamp, the only one he had (being in abject poverty, the Indians do not use lamps on ordinary occasions), and asked us to sit down on the mat beside the cattle. They eagerly asked us to tell them how the Chinese people under Chairman Mao Tse-tung's leadership overthrew the Chiang Kai-shek clique, the landlords and the bureaucrat capitalists. They listened eagerly and raised many questions. All beamed with pleasure and excitement when they learnt that the Chinese peasants, through their struggles, had beaten down the landlords, seized their own land and organized themselves into people's communes. The leader said, "The Chinese people love Chairman Mao, and so do we Indians. Our Chinese brothers are an example for us. Like China's peasants, we must rise to our feet to win liberation."

Mao Tse-tung's Thought Shakes The Capitalist World

Our people still remember the statements made by the American Negro leader Robert Williams during his visit to China several years ago, statements which were so full of militant sentiment. This American Negro leader thought so highly of Chairman Mao Tse-tung's statement in support of the American Negroes' struggle that he printed it in bold type in the publication he edited and sent copies to his Negro brothers.
in the United States and Africa. This American Negro leader hung Chairman Mao’s signed photograph in his living room and often spoke eloquently about his memorable interview with Chairman Mao. Once when he heard that the imperialists and the reactionaries of various countries were making slanderous attacks against China, he immediately refuted them. Afterwards, he indignantly told us, “Who is it that most firmly supports us? We Negro brothers know best. It is Chairman Mao Tse-tung who most resolutely supports the struggle of our Negro brothers the world over.”

From the success of the Chinese pavilion at the Paris Fair, one can see how ardently the French people love New China and how deeply they respect Chairman Mao. A continuous stream of people flowed into the pavilion every day from morning till night. After their visit, many people cheered China’s achievements. Some people described their visit as “a vista of hope for our youth.” While some others said that “the Chinese are very good; they are setting us examples.” Still some others wrote down in the visitors’ book the slogans: “Long live China which holds high the banner of Marxism-Leninism!” “Long live Mao Tse-tung!” Once, when a Chinese troupe performed in an old French city, an old lady came up after the performance to ask if they could give her a badge with a replica of Chairman Mao Tse-tung as a souvenir. When they gave her one, she carefully held it in hand and joyfully looked it over and over again. Then she warmly embraced the Chinese actress who had given it her. During a second performance, the old lady was again seen in the audience. She said she had a daughter, so she wished to get another medal of Chairman Mao Tse-tung. . . . When a Chinese art troupe visited Bologna, Italy, people in the streets often asked them whether they came from China. When this was confirmed, they gaily made a thumbs-up gesture of approval and said, “Mao Tse-tung! Mao Tse-tung!” The Chinese troupe visited the famous Italian cultural city of Florence. A white-haired lady was copying a noted painting in a famous gallery. Upon learning that the guests came from China, she looked at the members of the troupe, her eyes expressing deep feelings, and said, “China, what a wonderful place! China, the native land of Mao Tse-tung!” A French friend named Marie-Joseph put into words the thoughts of the revolutionary people. She said, “What I like best are the works of Mao Tse-tung, your great leader, because I love and respect him so much.” She added, “I am very anxious to learn from Mao Tse-tung’s thought. For he is a great man, a man really faithful to the struggle against imperialism. His great thought is shaking the capitalist world, and U.S. imperialism in particular.”

Mao Tse-tung Is the Great Helmsman of the World Revolution

From one continent to another, the revolutionary peoples, regardless of differences in nationality, language and colour, are united in their love for Chairman Mao and their earnest desire to study his works. We need hardly call attention to the profound revolutionary affection cherished for Chairman Mao by the heroic Albanian people who are holding aloft the revolutionary banner of Marxism-Leninism, or to the high respect shown to our great leader by the Korean and Vietnamese peoples who share the same destiny with us in good times and bad. All this is obvious to everyone. We cannot forget the remarks of a progressive Burmese friend who ardently loves China and deeply respects our great leader, Chairman Mao. The Burmese friend said, “Peking is the symbol of the world revolution. Mao Tse-tung is the great helmsman of the world revolution. Mao Tse-tung’s works shine with a brilliance that lights up the road of revolution for the people of the world. Those who desire revolution must seriously study Chairman Mao’s works.” Nor can we forget the young Japanese in Tokyo who formed a “study group on Mao Tse-tung’s thought” in January 1964. Since then, they have consistently followed the rule of meeting once a week to read Chairman Mao’s works collectively. They recently told us about the understanding they have gained from their study of Mao Tse-tung’s thought. A girl student of Chinese literature at a university in Tokyo said that Chairman Mao Tse-tung’s theory on the intermediate zone is perfectly correct. The most important point in the idea that U.S. imperialism is a paper tiger lies in belief in the strength of the people, she said. A Japanese youth said that the road China has taken and is following, under the leadership of Chairman Mao Tse-tung, serves as an example to the peoples of the world. Today the road to capitalism is not open to the Asian, African and Latin American countries, whereas China’s road of the building of socialism through self-reliance points the way for their peoples. A young man doing scientific research at a university said that Chairman Mao was not only a great statesman and military expert, but also a great scientist. Chairman Mao Tse-tung is very wise in putting forward the three revolutionary tasks of class struggle, struggle for production, and scientific experiment, he said.

In our conversations with revolutionary friends from different lands about the vigorous growth and great victories of the anti-imperialist, anti-colonialist national-liberation movements in Asia, Africa and Latin America, they all attributed these victories to the adoption of Mao Tse-tung’s thought as a guide. The Swedish writer Jan Myrdal in his article commenting on the Selected Military Writings of Mao Tse-tung pointed out that Mao Tse-tung’s greatness as a great commander is indisputable and even his early opponents recognized this. His works give revolutionaries in Asia, Africa and Latin America the grounding of theory for the revolutionary wars now in process or those yet to be launched.

It is precisely for this reason that the revolutionary people of all countries study Mao Tse-tung’s works with immense revolutionary enthusiasm. Many have searched high and low for Chairman Mao’s works and

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read them in secret at the risk of their lives. Many have mimeographed or copied articles or paragraphs from Chairman Mao’s works and passed them on to others. Many staunch revolutionaries have not ceased to read Chairman Mao’s books, even while confined in enemy prisons. A revolutionary arrest in Venezuela got two copies of Chairman Mao Tse-tung’s works for his friends who were also in jail. As there was not enough copies to go round, they divided into small groups for reading and discussion and some of them read the books by a feeble light at night, giving up their sleep. We have met with many friends whose treasured copies of the Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung and clippings of Chairman Mao’s articles had become worn out from being read over and over again. They said they got new inspiration from each reading. Some friends said, “The books written by Chairman Mao are an inexhaustible theoretical treasure, and to master them requires reading them every day.”

The Spread of Mao Tse-tung’s Thought Is Irresistible

As is well known, after usurping political power, the Right-wing generals’ clique in Indonesia has carried out sanguinary massacres and mass arrests in this country of a thousand islands, and has perpetrated unbridled atrocities against China, against the Indonesian Communist Party and people. But even amid this fascist white terror, when we were in Indonesia we still felt the ardent love of the Indonesian people for the Chinese Communist Party and our respected and beloved leader Chairman Mao. Last October, our correspondent in Indonesia returned to Djakarta from Peking. He carried a plaster statue of Chairman Mao, and when this was noticed by some Indonesians at the Djakarta airport, they shouted the name of Mao Tse-tung with deep emotion. Once when our comrade driver was studying the Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung in the automobile, an Indonesian soldier saw the photo of Chairman Mao on the book cover, he raised his thumb and said repeatedly, “Mao Tse-tung, very good!” These incidents took place in Indonesia, a country suffering under a reign of terror. They show how far-reaching is the influence of the Chinese revolution and Mao Tse-tung’s thought among the Indonesian people. It is an influence which the Indonesian reactionaries can never obliterate.

We cannot fail to mention the Soviet Union and a number of East European countries. The modern revisionists, who have betrayed Marxism-Leninism, are letting loose an anti-Chinese adverse current there, in collusion with the imperialists and the reactionaries of various countries. They fear the truth and Mao Tse-tung’s thought; so they have tried by hook or by crook to ban the works of Mao Tse-tung in a vain attempt to bar the dissemination of his thought. But the truth can never be banned. The spread of Mao Tse-tung’s thought is likewise irresistible. The more the modern revisionists try to ban the works of Mao Tse-tung, the more the people want to study them; the more the modern revisionists attack our respected and beloved leader Chairman Mao, the more the people love him. During the time we were assigned to the Soviet Union and a number of East European countries, we discovered that the broad masses of the people there wanted to carry on the revolution. They unwaveringly defended Marxism-Leninism and firmly opposed revisionism. They pinned their hopes on the Chinese Communist Party and Chairman Mao. They said, “Peking is the lighthouse of the world revolution, and Mao Tse-tung is its helmsman.”

Mao Tse-tung’s Thought Is a Never-Setting Sun

The warm feeling and admiration of the people in all countries for Chairman Mao and his works defy description. On our travels, when people knew that we came from New China, they put their thumbs up and cheered, “Mao Tse-tung!” When they saw an article made in China, they exclaimed, “Mao Tse-tung!” When they saw Chairman Mao appearing in a Chinese film, they immediately greeted him with a prolonged outburst of thunderous applause. Some shouted, “Long live Mao Tse-tung!” We will always remember the moving scenes at the Chinese exhibition in Somalia in November 1963. Many Somalians posed for photographs before the large portrait of Chairman Mao in the Chinese pavilion. People vied in trying to get a badge with a portrait of Chairman Mao on it, which they immediately pinned on their chests with a feeling of pride. Many people left stirring words in the visitors’ book, such as “We salute you, Mao Tse-tung!” “Thank you, Mao Tse-tung, for pointing out the road for our advance!” “Long live Mao Tse-tung!” We met a singer from Guinea who sang with deep emotion on the stage a song he had composed himself: “ Fighting Africa—Homage to Chairman Mao.” Although he had not seen Chairman Mao, he felt that he could not help singing in his praise, he said. Chairman Mao’s works are gigantic and Mao Tse-tung’s thought is immortal, he declared. In Africa, he would dedicate this song to the black masses; in Europe and America, he would sing the song to the white masses. He said he would “spread the truth of Mao Tse-tung’s thought, the truth of the fight for liberty.”

Endless moving scenes of this kind tell us that in the eyes of the revolutionary people of the world, Chairman Mao is not only the great leader who has guided the Chinese people from victory to victory but also the revolutionary leader of the people of the world. He is supported and loved by the Chinese people and by the people of the world as well. Mao Tse-tung’s thought is the beacon light of the world revolution. The brilliance of Chairman Mao’s thought lights up the entire globe, and his works have gained world popularity. Let the imperialists, all the reactionaries, and the modern revisionists at home and abroad bark madly. Their slanderous attacks against our great leader cannot in the least harm the glowing radiance of Mao Tse-tung’s thought.

—ISINHUA CORRESPONDENTS

Peking Review, No. 27
Another Peak in Sino-Albanian Friendship

THE Chinese Party and Government Delegation led by Comrade Chou En-lai, Vice-Chairman of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and Premier of the State Council, visited fraternal Albania from June 24 to 28 at the invitation of the Central Committee of the Albanian Party of Labour and the Council of Ministers. Members of the delegation are Chao Yi-min, Alternate Member of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, and Chiao Kuan-hua, Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs.

It was an immensely successful visit. As was pointed out in the communiqué (see p. 16) issued on the day the Chinese delegation said good-bye to their hosts, the visit and the sincere and fraternal talks between the Chinese and Albanian sides “are a new contribution to the further strengthening of the fraternal friendship and unbreakable unity between the Chinese and Albanian peoples, the two Parties and the two Governments, and a valuable contribution to socialism and world peace.”

Renmin Ribao in its June 29 editorial entitled “Long Live the Militant Friendship Between China and Albania” pointed out that the magnificent and enthusiastic welcome the fraternal Albanian people accorded the Chinese delegation is a fresh and vivid demonstration of the revolutionary friendship and militant unity founded by Comrade Mao Tse-tung and Comrade Enver Hoxha, between the two Parties, the two countries and two peoples.

The editorial stated: Not long ago, the Albanian Party and Government Delegation headed by Comrade Mehmet Shehu visited China and issued the Sino-Albanian Joint Statement, a statement of immense historic significance. This time, a Chinese Party and Government Delegation again held most close and friendly talks with the Albanian Party and Government leaders in Tirana to discuss the question of further consolidating relations between the two Parties and two countries, major international questions and the present situation in the international communist movement and workers’ movement. The communiqué issued on the visit reaffirms the Sino-Albanian Joint Statement signed in Peking on May 11, 1966, and registers complete identity of the two sides’ views and positions on the questions discussed. The Tirana talks have carried the proletarian internationalist friendship bet-

Comrades Enver Hoxha and Chou En-lai at the farewell banquet

tween the two Parties of China and Albania and the two countries to a new peak.

Unprecedented Welcome

The Chinese delegation was accorded a magnificent reception unprecedented in its warmth. It was welcomed on its arrival at the Albanian capital by Enver Hoxha, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Albanian Party of Labour, Hashi Lleshi, President of the Presidium of the People’s Assembly, Mehmet Shehu, Member of the Political Bureau of the Party’s Central Committee and Chairman of the Council of Ministers, other leading members of the Albanian Party and Government and the citizens of Tirana.

The airport was gaily decorated. The national flags of China and Albania and red flags without number fluttered in the wind. On the terminal building were huge portraits of Chairman Mao Tse-tung and

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Communique on the Visit to Albania by the Chinese Party and Government Delegation Headed by Comrade Chou En-lai

THE Chinese Party and Government Delegation headed by Chou En-lai, Vice-Chairman of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China and Premier of the State Council of the People’s Republic of China, paid a friendship visit to Albania from June 24 to June 28 at the invitation of the Central Committee of the Albanian Party of Labour and the Council of Ministers of the People’s Republic of Albania.

During its visit in Albania, the Chinese Party and Government Delegation was accorded an extremely warm and fraternal welcome by the Albanian people, the Albanian Party of Labour and the Government of the People’s Republic of Albania. During the visit of the Chinese Party and Government Delegation, the Albanian people warmly expressed their boundless love and deep respect for the Chinese people, the great Chinese Communist Party and Comrade Mao Tse-tung, the great leader of the Chinese people and esteemed friend of Albania.

