

SOME QUESTIONS  
OF SOCIALIST CONSTRUCTION  
IN ALBANIA AND OF THE  
STRUGGLE AGAINST  
REVISIONISM

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THE NATIONAL CONFERENCE  
OF SOCIAL STUDIES

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## THE NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF SOCIAL STUDIES

In the framework of the 25th anniversary of the liberation of the Fatherland and the victory of the people's revolution, the Institute of Marxist-Leninist Studies, the State University of Tirana, the «V. I. Lenin» Party School and the Institute of Economic Studies at the Council of Ministers organized the Conference of Social Studies which held its proceedings during November 1969 in Tirana.

About 1400 Party, State Power, Army and social organizations cadres, men of science, pedagogues of philosophy, historians, economists, jurists, teachers, students, writers and artists, physicians, activists in the field of social studies and others from all the regions of our country took part in this Conference.

The plenary sittings of the Conference were attended by Comrades Enver Hoxha, Beqir Balluku, Gogo Nushi, Haki Toska, Hysni Kapo, Manush Myftiu, Mehmet Shehu, Ramiz Alia, Rita Marko, Spiro Koleka, Kadri Hazbiu, Koço Theodhosi, the Chairman of the Presidium of

the People's Assembly of the PLA Haxhi Lleshi, the Secretary of the CC of the PLA Xhafer, Spahiu, members of the CC of the PLA, of the Government, of the People's Assembly and by other guests.

At the Conference there were submitted four reports, 84 subtheses and 60 discussions were held by men of science, cadres, specialists and other laboring people from Tirana and other districts.

The Conference held its proceedings in plenary sittings and separate sessions. The opening speech and four reports were delivered in the plenary sitting of November 7 and 8. The proceedings of November 10 and 11 were held in four separate sessions: the session on problems of the history of the PLA, the session on ideological-social problems, the session on economic-social problems and the session on international problems. From November 12 to November 17 reports and a great number of subtheses were held in ten districts and in many work centers as well as in agricultural cooperatives and in schools, followed by an audience of 10,000 persons. On November 18, in the morning, the separate sessions held discussions, whereas in the afternoon the Conference sat in plenary sitting to listen to the informations on the proceedings of the sessions and to the closing speech of the Conference «On the Further Intensification of Work in the Field of Social Studies» by Member of the Political Bu-

reau and Secretary of the CC of the PLA Comrade Ramiz Alia.

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The materials of the Conference are published in five volumes.

The first volume includes the speech delivered by Member of the Political Bureau and Secretary of the CC of the PLA Comrade Ramiz Alia «On the Further Intensification of Work in the Field of Social Studies», the Opening Speech of the Conference by Nexhmije Hoxha, Directrice of the Institute of Marxist-Leninist Studies, the four reports, the informations on the proceedings of the separate sessions and the program of the Conference.

The second volume includes the report by Ndreçi Plasari on «Some Features of the Revolution in Albania» and the subtheses and discussions of the *session on the problems of the History of the Party of Labor of Albania*.

In the third volume are published the materials of the session of ideological-social problems: the report on the «Further Revolutionization of the Life of our Country and Some Questions of the Theory and Practice of Socialism» by Comrade Foto Çami and the subtheses and discussions held at this session.

The fourth volume includes the materials of the *session on economic-social problems*; the report by Comrade Hekuran Mara «On Some

Questions of the Development of the Forces of Production and of the Perfecting of the Relations in Production in the Process of the Complete Construction of Socialism» as well as the subtheses and discussions read at the session.

The fifth volume includes the material of the session on international problems: Comrade Fiqret Shchu's report «About Some Actual Problems of the Struggle Against Modern Revisionism», the subtheses and the discussions submitted at the session.

For library use the materials of the Conference will all be bound in a single volume.

## ON THE FURTHER INTENSIFICATION OF WORK IN THE FIELD OF SOCIAL STUDIES

*By Ramiz Alia, Member of the Political  
Bureau of the Central Committee of the  
Party of Labor of Albania*

Dear Comrades,

The National Conference of Social Studies held in the framework of the great jubilee of the 25th anniversary of the liberation of the Fatherland has been turned into a tribune of creative Marxist-Leninist work about the great social problems of our time and a school of education. The papers and subtheses delivered in this conference, as well as in a number of work centers are studies of great value. Part of them brought a new contribution to the scientific generalization of the revolutionary experience of our Party, to the illumination, from the positions of Marxism-Leninism, of a number of historical problems of the present and of the future.

The National Conference closes the series

of scientific sessions which were organized on the occasion of the 25th anniversary of liberation throughout the country, from the base to the center. This is a great action in which hundreds and thousands of cadres and workers were involved for the preparation of papers and subtheses and thousands of others took part to hear and discuss them. This is a good example of the application of the mass line in the field of ideology and science, of the method of mass education of the cadres and workers. All these scientific sessions enriched our experience in the field of social studies and constitute a sound basis for better and more profound work in the future.

A special feature of Marxist-Leninist social thought is that it is defended and developed not by certain individuals and collectives, but by the working masses, by our State and Party and, especially, by its Central Committee. The reports, resolutions, all the main materials of the Party, the speeches by Comrade Enver Hoxha are scientific generalizations with a deep revolutionary content and great indisputable value for the theory and practice of revolution and socialist construction. On the basis of the scientific analysis of situations and phenomena, the Party has worked out a correct and principled line, it has known how to uphold a revolutionary stand towards the most complicated national and international problems, to fight with success for the defense of Marxism-Leni-

nism against Titoite and Khrushchevite modern revisionism.

From this viewpoint, the level of development of the social sciences should not be judged only from monograms and special studies, but first of all from the collective creative thought of the Party, from its theoretical activity in general, from those radical transformations which have been made in the life of our society under its leadership and under the banner of Marxism-Leninism.

Viewing the problem through this prism, we can say that in the field of social sciences, we have not only not lagged behind, but, on the contrary, we are more advanced than in any other field of scientific ideas. Our Party today has its own ideas, clear and well-defined, for all the great internal and external problems, a vanguard thought based scientifically on Marxism-Leninism, which all the revolutionaries of the world value and respect.

The great turn which Marxism-Leninism made in the study of society is that it put it on a profound scientific basis. The Marxist-Leninist social sciences are not sciences of words and of subjective judgements, as some may think, but are just as accurate as the natural sciences. If the fundamental criterion to measure the value of any science is its practical results, then the great transformations which have been carried out among us during this quarter of a century in all fields of activity,

verify the efficacy of Marxist-Leninist social science, the clarity of its theoretical theses and the accuracy of its scientific predictions.

The Party has always highly evaluated the role of the social sciences, has continually drawn attention to the need for a broader and deeper development of their special branches, for the organization of systematic studies in all the fields, thus to put into life the directions of the 5th Congress for the enlivenment of creative thought in the field of Marxist social sciences and propaganda and in all our ideological and cultural work.

In recent years this work has begun to go well. Without mentioning the results achieved in the field of historical and philological sciences, where the studies began earlier, a marked success was the drafting of the History of the Party of Labor of Albania as well as the publication of the principal documents of the Party and of the Works of Comrade Enver Hoxha. These are a vast treasury of revolutionary experience, a guiding compass for all sciences and social studies. Today, they are studied zealously by hundreds of thousands of people and are being changed into a powerful means of mobilization and education.

Organized and systematic studies have begun also in other branches of sciences as in the economic, political, juridical, pedagogical and esthetic sciences. In these fields, too, we are fighting persistently to create and develop

the Marxist-Leninist ideas, to affirm the Marxist-Leninist methodology.

Of great ideological and scientific value also is the broad mass work which is being done for the preparation of the textbooks for the schools and higher educational institutions.

But regarding the systematic development of social sciences in the special branches and giving them a mass character only the initial steps have been taken to involve the rank and file workers in these studies.

The further intensification of the work for the study of social sciences is an imperative demand of the times, which is dictated by the actual stage of development of the socialist revolution.

Our country is in an advanced stage of the construction of socialism and is encountering new and complicated problems, for the solution of which there is no historical experience. The fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism are the basis for our work. But you must not seek in the works of our great classics ready-made solutions for the problems which concern us today and which will emerge in the future. Therefore, today more than ever, the development of creative Marxist-Leninist ideas for the definition of the roads towards the complete construction of the socialist society is demanded, combining the general truths of communism with the revolutionary practice of our Party and people. The Marxist-Leninist social sciences have as their task to illuminate



the road of revolutionary practice, to confirm scientifically the prospects of our development, to become a militant weapon in the hand of our Party.

Today, the strengthening of the whole ideological work has emerged in the front line, as the main link to lead the revolution forwards in all fields, to ensure its complete and absolute victory. The aim of this work is to educate a new man with a communist world outlook and morality. This is the principal field in which the class struggle is being waged today. The enemies of socialism place more and more special importance in keeping alive and activating the survivals of alien ideology in the consciousness of our people. They see these survivals as their support base for the degeneration of the whole socialist order. The ideological tempering of men is the decisive factor for their active and conscious participation in the great work of socialist construction, to keep them always revolutionary in all circumstances and any situations. Therefore, the strengthening and raising to the highest level of the whole ideological work of the Party for the communist education of the workers, today has profound meaning and a vital importance.

The studies of social problems serve this aim and should serve it ever better. The explanation and generalization of the acute problems of the present social development from the positions of Marxist-Leninist theory, help so that

ideological and political work does not remain only a series of principles and general truths, but goes into the essence of questions taking them up more concretely. They help to eliminate formalism and superficiality in the work of the propaganda and agitation so that these may become more clear and convincing and enter more deeply into the field of revolutionary struggle where the principles of the proletarian ideology of the Party have found and find their verification.

On the other hand, by raising revolutionary practice to the scale of theoretical generalization through scientific studies, scholasticism in the teachings of Marxist-Leninist theory is avoided, this theory becomes more understandable and better grasped by the masses.

The strengthening of the work and study is dictated also by the need for continuing improvement of the leading work of the organs of the Party and the State.

Socialist and communist society is the first social formation in the history of mankind which is born, develops and triumphs as a result of the conscious application of objective laws. It is built on the basis of scientific programs and plans under the leadership of the Party of the working class. Not chance and spontaneity, but conscious actions characterize the development of productive forces, relations of production, education and culture, the ideological preparation of the masses.

Understood in this way, the continuous raising of the level of the scientific guidance of the development of society takes an even greater importance. Today we have reached such a time when, without scientific generalization, not only can the Central Committee of the Party not direct things as they should, but neither can any Party committee, any link in the State mechanism, any economic or cultural institution or mass organization. Therefore, the Party continuously instructs us that we must eradicate from the method of work the pronounced manifestations of narrow practicalism, of empirism, of running after the things of the day, which hinder mankind from discovering the phenomena of life and understanding them profoundly, from grasping the fundamental problems and solving correctly the great tasks which lie ahead.

The studies of social problems on all levels and in all fields, the scientific working out of the many complicated theoretical and practical problems which emerge in the process of the socialist construction, the definition of the immediate and prospective measures and roads for their solution, all these assist to raise ever higher the level of leadership of the organs of the Party and State.

One of the principal objectives of the social sciences is the generalization of the experience of revolution and of our socialist construction. This experience is a great treasure, but will

remain without value if it is not studied and generalized on a scientific basis. With the publication of the text of the History of the Party of Labor of Albania this ~~task has~~ not come to an end. A new contribution is the drafting of the History of the National-liberation War, which the Institute of Marxist-Leninist Studies has undertaken and the drafting of the History of Albania of the post-liberation period which has been begun by the Institute of History and Linguistics.

But it is important that we work out and generalize more broadly and ~~and~~ deeply the revolutionary experience of the Party and revolution not only on a national scale, but also on the scale of the region, province, enterprise and institution and village. The very good and useful work which is being done with the drafting of the History of the National-liberation War in the regions, as well as that of the brigades of the National-liberation army, is an inspiring example.

The generalization of historical experience should be made in such a manner that we can draw lessons from it for today and the future, that will assist the communists and the workers to understand better not only the whole road which the Party and the people have traversed during the war they have carried out, but also the existing tasks, to arm them so that they can lead our great cause continuously ahead.

The most important and most pressing task

of the social sciences, is the study of theoretical and practical questions of the development of our society towards the complete construction of socialism. That is to say, without neglecting the study of the history of our people, generalization of the revolutionary experience of the Party and working masses in our studies, we should be guided in the first place by the existing and prospective problems, by those problems which demand the most rapid solution and which assist most directly in achieving the objectives which the Party has set. And there are plenty of such problems.