The Chinese Party and Government Delegation led by Comrade Chou En-lai, during its stay in Albania, held talks with Comrade Enver Hoxha, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Albanian Party of Labour; Comrade Mehmet Shehu, Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Albanian Party of Labour and Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Albanian People’s Republic; and other leading comrades of the Albanian Party of Labour and the Government of the Albanian People’s Republic, on the question of further consolidating relations between the two Parties and two countries, on major international questions, and on the present situation of the international communist movement and workers’ movement. The talks proceeded in a most sincere, warm and friendly atmosphere and there was complete identity of views and position between the two sides on the questions discussed.

During the talks, both sides reaffirmed, in regard to all questions discussed, the common stand enunciated in the Joint Statement of China and Albania signed in Peking on May 11, 1966, when the Albanian Party and Government Delegation headed by Comrade Mehmet Shehu visited China. They reaffirmed that this statement is of immense historic significance to the peoples of our two countries and to all the peoples who are struggling for national liberation, people’s democracy, socialism and world peace, against imperialism headed by the United States and the reactionaries of all countries, and against modern revisionism with the leading group of the C.P.S.U. as its centre.

Both sides believe that the visit of the Chinese Party and Government Delegation headed by Comrade Chou En-lai and the sincere and fraternal talks between the two sides are a new contribution to the further strengthening of the fraternal friendship and unbreakable unity between the Chinese and Albanian peoples, the two Parties and the two Governments, and a valuable contribution to socialism and world peace.

June 28, 1966
Tirana

Comrade Enver Hoxha, and giant streamers reading “Long live Albanian-Chinese friendship!” “The Albanian and Chinese peoples are engaged in a common fight against imperialism and revisionism!” and “Long live the militant unity between the Albanian Party of Labour and the Chinese Communist Party!”

When the special plane carrying the delegation touched down, Comrade Chou En-lai stepped out first and waved to the 5,000 cheering welcomers. There was thunderous applause and the airport resounded with cheers of “Enver-Mao Tse-tung,” “Long live Chairman Mao!” and “Long live the unbreakable friendship of the Albanian and Chinese people!” Enver Hoxha, Haxhi Lleshi, Mehmet Shehu and other Albanian Party and Government leaders stepped forward to greet their Chinese guests. They shook hands with and warmly embraced Comrade Chou En-lai and other members of the Chinese delegation.

After the grand airport welcome, Comrade Chou En-lai entered the city in an open car in the company of Comrades Enver Hoxha and Mehmet Shehu. They passed through an endless crowd of welcomers in their holiday best waving bouquets and the national flags of China and Albania and holding aloft portraits of the Chinese and Albanian leaders. It was an unforgettable demonstration of the great unity and militant friendship between the Chinese and Albanian Parties, the two countries and the two peoples. Revolutionary songs echoed through the city.
Tirana’s welcome for its Chinese guests reached its climax at Skanderbeg Square in the heart of the city. Thousands of people filled the big square. A thousand artists performed the dance With Pick in One Hand and Rifle in the Other and episodes from the modern Chinese drama A Great Wall Along the South Coast. Acrobats performed Chinese acrobatic feats. A chorus of 300 voices accompanied by an orchestra of 100, sang Peking-Tirana and songs in praise of Chairman Mao Tse-tung. A contingent of 1,500 gymnasts in colourful sportswear gave an impressive display of callisthenics. Atop a great steel frame in the centre of the square stood two gymnasts holding aloft the Chinese and Albanian national flags, symbol of the militant unity of the two countries.

At the Grand Banquet

On the evening of June 24, the Central Committee of the Albanian Party of Labour and the Council of Ministers of the Albanian People’s Republic gave a grand banquet in honour of Comrade Chou En-lai and other members of the delegation.

Comrades Hoxha and Chou En-lai delivered important speeches at the banquet.

Comrade Hoxha in his speech extended a warm welcome to the Chinese delegation. He said: Our two Parties and Governments have all along adhered to the immortal doctrine of Marxism-Leninism, upheld a revolutionary stand, and undauntedly opposed the class enemies, imperialism, modern revisionism and the reactionaries of all countries. Our two Parties and Governments are completely at one on all questions both in ideology and action.

Comrade Hoxha stressed: “We have said before and we repeat today that the existence of the Chinese Communist Party, the People’s Republic of China and the outstanding Marxist-Leninist Comrade Mao Tse-tung, is a great blessing to the international communist movement and the people of all countries. They have the historic merit of being the biggest and insurmountable obstacle to the criminal schemes imperialism, revisionism and all reactionaries are trying to push through.”

Comrade Chou En-lai expressed hearty thanks to Comrade Enver Hoxha, esteemed and beloved leader of the Albanian people and an intimate friend of the Chinese people, and to the Albanian Party of Labour, the Government of the Albanian People’s Republic and the Albanian people for their magnificent and cordial welcome to the Chinese delegation. He said, “The glorious Albanian Party of Labour and the heroic Albanian people are staunch fighters against imperialism, modern revisionism and the reactionaries of all countries. You have consistently held high the banner of opposing imperialism headed by the United States and the reactionaries of all countries, and resolutely supported the revolutionary cause of all oppressed peoples and nations. You have always held aloft the banner of Marxism-Leninism and stood at the forefront of the struggle against modern revisionism. Whatever pressure the modern revisionists bring to bear on you and whatever deceptive tricks they play, you maintain a firm and clear-cut stand and unswervingly conduct a tit-for-tat struggle against them, thereby manifesting a high degree of Marxist-Leninist integrity. You have made outstanding contributions to the defence of Marxism-Leninism and the advancement of the proletarian cause of world revolution, and have won the praise and admiration of the Marxist-Leninists of the whole world and all revolutionary people.”

“The Chinese Communist Party and the Chinese people will, together with the Albanian Party of Labour and the Albanian people, hold still higher the standard of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, unite with all revolutionary people of the world and resolutely carry through to the end the struggle against imperialism headed by the United States and the struggle against modern revisionism with the new C.P.S.U. leadership as its centre,” he continued.

Friendship in Durres

On June 26, Premier Chou En-lai visited Durres, the largest port of Albania, in the company of Comrade Shehu and other Albanian leaders.

On their way from Tirana to Durres, the Chinese delegation was warmly welcomed on its way by

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workers of state farms and members of agricultural co-operatives along the highway. Workers and co-operative members wore their national costumes, waved flags and bouquets and greeted the Chinese guests with enthusiastic shouts of "Long live Albanian-Chinese friendship!"

After a short rest in Durres, Comrade Chou En-lai and other Chinese guests drove to a mass rally in the city’s Stalin Square. As Comrade Chou En-lai mounted the rostrum in the company of Mehmet Shehu and other Albanian leaders, the people broke into stormy applause. Their thunderous cheers resounded over the waters of the Adriatic.

Comrades Shehu and Chou En-lai delivered speeches at the rally.

Comrade Shehu stressed that the serious and effective measures China has adopted and is adopting to prevent the emergence of revisionism is a great revolutionary example for all socialist countries and for the entire international communist movement. “The proletarian cultural revolution which has been launched and is developing successfully in the People’s Republic of China once again confirms the general Marxist-Leninist truth that during the whole historical epoch of the building of socialism, there continue to be in the socialist countries the class struggle between the socialist road and the capitalist road, the danger of the emergence of revisionism and the restoration of capitalism; it proves that in order to win victory for socialism and communism, it is not enough merely to overthrow the bourgeoisie, install the dictatorship of the proletariat, liquidate private property and establish socialist ownership of the means of production, but also to carry through to the very end socialist revolution in the sphere of ideology and culture, and also to safeguard and reinforce, throughout this epoch, the dictatorship of the proletariat and carry through to the end revolution in all spheres of life.”

Comrade Chou En-lai in his speech warmly praised the Albanian Party of Labour and the Albanian people for continuing to hold high the banner of opposing imperialism headed by the United States and opposing the reactionaries of various countries and for continuing to give firm support to the revolutionary struggle of the oppressed people and nations of the world. The Party and people of Albania are holding still higher the banner of opposing modern revisionism with the leading group of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union as its centre and have made important contributions to the defence of the purity of Marxism-Leninism. He said: “Your international prestige has further risen and your influence in the world has increased. You have won the respect and praise of the revolutionary people throughout the world.”

Welcoming Mass Rally in Tirana

On the afternoon of June 27 more than 100,000 people in Tirana gathered at a grand rally in Skanderbeg Square to give a rousing welcome to the envoys of Chairman Mao Tse-tung and the Chinese people.

The square was impressively and beautifully decorated. On the facade of the Building of the Executive Committee of the Tirana Municipal People’s Council were hung huge portraits of Comrades Mao Tse-tung and Enver Hoxha and the national flags of China and Albania. Opposite them, on buildings of various ministries, were hung portraits of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, of the Chinese Party and state leaders Comrades Mao Tse-tung, Liu Shao-chi, Chou En-lai and Chu Teh, and of the Albanian Party and state leaders Comrades Enver Hoxha, Mehmet Shehu and others. Over the Palace of Culture floated large red balloons trailing streamers which read: "Long live Mao Tse-tung!" "Long live Enver Hoxha!" "Glory to Marxism-Leninism!" On the steps of the Palace of Culture were many militiamen in olive-green uniform, residents of the city in national costume, sportsmen in different coloured sports wear and Young Pioneers with their red scarves. Even the roofs of the ministry buildings were jammed with people.

Both Comrades Enver Hoxha and Chou En-lai spoke at the rally. (Full texts of speeches on pp. 19 & 25.)

Comrade Enver Hoxha hailed Mao Tse-tung’s teachings as a further development of Marxist-Leninist theory under the present conditions at home and abroad. He said that in the future, Albania would continue to resist and smash the blockade and all schemes hatched by the criminal enemy against her, and would spare no efforts to continue to make contributions to the complete victory of the socialist cause, and to freedom and to world peace. He declared that the militant friendship and unity of the Chinese and Albanian Parties and peoples were not the result of diplomatic intrigues and bargaining, but the result of a fierce joint struggle against the common enemies of the mankind — imperialism headed by U.S. imperialism and modern revisionism headed by the Soviet leadership.

Comrade Chou En-lai said: The Albanian people in the struggle against imperialism and modern revisionism have maintained a firm stand and have made a clear distinction between enemies and friends; showing a proletarian revolutionary spirit of defying brute force and daring to struggle they have made indelible contributions to promoting the cause of proletarian revolution throughout the world. He declared that the great proletarian cultural revolution which has been sweeping over China in the past few months was unprecedented in human history, was a tremendous encouragement to the revolutionary people of the world and a heavy blow at imperialism, modern revisionism and the reactionaries of all countries. The present class struggle in the ideological field in China, in the last analysis, is a struggle between attempts at staging a come-back by capitalism and efforts to thwart such attempts. This
struggle to root out revisionism will further consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat in China, including the dictatorship in all fields of culture.

That evening Premier Chou gave a grand farewell banquet. Present at the banquet were Comrades Enver Hoxha, Mehmet Shehu, Haxhi Lleshi and other Albanian leaders. The banquet proceeded in a cordial, warm and friendly atmosphere. Comrades Chou En-lai and Shehu delivered warm and fraternal speeches.

Comrade Chou En-lai said that in their talks during the visit, the Chinese and Albanian leaders unanimously held that “the situation is excellent for the struggle of the people of the world against imperialism headed by the United States and the reactionaries of all countries and that the situation is excellent for the struggle of the Marxist-Leninists of the world against modern revisionism with the leading group of the C.P.S.U. at its centre. Imperialism and modern revisionism are having a tough time. We must carry the struggle against U.S. imperialism through to the end. We must carry the struggle against Khrushchev revisionism through to the end. We will never let them have any respite.”

He declared: Ours is a great cause. Our future is boundlessly brilliant. Let our two Parties, two countries and two peoples always stand united and fight together on the basis of Marxism-Leninism, hold still higher the great banner of struggle against imperialism and the great banner of struggle against modern revisionism, and strive together with all other revolutionary people of the world to build a new world free from imperialism, free from capitalism, and free from the system of exploitation.

(Continued on p. 36.)

Comrade Hoxha’s Speech at Tirana Mass Rally

- Mao Tse-tung’s teachings are a further development of Marxism-Leninism under the present conditions.
- Albania will continue to make contributions to the complete victory of the socialist cause.
- The militant friendship and unity of the Chinese and Albanian Parties and peoples are the result of a fierce joint struggle against the common enemies of mankind — imperialism headed by U.S. imperialism and modern revisionism headed by the Soviet leadership.

Dear Comrade Chou En-lai,
Dear Comrades of the Delegation,
Comrades:

The arrival of the Chinese Party and Government Delegation led by Comrade Chou En-lai, Vice-Chairman of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and Premier of the State Council, has filled the hearts of the entire working people of our country with new, indescribable joy and elation. Please allow me to express, on behalf of the Central Committee of the Albanian Party of Labour, the Albanian Government and the Presidium of the People’s Assembly, as well as on behalf of all of us and the entire Albanian people, our deep gratitude to the distinguished guests for the great honour they have brought us.

The increasingly frequent mutual visits by the delegations led by Party and government leaders of our two countries have steadily strengthened our militant friendship. We have the honour to receive, for the third time in two years, the close comrade-in-arms of Chairman Mao Tse-tung and our dear friend Comrade Chou En-lai who brought us each time the heartfelt joy and elation experienced at meeting between brothers and comrades-in-arms.

Viewed from the development of the socialist construction of our two countries, the relations between our two Parties and countries and the current international situation and world communist movement, the present visit of the Chinese Party and Government Delegation is of extremely great significance. It will make a new contribution to the positive developments in these fields, will further enhance the international status of our two countries, and will be a new embodiment of the genuine fraternal relations of internationalism between the socialist countries, the unwaver-

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ing faithfulness to Marxism-Leninism, and the resolute struggle against imperialism and revisionism and for the victory of the cause of socialism and peace.

Life, the struggles in the past few centuries, and the 23 stormy and militant years since the founding of the Party have taught the people of our country that they should distinguish friends from enemies, and should unite closely and respect sincere friends and wage a life-and-death struggle against their enemies. We all know that our two countries are far apart geographically, but no mountains or oceans, no difference in the size of the population, can hinder the peoples of our two countries from mutually stretching out powerful, sincere and comradesly hands and uniting closely together like two men with a similar soul and a lofty common ideal. Their soul is the ever-victorious, immortal theory of Marxism-Leninism, and their ideal is to set up a world without exploiters and imperialism, that is communism to be reached through incessant struggles. The great builders of this friendship are the Communist Party of China headed by Comrade Mao Tse-tung and the Albanian Party of Labour which is always loyal to Marxism-Leninism and has carried out consistently the principles of proletarian internationalism. The militant friendship and unity of both our Parties and peoples are not the result of diplomatic intrigues and bargaining, but the result of a fierce joint struggle against the common enemies of the mankind — imperialism headed by U.S. imperialism and modern revisionism headed by the Soviet leadership, and the result of the joint struggle for socialism, freedom and peace. Our friendship and unity have become an organic part of our life, our struggle and our victory. They conform fully with the interests of the freedom-loving and peace-loving peoples of various countries. All this proves that our friendship and unity are established on the most solid basis and will last for ever and ever.

The Joint Albania-China Statement signed in Peking at the end of the visit of our delegation to China is a great evidence of the firm ties, solid foundation and lofty aims of friendship and unity of our two Parties and our two peoples. It is a document of great historic importance, first of all, for our two Parties and our two peoples; but its importance goes beyond the frontiers of the two countries, as was proved by the international response it had received and the way it was greeted by our numerous friends. This document fully reflects the unity of thought and action of our two peoples, our two Parties and our two Governments on all fundamental questions about socialist construction, the development of the international communist and workers' movement and the world situation in general. It is entirely based on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and on a deep study of the present concrete conditions of the internal and international development. As such, this document is an important contribution of our two Parties to the treasury of Marxism-Leninism and a powerful weapon for action. Our two Parties and our two peoples will implement this docu-

ment consistently and unswervingly to face all waves and storms and share weal and woe. We are looking forward to the future with revolutionary optimism and are convinced that the fruits of our friendship and militant unity will lead us to new and ever greater victories.

Our people are happy to have as our close friend a great and invincible people—the Chinese people—a friend and brother of all the peoples who cherish freedom and peace, and a staunch fighter at the forefront of the struggle against imperialism, revisionism and all the reactionaries of the world.

Thanks to the leadership of the glorious Chinese Communist Party and Chairman Mao Tse-tung, the People's Republic of China has set a great example for all the peoples and all the revolutionary forces in the ideological, political and economic fields as well as in internal and external fields, in holding aloft and applying as an illuminating light the theory of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Tse-tung's teachings which are a further development of the Marxist-Leninist theory under the present conditions both at home and abroad. The People's Republic of China is developing with success the three great revolutionary movements of class struggle, the struggle for production and scientific experiment and is giving first place to revolutionary politics of the Party, bringing into the fullest play the creative initiative of the masses. China is being transformed from a poor and semi-colonial country into a socialist country with an ever advancing socialist agriculture, a powerful industry, and science and technology which are marching ahead in the conquest of the highest peak in the world. It has become a nuclear power. The People's Republic of China has appeared on the international arena as an unshakable supporter of all the revolutionary peoples who cherish freedom and peace, and a defender of the unity of Marxism-Leninism of all the socialist countries and the international communist and workers' movement. It has been waging an uncompromising and tit-for-tat struggle against imperialism headed by the United States and modern revisionism with the leading group of the C.P.S.U. at its centre, the deadly enemy of the people of the world and of socialism.

At present, under the prevailing atmosphere in the People's Republic of China, 700 million working people are giving full play to revolutionary enthusiasm and energy, to unprecedented initiative and creativeness. Under the illumination of Mao Tse-tung's Marxist-Leninist thought, they have overcome one subjective or objective obstacle and difficulty after another, criticized and discarded all incorrect and alien conceptions, smashed hidden class enemies engaged in conspiratorial activities in various places and all lackeys of the imperialists, the bourgeoisie and modern revisionists, adopted and adhered firmly to the Party's Marxist-Leninist line, and steadily pushed the socialist revolution from victory to victory in all fields, and advanced speedily in industrial and agricultural production, and
in culture, science, technology and defence. As shown in the socialist revolution in the cultural and ideological fields, such initiative of hundreds of millions of people is unprecedented in history. It is of decisive significance not only to the People's Republic of China, but also to the destiny of the cause of socialism and revolution throughout the world and its general advancement. The initiative of the masses, their warm support for Mao Tse-tung's Marxist-Leninist theory and the victory in the socialist cultural revolution have firmly smashed the dream and all the manoeuvres of the imperialists and modern revisionists to restore capitalism in China and to turn back the wheel of history throughout the world. Like all the revolutionary peoples and Marxist-Leninists the world over, we are particularly overjoyed by the huge success of the People's Republic of China and the tremendous progress it has made in the ideological, political and economic fields, and draw boundless inspiration from it for our struggle.

Dear comrades,

The Marxist-Leninist line consistently pursued by the Communist Party of China, the revolutionary domestic and foreign policies of the Government of the People's Republic of China, and their principled, unswerving stand on all questions, shine like a brilliant sun, warming the hearts of the people of the world and putting on the spot the enemies of the world's people and of the revolution—the imperialists, the Khrushchev revisionists and the Titoite revisionists. This is a fact of particular significance in the present situation of mankind where many peoples who love freedom and peace are waging a fiercer and fiercer struggle against U.S. imperialism and its lackeys, and the foundations of the old world are being more and more shaken.

Imperialism is receiving blows from all directions, both outside and inside. This has been proved by the vigorous development of the national-liberation movement and the democratic movement in Asia, Africa and Latin America, by the upsurge of the revolutionary struggle of the working class in Western Europe, North America and the Oceania, by the continuous and ever mounting opposition in the United States itself to its aggression against Vietnam, and by the growing ranks of the Marxist-Leninists in all countries.

The imperialists have seen with fear that the contradictions both within and among the capitalist countries are becoming increasingly acute, that the walls of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization are tumbling down, that the walls of other aggressive blocs which the United States has painstakingly set up are also shaking, and that those countries which once bowed meekly to U.S. hegemony have now come out to oppose U.S. domination. U.S. imperialism, becoming most frantic because of these defeats, and with the help of the international reactionaries and modern revisionists, is plotting one scheme after another to start a series of adverse current of counter-revolution in a number of countries.

But this is a temporary phenomenon, because nothing can be expected from the enemy of the people except its schemes and endless acts of brutality. Likewise, nothing can be received from the people in reply except an ever stronger tide of revolution. We are convinced that the imperialists and revisionists will certainly meet bigger defeats and will ultimately be eliminated, and that the people will win victory and thereby further their political, economic and social developments and unceasingly push forward the history of the world. The question is that in order to accelerate the advance of revolution it is necessary first of all to heighten and strengthen vigilance, to understand deeply and exploit correctly the internal and exterior contradictions to raise as high as possible the political consciousness of the masses, and to increase active contact with the masses, and, once conditions are created, to plunge deep into the revolution bravely, resourcefully and resolutely, so as to push the revolution to final victory.

U.S. imperialism and all its accomplices regard the People's Republic of China as the main obstacle to the realization of their aggressive and counter-revolutionary plans. It is precisely for this reason that the U.S. imperialists, having reached an overall agreement and working in close co-ordination with the Khrushchev revisionists, have shifted the main weight of their aggressive policy and aggressive activities from Europe to Asia. Thus, they try to set up an "iron cordon" around China and bring the flames of war closer to China. The most dangerous and most frenzied hotbed of war which the U.S. imperialists have created is in Southeast Asia, in Vietnam, Laos and other places. In Vietnam alone, the aggressors have mustered some 260,000 U.S. and satellite troops, and are planning to increase the number of the aggressive troops to 400,000 by the end of this year. They are daily intensifying the bombing of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. Recently the U.S. air force has increased its provocations against the People's Republic of China. Like a sea monster the U.S. Seventh Fleet with its aircraft-carriers and warships equipped with "polaris" missiles is riding roughshod in the Pacific. In the Philippines, Taiwan, Japan and other places, the U.S. has also set up military bases equipped with atomic weapons. The U.S. imperialists are making concrete arrangements to rig up a unified military and war system to include all their lackeys in the Far East. Besides the SEATO and the ANZUS, they are establishing in that part of the world, a new Northeast Asia defence bloc so as to form an anti-communist and anti-China "holy crusade" from south Korea down to the Indian Ocean.

However, all this is but a frantic struggle of the U.S. imperialists. It does not indicate their strength but their weakness; it shows that they are scared in face of their inevitable doom. They appear to be strong, but in fact, owing to many factors, they are rotten inside and extremely weak, and can in no way block the objective development of history. This has been clearly borne out by the developments in Vietnam. The U.S.
imperialists have invaded south Vietnam, but have suffered shameful defeats there. Every day, they were dealt heavy blows by the heroic and brotherly people of south Vietnam. The Vietnam war, a heroic struggle of the people of a small country who have taken up arms and fought in defence of the freedom and dignity of their fatherland, has exploded the myth of the invincibility of the U.S. — the most powerful imperialist country, and has exploded the myth of falsity in face of the up-to-date weapons possessed by the United States. This indicates that the imperialist aggressive alliance has not the might to conquer the freedom-loving peoples. Having unmasked the cruel and criminal features of the U.S. imperialists and their accomplices before the world, this struggle has become a source of encouragement for the people of the world. No doubt, if the U.S. imperialists dare to further stretch out their aggressive talons and attack the People's Republic of China, then, U.S. imperialism — the implacable enemy of the people of the whole world, will certainly be completely eliminated.

Dear comrades,

The Chinese Communist Party and the Albanian Party of Labour have undertaken the heavy responsibility to wage a resolute, principled struggle against modern revisionism — the Khrushchev and Titoite. With the lapse of time, the features of the revisionists as renegades will be ever more clearly exposed before the people and revolutionaries of the whole world and the danger posed by this product of bourgeois ideology to the cause of communism will be ever more distinctly seen. As for Tito, every revolutionary and honest man can now see clearly that he is an agent of U.S. imperialism and is expert in rendering it special service. However, the mask worn by the Khrushchev revisionist renegades has also been quickly torn.

The glorious Chinese Communist Party and our Party of Labour have long ago exposed the Soviet revisionist renegade leading group, pointing out that this is a group of conspirators and stubborn enemies to the revolution and to the cause of communism. Life has proved to the hilt the correctness of the judgment of our two Parties. Every act of the Soviet revisionist leadership and every move it has taken is invariably designed to serve the policy for Soviet-U.S. co-operation — the sole dream and objective of this group of renegades. This was true of the past with Khrushchev at the head of the renegades, it is also true at present when Brezhnev, Kosygin and other conspirators hold leading positions in the Soviet Union.

When the renegade Khrushchev was in power, he was unspiring in his effort to help U.S. imperialism, to realize Soviet-American alliance. To attain this end, he became the most zealous propagandist of the “benevolence” of imperialism and the bourgeoisie and the “love of peace” and “humanitarianism” of the U.S. Presidents. For this purpose, he capitulated in the Caribbean incident, betrayed the people of the Congo, split the socialist camp, stirred up anti-Albania and anti-China campaigns, signed the notorious Moscow Tripartite Partial Nuclear Test Ban Treaty, and connived at U.S. imperialist aggression against Vietnam, Laos and other countries. The present Soviet leaders — his renegade-partners and intimate accomplices — are faithfully pursuing the policies started by their “teacher” and continuing persistently the execution of the policy for Soviet-American co-operation. The only difference is that Khrushchev acted openly while the Soviet leaders are pursuing a double-dealing policy.

The Soviet revisionist leaders are energetically helping U.S. imperialism in all respects. In Vietnam, they pretend to support the Vietnamese people's struggle but at the same time are seeking by all ways and means to drag Vietnam to the conference table for peace talks with the aggressors, so as to help the U.S. imperialists and save them from ignominious defeat. The Khrushchev revisionists are employing the same sinister double-dealing tactics against the fraternal Korean people. Though they make some soft-voiced verbal attacks on the “Japan-South Korea Treaty,” they are stepping up their close collusion with the Japanese militarists and revanchists. They have even signed a series of treaties “for joint exploitation of Siberia”; and now they have reached agreement on the exchange of visits between the chairman and the prime minister. Thus they have made it easier for this “strike force” in the U.S. military strategic system in the Pacific to become the emissary against the People's Republic of China and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. However, in face of these conspiracies of the revisionists, the unity sealed in blood between the Chinese and Korean peoples and Communists is being strengthened and consolidated with each passing day.

The Soviet revisionist leaders are following the path of renegades, seeking by hook or by crook to ensure tranquillity for U.S. imperialism in Europe. They have frozen the question of a German peace treaty and the Berlin question, thereby openly betraying the interests of the people of Germany and other countries. They are trying their best to conclude a “European Security Treaty” and for this end they are destroying the Warsaw Treaty. Finally, in order to serve U.S. imperialism, the Soviet revisionist leaders are daily deepening the schism of the socialist camp, and stepping up their hostile activities against those socialist countries and Communist Parties loyal to the doctrine of Marxism-Leninism, first of all against the People's Republic of China and the Chinese Communist Party and against the People's Republic of Albania and the Albanian Party of Labour.

However, no action of the revisionists and imperialists, no treaty, collaboration, provocation, manoeuvres or anything of theirs can prevent them from meeting with ignominious defeat. The imperialists and Khrushchev revisionists cannot prevent, now or in the future,
the development of history and revolution governed by objective laws. Capitalism and renegades will sooner or later be completely swept away from the globe. We people of a small country are confident of this; the Vietnamese and Korean peoples are confident of this; the 700 million Chinese people are confident of this; and the overwhelming majority of the people in the world are confident of this. Furthermore, this is not blind faith, nor an abstract desire, but a profound conviction based on the understanding of the invincible might of the people of all countries and the understanding of the strength of the revolution and Marxist-Leninist ideology. Now, the world has entered into such a stage of development in which the decay of the capitalist system is accelerating, the revolutionary cause of the people of all countries is ringing vigorously the death knell for imperialism. Our urgent task is to concentrate all our efforts to build, together with the people of all countries, a broad international united front of the fighters genuinely opposing imperialist aggression and intervention. In that united front there cannot and should not be lackeys and accomplices of U.S. imperialism, and there should be no revisionists and their lackeys.