Today the attention of our Party is concentrated on the cleansing of the superstructure of our society from anything alien and further perfecting it. In this direction the many problems which have to do with the rooting out of bureaucracy, with the strengthening and the extension of proletarian democracy, such as the improvement of relations between the cadres and the masses, the raising of the role of the control of the masses and, especially of the working class, the improvement of socialist law and so on must become the object of studies. The problems dealing with the education of the new man, with the formation of the communist world outlook, with the struggle against bourgeois remnants in the consciousness of men are extremely important. Our studies in this field, as well as for the question of the further revolutionization of the school, of culture and

the whole spiritual life of our society should support with scientific arguments the directions of the Party, should accumulate, work out and generalize our theoretical and practical experience, to open up new paths and roads and arm us theoretically in our struggle.

Today our Party is working with all its strength for the solution of many social problems which have to do with the fundamental questions of communist morality, with the complex of relations within the family, with the way of life, with the complete emancipation of woman, with the struggle against conservatism and backward customs etc. Today, this is a vital and fundamental field of revolution, where we still have many thorns in our feet which hinder our progress. Comrade Enver Hoxha has emphasized continually that the old reactionary concepts and standards in these fields shrivel the revolutionary impulse of the workers, especially the energies of the youth and women. The merciless war which the Party has declared against everything mouldy and rotten in this field cannot be led forward with success without being supported by serious studies which disclose the roots of these phenomena, which bring about their damage and danger and arm us spiritually and practically for the elimination of them. But we must admit that until now we have been little concerned with these problems and that rather superficially. The Party demands that we make a radical turn in this direc-

tion. Our fundamental aim here is that the new principles and standards of communist morality be embodied in the whole of our life. Not only in work, but also in the family, in society and everywhere. It is important that the studies in this field not only show the source and the evils of the old norms, not only consider and collect them, but while maintaining a critical revolutionary stand towards them, at the same time, work out the moral values which are created in our society to accept and support with all our forces new socialist behaviour and customs. Just as everywhere else, in this field, too, the dialectical laws of development act through the struggle of opposites, the struggle of the new which is born and growing and the old which is declining and dying. The tasks of the Marxist-Leninist social sciences is not only to explain this law correctly and profoundly from a theoretical viewpoint, but to show how it acts in the concrete happenings of our daily life and how we should be led by it in every stand and practical activity.

The fact that today we give first-rate importance to ideological, political and social problems does not at all mean that we neglect the study of economic problems. The economy is the basis of the whole social, political order, its development, in the final analysis, determines the entire development of society. The great role of the economic sciences is growing ever greater.

It is required of the economic sciences that they study a series of problems which have to do with the further development of the productive forces and especially with the further perfection of the relations of production. Such problems as the roads for the complete construction of the material-technical basis of socialism, of the deepening of the technical-scientific revolution, of the raising of the productivity of labor and, especially, of the perfecting of the organization of the rewarding of labor, as well as of the methodology of planning and management of the people's economy, etc., are themes of complex studies of great present and future importance. They demand the scientific analysis of the road we have traversed and the results which we have achieved up to now, our present situation in this field as well as the problems which lie ahead for us. In these questions and in others like these, the need can be clearly seen for the study of the historic experience gained, in unity with the existing and perspective tasks.

The studies made up to now by the social sciences are distinguished for their class and militant character and for their spirit of proletarian partizanship. These qualities should be preserved and developed in the future, too, in determined struggle against bourgeois and revisionist ideology, against any influence from them in science and in the life of our country.

This task is specially important today be-

cause an unprecedented frontal assault against Marxism-Leninism has been launched by all its enemies, from the bourgeoisie and the social-democrats, the Trotskyites, anarchists, down to the modern revisionists. They have only one aim: to reject Marxism-Leninism, to turn the masses away from revolution, from socialism.

To achieve this aim, some of them, mainly the modern revisionists, reject the whole revolutionary content of proletarian ideology, preserving only its external form, the Marxist and socialist phraseology, while others, mainly the bourgeois ideologists, try to achieve this by claiming that Marxism-Leninism has been defeated and is incapable of solving the problems of present day social development. In their attempt to make these arguments convincing they are exploiting the bourgeois degeneration in the Soviet Union and in the other socialist countries where the modern revisionists have come to power.

In these conditions, the burden falls on us to expose the reactionary anti-Marxist essence of the bourgeois and revisionist theories, to bring to light the role of ideological diversion and to expose them to the end.

In struggle with bourgeois revisionist ideology, our social sciences have as their task to defend the principles of Marxism-Leninism, to show its correctness and vitality, as an ever living science, an active weapon for the over-

throw of the bourgeois order and the construction of the new society.

In this direction there is great importance in the theoretical illumination of our revolutionary practice, of the triumphant solution which our Party has contributed to the problems of revolution and socialist construction which verify that Marxism-Leninism lives and triumphs and is able to provide the answer to all the problems which crop up on the road of the progress of society.

The defense of Marxism-Leninism also demands the scientific explanation of the world social phenomena, of the great international problems of the times, counterposing this explanation to the anti-Marxist treatment which these things are given by the bourgeoisie and the revisionists. The study of these problems is important also for the fact that our country and society are not separated from the external world, from the development of the whole of human society.

We should go more deeply into the study of problems which have to do with the development of the world revolution, especially with the struggle of the working classes and the revolutionary forces in the capitalist and revisionist countries, with the national-liberation movements of the students and the youth in general, etc.

At the same time, it is necessary to follow with attention the processes of the disintegra-

tion and decay of the world capitalist system and the all-round revisionist bourgeois degeneration in the Soviet Union and the other former socialist countries and draw from this the proper theoretical and practical conclusions.

The study of these phenomena assists us to see more clearly the objective trends of present day development of human society, to recognize the enemy and its allies ever better, to construct and constantly follow a correct Marxist-Leninist policy.

The Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha have emphasized that in socialist Albania the sciences can be developed on a correct road only through the participation of the broad masses of the working people. Nothing can advance in our country outside the line of the masses.

And in this direction, too, we have made progress. Thousands of comrades at the center and in the districts, in the enterprises and in the agricultural cooperatives and in the schools have been charged with the task of carrying out studies on different social problems.

The workers of research institutions also have gone outside the walls of their classrooms and libraries and have undertaken a number of important studies at the base, where production is carried out and the difficulties are combated, drawing into these studies the workers and the peasants.

We can say that as a beginning the results are not bad, they are even encouraging. How-

ever, there are all the possibilities that the circle of people who can take up the studies of social problems can be greatly extended, especially, among the people at the base. This demands that they should be given greater and more qualified assistance from the organs of the Party and State, especially, from the special scientific research institutions such as the Institute of Marxist-Leninist Studies, the State University, the Party School, etc.

The practice of these recent years shows that scientific sessions are interesting forms which encourage social studies. Relying on the experience gained, it is necessary that they should be changed into a constituent organic part of the system of work of each organ and organization of the Party, State, its economic and social organs, be turned into tribunes in which there is a ferment of creative thought, where theoretical problems which are drawn from our revolutionary practice are raised. This assists in arming the working people with the teachings of the Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha, with the ideas of Marxism-Leninism and, at the same time, is a good form to draw the masses into the generalization of experience and the working out of theoretical questions.

Giving the social studies a mass character, the correct and sound organization of them is one side of the question. The other and more important side is the struggle to raise the scientific level of these studies.

The value of studies cannot be measured only by the number of sessions and of the people taking part or by the number of papers, monographs and scientific articles. Their value is measured mainly by the level of theoretical generalization, by the new which they bring to our revolutionary practice, by the practical results which they give, by the power which they have to set the masses into motion on the various fronts of the struggle for socialism and the defence of the Fatherland.

But it is a fact that some social studies suffer from a series of weaknesses which lower their scientific value. Often they are mostly descriptive and contain few generalizations and theoretical conclusions, or they are very general and are not supported with concrete data. On a number of occasions the conclusions which they give are nothing but repetitions of well-known theses and general truths. The generalizations do not emerge as a logical result of scientific analysis of the facts, events and social phenomena of Albanian revolutionary practice. In the studies which have been carried out, it is rare to find occasions of bold discoveries of new social phenomena, of new objective trends, which have appeared in the development of our life.

The raising of the scientific level of our social studies will be achieved only with the correct and deep application of the principles

and criteria of Marxist-Leninist methodology, which is the only scientific methodology.

The teachings of Marxism-Leninism, the example of the scientific activity of the great teachers of the proletariat, the application of these lessons in the creative activity of the Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha, shows us that the scientific criteria of methodology which should be followed in our social studies are: the accurate reflection of objective reality, the dialectical materialist treatment of facts and events, a class analysis of problems and phenomena, proletarian partizanship.

When we speak about reliance on the principles of Marxism-Leninism, this does not mean to say that we mention these principles as formulae or as schemes and afterwards mechanically try to find the facts to «prove» their application to the revolution and socialist construction in Albania. Such a method would be of no use to our social sciences. To rely on the principles of Marxism-Leninism means that in the manner of observation of social phenomena, in the theoretical conclusions, we are led by the proletarian ideology, by the dialectical materialist method.

The object of every science is reality, life. Therefore, all our social studies must start from this. No study in the field of social sciences has any value outside the framework of the practice of socialist construction, of the struggle against imperialism and revisionism, for the

triumph of socialism on a world scale. Studies have practical value when they serve the revolutionary struggle of the Party and the people.

The scientific study of revolutionary practice demands in particular that we discover the objective laws of social development, the new phenomena which are born and growing instead of old phenomena which are disappearing. This assists the new social phenomena, the new objective trends, to develop more rapidly, to become stronger and to receive general sanction.

In our social studies, as in our propaganda in general, the old, correctly, is negated. The blemishes of the old feudal bourgeois society in the base and superstructure, backward customs and patriarchal, feudal and bourgeois concepts in the consciousness of the people, religious beliefs are negated, as are the viewpoints and treacherous activity of the revisionists. Negation, certainly, is necessary, but is insufficient. While rejecting the reactionary old it is especially important to affirm the new progressive, revolutionary. This we have not always carried out well and completely. Life always shows us that the old is wiped out only with struggle and when it is completely replaced by the new. To negate the old is relatively easy, while to fight for its elimination and to accept the new is more difficult. It is precisely to overcome this difficulty, to open the road to the new, that our social sciences should make their contribution.

Comrades,

In winding up the National Conference of Social Studies allow me, on behalf of the Central Committee of the Party, to congratulate the Institute of Marxist-Leninist Studies, the «V. I. Lenin» Party School, the State University of Tirana and the Institute of Economic Studies for the high ideological and scientific degree of organization of this Conference, to congratulate the authors of the theses and papers and all those who took part in the discussions and contributed to make it a success.

Let us value the experience of the scientific sessions in this National Conference to fight with more vigor and more urgency to apply with success the instructions of the Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha to raise creative thought in the field of Marxist-Leninist social sciences to a new higher level! Let us go forward with complete faith in our forces, in the scientific capacity of our people, let us courageously master profound studies of the many great problems, let us serve with all our strength the uninterrupted development of the social revolution in Albania!

Long live the Party of Labor of Albania and its Central Committee with Comrade Enver Hoxha at the head!

Glory to Marxism-Leninism!



**THE OPENING SPEECH OF THE CONFERENCE BY COMRADE NEXHMIJE HOXHA  
DIRECTRICE OF THE INSTITUTE OF  
MARXIST-LENINIST STUDIES AT  
THE CC OF THE PLA**

Dear Comrades,

Allow me to open the National Conference of Social Studies organized by the Institute of Marxist-Leninist Studies at the CC of the Party of Labor of Albania, by the -V. I. Lenin-Party School, by the State University of Tirana and by the Institute of Economic Studies.

This Conference is holding its proceedings in the framework of the 25th anniversary of the liberation of our Fatherland and the victory of our people's revolution.

During these 25 years an entirely new Albania has been born and constructed. From a semi-feudal peasant country, today our free and sovereign Fatherland has become a socialist country. During a quarter of a century such political, economic, cultural and social transformations have been made as were not

made during many centuries of the past in Albania enslaved by foreign rulers, by the landlords and reactionary bourgeoisie of the country.

From a country entirely backward and in darkness, almost entirely without industry, suffering mass ignorance, poverty and misery, socialist Albania has become today a country with an industry which is being built extended and perfected from day to day, with an advanced agriculture which is being mechanized and intensified ever more, a country where illiteracy has been wiped out, education and culture, the arts, sciences and technique are taking a mass character, where many ailments and ugly customs have been wiped out. Today in our country, men and women, old and young live free, joyful and happy united as a single body by the same purposes and interests of the complete construction of socialist society and the defence of the socialist Fatherland under the banner of the proletarian ideology, Marxism-Leninism, and under the leadership of our glorious Party of Labor.