At the same time, the Marxist-Leninists in the whole world must strengthen their struggle against modern revisionism headed by the Soviet leadership. An uncompromising principled struggle should be waged against those renegades of Marxism-Leninism, and public polemics should definitely not be stopped. Just as the Albanian-Chinese Joint Statement has pointed out that a clear demarcation line must be drawn with the revisionists ideologically, politically and organizationally. There should absolutely be no "united action" with them. Our Party believes that in the struggle in defence of Marxism-Leninism and in the struggle against revisionism, the third road or the fence-riding attitude is something alien. On this important question of vital importance which affects the present and future of socialism and communism, the only course to follow is to wage principled struggles under all conditions until complete victory is won over revisionism, no matter how long the struggle will last and how great will be the sacrifices. We believe that victory will certainly belong to Marxism-Leninism, because the banner to defend Marxism-Leninism is being held high by the glorious Communist Party of China, by our Party and by other revolutionary Parties. The communist movement of the revolutionary Marxist-Leninists is speedily forging ahead. New Marxist-Leninist groups have been set up everywhere. This is an inevitable process signifying the vitality of our revolutionary thought. The Albanian Party of Labour has both in the past and in the present consistently supported the revolutionary Marxist-Leninists of various countries in their struggle to smash modern revisionism. We are convinced that Marxism-Leninism will certainly triumph because from now on, revisionism has embarked on the road of decline and disintegration. The revisionists have been weakened as a result of their internal disputes and contradictions. They are engaged in vehement rivalry with each other. The Soviet Khrushchev revisionist leaders are trying hard to control and oppress their allies who in turn are doing their utmost to extricate themselves from Soviet influence so as to reach direct agreement independently and freely with the imperialists of various countries. This is clearly manifested in the preparatory work for the forthcoming meeting of the Warsaw Treaty Organization. At the meeting, the Khrushchev revisionists will contrive a new plot against various socialist countries and against the vital interests of peace. Our Party will bravely and mercilessly expose these dangerous schemers just as we have done in the past. Through special statements of the Government, we have exposed on many occasions the policy of chauvinism and betrayal pursued by the Soviet leadership in the Warsaw Treaty Organization. But they have never had the courage to give us a reply. The problem cannot be solved by sending to the Albanian Government an invitation to attend a certain meeting of the Warsaw Treaty Organization. No! Albania rejects such a nuptial invitation to the meeting because the rights of Albania as an effective member state of the Warsaw Treaty Organization are prescribed by the law and guaranteed by international authority. The crucial thing is to openly admit their mistakes and crimes committed against the Albanian People's Republic. The crucial thing is to inform the Albanian Government all the open and secret decisions made by the Warsaw Treaty Organization reached in the absence of the Albanian Government resulting from the discriminative and hostile action taken at will by the modern revisionists towards the Albanian People's Republic. The crucial thing is first of all to liquidate the betrayal committed by the revisionists and their conspiratory and diabolic policy of threatening all the socialist countries and world peace.

Dear comrades,

The people of our country, under the leadership of our Marxist-Leninist Party of Labour, have fought and are fighting wholeheartedly for the best fulfilment of our international and domestic tasks and for the further advancement of the socialist cause of our country, so that we will not make ourselves debtors to the people of various countries and to the history of struggle against imperialism and modern revisionism. We are glad that our tit-for-tat struggle and our stand against U.S. imperialism and its lackeys, the Khrushchev revisionists and Tito revisionists, have won warm acclaim from our friends and evoked the hatred of our enemies. Although our nation is small, we are marching unswervingly along the correct road under the guidance of our Party. In the future, too, we will continue to resist and smash all the blockade and schemes hatched by the criminal enemy against our country, and spare no efforts to continue to make contributions to the complete victory of the socialist cause, and to freedom and world peace.

In our fight for the building of socialism, our people are filled with fresh enthusiasm and a vigorous
revolutionary spirit. Everywhere in our country, the workers, peasants, soldiers and intellectuals are going all-out for the fulfilment of the targets of our national economic and cultural development plan. To date, our country has made very good achievements either in agricultural and industrial production or in culture and education. The revolutionary spirit displayed by the broad masses of the working people is the outcome of a series of important measures and decisions taken recently by our Party for the further revolutionization of life in our country. Our Party has always taught us that we should always think, fight, and live like revolutionaries, resolutely oppose all manifestations of the bourgeoisie and petty bourgeoisie which are alien to us, be full of class feelings, and fight against all that is revisionist and degenerate in people’s mind. This is a fierce class struggle. It is of great importance not only to our country of today, but also to our country in our communist future.

It is, therefore, our duty to maintain and constantly bring into full play the revolutionary energy and revolutionary fervour of the broad masses of the working people and cadres, deepen their correct understanding of the requirements of the Party line, intensify the communist education of the masses, and youth in particular, and increase revolutionary vigour and constantly strengthen our national defence.

We must redouble our efforts on the economic front and work for greater successes. This is the first year of the Fourth Five-Year Plan, a year in which a big stride will be made towards the building up of a socialist society in all fields. It is the 25th anniversary of the founding of our Party and it will soon witness the holding of the 5th Congress of the Party. Now, a series of revolutionary campaigns are being unfolded throughout the country to increase production, especially to increase the production of foodgrains and potatoes, which is our fundamental task. All working people in both cities and the countryside must do their best to fulfil the various tasks with honour and build our motherland into a more prosperous and still stronger country. Guided by the Party’s supreme line of self-reliance and of “holding pick in one hand and rifle in the other,” we should serve our great cause with all our wisdom and knowledge, so that we may, as revolutionaries should, surmount all difficulties and obstacles and carry out our plan on schedule and in all fields.

In the Fourth Five-Year Plan period as in the past, we have received cordial, brotherly and disinterested assistance from the People’s Republic of China. This has been an important factor for our country in making all our achievements. I would like, therefore, to avail myself of this opportunity to express once again on behalf of the people, the Party of Labour and the Government of Albania my heartfelt gratitude to the fraternal Chinese people, the fraternal Chinese Communist Party and the Government of the People’s Republic of China and to esteemed Comrade Mao Tse-tung himself, for the disinterested aid and tremendous support which they have given us in the past and at the present.

We should unwaveringly enhance further our people’s unity around the Party, which is the basis for all our victories. Unity means strength. It has always been a stone wall against which the enemies of the Party and the people’s regime have broken their heads.

The course of the People’s Assembly elections forcefully demonstrated the rock-like unity and solidarity of our people rallied around the Party. Throughout the length and breadth of our country, the people, like a single entity, have unanimously approved of the candidates nominated by the Albanian Democratic Front. We are deeply convinced that, as in the past, the same unity and solidarity will be demonstrated on July 10, the day of the elections, when all eligible voters will cast their ballots for the candidates of the Democratic Front — the fine sons and daughters of the people.

Our people will for the sixth time elect their own deputies to the People’s Assembly — the supreme authority of the state — freely, directly and in proportion to the population.

Experience in the past 22 years has eloquently proved that to vote for the candidates of the Democratic Front is to vote for the happy future of our people and for socialism and communism. The votes cast will be like bullets aimed at the hearts of all the enemies of the People’s Republic of Albania.

We must unite more closely than ever in the organization of the Democratic Front led by our glorious Party and take part in the elections with our heads high and with the rich fruits of our work.

Dear comrades!

The visit of the Chinese Party and Government Delegation headed by Comrade Chou En-lai will make a new major contribution to the further development of the cause of building socialism in our two countries. It will help strengthen the Marxist-Leninist solidarity of the international communist and workers’ movement and will help the cause of freedom and world peace.

The visit will once more show our friends and our enemies how closely bound together are the peoples of our two countries and our two Parties and how staunchly we are forging ahead shoulder to shoulder on the road illuminated by Marxism-Leninism for the victory of the cause of communism and of the cause of freedom and peace.

May the great friendship and militant solidarity between the Albanian and Chinese peoples last for ever and be constantly more consolidated!

Long live the heroic Chinese Communist Party and its great leader, our most respected and beloved friend, Mao Tse-tung!

Long live our Party of Labour which brings together us and this friend of ours who goes through thick and thin with us!

Glory to Marxism-Leninism!
Comrade Chou En-lai’s Speech at Tirana Mass Rally

- In the struggle against imperialism and revisionism the Albanian people maintain a firm stand and defy brute force, and have made indelible contributions.
- The great cultural revolution in China is a tremendous encouragement to the revolutionary people of the world and a heavy blow at the enemies.
- In the last analysis, the present class struggle in the ideological field in China is a struggle between attempts at staging a come-back and efforts to thwart such attempts. This struggle to dig out the roots of revisionism will further consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat in China, including the dictatorship in all cultural fields.

Dear Comrade Enver Hoxha,
Dear Comrade Mehmet Shehu,
Dear Comrade Hazhi Lleshi,
Dear Comrades and Friends,

This is my third visit to your country. We always feel exceedingly elated to visit fraternal Albania and meet the heroic Albanian people. I wish to take this opportunity to extend, in the name of the Chinese Communist Party, the Chinese Government and the entire Chinese people, in the name of Comrade Mao Tse-tung, warm greetings and a revolutionary salute to the glorious Albanian Party of Labour, the Government of the People’s Republic of Albania, the people of Tirana and all the people of Albania, and to Comrade Enver Hoxha, the wise leader of the Albanian people and close friend of the Chinese people.

Not long ago, the Albanian Party and Government Delegation headed by Comrade Mehmet Shehu visited our country and brought to our people very great joy and elation. The visit demonstrated the lofty friendship between our two Parties, countries and peoples and fully showed that the relations between our two peoples are not those of ordinary friends but of revolutionary comrades and class brothers. The joint statement issued by the two sides is a programmatic document of great historic significance and a major contribution to the international communist movement. The visit of the Albanian Party and Government Delegation to our country brought our revolutionary friendship and militant solidarity to a new height.

In the past few days, we have found ourselves overwhelmed by your sincere and profound revolutionary friendship. We have been deeply moved by your enthusiastic and grand welcome and extremely warm hospitality. Please allow me, on behalf of all members of the Chinese Party and Government Delegation, to express our hearty thanks to you, to the leading Albanian Party and government comrades and to our Albanian brothers and sisters.

An inspiring, great change has occurred in your country in the short period of a year or more since my last visit.

The industrious and courageous Albanian people, under the wise leadership of the glorious Albanian Party of Labour and Comrade Enver Hoxha, have scored new and tremendous achievements in socialist construction. You have successfully fulfilled the Third Five-Year Plan, there have been very big advances in your industrial and agricultural production and the material and cultural life of your people has been markedly improved. At present, the entire Albanian people have begun to carry out the magnificent Fourth Five-Year Plan, making great efforts to build industry on a still sounder footing, to realize self-sufficiency in food supplies, and to build your fatherland into a more prosperous and powerful socialist country. The Chinese people warmly congratulate the brotherly Albanian people on your brilliant successes and wish you new and still greater successes in your socialist construction in future.

These successes of the Albanian people in socialist construction have been achieved under extremely difficult and arduous conditions, and are therefore truly remarkable. Imperialism and modern revisionism surround you on all sides and have imposed a blockade on you, in a vain attempt to undermine and strangle your cause of socialist construction. However, the heroic Albanian people were not frightened or overwhelmed by pressure. With pick in one hand and rifle in the other, you have displayed the heroic spirit of “rather die on one’s feet than live on one’s knees,” waged a stubborn struggle, surmounted one difficulty after another on the path of advance and achieved one victory after another. Your country has grown ever more prosperous and things have become better and better for you with each passing day. With your brilliant successes, you have proclaimed to the whole world the utter bankruptcy of the imperialist and modern revisionist encirclement and blockade.

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We are particularly glad to see that the Albanian people are carrying forward their socialist revolution in depth. Not long ago, the Albanian Party of Labour and the Albanian Government adopted a series of important measures in the political, economic, military, ideological and cultural fields, the central theme of which is to give prominence to proletarian politics, further apply the mass line and develop revolutionary spirit and you have launched a mighty mass movement of revolutionization throughout the country. This is another vivid example set by the Albanian Party of Labour of creatively integrating the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of Albania, and embodies the Party's spirit of uninterrupted revolution. Encouraged by the measures for revolutionization adopted by the Party and Government, the Albanian people are high in spirit and strong in morale, and the whole country is now a scene of boundless revolutionary vigour. Your revolutionization movement is becoming a powerful material force, giving strong impetus to the speedy progress of Albania's cause of socialist revolution and socialist construction.

Comrades and friends! Under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party, the Chinese people, holding high the radiant banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought, have launched on a nationwide scale the three great revolutionary movements of class struggle, struggle for production and scientific experiment, and attained one great success after another. An unprecedentedly excellent situation has come into being throughout the country.

The socialist revolution on the political, economic, military, ideological and cultural fronts of our country is continuously deepening. The dictatorship of the proletariat is becoming ever more consolidated and developed in all fields. Mao Tse-tung's thought has struck deep roots in the hearts of the people and the political consciousness of the broad masses has been greatly enhanced. The people of the whole country are united more closely around the Central Committee of the Party headed by Comrade Mao Tse-tung.

Guided by the Party's general line for building socialism, our people, by developing the revolutionary spirit of self-reliance and hard work, have pushed the socialist construction in our country from one height to another. Industrial and agricultural production has grown steadily and the level of science and technology has risen rapidly. This is the first year of China's Third Five-Year Plan. A mass campaign of comparing with and learning from each other, catching up with and surpassing the more advanced, and helping the less advanced in the spirit of the examples of Taching and Tachai and the People's Liberation Army is vigorously unfolding throughout the country. The whole national economy has entered the period of a new leap forward.

The tremendous successes in China's socialist construction have been scored in the course of uninterrupted class struggle and the gradual deepening of the socialist revolution.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung tells us that socialism is a very long historical period; in socialist society, after socialist transformation of the ownership of means of production is completed, classes and class contradictions still exist, class struggle is not over; it is only the form of class struggle that has changed. Throughout the historical stage of socialism there exist class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, struggle between the socialist road and the capitalist road and the danger of the restoration of capitalism. In order to consolidate and develop socialism and to prevent the restoration of capitalism, it is necessary to hold fast to the dictatorship of the proletariat and to carry through to the end the social revolution on the political, military, ideological and cultural fronts while continuing the socialist revolution on the economic front.

Repeated practice has made us recognize more and more profoundly the consummate wisdom and absolute correctness of Comrade Mao Tse-tung's theory on contradictions, classes and class struggle in socialist society.

In our country, although the landlord and bourgeois classes have been overthrown, they have not yet been completely eliminated. We have confiscated their property, but we cannot confiscate the reactionary ideas within their brains. Persons of these classes are still living and they are not reconciled to their doom. They inevitably try to stage a come-back. They form a minuscule minority of the whole population, but their influences and power of resistance are proportionally much greater. The small producers in the cities and villages of our country have been organized to take part in collective production. But they retain certain qualities inherent in small producers. The spontaneous capitalist tendency of the small producers in the cities and villages ceaselessly engenders new bourgeois elements. As the ranks of the workers rapidly increase and expand, some unwholesome elements enter. Owing to the corroding effect of the influence of the bourgeoisie and the spontaneous forces of the petty bourgeoisie, and owing to the presence and influence of the force of habit from the old society, some persons within the Party and government organs and cultural and educational institutions in our country may degenerate and become new bourgeois elements. At the same time, imperialism, modern revisionism and the reactionaries of all countries try every means to carry out encirclement, infiltration and subversive activities against us. All this creates in our country the danger of the emergence of revisionism and the restoration of capitalism.

To deny the existence of any danger of the restoration of capitalism in the socialist countries or to underestimate this danger is entirely wrong. But provided we understand this question correctly and do not evade it, provided we hold fast to the dictatorship of the proletariat and the revolutionary line of Marxism-Leninism, correctly handle contradictions among the people and those between the enemy and ourselves, and wage protracted and unremitting struggle, then we will be able to beat back the class enemies' repeated and frantic
attacks. This has been fully borne out by the history of class struggle in our country in the past 16 years.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung summed up the experience of practice of the dictatorship of the proletariat and class struggle in our country, studied the positive and negative experiences of other countries, mainly those of the Soviet Union, and creatively developed the Marxist-Leninist theories of the dictatorship of the proletariat and scientific socialism. In accordance with the teachings of Comrade Mao Tse-tung, our Party has adopted in recent years a series of fundamental measures to prevent the revisionists from usurping leadership, to forestall restoration of capitalism, and to guarantee that our Party and country will never change colour and that our country will carry the socialist revolution through to the end, so as to pave the way for the successful transition to communism in future.

A socialist education movement has been unfolded extensively in the villages and cities of our country. In this movement, we carry out a cleaning up in the political, economic, ideological and organizational fields in accordance with the principle of thoroughgoing revolution. We mobilize the masses to the fullest extent, organize and rely on the revolutionary ranks of classes, handle correctly the contradictions among the people, and unite all the people that can be united, so as to repulse the frantic attacks launched by the capitalist and feudal forces. Meanwhile, through this movement, a profound class education and socialist education is conducted among the masses to promote proletarian ideology and eradicate bourgeois ideology. This movement has most profound and far-reaching significance for the consolidation of our socialist positions and the dictatorship of the proletariat, for the consolidation of socialist ownership by the whole people and by the collective, and for the development of production, and has produced tremendous results.

The system of participation of the broad sections of cadres in physical labour has been gradually instituted in our country, since the Central Committee of our Party issued directives in 1957 and 1958 to this effect. Participation in collective productive labour has played an extremely important role in improving the ideology and working style of the cadres and the relations between the cadres and the masses. Many mistakes committed by the cadres are connected with their half-hearted attitude towards participating in collective labour. Non-participation in collective labour is often the first step in political degeneration. Participation by the cadres in collective productive labour so as to maintain the broadest, constant and close contact with the working people is an important matter of fundamental significance for overcoming bureaucracy and preventing revisionism and dogmatism in the socialist system.

We are carrying out in our country a great educational revolution to wipe out thoroughly the influences of the bourgeois educational system and to change completely the situation in which the bourgeois intellectuals dominate our schools. We are making a start by changing the old system of entrance examina-

tions, and will take further steps to carry out an overall and thorough reform of our educational system. Students should devote their main effort to their studies but should also learn other things. This means that they should not only study culture but also learn to be industrial workers, peasants and soldiers, and also criticize the bourgeoisie. Schooling should be made shorter. The part-work part-study and part-farming part-study schools will be popularized gradually. In all types of schools, there must be a thorough implementation of the education policy initiated by Comrade Mao Tse-tung, a policy which enables the students to develop morally, intellectually and physically, becoming socialist-minded and cultured labourers. The cause of education in our country must be guided by Mao Tse-tung’s thought, give prominence to proletarian politics, implement the class line of the proletariat, combine education with productive labour, and create the conditions for the gradual elimination of the gap between mental and physical labour.

A great proletarian cultural revolution has been sweeping over China like a high tide in the past few months. This movement of cultural revolution is pounding powerfully at all the decadent ideological and cultural positions still maintained by the bourgeoisie and remnant feudal forces. This is an extremely sharp class struggle in the ideological field, the key question in the deepening of our country’s socialist revolution in the present stage and an issue of prime importance affecting the destiny and future of our Party and state.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung has time and again taught us that it is necessary to grasp ideological matters and the superstructure and consolidate the proletarian ideological positions, the dictatorship of the proletariat and the economic foundations of socialism. The representatives of the bourgeoisie who have sneaked into the Party also grab hold of ideological matters and the superstructure; they conduct anti-Party and anti-socialist propaganda and try to prepare public opinion for the restoration of capitalism. Therefore, in the last analysis, the present class struggle in the ideological field in China is a struggle between attempts at staging a come-back and efforts to thwart such attempts.

At present hundreds of millions of workers, peasants and soldiers and the broad masses of revolutionary cadres and revolutionary intellectuals in China, taking Mao Tse-tung’s thought as their weapon, are sweeping away all monsters and smashing the conspiracy of the agents of the bourgeoisie to usurp Party and state leadership. This struggle to dig out the roots of revisionism will further consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat in China, including the dictatorship in all cultural fields. The masses of the people in our country are demolishing thoroughly the old ideology, old culture, old customs and old habits, which the exploiting classes have used to poison the minds of the people for thousands of years; they are creating and forming an entirely new ideology, new culture, new customs and new habits — those of the proletariat. This great proletarian cultural revolution which is unprecedented in

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human history is a tremendous encouragement to the revolutionary people of the world and a heavy blow at imperialism, modern revisionism and the reactionaries of all countries.

China's experience shows that the most fundamental way to prevent the usurpation of the leadership of the Party and the state by revisionism and the restoration of capitalism is to give prominence to proletarian politics in all work. In China, giving prominence to proletarian politics means giving prominence to Mao Tse-tung's thought. Comrade Mao Tse-tung has with great talent creatively carried on and developed Marxism-Leninism in all respects. Mao Tse-tung's thought is Marxism-Leninism of the epoch in which imperialism moves towards its doom and socialism advances to worldwide victory, and is the peak of Marxism-Leninism in our epoch. In our country the broad sections of cadres and the masses of workers, peasants and soldiers take Comrade Mao Tse-tung's works as their supreme guidance in every kind of work. Their wide mass movement for creatively studying and applying Comrade Mao Tse-tung's works has already yielded abundant fruit in the political, ideological, economic and military fields and has ushered in a new era in which the masses of workers, peasants and soldiers directly master and apply Marxism-Leninism. Through their practice in prolonged revolutionary struggle, the Chinese people have come to understand profoundly that Mao Tse-tung's thought is our most powerful weapon for defeating the bourgeoisie and revisionism. The banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought is the banner of victory.

The socialist countries do not yet have systematic and complete experience on how to prevent the usurpation of leadership of the Party and the state by revisionism and the restoration of capitalism, on how constantly to consolidate and develop socialism and bring about the gradual transition to communism. The historical mission of creating this experience falls on the shoulders of contemporary Marxist-Leninists. In this respect, our Chinese Communist Party has accumulated some experience, but it is still far from enough. We shall continue our efforts. We are happy to have the opportunity to exchange experience on this matter with the fraternal Albanian Party of Labour and to draw benefit from your measures for revolutionization.

Comrades, friends! Our epoch is one in which capitalism moves towards its doom and socialism advances to its victory. In Comrade Mao Tse-tung's words: "The present world situation is such that the two major forces, revolution and counter-revolution, are locked in final struggle." A great battle is taking place between the revolutionary forces and the counter-revolutionary forces throughout the world, particularly between the Asian, African and Latin American peoples on the one hand, and imperialism headed by the United States and its lackeys and accomplices on the other. The whole world is undergoing an intense upheaval, and drastic division and regrouping are taking place among the various political forces.

From the Marxist-Leninist standpoint, the great upheaval, great division and great reorganization in the present international situation are the result of the deepening of the revolutionary struggle of the world people. This is a good thing, not a bad thing. Such characteristics invariably emerge whenever the old social system is changing over to the new in the history of mankind. Upheavals raise the consciousness of the people and speed up the tempo of social development. Division and reorganization draw a clearer demarcation line between the revolutionary front and the counter-revolutionary front, and benefit the steady advance of revolution. The savage counter-attacks launched by imperialism and the reactionaries of all countries may temporarily succeed in certain places. However, the adverse counter-revolutionary current can never stem the main revolutionary current.

U.S. imperialism is the most arrogant and frenzied aggressor in history. It has the highest ambition and its hands reach out the farthest. It not only intends to annihilate the socialist countries and annex the vast regions of Asia, Africa and Latin America, but also is pursuing a "jungle law" policy towards its allies in Western Europe, North America and Oceania. U.S. imperialism appears to be a colossus and invincible; actually, like all reactionary forces in history, it has, of its own doing, created a force that buries itself. It is now entering its grave. U.S. imperialism has ridden roughshod everywhere, done every evil and aroused the people of the world, including the American people, to encircle it. The nooses put around its neck are more numerous than any other imperialism in history. Its fatal weakness of far-flung battlefronts, shortage of troops and remote rear is more serious than the other aggressors in the past. It is not only repeating the errors of other imperialists but also committing more errors. The madness and weakness of U.S. imperialism have found their most concentrated expression in its aggressive war against Vietnam. The more U.S. imperialism indulges in sabre-rattling throughout the world, the earlier the day will come when it will be completely buried by the people of the world.

The C.P.S.U. leadership is carrying out Khrushchov revisionism without Khrushchov. In restoring capitalism, capitulating to U.S. imperialism, and practising splitism and big-nation chauvinism against fraternal countries and fraternal Parties, they have gone much farther than Khrushchov himself. The revolutionary people of the whole world see more and more clearly that they are enemy to Marxism-Leninism, renegades from the international communist movement, saboteurs of the revolutionary cause of all peoples, and accomplices of U.S. imperialism. Therefore, to oppose U.S. imperialism, it is necessary to oppose Khrushchov revisionism. The struggle against imperialism cannot be separated from the struggle against revisionism. This is a test for all who truly persist in the anti-imperialist struggle and for all who truly persist in the anti-revisionist struggle. It is understandable that for
various reasons some people have for the time being failed to see this. But it is as much a question of principle to oppose Khrushchev revisionism as it is to oppose U.S. imperialism. On questions of principle it is not permissible to be equivocal. We believe that all genuine communists will ultimately come round to the correct standpoint.

Turning things upside down at home and setting themselves against the broad masses of the Soviet people, the Khrushchev revisionists are opposed by the broad masses of the Soviet people and thus find themselves up against a series of insoluble, sharp contradictions. Their hegemony inside the modern revisionist group is more and more weakened, and their baton is made less and less effective. The C.P.S.U. leadership is more cunning than Khrushchev himself, and is feeble too. The pomp and arrogance shown by Khrushchev in his day has gone for ever. They are in a pretty fix both at home and abroad and more isolated than ever before. Their collusion with U.S. imperialism is seen through by more and more people. The various tricks they play over the Vietnam question cannot in the slightest way help themselves out. The harder Khrushchev revisionism wriggles, the quicker will it come to its doom.

The Vietnam question is the focus of the present international class struggle, and also an important aspect of the dirty political collusion between U.S. imperialism and Khrushchev revisionism. For more than one year, U.S. imperialism, while expanding its aggression against Vietnam and making war blackmail, has time and again plotted fraudulent "peace talks" in an attempt to obtain through peace negotiations what it cannot attain on the battlefields. Of the various deceptive slogans on "peace talks" raised by the U.S., the latest one is that the U.S. too is willing to settle the Vietnam question in accordance with the Geneva agreements; and it has contrived by various means to reconvene the Geneva Conference. This is deception in the extreme.

With regard to the Geneva agreements, the question is one of implementing them or not, and not one of reconvening the Geneva Conference for another discussion. If the United States has sincere intentions of implementing the Geneva agreements, it should accept the four-point stand of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the five-point statement of the South Vietnam National Front for Liberation, which is the only legal representative of the south Vietnamese people, and it should stop immediately its aggression against the whole of Vietnam, withdraw all the aggressive troops of the U.S. and its satellites from south Vietnam, and let the Vietnamese people settle their own problems by themselves. This is the essence of the Geneva agreements. Failing to do so, it is out of the question to talk about a peaceful settlement of the Vietnam question in accordance with the Geneva Agreements, and still less to talk about reconvening the Geneva Conference. If international agreements reached at an international conference are not meant to be kept, then, would it not be sheer deception to convene another international conference?

We Chinese and Albanian people, together with the revolutionary people of the whole world, firmly support the just struggle of the Vietnamese people against U.S. aggression and for national salvation, resolutely expose and condemn the U.S. imperialism's counter-revolutionary dual tactics. U.S. imperialism's attempt to widen its war of aggression against Vietnam is aimed at the people of all Indo-Chinese states and the people of China as well. The Chinese people will never retreat in face of the war threats posed by U.S. imperialism. Whatever tricks the U.S. imperialists may play, to whatever extent they may escalate the war, whatever great risks we may have to run and whatever cost we may have to pay, we the Chinese people will give all-out support to the just struggle of the Vietnamese people in firmly smashing all intrigues of the U.S. imperialists and thoroughly defeating the U.S. aggressors.