The liberation of the Fatherland on the 29th of November 1944, the triumph of the people's revolution and all the achievements of the socialist construction in our country have been achieved, first of all, thanks to the wise leadership and the correct line of the Party of Labor and its Central Committee headed by Comrade Enver Hoxha.

On the 8th of November 1941, the Communist Party of Albania (today the Party of Labor of Albania) was founded; this great event marked the beginning of a radical turn and the birth of an entirely new epoch in the history of our country.

From its foundation 28 years ago and during the whole of its life, the Party of Labor has worked out in theory and applied in practice a correct ideological, political, economic and social line which brought our people these happy days.

Relying strongly on the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism and applying them in a creative manner in the conditions of our country, our Party ensured its leadership as the Party of the working class in a backward country where the working class was restricted, realized with success the combination of the struggle for national-liberation, with the struggle for the destruction of the feudal-bourgeois state power and the establishment of the people's state power, brought about the uniting of the broad masses of the people in a broad front under the undivided leadership of the Communist Party.

All this rapid development of the socialist national economy in a small backward country encircled by imperialist and revisionist enemies was achieved by relying mainly on our own forces under the leadership of the Party.

Following the teachings of the Party and

of Comrade Enver Hoxha today we are finding the ways and taking effective measures for the development and the further uninterrupted deepening of socialist revolution, by perfecting the socialist social relations and socialist production, to carry through to the end the socialist revolution in the field of ideology and culture, to cleanse our society from every stain and influence from the old society, to revolutionize man in an all-round and in a continuing manner, to prevent his revisionist or bourgeois degeneration and to cut the road forever to the birth of revisionism and to turning back to capitalism.

In all stages of development of the revolution and the socialist construction our Party has analyzed every problem and evaluated it from the class viewpoint, proceeding from the existing and future interests of the working class and the people and socialism.

Therefore, comrades, especially on the eve of this glorious anniversary, the best wishes and the most fiery and heartfelt feelings, the deepest gratitude of the Albanian people is directed to our beloved Party, the force which has forged all these majestic victories which our country has achieved in this quarter of a century.

Every year our Party and people celebrate the 7th of November, the date of the Great October Socialist Revolution, which marked a radical turn in the destiny of mankind, which opened the epoch of the overthrow of capitalism and the triumph of socialism on a world

scale, marked a great turn also for the fate of the Albanian people.

The lessons of the October Socialist Revolution will always inspire the workers, peasants and the enslaved peoples in revolutionary struggle against oppression and exploitation. Its flames, as always, will burn and wipe out all the traitors to Marxism-Leninism and proletarian revolution; in the first place, its flames will scorch the Soviet revisionists who have liquidated the great victories of the October Revolution, the struggle and the self-sacrificing work of the bolsheviks and all the peoples of the Soviet Union led by great Lenin and Stalin.

The Party of Labor of Albania with Comrade Enver Hoxha at the head has always stood loyal to the great ideals of Marxism-Leninism and has applied them in a creative manner in conformity with the objective national and international conditions. It has firmly defended these teachings and ideas and has developed them further in fierce struggle against fascism, against imperialism and against modern revisionism, against Titoite and Khrushchevite revisionists.

Marxism-Leninism, as Comrade Enver Hoxha has emphasized, is the guiding compass which unerringly shows the cardinal points. This infallible compass has been and will always be our Party's guide to march constantly on the correct revolutionary road always hold-

ing high and unstained the triumphant banner of the proletarian revolution and socialism.

The Party of Labor of Albania together with the other revolutionary parties of the working class, in the first place, with the great Communist Party of China led by Chairman Mao Tsetung will consistently continue its principled and irreconcilable struggle against modern revisionism which has Soviet revisionism at its epicenter, until its complete ideological and political destruction. It considers this struggle as its great internationalist task for the defence of our victorious doctrine of Marxism-Leninism and for the triumph of socialism on a world scale.

Comrades,

We are only a few days away from the glorious jubilee of the 25th anniversary of the liberation of our Fatherland and the victory of our People's Revolution. Side by side with the working class and all the working people of the country, alongside their marvelous achievements, the workers of the ideological sectors of the Party and State, of the scientific institutions and mass organizations, which have taken part in hundreds of scientific sessions and in this Conference have tried to render their contribution in response to the directions of the 5th Congress of the Party for the enlivenment of

creative thought in the field of Marxist-Leninist social sciences, to draw up the balance-sheet of the struggle of our people under the leadership of our Party of Labor and to make some generalizations of the experience of our Party and masses for the victory of the people's revolution and the construction of socialism during this quarter of a century.

The organization of studies of social problems by the Party and mass organizations, by the State economic, scientific and cultural institutions etc., hundreds of scientific sessions organized in the work centers, agricultural cooperatives, schools, in the regions and in the center, right up to this conference, testify to the new development of creative thinking in our country, with the participation not only of the intelligentsia and specialists, but also of the cadres of the Party and State, of social activists and the broad masses of the workers of the town and countryside.

The idea that the educational and theoretical level of the rank and file communists or workers is a hindrance to their taking up studies and generalizations is being overturned. Also being overturned is the idea that to take up studies one must necessarily be a specialist, with a high education and theoretical level.

From the themes and the treatment of the social problems in the scientific sessions can be seen the efforts which are being made, to throw out the mistaken idea about «major»,

«academic» studies, about studies for the sake of study divorced from life, from the revolutionary practice of the development of our society and the masses.

The workers of social sciences, like all our new intelligentsia, are daily becoming more integrated with the masses. By being directed towards life, reality, revolutionary practice, by following the teachings of the Party to orientate studies towards life, towards the revolutionary practice of the masses that are producing and building socialist society, that are defending the socialist Fatherland, the people who study social problems have been better able to link up the universal truths, discovered and formulated by the classics of Marxism-Leninism, with Albanian practice, to link their lives more closely with this practice and with the masses of workers and peasants, to make the Marxist-Leninist theory more understandable for these masses, to render a real contribution to the solution of the problems which concern the Party and our country today.

These successes in the field of social studies are only the beginning of that great and profound work which the Party acquires in this field, but a good beginning and encouraging beginning, at that.

We are charged by the Party with the task of adding to and perfecting the successes achieved of raising ever higher the level of creative thought in the field of Marxist-Leninist social

sciences, the line of the works of our great teachers — Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, who have illuminated and will always illuminate the road to our Party relying on the principal documents and materials of the Party and the works of Comrade Enver Hoxha, which are a profound synthesis of the revolutionary experience of our Party and working masses, which constitute the highest level achieved in our country in the field of Marxist-Leninist social sciences which express the faithful and creative application of Marxism-Leninism.

The National Conference of Social Studies has for its purpose to assist the enlivenment of creative thought in the field of social problems, to serve as a means for the further development of the social studies in the future in the light of the immortal ideas of Marxism-Leninism, of the teachings of the Party, of its directives and decisions, to assist in the deepest understanding and application of them.

At this Conference four papers and eighty subtheses will be delivered on the problems of the National-liberation war, on the construction of the economic social order and the socialist revolution in our country, on problems of the world revolutionary movement and the struggle against imperialism and revisionism.

These materials have been prepared by the workers of social sciences, the cadres of the

Party, State, economy, culture, of the Army and of the organizations of the masses at the center and in the districts.

The papers and the greater part of the subtheses have been prepared especially for the Conference and will be read for the first time. The remainder of the subtheses have been selected from the best materials of the scientific sessions which have been held in the districts, at work centers, departments, central organs of mass organizations and in other institutions. There were many other good materials, but, naturally, only a few were chosen, especially, those which had a more of a character of generalization.

The proceedings of the Conference will be held in plenary sessions and in four sections. The delivery of the main papers and in the end the closing of the proceedings will be done in the plenary session. The subtheses will be read and discussed in sections. Besides this, the main papers and a large part of subtheses will be circulated in the regions and work centers.

Comrades,

Allow me to express the conviction that the scientific workers and thousands of activists and other students of social problems in the four corners of our country, at the center and the base will carry out with honor the noble task

of the development and strengthening of Marxist-Leninist social sciences, for the raising to an ever higher level of the creative thought in the field of these sciences, for the affirmation everywhere and always of our proletarian ideology, Marxism-Leninism, for the ever better realization of the revolutionary line of our heroic Party.

In the name of the Institutions which organized this Conference, I welcome and thank from my heart, the leaders of our Party and State with Comrade Enver Hoxha at the head, as well as all those people who have honored us with their participation at this meeting.

Long live the Party of Labor of Albania, its Central Committee with Comrade Enver Hoxha at the head!

Long live the 25th anniversary of the liberation of the Fatherland and the victory of people's revolution!

Glory to Marxism-Leninism!

Comrades,

I declare the National Conference of Social Studies open.

I wish you success!

## SOME FEATURES OF THE REVOLUTION IN ALBANIA

by  
NDREÇI FLASARI

Our revolution which was launched in Albania nearly 28 years ago under the leadership of the Party of the working class, which has continued uninterruptedly, rooting out and overthrowing everything old, reactionary and building a new society free from oppression and exploitation, with a high level of economic, social and cultural development is a profoundly popular revolution. At no other time previously, as in this historic period, have the broad masses of the Albanian people taken such a vigorous part in the political, economic and social life, manifested so much energy and creative strength, been so united, determined and sure of victory, so conscious in their revolutionary struggle and of the purposes of this struggle. Never in the past has our country known such overturnings, radical changes, impulsive progress in the political system, in the social order, in the economic, ideological and

cultural fields, as have occurred in the course of this revolution.

In our revolution are embodied the general laws of revolution and the teachings of Marxism-Leninism. At the same time this revolution is the reflection of the creative application of these laws and teachings by our Party, it bears the stamp of the concrete internal and external conditions in which it was carried out.

The specific features of our revolution have been dealt with in the works of Comrade Enver Hoxha, in documents and other materials of the Party and in the History of the Party of Labor of Albania. The complete presentation of these features would demand one or more whole books. In this paper there will be summarized only a few of the features of our revolution, presented more in the form of conclusions.

Our revolution was born on the basis of the war for national liberation. In this war it grew as an anti-imperialist democratic revolution and later was developed and deepened as a socialist revolution.

The revolution is the result of the culmination of the sharpening of the contradictions in the society of any country and cannot be imagined without a general political crisis which includes the rulers and affects all strata of the population of this country.

This crisis is caused by economic and political factors, by the sharpening to the limit of the sufferings of the working masses, by their

dissatisfaction and strivings to overcome this situation. With us, in the concrete circumstances, the general political crisis which served as the basis for the revolution was caused, first of all, by political factors, that is to say, by lack of freedom and national independence, by the enslavement of the country by fascist Italy, by profound hatred and strivings of the people to throw off this yoke of slavery.

This is not to say that the economic factors did not play any role. The sufferings and the poverty of the working masses served as an important basis for our revolution. The Party continually exploited the situation to raise the people in struggle against the invaders and the traitors. However, this factor played a subsidiary role. The main ground for raising the people in struggle was occupied by the cause of national independence, because the fundamental contradictions which had emerged in the first place amongst all the other contradictions, was the contradiction between the people and the fascist invaders. Therefore, it was precisely this contradiction which had to be solved first as an indispensable condition to open the road to the solution of other contradictions.

Albania is not the only country where the principal cause of the political crisis, of the revolutionary situation have been the political factors. We find this phenomenon in many other countries, both at the time of the Second World War as well as today. This phenomenon

is observed today in countries enslaved in one way or another especially by U.S. imperialism and Soviet revisionism.

From this we may draw the conclusion that the revolutionary situations which would serve as objective base for the launching of the revolutions in capitalist countries or bourgeois revisionist countries may be caused both by economic, social factors, sufferings, poverty, deep economic crisis as well as by political factors — the elimination of political rights, the limitation or restriction of national sovereignty and independence. However, the economic and political factors must never be presented in isolation, separated from one another. They are always found organically linked. The concrete circumstances which arise draw into the position of first importance sometimes the economic factors, sometimes the political factors.

Certainly, the launching of the revolution is not dependent only on the deep political crisis, on the revolutionary situation. It is well known that for this it is required that the subjective factors be created too, — the readiness and the lofty political consciousness of the masses, their sound organization. These conditions are prepared only by the revolutionary party of the working class.

Our Party, in the circumstances of a profound revolutionary situation, prepared the subjective conditions for revolution in a short time. Not long elapsed from the day of its foun-

ation, before it was accepted by the broad masses of the people as the only leadership of the National-liberation war, before its political line was embraced by the masses, and the organized masses together with the communists fought for the application of this line.