Since Khrushchev fell from power, the new leadership of the C.P.S.U. has pretended to assist the Vietnamese people. In reality, like Khrushchev, they are scared out of their wits by the U.S. imperialists' war blackmail. It is to betray to them that they give assistance to Vietnam. Right from the beginning, the Chinese and the Albanian people have laid bare this scheme of the C.P.S.U. revisionist leadership. Running into a dead alley, they have tried desperately to play new tricks to cover up their true intention of betraying the Vietnamese people. Recently, they have energetically urged the socialist countries to "unite against imperialism" and take "united action" on the Vietnam question. Many who have no idea of the long and short of it tend to believe this. Actually, it is an out-and-out fraud. Innumerable facts indicate that the line pursued by the Soviet revisionist leadership is U.S.-U.S.S.R. collaboration for the domination of the world; the few, small gestures they make against the United States on the Vietnam question are entirely intended for putting the Vietnam question into the orbit of U.S.-U.S.S.R. collaboration. The Soviet revisionist leading group is an out-and-out pro-U.S. force, so how can any anti-U.S. "united action" be taken with them? It is absolutely impossible to make revolution together with the renegades from the revolution; it is absolutely impossible to form an anti-U.S. united front with the accomplices of U.S. imperialism.

In fact, what really interests the Soviet revisionist leading group is not what they call "unity against imperialism" but working in co-ordination with the dual policy of U.S. imperialism in a thousand and one ways to realize their peace talks plot. They have kicked up a lot of fuss everywhere that the Vietnam situation is cause for concern, dropped hints everywhere that the United States is sincere in arriving at a peaceful settlement of the Vietnam question, and are busy everywhere making proposals for a so-called peaceful settlement of the Vietnam question. The recent dust and din around the call for a conference

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of non-aligned countries to discuss the Vietnam question have everything to do with this plot. Now, let us take a look at the kind of people who make up the so-called non-aligned countries. The Indian reactionaries are one and the renegade Tito group another. They are not at all non-aligned countries; what good can come from association with such people? The Vietnam question is a question of aggression and resistance to aggression and to adopt an eclectic attitude which makes no distinction between right and wrong will only encourage the U.S. aggressors. We hold that all Afro-Asian countries which uphold justice and all non-aligned countries which genuinely pursue a policy of peace and neutrality should draw a line of demarcation between themselves and the non-aligned countries' conference jointly minded by U.S. imperialism and the Soviet revisionist leading group.

In order to mass its forces for aggression against Vietnam, U.S. imperialism is trying to create a sham relaxation in Europe. Actively co-operating with it, the Soviet revisionist leading group is seeking through various channels to convene a so-called conference on European security in an attempt to apply the "Tashkent spirit" to Europe. They have repeatedly made it clear that the Vietnam question is no obstacle to their reaching agreement with the United States on disarmament and the prevention of nuclear proliferation. This is a big service to U.S. imperialism and a flagrant betrayal of the Vietnamese people and the peoples of the world.

The main source of danger in Europe is U.S. imperialism. Through NATO, the United States has set up many military bases in Europe and stationed a large number of troops there for controlling Western Europe and menacing the East European socialist countries. U.S. imperialism has on its own fostered West German militarism, turning West Germany into a bridgehead for aggression in Europe. The menace posed by West German militarism to Europe is, in a fundamental sense, a menace of U.S. imperialism to Europe. Very obviously, without a resolute struggle against U.S. imperialism and West German militarism, there can be no guarantee for security in Europe.

However, the Soviet modern revisionists have adopted a policy of concession and compromise towards U.S. imperialism and West German militarism, renounced the struggle for the conclusion of a German peace treaty and the settlement of the West Berlin question and reached tacit agreement with U.S. imperialism on freezing the status quo in Europe. At present, they talk glibly about strengthening European security but keep silent about opposing U.S. imperialism. The desire of the European people for peace is understandable, but the sham relaxation jointly arranged by U.S. imperialism and Soviet modern revisionism at present can only help a shift eastward of the centre of gravity of the U.S. imperialist strategy and aid and abet the revisionist arrogance of West German militarism. From a long-term point of view, this line of action can in no way ease the European situation, it will only increase the danger of war in Europe.

Comrades, friends! Comrade Mao Tse-tung tells us: imperialism and all reactionaries are paper tigers; they seem to be powerful, in fact they are outwardly strong but inwardly weak. The reason is that they are divorced from the people. People all over the world, be courageous, dare to fight, defy difficulties and advance wave upon wave. Then the whole world will belong to the people. Monstera of all kinds shall be destroyed. Evidence is mounting that U.S. imperialism is a paper tiger, and that Khrushchev revisionism is also a paper tiger. The emergence of Khrushchev revisionism cannot be of any help to U.S. imperialism. Neither can throwing in its lot with U.S. imperialism be of any help to Khrushchev revisionism. Under the attacks of the revolutionary people the world over, U.S. imperialism and Khrushchev revisionism are on their last legs. We should hold higher and higher the revolutionary red flag of Marxism-Leninism, unite all revolutionary people of the whole world, staunchly carry through to the end the struggle against imperialism headed by the U.S. and against the reactionaries of various countries, and carry through to the end the struggle against modern revisionism with the C.P.S.U. leadership as its centre.

Holding high the banner of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, the heroic Albanian people, under the leadership of the Albanian Party of Labour, have consistently carried on a tit-for-tat struggle against imperialism and modern revisionism. In this struggle, you have maintained a firm stand and have made a clear distinction between enemies and friends, showing a proletarian revolutionary spirit of defying brute force and daring to struggle. You have made indelible contributions to promoting the cause of proletarian revolution throughout the world. The Chinese people are proud of having the Albanian people as their staunch comrades-in-arms. Let our two peoples unite still more closely, and, together with the Marxist-Leninists and revolutionary people of the whole world, struggle shoulder to shoulder and advance together to win the great victory for the cause of world peace, national liberation, people's democracy and socialism.

The future of mankind is infinitely bright. A new world without imperialism, without capitalism and without the system of exploitation is sure to come into being.

Long live the heroic Albanian people!

Long live the dauntless People's Republic of Albania!

Long live the glorious Albanian Party of Labour!

Long live Comrade Enver Hoxha, beloved leader of the Albanian people and close friend of the Chinese people!

Long live the revolutionary friendship and militant unity between the Chinese and Albanian Parties and between the two countries and two peoples!

Long live ever-victorious Marxism-Leninism!

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Chinese Party and Government Delegation
Concludes Friendship Visit to Rumania

The Chinese Party and Government Delegation led by Comrade Chou En-lai, Vice-Chairman of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and Premier of the State Council, concluded its 8-day friendship visit to Rumania on June 24. It was given a grand send-off from Bucharest, the Rumanian capital, by 200,000 people on the same day.

The Chinese delegation visited a number of industrial and agricultural enterprises, agricultural units and cultural and scientific institutions in Rumania. During the 8-day visit, the Chinese guests, as Comrade Chou En-lai said, “lived in an atmosphere of warmth and friendship.” In cities or the countryside, in the capital or in the provinces, they were accorded an enthusiastic welcome by the Rumanian people. Everywhere they went, nearly the entire population turned out to express with great feeling their respect for the envoys of the Chinese Communist Party and Chairman Mao. The enthusiastic welcome, said Comrade I.G. Maurer, Member of the Executive Committee and of the Permanent Presidium of the Central Committee of the Rumanian Communist Party and Chairman of the Council of Ministers, who went to the airport to see the delegation off, showed the Rumanian people’s deep sentiments of respect for the heroic Chinese people and their Communist Party. Quite a few Rumanians too spoke from the bottom of their hearts of their profound love for Chairman Mao, the great leader of the Chinese people. In Bucharest, a driver said: “Mao Tse-tung is a great statesman; what he pursues is the Marxist-Leninist line.” Another worker put it this way: “Mao Tse-tung is the greatest man of our times.” One college student said: “Mao Tse-tung is the great leader of the Chinese people and the good friend of the Rumanian people!”

This great respect and love for Chairman Mao Tse-tung and the Chinese Communist Party also found expression in the audiences at performances of the Peking Song and Dance Ensemble which toured Rumania with the delegation. On seeing Tien An Men and the portrait of Chairman Mao flashed on to the stage as a backdrop, one old lady could contain herself no longer, repeatedly crying out: “Bravo, Mao Tse-tung!” A Bucharest University student said after a performance: “Many of your items were performed in praise of Chairman Mao Tse-tung. We Rumanian people ardently love Chairman Mao Tse-tung.” An old lady, taking from her pocket a volume of the Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung, told members of the ensemble happily that she was studying Chairman Mao’s works.

On June 23, more than 3,000 citizens of the Rumanian capital held a Rumanian-Chinese friendship rally in honour of Comrade Chou En-lai and the delegation led by him. He told the meeting that the Chinese people and the Rumanian people would always stand together and fight side by side in storm and stress, in both socialist revolution and socialist construction.

During its visit, the Chinese Party and Government Delegation held talks with the Rumanian Party and state leaders in a frank and friendly atmosphere. Both sides pointed out that the relations of friendship and co-operation between the two countries and two Parties had made positive progress and they expressed their determination to further develop these relations of friendship and co-operation in the political, economic, cultural, scientific and technological fields and among mass organizations. The two sides had a beneficial exchange of views on international questions of common interest, expressed their respective viewpoints and enhanced mutual understanding.

When bidding farewell to the Rumanian people, Comrade Chou En-lai told the thousands of the masses who were at the airport to see him off, that the fraternal Rumanian people could rest assured that the Chinese people would all along support them in their struggle against imperialism headed by the United States and in their struggle in defence of national sovereignty and independence. Comrade Chou En-lai made the same pledge early after his arrival on June 16 in Bucharest when he declared that the Chinese people firmly supported the just struggle of the Rumanian people. At that time, a Rumanian worker, on hearing his statement, said: “The Chinese Communist Party, Chinese Government and Chinese people, unafraid of the threats and pressure of any big power, are upholding justice. Premier Chou’s speech is an enormous encouragement and support to us. The Chinese people are reliable friends of the Rumanian people.”

The visit of the Chinese Party and Government Delegation has further strengthened the relations of friendship and co-operation between the peoples of China and Rumania.

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Vice-Premier Chen Yi’s Speech
— At the Opening Ceremony of Afro-Asian Writers’ Emergency Meeting —

• The people of Asia and Africa have entered a great era of cultural rejuvenation. To create anti-imperialist revolutionary national new cultures of the broad masses of the Afro-Asian countries and to build Asia and Africa into a new Asia and a new Africa with modern science and culture — this is the historical task of the Afro-Asian people in the field of culture.

• The great cultural revolution being carried on by the Chinese people is a great practice of the thought of Mao Tse-tung. Mao Tse-tung’s thought is the steering-wheel that guides this great cultural revolution.

• The civilization and way of life propagated by U.S. imperialism are opium to corrode the national consciousness and enslave the minds of the people of various countries. The modern revisionist literature and art have degenerated into imitations of the Western bourgeois literature and art and are in the service of imperialism and the reactionaries of different countries.

• The most urgent and most important historical task of the Afro-Asian people today is to oppose U.S.-led imperialism, to win and safeguard national independence and to carry the national revolution through to the end. China is firmly prepared to make the maximum national sacrifices in supporting the anti-imperialist revolutionary cause of the Afro-Asian people and the people of the world.

Mr. Chairman, Messrs. Delegates,
Friends and Comrades:

The Afro-Asian Writers’ Emergency Meeting opens here in Peking today. It is a great honour for China to serve as the host of your meeting. On behalf of the Chinese Government and people, I express warm welcome to the participating Afro-Asian writers and heartfelt greetings to the meeting.

Participating in the meeting today are 152 delegates of writers and observers from 47 countries and regions in Asia and Africa and from three international organizations. You have come from the forefront of the anti-imperialist and anti-colonialist struggle in Asia and Africa and from different posts. You are a glorious and important contingent of the cultural army of the Afro-Asian people. You have long used your pens as weapons to fight for the Afro-Asian people’s cause of anti-imperialist revolutionary unity. You have always used the anti-imperialist revolutionary literature and art as weapons for criticism; in places like Vietnam and the Congo (Leopoldville), the situation has already developed into one of criticism by weapons. Your names and works are held in respect not only by the people of your own countries but also by the people of China and other parts of Asia and Africa.

You have come to this meeting in defiance of obstruction and sabotage by imperialism and its followers. You have brought with you happy new tidings about the awakening, unity, fight and victory of the two thousand million Afro-Asian people. This is a manifestation of the great anti-imperialist revolutionary unity of the Afro-Asian writers. The present meeting not only marks an entirely new stage in the Afro-Asian writers’ movement, but also constitutes a tremendous support and encouragement to the fighting peoples of Asia, Africa and the whole world.

Friends and comrades! The current international situation is favourable to the people of Asia, Africa and the whole world, and is unfavourable to imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism. The Afro-Asian people are against imperialism and for independence and freedom. The Afro-Asian people are more awakened than ever, their forces are growing from strength to strength and their struggle is deepening. This constitutes the main current in the Afro-Asian situation. Imperialism headed by the United States and a handful of reactionaries have been resorting to direct aggression, crude intervention, political subversion and other means to counter the revolutionary forces with wild attacks, stirring up a counter-revolutionary adverse current. However, this can in no way obstruct the triumphant advance of the Afro-Asian revolutionary people.

U.S. imperialism is redoubling its efforts in carrying out control, intervention, subversion and aggression in Asia and Africa, and is obdurately pursuing its policies of aggression and war in all parts of the world. It is the most insensate aggressor history has ever known, the principal prop of the reactionary forces throughout the world, and the most vicious enemy of
all the people. The peoples of Asia and Africa have to wage a life-and-death and tit-for-tat struggle against U.S. imperialism in every forward step they take along the road of winning independence and progress.

The Soviet revisionists are bent on seeking U.S.-Soviet collaboration for world domination, and they are helping U.S. imperialism and its lackeys to maintain their reactionary rule, suppress the national-liberation movement, and undermine and disrupt the ranks of Afro-Asian solidarity against imperialism. They have degenerated into accomplices of U.S. imperialism. While opposing imperialism headed by the United States, the revolutionary people of Asia and Africa cannot but oppose modern revisionism with the Soviet leading clique as its centre.

The most urgent and most important historical task of the Afro-Asian people today is to oppose U.S.-led imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism, to win and safeguard national independence and to carry the national revolution through to the end.

The people of those Afro-Asian countries which have not yet won independence are waging various forms of struggle, armed struggle included, to strive for independence and liberation.

The people of those Afro-Asian countries which have won independence are continuing to oppose the control, intervention, subversion and aggression by imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism in order to safeguard national independence and state sovereignty and develop national economy and culture.

The Chinese people share the destiny and life breath of the other Afro-Asian peoples. We will for ever stand by our anti-imperialist revolutionary brothers of Asia and Africa.

We firmly support the just struggles waged by the peoples of Vietnam, Korea, Cambodia, Laos, Thailand, Malaya, the Philippines, North Kalimantan, Indonesia and Japan, and firmly support the peoples of various Asian countries in their struggle to oppose imperialist aggression and to win and safeguard national independence.

We firmly support the just struggles waged by the peoples of South Yemen and Oman and the Arab people of Palestine and firmly support the peoples of the Arab countries in their struggle to win and safeguard national independence and oppose imperialism and its tool for aggression — Israel.

We firmly support the just struggles waged by the peoples of the Congo (Leopoldville), Angola, Mozambique, ‘Portuguese’ Guinea, Zimbabwe, South Africa, Bechuanaland, Basutoland, Swaziland, Southwest Africa, Somali Coast (“French”), Comoro Islands and Canary Islands, and firmly support the peoples of various African countries in their struggle to oppose colonialism and neo-colonialism and to win and safeguard national independence.

We firmly support the efforts made by the new emerging independent countries in Asia and Africa to develop national economy and build their countries; on the basis of equality and mutual benefit, we will do our best to help them achieve economic self-reliance and get rid of imperialist control.

We are firmly prepared to make the maximum national sacrifices in supporting the anti-imperialist revolutionary cause of the Afro-Asian people and the people of the world. No matter what pressure imperialism headed by the United States may exert to force us to change our policy, we will persevere in our stand of opposing imperialism and supporting the anti-imperialist revolution of the people of all countries and will never vacillate or change.

The Vietnam question is at present the focal point of the international anti-U.S. struggle. The U.S. aggressors are carrying out the inhuman policy of “burn all, kill all, destroy all” in southern Vietnam with sanguinary means of unprecedented savagery, and conducting wanton bombing of northern Vietnam. But all this can in no way avert the inevitable doom of U.S. imperialism. In order to save itself from defeat, U.S. imperialism is using war expansion as a means of blackmail to carry out its peace talks scheme on the one hand and, on the other, is using the smokescreen of peace talks to cover up its crime of expanding the war, vainly hoping to achieve its aim of perpetuating the occupation of south Vietnam and the division of Vietnam.

The heroic Vietnamese people have given full play to the power of the people’s war and won brilliant victories in their struggle against U.S. aggression and for national salvation. The Vietnamese people have long been determined to defend the north, liberate the south, reunify their motherland and drive out the U.S. marauders completely. The Vietnam question can only be solved in accordance with the will of the Vietnamese people. The United States must stop its aggression against the whole of Vietnam, withdraw all its armed forces from south Vietnam and let the Vietnamese people settle their own question by themselves. Otherwise, all empty talk about a peaceful settlement of the Vietnam question is a mere fraud.

The Soviet leading clique advertises that the United States also has the sincere desire for a peaceful settlement of the Vietnam question, trying its best to play down the Vietnamese people’s just demands and vainly attempting to sell out the fundamental interests of the Vietnamese people and make their just struggle stop half way. This is absolutely impermissible. Unprincipled compromise can only give U.S. imperialism a breathing space, and bring still greater calamities to the people of Vietnam. In these circumstances, how can there be any talk about “united action” with the Soviet leading clique?

The people of Vietnam stand in the forefront of the world people’s struggle against U.S. imperialism. Every drop of blood shed by the Vietnamese people has been shed for winning their own national independence and in the interests of the common cause of the Afro-Asian people against imperialism and colonialism. To do everything possible to support and aid the Vietnamese people in their struggle against U.S. aggression and for national salvation and completely to defeat the U.S.
aggressors — this is the common internationalist duty of the Afro-Asian peoples.

Whatever tricks U.S. imperialism may play, to whatever extent it may escalate the war, and however great are the risks and however heavy the price, we Chinese people will do our utmost to support the Vietnamese people until they win final victory in their struggle against U.S. aggression and for national salvation.

In order to isolate U.S. imperialism to the maximum extent and deal it the heaviest blows, the people of Asia, Africa and the whole world must further expand and strengthen the international united front against U.S. imperialism and its lackeys. This united front should persist in the genuine revolutionary policy which reflects the aspirations of the people of the whole world. It should be based on the great unity of the revolutionary people the world over. It should include all countries and peoples that are subjected to U.S. imperialist aggression, intervention, control or bullying, but it must in no case include the flunkeys, accomplices and collaborators of U.S. imperialism.

In our epoch, it is not the forces of imperialism, but the forces of the revolutionary people, which are strong; it is not the revolutionary people who are afraid of imperialism, but imperialism which is afraid of the revolutionary people. The people of Asia and Africa have no fear for imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism, and by relying on armed struggle and the anti-U.S. united front, they can assuredly defeat U.S. imperialism and win victory in the cause of national liberation. Just as Comrade Mao Tse-tung has pointed out: "People all over the world, be courageous, dare to fight, defy difficulties and advance wave upon wave. Then the whole world will belong to the people. Monsters of all kinds shall be destroyed."

Friends and comrades! With the continuous development and victories of the national-liberation movement, the people of Asia and Africa have entered a great era of cultural rejuvenation. To create anti-imperialist revolutionary national new cultures of the broad masses of the Afro-Asian countries and to build Asia and Africa into a new Asia and a new Africa with modern science and culture — this is the historical task of the Afro-Asian peoples in the field of culture.

In order to fulfill this historical task, the peoples of Asia and Africa are making tremendous efforts to eradicate all the cultural, literary and artistic influences of imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism, which stem mainly from U.S. imperialism.

Since World War II, U.S. imperialism has spent hundreds of millions of dollars, set in motion all its propaganda machines, gone through various channels and employed all literary and art forms in order to propagate the so-called American civilization and way of life. American literature and art of this sort are reactionary, rotten and decadent to the extreme; they are also an expression of despair. They are opium to corrode the national consciousness and enslave the minds of the people of various countries. The aim is to use cultural infiltration to supplement its political subversion, economic plunder and military aggression. All progressive literature and art in the United States are suppressed and have no chance of emerging.

The modern revisionist literature and art have degenerated into imitations of the Western bourgeois literature and art and are in the service of imperialism and the reactionaries of different countries.

The new culture, literature and art of the Afro-Asian people have developed in the course of anti-imperialist revolutionary struggles and in the course of struggle against the reactionary culture, literature and art of imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism. This new culture and this literature and art are the most progressive, the most vital and in full accordance with the interests of the Afro-Asian peoples and the urgent needs of their anti-imperialist revolutionary struggle.

The Afro-Asian people's new culture, literature and art strongly reflect the great anti-imperialist revolutionary spirit of the present epoch, present a clear-cut national character and are closely integrated with the broad masses. Therefore, our new culture, literature and art constitute a part of the whole anti-imperialist revolutionary machine and a powerful weapon for rallying and educating the people, hitting and destroying the imperialist forces and winning independence and liberation.

The Afro-Asian peoples created splendid ancient culture and made great contributions to human history. Today, they reappear on the stage of world history as revolutionary and progressive masters of their own destiny. The phase of modern world history in which we the people of Asia and Africa as well as our culture are looked down upon should come to a conclusion. With the victorious development of the anti-imperialist revolutionary struggle of the Afro-Asian peoples, the new culture of the great Afro-Asian peoples is on the rise. As far as its ideological content is concerned, this new culture has far exceeded the entire old culture of imperialism and colonialism.

As the culture of Western imperialism is becoming daily more decadent and despondent and that of revisionism daily more degenerate, the industrious, brave and talented Afro-Asian peoples with their high sense of national dignity and confidence will certainly be able to make still greater contributions than their past ones to human civilization.

Friends and comrades! Under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party and Chairman Mao Tse-tung and adhering to the general line of going all out, aiming high and achieving greater, faster, better and more economical results in building socialism, the Chinese people are advancing in giant strides on the road of socialism. A new leap forward has been taken in China's industrial production not only in quantity, but, what is more important, in variety, quality and technique. In scale, speed and quality, our capital construction has far surpassed that of the last few years. In agriculture, good harvests have been reaped for four years running.
An unprecedented, general upsurge has appeared in the national economy as a whole.

In the last few months, the Chinese people have unfolded an unprecedented movement for the great proletarian cultural revolution. It is a great revolutionary movement to consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat and promote the socialist cause in our country. This great revolution is the inevitable outcome of the historical development of our country.

The task of our great proletarian cultural revolution is to demolish thoroughly all the old ideology, culture, customs and habits which the exploiting classes fostered over thousands of years to poison the minds of the people; it is to create and foster among the broad masses entirely new proletarian ideology, culture, customs and habits. It is, in the tempest of the class struggle, creatively to study and apply Mao Tse-tung’s thought, popularize Mao Tse-tung’s thought and have it closely integrated with the broad masses of workers, peasants and soldiers.

In this great proletarian cultural revolution, the spearhead of our struggle is directed, with concentrated force, against the handful of counter-revolutionary elements, constituting only a few per cent of the total population, who are dead set against the Communist Party and against socialism. As for the overwhelming majority, we have always adopted and will continue to adopt the policy of “unity-criticism-unity.” We will continue to adopt the policy of unifying with, educating and remoulding the great number of intellectuals who have come from the old society. This policy is firm and unshakable. Some reactionaries at home and abroad have slandered us, saying that our struggle is “directed against all intellectuals.” This is sheer nonsense spread with ulterior motives.

In this great proletarian cultural revolution, we rely on the staunch proletarian revolutionaries, on the broad masses of workers, peasants and soldiers, revolutionary cadres and revolutionary intellectuals. Through the energetic study of Chairman Mao’s works, the broad masses of workers, peasants and soldiers of our country have broken open the door to the theory of Marxism-Leninism; the times when small numbers of intellectuals monopolized theoretical learning and knowledge are gone for ever, never to return; and a new historic epoch in which the masses of workers, peasants and soldiers directly master theoretical learning and knowledge is already here. Under the guidance of Mao Tse-tung’s thought, large numbers of literary and art workers have emerged from among the workers, peasants and soldiers. Thoroughly emancipated from the shackles of the old literary and artistic ideas of the exploiting classes, they have been creating large numbers of literary and art works imbued with the revolutionary spirit of the socialist epoch. The facts have vividly demonstrated that Mao Tse-tung’s thought, once grasped by the broad masses of workers, peasants and soldiers, becomes a tremendous material force.

Seeing that we are carrying on the cultural revolution in a big way, a handful of imperialists and their followers think that something must have gone wrong with our country and our state power, and that it seems they will have something to gain therefrom. They attempt to make some capital out of it. These lords are more stupid than pigs. The fact that the Chinese Communist Party dares to boldly mobilize the masses to carry on the cultural revolution in a big way exactly proves that our country is powerful, our state power is consolidated and the people of the whole country are united. Is not all this very clear?

What is more important, the current great cultural revolution is precisely aimed at destroying the social base of imperialism and modern revisionism, preventing the revisionists from usurping the leadership of the Party and the state and averting the restoration of capitalism. This is Comrade Mao Tse-tung’s great development of Marxism-Leninism. Therefore, we can definitely tell our friends that our unprecedented, great cultural revolution is indeed an extremely heavy blow at imperialism, modern revisionism and reactionaries of different countries. Apart from despair, they will get nothing else whatsoever. We would like to ask: Dare the U.S. imperialists and Soviet modern revisionists launch, like China, a great cultural revolution in their countries? I can say categorically that they dare not.

Victory in this great cultural revolution will further consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat in our country, provide a guarantee for the carrying through to the end of the Chinese people’s socialist revolution and for the successful progress of our country’s socialist construction; it will also prepare conditions for the future realization of communism. The Chinese people constituting one-fourth of the world’s population will thus be able to give more and greater internationalist support and contribution to the progressive cause of the people of Asia, Africa and the whole world.

Friends and comrades!

The great cultural revolution being carried on by the Chinese people is a great practice of the thought of Mao Tse-tung. Mao Tse-tung’s thought is the steering-wheel that guides this great cultural revolution.

Mao Tse-tung’s thought is Marxism-Leninism creatively developed during the long period of practice in the Chinese revolution; it is Marxism-Leninism creatively developed in the Chinese people’s great struggle against imperialism, modern revisionism and reactionaries of all countries. It is the sole guide of the Chinese people in their socialist revolution and socialist construction and a powerful weapon of the Chinese people with which to defeat imperialism and modern revisionism. Mao Tse-tung’s thought is the acme of Marxism-Leninism in our epoch, and is living Marxism-Leninism at its highest.

Friends and comrades! As you are well aware, the Chinese people, who experienced untold sufferings, have won today’s victory after 109 years of struggle. This victory has been won by traversing a tor-

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tuous, complicated and arduous course in which they fought, failed, fought again, failed again, fought again... till their victory. In order to remove the three big mountains — imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism — lying like a dead weight on the Chinese people, not a few people sought for various ideologies and methods and took various paths. We have travelled far and wide in the world to find a way to free ourselves from misery. But none of those ideologies worked and none of those paths led anywhere. The facts have taught the Chinese people that, apart from believing in Mao Tse-tung’s thought, they can no longer have faith in any other thought. To sum up the experience of the revolutionary struggle of our country over the past decades, especially that of prolonged bloodshed and defeats, and concentrate it into one point, it is: Mao Tse-tung’s thought alone can save China, and without Mao Tse-tung’s thought there would not have been New China. We had believed in various ideologies and experimented with various systems; they all ended in failure. But we win victory as soon as we believe in Mao Tse-tung’s thought which is the integration of Marxism-Leninism with the practice of the Chinese revolution. From our own experience we Chinese people have come to understand deeply that Mao Tse-tung’s thought is our life-line, and that Chairman Mao’s teachings are the supreme guide for all our work.

Today, with the struggle against U.S. imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism growing in depth, more and more people in all parts of the world, particularly in Asia, Africa and Latin America, want to study Mao Tse-tung’s thought. We warmly welcome the desire of our friends to learn, and regard it as an encouragement and impetus to the Chinese people.

The Chinese people will certainly abide by Chairman Mao’s teachings and learn with greater modesty from the revolutionary people all over the world, particularly from the militant and heroic peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America. We Chinese people are grateful to the people of Asia and Africa for the support and assistance they have rendered us. The revolutionary people of the world, who stand at the forefront of the struggle, are all our teachers, and we are willing to be their students. Guided by Mao Tse-tung’s thought, the Chinese people, together with the other peoples of Asia, Africa and the whole world, will devote their utmost efforts to combating imperialism, modern revisionism and reactionaries in all countries and to supporting and aiding all the oppressed nations and people in their just struggles.