Thus, after the formation of the Communist Party the struggle for the national liberation, which the Albanian people had never ceased for a moment from the day the fascists carried out their aggression and occupied Albania, was rapidly changed into a people's revolution. In the fire of the war the Party prepared the necessary subjective conditions, implanted in the hearts of the masses of the people the profound consciousness about the absolute necessity and the aims of the war, united and organized the people, raised them in a gigantic struggle. Even without the leadership of the Party, the war for national liberation would have been developed but it could not have taken those proportions which it did take, it would not have been changed into a revolution, and would not have brought the people complete national liberation and, especially, social emancipation.

In the revolutionary situation, the party of the working class either comes to the leadership of the masses thanks to its own correct policy and its determination and ability to carry this policy through to the end, or, on the contrary, the revolutionary situation rejects it, destroys or turns it into an unimportant fag-end because



the Party has not worked out a correct political line, or is not capable of applying its political line, however right it may be, because it has been unable to convince the masses of the correctness of this line. When the party of the working class turns out to be incapable of changing the revolutionary situation into a revolution and to direct it, the banner of the revolution is taken into the hands of the various detachments of the bourgeoisie who are never able to carry it through to the end.

Because it was launched on the basis of a generally revolutionary situation, our revolution was developed uninterruptedly ensuring vital historic victories one after another for the masses of the people of Albania.

Its uninterrupted development and its great victories were defined by the objective and subjective, internal and external conditions.

*Internally*, the revolution penetrated so deeply into the life of the country that no class or social stratum was left without being put to the movement: during the course of the revolution a selection and differentiation was made of social forces, defining a clear-cut demarcation line between them, leaving no intermediate neutral strata. At the head of the revolution emerged the single revolutionary Marxist-Leninist leadership determined, consistent, mature and capable of understanding the situations correctly and giving leadership without making mistakes in any circumstances, however diffi-

cult and complicated. At all the stages this revolutionary leadership knew how to apply the general laws of revolution faithfully and in a creative manner, to work out and apply a correct political line firmly based on the principles of Marxism-Leninism in the actual internal and external conditions, a proletarian policy which has always responded to the interests of the broad working masses and of socialism on a national and international scale, to the immediate and prospective interests. Thanks to the correct revolutionary course and activity, it has managed to create and always preserve steel-like links with the masses of the people, with the motive forces of the revolution, always ensuring their broad direct participation as well as a high level of consciousness in the revolution.

*Externally*, our revolution was carried out in the conditions of the general crisis of capitalism as well as in the favorable conditions which were created in the Second World War and, after the war, with changes in the ratio of forces in favor of world revolution and socialism. It has had the aid and support of the world revolutionary forces. The party of the working class, the leadership of our revolution has known how to understand correctly and to use the international circumstances, the aid and support of the world revolutionary forces, while applying with continuity the principle of relying, first of all, on our own forces.

Our revolution has passed through three stages: a) the stage of the war for national-liberation and for the victory of the people's revolution; b) the stage of the construction of the economic base of socialism in town and countryside; c) the stage of the complete construction of socialist society.

The stages have been defined by the strategic tasks which have been solved in each of them by the motive forces which have taken part in the solution of these problems under the leadership of the party of the working class.

*In the first stage*, the strategic tasks were the liberation of the country from the occupantists and the ensuring of the national independence, the destruction of the old State apparatus and the construction of a People's Democratic Albania.

The motive forces of this stage were the working class, the poor and middle peasants, as the main forces; the other forces were the petty-bourgeoisie and middle bourgeoisie of the towns. The working class played the leading role. The peasantry constituted the closest ally of the working class and the largest motive force.

*In the second stage*, the strategic tasks were the consolidation of the people's democratic state power as a form of the dictatorship of

the proletariat, the elimination of the economic basis of socialism and capitalism; the construction of the economic basis of socialism, in town and countryside laying the material and technical base of socialism.

The motive forces in this stage were the working class and the poor peasantry as the main force; the other forces were: the middle peasantry, the petty-bourgeoisie of the cities, and the people's intelligentsia. The working class played the leading role, the poor peasantry constituted the closest ally and the greatest force.

*In the third stage*, the strategic tasks are the perfection of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the construction of the material and technical basis of socialism, perfection of socialist relations in production, the rooting out of feudal and bourgeois ideology and the consolidation of socialist ideology, of communist morality.

The motive forces in this stage are: the working class and cooperativist peasantry, the socialist intelligentsia. The working class play the leading role. The peasantry constitute its only ally. The socialist intelligentsia is the creation of the dictatorship of the proletariat and serves the working class and cooperativist peasantry.

The first stage included the period of the National-liberation War, the second stage — the first years after liberation and the two first five-year plans. We are still in the third stage.

But this division is not at all clear-cut. Our revolution has been developed not only uninterruptedly but also in a complicated interwoven manner. Elements of the first stage are found in the second stage, of the second stage in the first, elements of the second in the third and of the third stage in the second.

At each stage of our revolution political, social-economic, ideological and cultural tasks have been solved.

But in each of the three stages the solution of one main question has been the dominant task.

In the first stage, political tasks dominated, that is to say the struggle for national independence and the establishment of the people's State power.

In the second stage, social economic tasks dominated, that is to say, the elimination of the economic base of feudalism and capitalism and the construction of the socialist economic base.

In the third stage ideological tasks dominated, that is the rooting out of feudal bourgeois ideology and the consolidation of socialist ideology.

This was determined by the fundamental contradiction which existed within the country in each of the stages and from the objective necessity to solve that particular task: in the first stage, the contradiction between the enslaved peoples and the occupationists, as well as that between the oppressed masses of the

people and the reactionary landlords and bourgeoisie in the service of the occupiers. In the second stage the contradiction between the people's state, the dictatorship of the proletariat and the feudal bourgeois economic base; in the third stage the contradiction between the economic base of socialism and the feudal bourgeois concepts in the consciousness of the people, as well as all the remnants of the old society in the superstructure.

In the first stage, our revolution triumphed in the political field, in the second stage, it triumphed in the economic field, while in the third stage it aims at triumphing in the ideological and cultural field.

This is not to say that further struggle in a particular field ends with the victory of the revolution in that field. Political struggle has continued after the ensuring of national independence and the establishment of the People's State Power and it still continues. The struggle in the economic field has continued and is continuing today for the perfection of the relations of production and the complete construction of the material-technical base of socialism. In the same way, the ideological struggle did not begin in the third stage of the revolution but in the first stage, continuing uninterruptedly to the second stage while in the third stage it occupies the main place amongst the other strategic tasks.

Only the solution of all strategic tasks of

the revolution and only the uninterrupted development of the revolution in all the fields, closely linked organically with one another, can ensure its final victory.

One of the causes of the defeat of the revolution in the Soviet Union is that there, after the death of J. V. Stalin, the revolution stopped in the middle of the road, in fact it stopped all its progress in the field of social relations, in the ideological and cultural field, as well as in the political field. This situation of stagnation in the socialist society gave birth to and raised a bourgeois class of a new type, never seen before, consequently the socialist relationships in production began to change, step by step, into relationships of exploitation, exploiting the working class and the peasantry, the road was open for the spreading, ever more widely and deeply, of bourgeois revisionist ideology and culture, while the political State Power was seized by the revisionists, the political and ideological representatives of the interests of the new bourgeois class. In this way, the revolution was turned back on the road of the reestablishment of capitalism.

### 3

To ensure the victory of the revolution in the political field, three fundamental tasks have been solved:

The first task: the uniting of the motive

forces of the revolution under the leadership of the party of the working class. This unity was embodied in the National-liberation Front.

The second task: the organization of the general armed uprising and the creation of the National-liberation Army, as the regular people's army of the new Albanian State.

The third task: the setting up of the National-liberation Councils as the sole political state power of the people in Albania.

These tasks were constituent parts, organically inseparable, of a single revolutionary process, and were solved at the same time the one assisted the solution of the other. If only one of these tasks had not been solved, this would have sufficed to prevent the triumph of the people's revolution.

This experience has a great theoretical and practical importance.

For us, the patriotism of the people, their fighting traditions and the mountainous configuration of our territory have played an important role in the organization of the armed revolutionary struggle. But the greatest role has been played by the close links of the masses of the people with the Party, their deep conviction in the correctness of the policy and ability of the Party, the unity of the people around the Party, created on the basis of these links and this conviction. Without the sound, all-round support of the masses of the people there can never be revolutionary

armed struggle. In the beginning our Party had such support only among the masses of the people of the cities, therefore the armed struggle had its true beginning in the cities. When the Party had created its bases in the countryside, it linked itself closely with the peasantry, was accepted by the peasantry as the sole leadership of the liberation war, then it became possible to create the partisan units, later the national-liberation army, it became possible for the countryside to become the principle base of the armed uprising and the peasantry its main force.

The fascist occupationists and the traitors knew very well where the unbreakable strength of the armed struggle lay. Therefore, in order to break it, they directed their main blow against the unity of the people round the Party, to destroy this unity and to isolate the Party from the masses. This was also the aim of the demagogy and terror of the occupationists and the traitors, especially the creation of the political organizations such as «Balli Kombëtar» («National Front») and «Legaliteti» («Legality»).

The enemies were unable to destroy this steel-like unity of the people round the Party. This unity became stronger day by day, therefore the armed uprising also surged forward with such a great extension that no force was able to weaken it or to quell its roaring flames; it assumed a profound revolutionary content, thus serving as the decisive means for the victory of the revolution.

Without having organized such an armed struggle and without having laid the basis of the unity of the people round the Party, the national-liberation councils could not have been set up, and the people's state power could not have been created or established. The councils were set up and consolidated parallel with the development and the strengthening of the armed struggle and the unity of the people round the Party.

The National-liberation Army had as its task not only to attack and destroy the armed forces of the enemy, it also destroyed the enemy government apparatus, at the same time it assisted the people to set up their own political state power, to organize the creation of the national-liberation councils in each liberated province and served as the armed support of this state power.

The landlords and the reactionary bourgeoisie struggled tooth and nail to hang on to the political state power. For this, they united with the Italian and German invaders. For this they placed themselves at the service of the U.S. and British imperialists and sought their aid to prevent the victory of the people's revolution in Albania. They gave up their ruling positions inch by inch. Up to the last moments of the complete liberation of the country, even after the liberation, they hoped to re-establish their landlord bourgeois State Power. However, the National-liberation Army and the people's

uprising smashed their political power and, upon its ruins, they established the political power of the people, the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The revisionists have in fact excluded the armed struggle as a decisive factor for the establishment of the people's power, for the transition to socialism. They try to convince the masses of the capitalist countries that they can progress very well to socialism without bloodshed, without armed struggle, by means of the vote, by means of «changing the parliament from an organ of the bourgeois democracy into a weapon of the will of the people, into an organ of true democracy, of the democracy for the workers». The dishonesty of this thesis is immediately apparent when it is appreciated that the revisionists are not for the armed uprising, because they are not for the people's democracy, for the democracy for the workers, for the dictatorship of the proletariat. They are for the preservation of the bourgeois state power. Even where the democracy for the workers, the dictatorship of the proletariat, had been established as in the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, Poland, Hungary and in other countries, it has been wiped out and replaced by bourgeois revisionist state power, a form of bourgeois social fascist dictatorship.

The embodiment of the organic linking of the people round the Party of the working class, the armed struggle and people's state

power, were the National-liberation councils. They were recognized in the first place as organs of the people's state power, but they were at the same time also organs of the National-liberation Front and of the armed uprising. By carrying out the task of the state power in the liberated zones, the councils united the people round the Party and prepared them politically for the armed struggle. In the occupied zones, the illegal national-liberation councils served as organs of the Front, mobilized the people for the anti-fascist war, and immediately after that, the regions and cities where they operated were liberated, and were automatically turned into organs of the political state power.

The experience of our revolution proves, therefore, that there cannot be revolutionary armed uprising without the support of the broad masses of the people, without the unity of these masses round their revolutionary leadership, that without the revolutionary armed struggle the old landlord bourgeois state power cannot be wiped out; nor can the people's state power, democracy for the workers, the dictatorship of the proletariat, be established; that without solving at the same time the tasks of the unity of the people round the Party of the working class, of the general armed uprising, and of the setting up of the new revolutionary political state power, there can be no victory in the political field.

The road we have followed to achieve the victory of the revolution in the economic field for the construction of socialism in a backward agrarian country stepping right over the stage of developed capitalism is of special importance.

The victory in the political field is unthinkable without victory in the economic field. The people's state power could not last at all without destroying the feudal capitalist economic base and without building a new socialist economic base. Vice-versa the economic base of socialism could not be built without the victory of revolution in the political field.

The political victory was very profound. The people's state power which was established in Albania during the National-liberation War began, immediately after the liberation, to carry out the tasks of the dictatorship of the proletariat. The national independence which was achieved with the conclusion of this war was complete. Albania had eliminated all enslaving agreements with the foreign powers, all dependence on imperialist states. The party of the working class exercised its undivided leadership in all fields of the life of the country. This party enjoyed a very sound support amongst the masses of the people which showed a great readiness to follow the road that the Party indicated.

It was precisely these factors which served as the main weapon for the socialist develop-

ment of the country, for overcoming the difficulties and obstacles which continually cropped up on the road of the construction of socialism, difficulties and obstacles which resulted from the backward situation of the country, as well as from the demands of growth, from the lack of experience, from the pressure and activity of the class enemy internally and externally, from the imperialists and revisionists.

Therefore, the enemy always directed the main blow in the political field, even after the victory of the revolution, towards the destruction of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the Party of the working class, towards the liquidation of the unity of the people round the party. Here the enemy was unable to achieve its purpose. The victory in the political field was not wiped out and was never weakened but went on consolidating. The preservation and the unceasing consolidation of the victory in the political field ensured the victory of revolution in the economic field as well and the country went with sure steps towards the complete construction of socialist society.

This shows that one cannot even speak of the construction of the socialist economic social order without the political victory, without the dictatorship of the proletariat, without the undivided leadership of the Party of the working class. But, vice-versa, the dictatorship of the proletariat, the Party of the working class

cannot be preserved without the economic and social order of socialism.

This can be proved also by examples of the opposite of that which occurred in our country.

In the Soviet Union, and in a number of other former socialist countries, where the bourgeois revisionist degeneration of the dictatorship of the proletariat and of the Party of the working class began, there began, at the same time the change of the socialist economic and social order into a bourgeois revisionist order leading to the elimination of the victory of the revolution in all fields.

The solution of the economic tasks of the revolution in Albania began in the second stage, following the victory in the political field.

First of all, the feudal economic base and that of the foreign capitalists was wiped out. Almost at the same time, the economic base of the big and middle bourgeoisie of the country was eliminated. For this elimination expropriation without compensation was used.

For the changing of the main means of production in industry, construction, transport, trade, into socialist property, immediate use was made of the highest form, the socialist property of the whole people, in the form of state ownership. It was not considered objectively necessary to apply the form of state capital or any other intermediary form.

The land which was taken from the land-

owners, merchants, and rich peasants at the conclusion of the agrarian reform, which was a true revolution in the countryside, was given to the poor peasants in the form of private property, but was restricted to an area of 5 hectares without the right of buying, selling or inheritance.

The socialization of the private property of the small scale producers in the town and, especially, in the countryside was a great and difficult problem. Agricultural economies split up into holdings of from 0,1 to 5 hectares, occupied the greatest part of national economy. The Party solved this problem by means of a great work of conviction and organization, step by step, voluntarily uniting the small scale producers of the towns into artisan cooperatives, the small scale producers of the countryside into cooperatives of agricultural production, in this way building the social (socialist) property of the group.

After the construction of the economic basis of socialism in town and countryside the greatest problem of the revolution in the field of economic social relations remained the deepening and continuing perfection of socialist character of these relations in all directions: in the field of ownership, for raising the level of the socialization of cooperativist property, for preparation of the objective conditions for changing it into the common property of the whole people; in the field of distribution, for



the gradual narrowing of the proportions between the lowest pay and the highest pay, for the step by step raising of the fund of consumption for the use of society, for perfecting the methods of payment in the agricultural cooperatives and so on; in the field of management and organization, for the perfection of the system of planning in all its complexity and so on.

The Party regards the problem of the deepening and perfecting the socialist character of the economic and social relations as an objective necessity for the uninterrupted development of the revolution towards communism, as a guarantee to prevent the birth of a privileged bourgeois stratum, the bourgeois revisionist degeneration of the socialist economic order, to avoid what occurred in the Soviet Union.

The socialist relations in production both in the town and in the countryside were established without waiting for the high level development of productive forces, before the complete building of the respective material and technical base of socialism. This was not an accident but an objective necessity. The construction of the socialist political system, which could not remain in any way on a capitalist economic social base, demanded this, but it also demanded the development of the productive forces which were in a very backward situation. If within these 25 years we have had such vigorous progress of the productive forces in all the branches of people's economy and,

especially, in industry, progress which had never occurred before in the history of our country, the main factor in this has been precisely the socialist relations in production.

In a country where the victory of the revolution in the political field has been achieved, where a true democracy for the workers, the dictatorship of the proletariat has been established, it cannot happen otherwise. Such a country cannot wait *ad Calendas Graecas* to build the socialist relations in production, because of the fact that a very high level of development of the productive forces has still not been achieved. Only in countries such as Yugoslavia, where the political state power, in fact, has never been a democracy for the workers, a dictatorship of the proletariat, can things occur in such a way as to preserve unaffected the economic positions of the bourgeoisie, allegedly, because the material and technical base of socialism has not yet been prepared. In the Soviet Union and elsewhere, where the dictatorship of the proletariat was changed into a bourgeois-revisionist dictatorship, the so-called «economic reforms» which have nothing in common with the socialist economic and social relations, were begun. These reforms lead to the re-establishment of bourgeois economic social relations which differ only in form from the classical capitalist relationships.

While continually building and perfecting the socialist relation in production, the Party

has never neglected the development of the productive forces, the construction of the material-technical base of socialism. Throughout the whole postwar period the economic policy of the Party has aimed at the rapid development of the people's economy, of the productive forces in general. The present brilliant results are known to all.

But the means of production and that level of productive capacity of our people which had been achieved today among us are the creation of socialist Albania. With the small and extraordinarily backward material base which was inherited from the past not the slightest step forward could have been made. Today nothing remains of this base. Everything in our country has been built anew, just as the industrial working class, the cooperative peasantry, and the intelligentsia, themselves are new.

But despite the rapid rates of development of the productive forces it would not have been objectively possible to complete the building of the material technical world of socialism simultaneously with the building of the economic base of socialism. This will be realized in the stage of the complete construction of the socialist society.

The construction of the material-technical base of socialism in our country is an objective necessity to defend and develop the victories of the revolution in the economic and political fields, just as it is an objective necessity to

construct socialist relations in production, to defend and consolidate the victories of the revolution in the political field and in general.

The key to the development of the productive forces is the industrialization of the country, always giving first place to the building and development of heavy industry without neglecting the development of the light industry and while ensuring harmonious development of industry and agriculture and the basis of a multi-branch economy.

This is essential to ensure a strong, stable and independent national economy. Without such an economy, it is not possible to preserve the national political independence of the country nor to build socialism.

Proceeding from these revolutionary positions, the Party rejected and condemned as anti-Marxist the «advice» and efforts of the Yugoslav revisionists and, later, of the Khrushchevite revisionists that socialist Albania should be left as an agrarian country, a producer of raw materials for the «socialist» metropolis, that is to say, without its own material-technical base of socialism.

The Soviet revisionists consider it unnecessary, even harmful, for each socialist country to have an economy developed in an all-round and independent way, its own respective material-technical base. According to them the individual socialist countries should rely on the material-technical base, on the economic poten-

tial of the developed socialist countries, especially of the Soviet Union. They argued in support of this thesis of theirs with the existence of the world socialist system, with the socialist division of labor, with the economic integration of the whole world socialist system. Brezhnev has «enriched» this argument even more with «the existence of the international dictatorship of the proletariat». The theses and arguments of the revisionists have nothing in common with Marxism-Leninism, they have their source in bourgeois revisionist ideology, in judgements from the positions of great State chauvinism, in the imperialist aims of the new Russian czars.

The Party has never regarded the world socialist system as an imperialist «commonwealth» or as a single state, but as group of fraternal sovereign countries which have the same aim: the construction of socialism and communism, which have the same enemy: world capitalism, imperialism, which aid one another without interfering in their internal affairs, in the first place, in the construction of the material-technical base of socialism, so that each country can march on its own feet, as J.V. Stalin expressed it.

The Party has built its economic relations with the socialist countries on this Marxist-Leninist basis.

Our Party has considered the aid of the more developed and bigger socialist countries

as a necessary and important factor for the construction of the socialist society in our country, even more so in Albania which did not have and still does not have the possibility of securing sufficient internal accumulations to cope completely with all the investments and capital construction which are necessary for the rapid development of the national economy. Such was the internationalist aid which the Soviet Union at one time gave our country, and the aid which the Peoples Republic of China has given and continues to give us. The Party has always made foreign aid subject to the construction of the material and technical basis of socialism of the country and has opposed the aims and efforts of revisionists to subject the construction of socialism in Albania to the foreign aid, however important that aid might be. By foreign aid it is understood that we mean aid from the socialist countries, because we cannot even speak about of foreign aid from a capitalist country. It would be absurd to believe that a capitalist country, especially an imperialist country like the United States, would assist another country for the construction of socialism. When it happens that a so-called socialist country receives aid from a capitalist country in the form of credits, grants or in any other form, this is a clear sign indicating that that country is not a true socialist country or is ceasing to be so. We have the clearest example of this in

Tito's Yugoslavia enslaved by the capital of foreign imperialists.

Our Party and people have always been clear on the question of foreign aid and have never fallen into the traps set by the U. S., British or other imperialists who encouraged and offered their enslaving aid to the Albanian people. We have never accepted any form of imperialist «aid», neither in 1945-1946 when our people were suffering from hunger, nor in 1961-1962 when the Khrushchevite leadership cut off all aid to our country and all relations to socialist Albania with the aim of forcing it to submit.

Our road of the development of the productive forces on the basis of the mobilization of all the internal economic, financial, moral, political capacities and resources, in the first place, as well as the internationalist aid of the socialist countries, in the second place, is the most correct and sure revolutionary and Marxist-Leninist road for the construction of socialism in a country.

This road has its roots in the revolutionary principle of relying on one's own forces in the first place, which the internal factor occupies in comparison with the external factor, for ensuring the victory of the revolution and for the construction of socialism in each separate country.

In the course of events, it is possible that such situations could be created in which at a

particular moment the external factor may be more decisive than the internal factor, as occurred in a few countries such as in Bulgaria, Rumania, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, etc., where the principal role for their liberation and for the creation of the conditions of the establishment of the people's state power was played by the Red Army. But here again, in the revolution as a whole, in regard to its future, after the political victory, the most decisive role was played by the internal factor.

In Albania the internal factor was the most decisive factor for the victory of the revolution in both the political and economic fields and now in the struggle for its complete and final victory.

5

Our revolution emerged as a revolution with a broad social base.

This was conditioned by the historical circumstances in which our revolution was carried out.

The democratic, anti-imperialist content of the revolution in the first stage could not fail to leave its impression on the second stage because it developed without interruption. In such conditions, the Party and people's state power would certainly use in favor of the development of socialist revolution the links with the broad masses of the people created during

the National-liberation war, but would combat all those elements from the ranks of the bourgeoisie who, despite the fact that they had taken part in the war, after the war took the side of the counter-revolution because they were affected by the economic and social reforms of socialist content.

With us the national question has exercised an especially great influence on the links of the broad social basis of the revolution. Albania has been a country oppressed and exploited by foreign enslavers for centuries and centuries on end. Liberation from the foreign yoke, freedom and national independence have been a dream and an aim, not only of the poor, but of the whole people, with the exception of the feudals and a handful of rich bourgeoisie who have always been the lackeys and tools of the foreign rulers. This dream and this aim were realized only on the road which the Party pointed out and under its leadership, only with the victory of the revolution in the political field, with the destruction of the landlord-bourgeois state power and with the establishment of the people's state power.

Since the war, the national independence won with so much bloodshed and suffering, has been continuously threatened by British and U.S. imperialists, by the Greek chauvinists, by the Italian neofascists, by the Yugoslav revisionists and, later, by the Soviet revisionists, all enemies of the revolution, of socialism, in ge-

neral, and of the Albanian people, in particular.

In this way, the national liberation was linked organically with social emancipation, the victory and preservation of national independence was linked with the establishment and the preservation of the dictatorship of the proletariat, with the construction of socialist society. Without the establishment and consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat, without the construction of socialism it was not and is not possible to ensure the national independence, and vice-versa.