Friends and comrades! Imperialism and its followers are unhappy about this Afro-Asian Writers’ Emergency Meeting and harbour a bitter hatred for the anti-imperialist and anti-colonialist literature and art of Asia and Africa. Your meeting here is in itself a great victory for the Afro-Asian writers’ friendship and solidarity. Through your efforts, this meeting will certainly make new contributions to the promotion of the revolutionary unity of the Afro-Asian writers. At the same time, I am convinced that, through the efforts of all of you, the anti-imperialist and anti-colonialist revolutionary literature and art of Asia and Africa will surely make new progress and play a still greater militant role in the Afro-Asian people’s noble cause of unity against imperialism. On behalf of the Chinese Government and people, I wish your meeting complete success!

Long live the great unity of the Afro-Asian peoples!

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

The Afro-Asian peoples will certainly win!

Imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism will certainly be defeated!

(Continued from p. 19.)

Comrade Shehu in his speech stressed: “The friendship and unity between the Albanian and Chinese peoples are forged and cemented by the Albanian Party of Labour headed by Comrade Enver Hoxha, and the Chinese Communist Party headed by Comrade Mao Tse-tung, in the struggle for freedom, national independence and socialism, for the victory of Marxism-Leninism and against the common enemies—the imperialists, reactionaries of all countries, and modern revisionists with the leaders of the C.P.S.U. at their centre. No storm and stress can break the friendship, unity and co-operation between our two people, two Parties and two Governments for they are built on the sound basis of the all-conquering theory of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. This is fully borne out by the fraternal co-operation between our two countries and two Parties. They have a profound revolutionary content. Surmounting all hurdles, boundaries and geographical distance, they demonstrate inexhaustible vitality at all times, in happy days as well as trying times.”

On June 28 Comrade Chou En-lai and his party concluded their four-day visit to Albania and left carrying with them the deep friendship of the Albanian people. Comrades Enver Hoxha, Mehmet Shehu, Hazhi Lleshi and other Albanian leaders and more than 5,000 citizens of Tirana were at the airport to give them a rousing send-off.
Victory to the Anti-Imperialist, Revolutionary Afro-Asian Writers!

— At the Opening Session of the Afro-Asian Writers’ Emergency Meeting

THE Afro-Asian Writers’ Emergency Meeting, symbol of the great anti-imperialist revolutionary unity of Afro-Asian writers, opened in Peking on June 27.

Symbol of Militant Unity

The meeting is the greatest ever held by an Afro-Asian organization. As China’s Vice-Premier Chen Yi said in his address at the opening session: “The present meeting not only marks an entirely new stage in the Afro-Asian writers’ movement, but also constitutes a tremendous support and encouragement to the fighting peoples of Asia, Africa and the whole world.”

One hundred and fifty-two delegates and observers from 47 countries and regions in Asia and Africa and from three international organizations took part in the opening session. (More delegates and observers were on their way.) They have come from different posts in the frontiers of the anti-imperialist and anti-colonialist struggles in Asia and Africa, disregarding obstruction and sabotage by imperialism and its followers. They have brought with them happy new tidings about the awakening, solidarity, battles and victories of the two thousand million people of Asia and Africa.

On the eve of the opening session of the meeting, a message of greetings was received from Chinese Premier Chou En-lai. It said: “The Soviet modern revisionists have all along made efforts to undermine the anti-imperialist revolutionary movement of the Afro-Asian peoples, and the Afro-Asian writers’ meetings. The latest divisive meeting manufactured by them proves once again that the Soviet leading clique is the accomplice of U.S. imperialism and a traitor to the revolutionary cause of the Afro-Asian peoples and the Vietnamese people.” The current emergency meeting of the Afro-Asian writers, the message continued, “demonstrates once again the strength of the Afro-Asian peoples united in the struggle against imperialism and it shows that all activities of imperialism, modern revisionism and reactionaries in various countries to undermine Afro-Asian unity are in vain.” The meeting indicates that the Afro-Asian writers’ movement has entered a completely new stage. It will not only give a forceful impetus to the development of the Afro-Asian writers’ movement but will also exert a far-reaching influence on the Afro-Asian peoples’ struggle against U.S.-led imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism.”

Premier Chou expressed confidence that the meeting would make new contributions in voicing support and rendering help to the Vietnamese people in their struggle against U.S. imperialism and for national salvation, in opposing U.S.-led imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism, and in developing the national cultures of the Asian and African countries.

The meeting also received messages of greetings from Ho Chi Minh, President of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, Nguyen Huu Tho, President of the Council of the Central Committee of the South Vietnam National Front for Liberation, Kim Il Sung, President of the Cabinet of the Democratic People’s Republic of Korea, Samdech Norodom Sihanouk, Head of State of Cambodia, Prince Souphanouvong, Chairman of the Central Committee of Neo Lao Haksat and Vice-President of the Laotian Tripartite National Union Government, Kwame Nkrumah, and Madam Sirimavo Bandaranaike.

Chen Yi, Vice-Premier; Lin Feng and Liu Ning-i, Vice-Chairmen of the Standing Committee of the National People’s Congress; and Liao Cheng-chih, Chairman of the Chinese Committee for Afro-Asian Solidarity, were among those who attended the opening ceremony. Chairman of the Afro-Asian Writers’ Emergency Meeting, Kuo Mo-jo, who is head of the Chinese delegation, presided over the opening ceremony. After the opening speech by D. Manuweera, Secretary-General of the meeting, Vice-Premier Chen Yi addressed the meeting. Tran Dinh Van of the delegation of the South Vietnam National Front for Liberation, Kabwe Constantine Marie of the Congolesse (Leopoldville) delegation, Abdul Kerim Karimi of the Palestinian delegation, Mamadou Gologo of the Malian delegation, Djawoto, General Secretary of the Afro-Asian Journalists’ Association, and the noted American writer Anna Louise Strong then addressed the session in turn.

Determination to Fight Imperialism

Kuo Mo-jo pointed out in his speech that this meeting demonstrated the determination of the Afro-Asian peoples and writers to fight against U.S.-led imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism and no force could obstruct and nobody could destroy this determination.

He added: “In order to support and express our solidarity with the heroic Vietnamese people in their struggle against U.S. imperialist aggression and for national salvation, to further strengthen the international united front against U.S. imperialism and its lackeys and to enable our Afro-Asian countries to

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develop new, anti-imperialist national cultures, let us strengthen our unity and use our pens in combination with our rifles still more closely so as to accomplish our common task."

In his opening speech, D. Manuweera, the meeting's Secretary-General, hailed the meeting as one of historic importance, because the revolutionary Afro-Asian writers were meeting here in order to give "our fullest support to the heroic Vietnamese people in their struggle against U.S. imperialism for the liberation of the south, the defence of the north and the reunification of their fatherland."

This meeting, he said, would "discuss and decide as to how and in what way we should use our pen as a weapon in the fight against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism headed by the United States."

He pointed out that the revolutionary Afro-Asian writers should not only further integrate themselves with the anti-imperialist struggle of the peoples of Asia and Africa but should fight against the sly, cunning and vicious manoeuvres of the hypocrite-revolutionaries, the modern revisionists.

He said that the modern revisionists "are pretending to be the friends of the people, but, in fact, are collaborating and conniving with the U.S. imperialists to betray the people and their revolutionary cause. While we are fighting against the imperialists, we also have to be careful of these snakes in the grass, despicable renegades, who are trying to stab our fighting people in the back."

The facts have proved that "the Soviet revisionist writers can never hope to cause disunity among the Afro-Asian writers," he stressed.

The important speech made by Vice-Premier Chen Yi was greeted with enthusiastic applause (for full text see p. 32). On behalf of the Chinese Government and people, he warmly greeted the meeting and welcomed the participating Afro-Asian writers.

**Bankruptcy of Soviet Revisionist Manoeuvres**

The present Afro-Asian Writers' Emergency Meeting was formally decided upon by the Afro-Asian Writers' Bureau last April. But the Soviet revisionist group, exerting themselves in the service of U.S. imperialism, have engaged in plots to undermine the Afro-Asian writers' movement and the national-liberation struggles in Asia and Africa. They held an illegal divisive meeting in Cairo on June 19 and 20 at which they illegally decided to set up a phony "Afro-Asian writers' bureau" and absurdly declared the secretary-general of the Afro-Asian Writers' Bureau "removed" from his post. These Soviet revisionist intrigues to split and sabotage have ignominiously gone bankrupt.

In an unanimously endorsed statement, the meeting of the Afro-Asian Writers' Bureau held on June 23 strongly condemned the treacherous and disruptive activities of the Soviet revisionists. The statement declared: "The meeting unanimously announces that by such deliberate and intentional sabotaging of the Afro-Asian writers' movement, the splittist Soviet writers have totally divorced themselves from the ranks of the Afro-Asian writers and forfeited all rights and place, for ever, in the Afro-Asian Writers' Bureau."

The Afro-Asian Writers' Emergency Meeting continues its work. It will certainly make important contributions to the common cause of the Afro-Asian peoples' solidarity in opposition to imperialism.

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**The Five-Star Red Flag Must Be Planted on Taiwan Province**

China's territory of Taiwan Province was occupied by force of arms on June 27, 1950, by U.S. imperialism which is extremely hostile to the people of China and all Asia when it launched its war of aggression against Korea. Since then, step by step, U.S. imperialism has transformed Taiwan into its colony and military base from which to menace the Chinese mainland and to commit aggression in Asia.

U.S. imperialism is the sworn enemy of the people of China and the people of Asia.

Chairman Mao Tse-tung has pointed out that the Chinese territory of Taiwan Province, which U.S. imperialism has occupied, and the other military bases it has set up outside its own territory are all nooses which U.S. imperialism itself prepared and put around its own neck. Chairman Mao said: "The longer the U.S. aggressors remain in these places, the tighter the nooses round their necks will become." And the facts fully corroborate this wise thesis of Chairman Mao's. In the past 16 years, U.S. imperialism has occupied the Chinese province of Taiwan, and conducted vicious aggression everywhere in Asia. It has thus added noose after noose around its neck. The more frantically it strivest in a vain attempt to suppress the revolutionary struggles of the people of Asia, the tighter become the nooses.

To avert failure, to try and get out of its predicament, U.S. imperialism is energetically employing
counter-revolutionary dual tactics. Readjusting its counter-revolutionary global strategy, it has shifted its strategic focus to Asia. It has sent heavy reinforcements to south Vietnam and is extending its war of aggression there. In the vain attempt to encircle and "contain" China, it has strengthened its military dispositions in the Western Pacific region and is employing nuclear threats against the Chinese people and the people in the rest of Asia. Taiwan Province occupies an important place in this counter-revolutionary plan of war. In January this year, the U.S. magazine Fortune openly stated that Taiwan and Japan, "in addition to being essential building blocks in the containment system, are also potential bridges into the rest of Asia, including mainland China." Recently, the United States picked up a pack of its accomplices, puppets and stooges, including the Chiang Kai-shek gang, and threw them together in Seoul in a so-called "ministerial meeting of the Asian and Pacific region." The purpose of this conference was the organization of a new alliance for aggression, arrangements for armed attack against China and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, and schemes for extending the war of aggression against Vietnam. This is one aspect of the tactics vigorously pursued by the United States, namely, war.

The other aspect of the tactics that U.S. imperialism is energetically playing is the "peace" game. It constantly peddles its "peace" hoax on the Vietnam question through all kinds of channels. It has launched its so-called "peace offensive" against China, hypocritically creating an atmosphere of willingness to improve relations between China and the United States. It claims that the United States stands ready "to take up a more flexible position" towards China, and that it must "take every opportunity to show our friendship for the Chinese people," and it puts about the story that it "proposed" "face-to-face discussion" between the Foreign Ministers of China and the United States, etc. But these U.S. imperialist tactics can never deceive the Vietnamese and Chinese peoples. The Vietnamese people long ago declared that they would never stop fighting so long as the U.S. forces of aggression remained in south Vietnam. As for "improving" relations between China and the United States, it is even more clearly deceptive nonsense. Not only does the United States refuse to withdraw its armed forces from Taiwan Province and the Taiwan Straits and change its policy of aggression and war against China, it has been intensifying its military control over Taiwan Province and stepping up its encirclement and "containment" of China. Can this be described as willingness to improve China-U.S. relations? U.S. imperialism is dreaming if it thinks it can blunt the vigilance of the Chinese people against its intrigues for aggression. The Chinese people will never be fooled. Firmly holding aloft the banner of opposition to U.S. imperialism, they will carry on the struggle against it to the very end. The dual counter-revolutionary tactics of U.S. imperialism will inevitable end in utter failure.

The Soviet revisionist leading clique is playing the shameful role of accomplice in the U.S. imperialist schemes to commit aggression in Asia, to threaten China. The Soviet leaders are doing their best to serve the U.S. imperialist "peace talks" scheme by sham support and actual betrayal of the Vietnamese people's struggle against U.S. aggression and for national salvation. They advocate the establishment of a "European security system," which helps U.S. imperialism shift the focus of its counter-revolutionary strategy of global war to Asia, and thus cater to the requirements of U.S. imperialism in its encirclement and "containment" of China and its aggression against Vietnam. They even send their representatives to sit at the same conference table at international meetings with delegates of the Chiang Kai-shek gang, south Vietnamese and south Korean puppet cliques, thus flagrantly serving the U.S. imperialist schemes for splitting China, Vietnam and Korea. These acts of treachery by the Soviet leaders are enough to show that they are the enemy of the revolutionary people of Asia and the world. They will come to no better end than the U.S. imperialists.

Taiwan Province is an inalienable part of China's territory. It is the sacred task of the Chinese people to liberate it, to drive out the U.S. imperialists, to enable our compatriots in Taiwan who are living a miserable life under the U.S.-Chiang Kai-shek reactionary rule, to return to the embrace of their motherland, and to fulfill the great cause of unifying the motherland. The Chinese people certainly will liberate Taiwan Province, certainly will plant the five-star red flag on Taiwan Province and certainly will drive out the U.S. aggressors. Unswervingly, the Chinese people support the revolutionary struggles of the people of all countries in the world and, along with the people of Asia and the rest of the world, they are determined to drive U.S. imperialism out of Asia and of all the places it occupies!

("Renmin Ribao" editorial, June 27.)
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