This is the explanation for the fact that with us it is not only the working class and poor peasantry that have been interested in the road to socialism, but also the petty-bourgeoisie with the middle peasantry and the majority of the intellectuals of the old society as well as the progressive and patriotic elements from the upper strata.

Our Party could not fail to keep these circumstances in mind.

By organically linking the national independence with social emancipation, our Party has always conditioned the national independence with the construction of socialist society. The opposite stand will lead to bourgeois nationalism, to departing from the road from socialism and proletarian internationalism.

The road which our Party has followed for the solution of the national question by conditioning this question from the construc-

tion of socialist society, by organically linking the struggle for the victory and the preservation of the national independence with the struggle for the establishment and preservation of the dictatorship of the proletariat, for the construction of socialism, and by drawing into this struggle the broad masses of the people, is the most correct revolutionary road which secures a true liberation from any oppression and foreign dependence and a true social liberation from any capitalist oppression and exploitation. This is a valuable lesson for the countries which are oppressed by and depended upon the imperialists and the Soviet revisionists, which are fighting to throw off the foreign yoke and to win complete national independence.

In our conditions, when there was a lack of an industrial working class large in numbers, an especially great role has been played by the peasantry and the youth.

Our peasantry, the overwhelming majority of the population, 77 percent of which was comprised of poor peasants, has always preserved in its bosom deeply rooted patriotic traditions as well as great revolutionary energy, formed in the struggles for freedom and for land, and consolidated in the war against the fascist occupationists and the traitors, in the struggle for the construction of socialism and for the defence of the socialist Fatherland.

The working peasantry was convinced from its own experience of the correctness of

the policy of the Party, of its ability to defend the peasants interests, to fulfil their dreams and to draw them into the light. It has always seen the Party of the working class as its own Party.

In this way, our peasantry under the leadership of the Party has played a decisive role in all the stages of the revolution, serving as the soundest support of the working class and its Party.

Without such a support, our people's revolution could not have triumphed, the dictatorship of the proletariat could not have been established or been able to stand on its feet. For the establishment of this state power the poor and middle peasants have shed their blood and, in general, have contributed more than any other class or social strata in the country. For the development of the economy and socialist culture too, the working peasants with their work and strivings have contributed and still contribute a great deal. At the same time it has gained from the dictatorship of the proletariat and from the socialist order from every point of view so much more than it had ever gained or could ever have gained before during all the former centuries.

It is precisely for this reason that the Albanian peasantry sees the dictatorship of the proletariat as its own state power and is ready to defend it at all costs just as the working class defends it.

Our peasantry is armed. Neither the governments of the capitalist nor the governments of the revisionist countries have dared to do such a thing.

The experience of our revolution shows that all the poor and middle strata of the working peasantry, in the concrete conditions, can serve as the main support, as the allies of the working class, not only in the anti-imperialist democratic revolution for national liberation, for the establishment of the state power of the workers and revolutionary peasants, but also in the socialist revolution, for the consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the construction of socialist society.

Our youth have been the most vigorous force of the revolution and the right hand of the Party of the working class in all stages of revolution. Only a very small part of the youth from the ranks of the landlords and the reactionary bourgeoisie were opponents during and after the National-liberation War.

In the beginning, the youth of the towns, the worker and school youth were outstanding. The school youth came mainly from the petty-bourgeoisie and the middle bourgeoisie of the towns. They were among the first to embrace communist ideas and to throw themselves with all their might into the democratic and anti-fascist revolution alongside the working class youth. Under the leadership of the communists and inspired by the working class, they became

the bearers of communist ideas to the masses of the people, playing an important role in propagating the revolutionary line of the Communist Party.

Through the working class and the school youth who filled the ranks of the first organizations of the communist youth, the Party raised to their feet the peasant youth who became the greatest mass force of the revolution.

To make the youth the most vigorous force of the people's revolution and the socialist construction of the country the Party has worked in two directions: by throwing it into revolutionary activity, and by fulfilling its natural, material, cultural and spiritual demands.

At the end of each stage of the revolution, our youth have seen not only for the fulfilment of its ideals of the past, but also a clear prospect for the fulfilment of its new dreams and material, cultural and spiritual demands of the future. Day by day it has felt itself more sure of the fulfilment of its dreams and demands.

The work with the youth has had as its basis the proletarian Marxist-Leninist ideology and has aimed at the communist education of the youth.

From its nature, the youth is for the new against the old. It does not tolerate oppression and exploitation and shows its readiness to fight to throw off any yoke. On its own, it is unable to find the correct road. Only the party of the working class can show this road, just as it

occurred with us. When the inexhaustible revolutionary progressive energies of the youth are united with the energies of the working class and the other working masses and guided by the revolutionary party of the working class for a single purpose, the wiping out the landlord, bourgeois and imperialist exploitation, for the construction of a new political and social order which will secure the liberation of the masses of the people and the all-round progress of the country, there is no force which can face up to it and prevent the triumph of the revolution in one field or another. Things occur differently in the capitalist and revisionist countries where often the youth consumes its energies in roads which have nothing in common with the revolution. Deceived into embracing allegedly new forms of the old bourgeois way of life and turned on to the road of dissipation and all sorts of crimes either it passes over to anarchism and adventurism or it dreams of utopia and falls into despair.

The experience of the revolutionary struggle of our youth, the work of the Party to change it into a gigantic force of the people's revolution and of the construction of socialist society, constitutes a great treasure and will always preserve real value to ensure that, in the future, the Albanian youth will not be influenced by bourgeois revisionist ideology and will always remain a revolutionary youth.

No less important is the experience of the Party for the liberation of woman.

The Albanian woman, as well as the youth, has taken part in the revolution on a broad scale and vigorously. In the revolutionary policy and activity of the Party, the women have found the road which liberated them from any kind of pressure, which breaks the chains in which they have been held slaves for centuries and centuries on end, which changes them into revolutionary fighters with all rights and abilities equal with men.

The Party has taught the Albanian women not to await their liberty from others as all the bourgeois demagogy screams, to win their freedom themselves with struggle and strivings, with their direct and active participation in revolution, in production, in political and social life with their all-round raising in the cultural, technical and ideological fields. Only the freedoms and rights won with blood, toil, and sweat are true and stable. This is the explanation for that gigantic progress which has been marked in our country in the raising and the liberation of the woman, and precisely here rests the principal guarantee that the great struggle led by our Party for the complete emancipation of woman will be carried through to the end.

The Party has considered the struggle for the liberation of woman as an inseparable part of revolution in the different stages and in all its fields, as an objective necessity for the



successful development and for the victory of revolution, for the construction of socialist and communist society.

The existence of a broad social base has in no way weakened the leading role of the working class in the revolution, nor has it affected its proletarian essence.

The leading role of the working class and the proletarian character of the revolution has been secured through the undivided leadership of the Party of the working class and by the policy of this party.

Through its own Party, the Albanian working class has managed to overcome all the difficulties which resulted from its incomplete development as a class and from its low ideological, technical and cultural level in the period of the National-liberation War and in the first post-liberation years.

The Party has known how to introduce the proletarian spirit of its revolutionary policy and activity into the activity of the broad masses of the people, irrespective of the fact that amongst these masses the working class occupied a very small place. One of the most reliable weapons of the Party for achieving this aim has been the major organization, the Front. By means of the Front it has been ensured that none of the motive forces, of the allies of the working class in the different stages of the revolution, should remain unorganized and remain

outside the influence of the proletarian policy of the Party. This has made it possible for the Party to exercise better the leadership of the working class in all fields and to mobilize the broad masses in carrying out the tasks of its program.

In the third stage of the revolution (when we have at present a new industrial working class, moulded with a very high socialist consciousness, with a good technical and cultural level, with a rich experience of organization and revolutionary struggle, when we have also built the economic base of socialism in town and countryside) such objective conditions have been created as to demand that the Albanian working class take part on an even more broad and direct scale in the preservation of the Party and the dictatorship of the proletariat, in the application of its proletarian policy, to ensure in this way the inviolability of the leadership of the working class in the complete construction of the socialist and communist society, to prevent the bourgeois revisionist degeneration of the Party and the dictatorship of the proletariat and to prevent any turning back to capitalism as it has occurred in the Soviet Union. This is realized by means of the direct and all-embracing control of the working class in all fields of life on the cadres and the organs of the state power, on the organs and organizations of the Party itself.

Neither has the existence of a broad social base in any way softened the class struggle which is an objective necessity for the solution of class contradictions. The PLA has always seen the class struggle as the main motive force for the victory of the revolution in the political field, in the economic and social field and in the ideological field.

The motive forces, the allies of the working class, the main class enemies in one or the other stage of the revolution have been defined on the basis of a scientific class analysis, of the fundamental contradictions, of the objective internal and external circumstances, on the basis of the interests which one or the other class or strata has had in the fulfilment of the strategic tasks.

The Party together with the masses of the people has carried on a sharp class struggle against the enemies of the revolution both internal and external.

At the same time, the class struggle has been developed also amongst the social classes and strata which are allies, the motive forces of the revolution. This class struggle, differently from the struggle of the enemy which is based on antagonistic contradictions, has been essential for the solution of the non-antagonistic contradictions, which are inevitable in the ranks of the people.

But the class character of the revolution

has been preserved in the first place by the sole and undivided leadership of the Party of the working class and by the continuous application of the proletarian policy in all the fields of life of the country.

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The experience of our revolution is a great school for the communists and for all our workers, for the raising of the political and ideological level, for their revolutionary tempering, an inexhaustible source of lessons and revolutionary inspiration in the struggle for the complete construction of the socialist society in our country as well as in the struggle against imperialism and revisionism on a world scale.

This experience comprises a creative development of Marxism-Leninism and, at the same time, an enrichment of its revolutionary theory and practice.

The experience of our revolution is the experience of the Party of Labor of Albania, the experience of the Albanian working masses, the experience of their heroic revolutionary struggle. In this experience is embodied the loyalty of our Party towards Marxism-Leninism, its high level of determination and maturity, its creative thinking, its revolutionary courage, the creative strengths and the revolutionary virtues of our working class, of our laboring peasantry, of our heroic people. Embo-

died in it are the proletarian tempering, the inexhaustible revolutionary energies, the self-sacrifice of our cadres, the wisdom, the far-sightedness and creative capacity of Comrade Enver Hoxha, the beloved Marxist-Leninist teacher and leader of the Party and of the Albanian people.

**THE FURTHER REVOLUTIONIZATION OF  
THE LIFE OF THE COUNTRY AND SOME  
QUESTIONS ON THE THEORY AND  
PRACTICE OF SOCIALISM**

BY FOTO ÇAMI

The 25 years of free socialist Albania are a vivid testimony to the correctness and great transforming strength of the triumphant ideas of Marxism-Leninism and the ability of the Party of Labor of Albania to apply them in a creative manner to the Albanian practice of the revolution and socialist construction. Undeviating loyalty to principles, the irreconcilability with all the political and ideological enemies of socialism and of Marxism-Leninism has been and remains the fundamental feature of the whole activity of the Party and the decisive factor which has ensured the successful development of our revolution always in a forward line of progress.

«The experience gained in the development of our revolution,» says the Report of the Sixth Plenum of the Central Committee of the Party

of Labor of Albania in October 1968,» is the experience of a country where the process of the consolidation and strengthening of the dictatorship of the proletariat has been and is being done in an uninterrupted and consistent manner, where the Party, through the resolute development of the class struggle has firmly defeated all its enemies, never giving them the possibility to turn the revolutionary process backwards towards bourgeois counter-revolution and the reestablishment of capitalism, not to seriously endanger, even for a brief period, the dictatorship of the proletariat, the fate of socialism. This experience of our Party is the most brilliant test of its correct Marxist-Leninist line and of the farsighted revolutionary leadership of its Central Committee headed by Comrade Enver Hoxha.

#### **A new contribution to the historical experience of the dictatorship of the proletariat**

The period which we are passing through is one of the richest and most creative periods in the glorious history of our Party. Generalizing its rich experience from the positions of Marxism-Leninism as well as drawing lessons from the positive and negative experience of the world communist and revolutionary movements, the Party, with Comrade Enver Hoxha at the head, during these last years, has worked

out theoretically and has solved in practice, many important problems of principle of the internal and external policy, which constitute an outstanding contribution to the treasury of Marxism-Leninism and especially to the enrichment of the historic experience of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

In these recent years, the Party of Labor of Albania has made its contribution to the development of Marxist-Leninist thinking in the clarification, the deepening and working out of a series of problems which have to do with the present day world development, especially, in the conditions of the struggle between Marxism-Leninism and revisionism, with the uninterrupted development of the socialist revolution and the complete construction of socialist society, with the ensuring of the victory of the socialist road over the capitalist road.

In all these directions, together with the Communist Party of China, headed by the great Marxist-Leninist and the strategist of the revolution, Comrade Mao Tsetung, our Party has waged a great struggle, firm and principled, against modern revisionism — the greatest treachery which the history of the international communist movement has known. This has not been simply a struggle in defence of the principles of Marxism-Leninism, but in this struggle there has also been made a further development of the revolutionary theory itself. Historic experience shows that after each revolutionary

or counter-revolutionary turn in the life of the society and, linked with this, after each great battle with its own ideological opponents, who precisely in these periods of change have hurled themselves into the attack, Marxism-Leninism has always been raised to a new, higher scale. This is what had occurred in the past and this is what is occurring today.

The birth of modern revisionism and, as a result of this, the bourgeois degeneration of the Soviet Union and of some other socialist countries, puts forward two great historic tasks: the task for the exposure and defeat of the revisionist betrayal and the task of the discovery of the causes and of the definition of the measures to block the way to this retrogressive phenomenon in the future in the parties and other socialist countries.

The revisionist counter-revolution which occurred in the Soviet Union and elsewhere is a new phenomenon, is a counter-revolution which history has never known before. If the tragedy which occurred there was not averted, this should be explained, amongst other things, because there was a lack of experience of such a phenomenon. There are three special features which distinguish the revisionist counter-revolution from the counter-revolutions known up until today.

Differently from the other counter-revolutions, it was not carried out by the old former ruling classes overthrown from the state power,

but by a new bourgeois class, which was formed gradually in the conditions of socialism as a result of the bourgeois influence from inside and the pressure of imperialism from outside.

It did not begin from below but from above, from the leading cadres of the class which is in power, who degenerated into bourgeois elements and who, for the achievement of their purposes, even used the Party in Power and the existing State.

It was not carried out by the use of the armed force but was carried out in a peaceful manner, disguised with socialist phraseology, by gradually eroding from within the socialist system.

Without at all undervaluing the danger of counter-revolution from the old exploiting classes or their remnants, who, as long as they live will never give up their dreams of returning to their lost paradise, especially the danger of imperialist or social-imperialist aggression which is a particularly serious danger for a small country such as ours is, the bitter experience of what occurred in the Soviet Union and elsewhere shows that special importance must be devoted to the struggle against the danger of bourgeois revisionist degeneration.

While the question of whether or not the counter-revolution of the old overthrown classes or foreign imperialist revisionist aggression will burst out or not, *does not depend on us alone*, but also on the stand of our enemies,

whether or not we allow the peaceful revisionist counter-revolution to appear *depends on us alone*. It is not an unavoidable fate, like the two other danger which could appear despite our efforts, but if we follow a correct policy, if we maintain our vigilance on a high level, if we take all the necessary measures, even though the old exploiting classes and foreign imperialists could be bold enough to undertake some adventure, it will mean their defeat. The revisionist counter-revolution is not an objective law of the development of socialism because it does not stem from the nature of socialism itself, as revolution stems from the very nature of capitalism.

But how can this danger be averted? From the beginning our Party has been concerned with this problem and to the degree the conditions and possibilities have permitted, has tried to discover the causes of the revisionist degeneration and to draw the necessary lessons and conclusions from what occurred in the Soviet Union and elsewhere. The Party has expressed these lessons and conclusions in a series of important documents of the Central Committee of the Party and especially in many of the programmatic speeches of Comrade Enver Hoxha. On the basis of these materials especially following the 5th Congress of the Party, there began that great process which we call the further revolutionization of the life of the country.

What is the meaning and purpose of this

process and what are some of its principal features?

The struggle for the revolutionization of the life of the country is not only a struggle to cut the road of revisionism and the restoration of capitalism, to preserve, as you might say, the status quo or to prevent any turning back. In fact, the road to revisionism and to the restoration of capitalism cannot be closed by standing still but by deepening the socialist revolution in all fields and by carrying it through to the end. Therefore, the main aim of the process of revolutionization is how to advance continuously ahead, how to ensure the uninterrupted development of the revolution on the road of socialism and communism, in such a way that we will never turn back. The achievement of this aim demands the closing of the paths to any danger of the restoration of capitalism either from inside or from outside.

Looking at this question from this angle, this process is not beginning today for the first time. The fact that what occurred elsewhere did not occur with us shows that our general road has been correct, that our revolution has been developed in an uninterrupted and consistent manner. Here we have to do not with some new revolution but with the continuation of that revolutionary process which began with the creation of the Party and which has been developed continuously under its leadership. That is why we speak about the *further* revolutionization.

nization of the life of the country. But while this is an uninterrupted revolution, the socialist revolution is developed in stages. Each of these stages has its own special features, brings something new and marks a new step forward in the development of the society. Such a stage is comprised today by the further revolutionization of the life of the country. Therefore, we should see this not just as a simple continuation, but as a new higher stage in the development of the revolution, in conformity with the new tasks and conditions.

From this viewpoint, our measures to advance the revolution are not dictated only by the negative experience of what occurred in the Soviet Union and elsewhere, but also by the very level achieved in the development of the country, as well as by the demands for the complete construction of socialism and the advance towards communism.

Socialism, as the first phase of the social-economic formation of communism, is born from capitalism, it is built upon that material-economic and human base which is inherited from the past. Therefore, it also preserves for a long time the stains and blemishes of the old society, which do not exist only in the field of ideology in the consciousness of our men, as it is often thought, but in all the fields of the economic, political, social, educational, cultural, organizational life, etc. Any undervaluation of the struggle against them, as the bitter expe-

rience of the Soviet Union shows, is pregnant with very grave consequences.

The struggle against the remnants of the old order begins along with the birth of the new socialist social order and grows continually. The stage which we are passing through is characterized precisely by a frontal attack against them, for the cleansing of everything old from the life of our new society. These stains will be wiped out completely in communism, but the development towards communism cannot be done without fighting against them from today and without gradually introducing the communist norms and principles.

Socialism and communism, as two phases of the same social order, cannot be separated as with a knife. Communism arises from socialism, is its direct continuation. It will not come within a day. There is no clear-cut dividing line so that we can say now the construction of socialism has come to an end and we are entering the stage of communism. The transition from socialism to communism is an uninterrupted process. The preconditions of communism are laid down and developed while in the socialist stage, and the more so the closer the communist stage approaches.

On this question, we should keep in mind not only the link between socialism and communism but also the differences between them. Theoretically and in practice it has been verified that from capitalism we can pass directly

only to socialism, that this phase is absolutely necessary for all countries. We can pass to communism only through socialism. The construction of communism is the final aim of the Party. But we are still a very long way from this objective, to achieve that will require a very long time yet.

From this it emerges that while working for the present we should always keep the future in mind, while strengthening the positions of socialism we should introduce and gradually develop the threads of communism. On the other hand, we should never forget for a moment the level achieved, the objective and subjective conditions of the country, we should not rush to apply premature measures for which the conditions are not yet ripe, because such actions would distort and compromise our cause.

The process of revolutionization, as a process of the deepening of the revolution on the road of socialism and communism, is not a temporary campaign which ends with the taking of a few measures in various fields of life. A special feature of the socialist revolution, which distinguishes it from all other revolutions, is that it does not end with the taking of the state power and the overthrow of the old order. It is an uninterrupted revolution which lasts during the whole historical period of the dictatorship of the proletariat; and its mission will end only when any danger of a

turning back towards capitalism will be wiped out, when the complete and final victory of communism has been secured.

The further revolutionization of the life of our country has some special features, the most important of which are:

It does not affect only a few aspects, but the whole life of the country, all its fields, the base and the superstructure, the productive forces and, above all, man, his consciousness and world outlook.

It is not an administrative-bureaucratic action but a great revolutionary movement which is carried out with the participation of the broadest masses of the people, by applying the method of the line of the masses, throwing them into mass revolutionary actions.

It is not a spontaneous process but a process organized and directed by the Party, where everything is done on the basis of the directives of the Party from above and where the Party takes up and generalizes every initiative and revolutionary movement of the masses from below.

In the struggle for the further revolutionization of the life of the country, our Party has accumulated and is accumulating a new experience, it is opening up new roads and untrodden paths.

The communist movement has a rich experience of how to carry out the revolution and how to lay the basis of socialism. At the roots



of this experience stands the October Revolution and the socialist construction of the Soviet Union. Despite the base slanders of the modern revisionists, this experience has lost none of its international value. The Marxist-Leninists have learned and continually learn from it.

The birth of revisionism and, as a result of this, the bourgeois degeneration of the Soviet Union and some other socialist countries brought a new experience, no longer positive but negative, of how the revolution can be undermined and capitalism be restored by means of the peaceful, gradual, revisionist counter-revolution.

A worked out experience of how to prevent the stopping and turning back of the revolution and the socialist construction, of how to carry revolution on to the end, how to build the complete socialist society and pass over to communism, has been lacking in the communist movement. The Soviet Union was unable to create this experience because there the revolutionary process was interrupted by the counter-revolutionary process. This new experience is being created now. The Party of Labor of Albania and the Communist Party of China today are rendering the main contribution for this. In the future, this experience will be further enriched. The creation of this experience is a new great contribution to the theory and practice of scientific socialism.

More concretely, wherein lies the new in this experience?

#### **On the relationship between the objective and the subjective factor in socialism**

The relationship between the objective factor and the subjective factor is one of the most important problems of the theory and practice of the revolution and socialism. The absolutism of one or the other factor in theory will lead either to vulgar materialism or to idealism, while in practice it will lead either to opportunism or to adventurism.

Engels, in the last years of his life, explained how the historical materialism of Marx should be understood and applied. He criticized the vulgar distortion of the materialist conception of history and laid special emphasis on the role of the subjective factor. However, the evil against which Engels rose was not averted. Following his death, Bernsteinian opportunism spread in the II International. Its basis is the theory of spontaneity. This found its concentrated expression in the so-called «theory of the productive forces» and in the notorious slogan of Bernstein «the movement is everything, the aim is nothing». Another variant of this theory was the opportunist trend of «economism» in Russia.

To Lenin belongs the historical merit of the

unmasking and defeat of the opportunism of the treacherous 2nd International. For the first time in the history of Marxist thinking, Lenin disclosed the ideological roots of opportunism which stand precisely on the preaching of economism, of spontaneity in the revolutionary movement of the working class. He defended and raised high the role of the conscious factor and formulated the well-known theses that without the revolutionary theory there can be no revolutionary movement.

In the present conditions, the need emerges to return again to this problem because, in theory and in practice, there have been and there are major distortions, especially, on the part of the modern revisionists, who absolutize the importance of the material conditions of life, of the base, of the economy, thus slipping into a new variety of economism, of vulgar materialism, of the theory of spontaneity. This distortion found its concentrated expression in the theses of N. Khrushchev that in the period of socialism it is the economic side of Marxism which has first importance. This was, we might say, the theoretical base of Khrushchevite economism, which led to his concepts about «goulash» communism, to the changing of the party into an economic organization for the management of industry and agriculture, to the putting of material interest at the basis of all the activity of man, the absolute domination of the economic, technical-vocational education of

the workers, to his preachings about the party and the state of the whole people, about peaceful coexistence, peaceful competition and the peaceful road. On this basis too have been developed the other revisionist concepts about the integration of capitalism into socialism through the development of the state monopoly capitalism, about the so-called non-capitalist road of development without the leadership of the working class and of its revolutionary party, about the reconcilability of the Marxist-Leninist ideology with bourgeois and clerical ideology, about the amalgamation of the communist parties into broad national-liberation fronts or with bourgeois parties of the working class, etc., etc.

Thus was proved once again what great Lenin had said more than half a century ago, that the ideological source of opportunism in the working class movement is the theory of spontaneity, economism, negation of the role of the conscious factor. This was the ideological basis of the old Bernsteinian revisionism, this is also the ideological basis of present day Khrushchevite revisionism.

The materialist viewpoint, that social being, the base, the economy are primary, remains completely valid in socialism, too, but their relationship with the conscious factor, with the superstructure, with politics is greatly changed. In socialism, as an order which is not born and developed spontaneously, the role of the subject-

tive factor takes first-rate importance. Directly dependent on this is not only the rate of development but even the very fate of socialism. What is new in our revolutionary practice is precisely the reestablishment of the Marxist-Leninist understanding and application of the relationship between the objective factor and the subjective factor, taking the objective factor as primary and giving firsthand importance to the subjective factor.

It is known that the consciousness of men is determined in the final analysis by their being, it is the ideal reflection of the material conditions in which men live and work. But as an ideal reflection and not a photographic one, consciousness as a rule remains behind, changes more slowly than the conditions of material life. Besides this, the blemishes of capitalism, as well as the external capitalism and revisionist world which encircles us, exercise their negative influence upon the consciousness of men in socialism. All this can become the cause for the degeneration of men, for the changing of their world outlook, which opens the road to the political counter-revolution, and later to changes in their material conditions of life from socialist to capitalist. The question is that the material conditions of life are not fixed once and for all, men, with their revolutionary activity and practice, create and change them. But the activity of men is a conscious activity. Therefore in what direction this activity will develop

depends greatly on their world outlook and consciousness, on what ideas guide them, on what ideals inspire them, on what motives impel them in life and work. That is the reason that our Party without in any way undervaluing the decisive role of the material and economic conditions in the development of the society towards socialism and communism, has given and always gives first rate importance to the role of man, armed with the revolutionary ideology.

The superstructure of society is determined by the base, reflects the base and serves it. But it is not a passive product of the base. Its role in socialism, varying from the role it has played in the past is not expressed only in what is usually said, that it can accelerate or hinder the development of a country, but it can decide the very fate and road of this development. The bourgeois degeneration of socialism in the Soviet Union and elsewhere was decided first of all by the degeneration of the superstructure. Summing up this experience as well as its own experience, our Party, without negating or in any way undervaluing the decisive role of the economic base in the development of the socialist society, gives first importance to the strengthening and perfecting the socialist superstructure, to the struggle against any alien manifestation, to its cleansing from any remnants of the former superstructure, seeing this as one of the main guarantees to ensure

the uninterrupted development of the socialist revolution.

Lenin said, «the economy is primary, but in the epoch of the dictatorship of the proletariat, politics must take absolute priority over economy». Otherwise the road to economism, technocratism and bureaucracy is opened. Politics is a concentrated expression of the economy and is conditioned by it, but the economic system feels the active influence of politics. Social ownership of the means of production is that material base which defines the character of politics in socialism. But if bourgeois politics, of which revisionism is a manifestation, emerges as the most important, then the social ownership in fact loses its socialist character, the economy, though it may preserve for a time its external socialist appearance, in fact is changed into a state capitalist economy of a special type, which is developed in the interests of the new bourgeois strata or class which has the state power in its hands and which follows a bourgeois policy.

To give first importance to politics does not mean to replace the economy with politics and to neglect the economy, allegedly for the sake of politics, but means that each economic problem and the whole development of the economy must be seen through political eyes and be carried out in the direction defined by proletarian politics. The Party is opposed to economism and technocratism, just as it is opposed to po-

liticalizing which replaces profound knowledge and scientific management of affairs with general political phrases and slogans. Every work is the unity of the politics and the speciality and in this unity priority should be given to politics.

#### About the class struggle and the question of the victory of socialist road over the capitalist road

The great teachers of Marxism-Leninism have emphasized and life has verified that any deviation from the class struggle, any inconsistency in this struggle, any misconception or distortion of this problem, either in the conditions of capitalism or in those of socialism, is pregnant with very grave consequences. Herein lies the essence of the betrayal of the modern revisionists, here we should see also one of the most important causes which led to the revisionist tragedy which occurred in the Soviet Union and elsewhere. On the basis of the new experience, the theory and practice of the class struggle in the conditions of socialism today has been developed and further enriched. What are the most important conclusions in this direction?

In opposition to the viewpoints of the modern revisionists, who have hidden the class struggle from the life of the society and only

speak about the unity of this society, our Party upholds the Marxist-Leninist viewpoint that the class struggle continues not only during the period of the transition from capitalism to socialism, when the exploiting classes still exist, but also after their liquidation as classes, during the whole period of the construction of socialist society and the transition to communism, remaining one of the main motive forces of society.

It is important not only to accept the class struggle, but also to have a correct understanding about the breadth of this struggle in socialism. Any narrow or one-sided understanding has harmful and dangerous results. Experience shows that even after the construction of the economic base of socialism and the liquidation of the exploiting classes, the sharp edge of the class struggle is not directed mainly or only to the external front, only or mainly against the foreign enemies, as this problem has usually been treated in the past. Such an understanding has, as a direct result, the weakening of the class struggle inside the country which should never be forgotten, as Comrade Enver Hoxha has emphasized, because, otherwise history will punish us severely. Even within the country this struggle is not directed only against the remnants of the exploiting classes and their agents or the foreign enemies, spies, saboteurs, and diversionists, but this struggle is extended even to the ranks of the people and

the Party, it acts in all fields of political, economic, ideological, and cultural, organizational and military life.

The special feature of the position of the working class in socialism is that it develops its class struggle not only from below as in the conditions of capitalism, but also from above through the dictatorship of the proletariat. But if the struggle is carried on only or mainly from above, the only purpose achieved will be pregnant with other evil consequences. Therefore, our Party determinedly upholds the principle that in the class struggle, too, the line of the masses must be followed consistently, one must rely powerfully on the masses and must organize the masses so that they themselves carry out the struggle. This is decisive also for the education and revolutionary tempering of the masses themselves.

The class struggle in the conditions of the dictatorship of the proletariat is not developed in a straight line, it proceeds neither by continually sharpening nor by continually weakening, but as Comrade Enver Hoxha has emphasized, «it is developed in waves, in zigzags, sometimes rising, sometimes receding, sometimes sharpening, sometimes softening, but it is never interrupted and never completely quelled.» This is the only correct understanding of this question which has its source in the dialectics of life itself and which allows us to fall neither into opportunism nor into sectarianism.

Of a special importance is the correct understanding and application of the relationship between the struggle of the classes, the contradictions and unity of the people in socialism. To accept only the unity and to negate the contradictions in the struggle of classes as the revisionists do, means to fall into the positions of metaphysics in theory and into opportunism in politics. But to accept only the contradictions in the class struggle and to deny the unity, means to fall into another variant of metaphysics in theory, and into adventurism and sectarianism in politics. The roots of these two distortions lie in the failure to conceive correctly the dialectical law about the unity and struggle of opposites and the specific features of the action of this law in the conditions of socialism.

For the development of the revolution and the successful construction of socialism it is a matter of principle to accept two types of contradiction in socialist society and always to make clear the distinction between them. The opportunists and revisionists see all the contradictions of socialist society as contradictions amongst the people, they do not accept the existence of antagonistic contradictions.

On this basis they hide the dividing line with the class enemy and negate the class struggle in socialism. On the other hand, it should be accepted that in socialism contradictions between the people are typical. Otherwise, we would be denying what distinguishes socialism

from capitalism. Any mixing up of contradictions which vary in their character leads either to opportunist stands or to sectarian stands. We must not forget that in specific conditions, because of enemy activity or of our mistakes, contradictions amongst the people can be changed into antagonistic contradictions. To prevent such a phenomenon it is necessary to maintain our vigilance on a high level and to follow a correct policy.

The question of when the victory of the socialist road over the capitalist road can be said to have been solved, has been put forward in a new way. This question has its own history. Lenin supported with scientific arguments the possibility of the victory of socialism in a single country and laid the basis of the plan for the construction of socialist society. Life verified the correctness of the ideas of Lenin. Stalin further developed the Leninist theory of the socialist revolution. He emphasized that the bourgeoisie can be overthrown and the complete socialist society be built with the internal forces of the people of the country of the triumphant revolution, but this victory, he pointed out, could not be called final while there still existed the capitalist encirclement and, therefore consequently, the danger of aggression and the restoration of capitalism. Although it was on-sided for the lack of historical experience, this conclusion of Stalin, also, has been completely verified by practice.

The Khrushchevite revisionists wantonly distorted this problem. In the 21st Congress of the CPSU, Khrushchev put forward the thesis that from that time both in the Soviet Union and in the other socialist countries, there was no longer any danger to the fate of socialism either from outside or from inside. That not only the complete, but even the final victory of socialism had been achieved. This anti-Marxist stand which became a part, later on, of the program of the CPSU approved in the 22nd Congress, has been overthrown by life itself. The revisionist betrayal and, as a result, the re-establishment of capitalism in the Soviet Union and in several other socialist countries completely exposed the falseness of this thesis and demonstrated that the danger to the fate of socialism comes not only from the counter-revolution of the overthrown exploiting classes or their remnants within the country, not only from the external imperialist aggression, but also from the internal peaceful bourgeois-revisionist degeneration.

Even though the danger which comes from the exploiting classes can be avoided with their liquidation as classes and with the elimination of their remnants, even though the danger of restoration which comes from imperialist aggression can be avoided through the changes in the relationships of the forces in favor of socialism, the other danger, which comes from the peaceful bourgeois-revisionist degeneration, will

continue to exist for a very long time. But how long? For as long as the bases for it exist. What are these bases? They are two: the stains of capitalism inside the country and the influence and pressure of the capitalist world from outside. These bases will be eliminated only when the complete victory of communism has been achieved on a world scale, and only then can this victory be called final.

For all these reasons we say that during the whole historical period of transition from capitalism to communism the class struggle continues, the struggle between the two lines continues. But the danger of turning back is always a danger, a possibility, but not an absolute necessity. Overestimation or absolutization of this danger sows pessimism, lack of confidence in the future, paralyzes the will and efforts of men, just as underestimation of them leads to lack of vigilance and endangers the victories achieved. Without at all underestimating the danger, but always being vigilant, we have complete faith in victory. We are optimistic for the future, because despite the zigzags of history, the victory of socialism and communism in the world is inevitable.

#### **About the ideological and cultural revolution**

The socialist revolution as an uninterrupted all-round revolution includes the transformation of both the objective and subjective world. The

ideological and cultural revolution is an inseparable part of the socialist revolution and, on the basis of the transformation of the objective world, and in struggle with all the influence of foreign ideology, has as its main aim to carry out the communist education of the workers, to form and temper the new man.

The law of the development of the socialist revolution is that it is won, first of all, in the political field, later, in the economic field and finally, in the ideological field. The problem is that the stains of capitalism in the consciousness of men for many reasons are eliminated with greater difficulty than in any other field of life. And these stains not only hinder men from taking an active and conscious part in the great deed of the socialist construction, but constitute in themselves the seeds of their degeneration, of the undermining of socialism.

The class enemy has always based great hopes on the alien remnants and manifestations in the consciousness of men, on the spreading of bourgeois revisionist ideology. But in the present conditions of the ratio of the forces in the world and inside the country, without neglecting the use of armed force, for the achievement of their counter-revolutionary purposes, they give a special importance, and will be giving more in the future, to the struggle in the ideological and cultural field, for the confusion of the minds of men.

History testifies that all classes which have

fought to establish their political and economic domination on society, first of all, had to prepare the minds of men to form public opinion. This is true for every turn, whether revolutionary or counter-revolutionary. This is especially true for the peaceful revisionist counter-revolution. The vanguard of this counter-revolution is the spreading of bourgeois ideology. The most suitable form for the penetration of this ideology in the conditions of socialism is revisionism, bourgeois ideology disguised with socialist phraseology.

From this emerges the principled importance of the important theses of the 5th Congress of the Party that, «so long as the complete victory of the socialist revolution in the field of ideology and culture has not been ensured, neither is the victory of the socialist revolution in the field of politics and economics ensured and guaranteed».

Another principled conclusion of our Party also emerges from this, that the victory of the socialist road over the capitalist road can be said to have been achieved and guaranteed only when, besides other things, it will have been secured on the ideological front, on the front of the class struggle in the field of ideology, and this not only on a national scale but also on an international scale.

The decisive factor in any work is man. Apart from social economic conditions, the active role of man in life depends on two things:



a) on his world outlook and consciousness and  
b) on his cultural educational horizons and technical professional capacity. These two aspects of communist education are closely linked and absolutely necessary for the all-round development of man. But at all times ideological, political and moral education has and must have the superiority. Men make the revolution and men also make the counter-revolution. They are born neither as revolutionaries nor as counter-revolutionaries, they become such in life. Everything depends upon in what social conditions men are placed, and what is done for their education. This is the reason that, without at all undervaluing, even continually strengthening the work for the mastering of science and technique, for the development of education and culture, our Party puts the greatest importance on the education and tempering of men as true revolutionaries. From this emerges the great importance of the slogan of the Party «We must think, work and live as revolutionaries», which comprises the essence of the communist education and the guarantee that the cause of revolution in socialism will always march ahead.

The struggle in the ideological field is and must be a struggle against all forms of the ideology of the exploiting classes, concentrating its fire against bourgeois ideology and against its most dangerous variant for the fate of socialism, — revisionism. This struggle must be carried out not only in the theoretical field, but

it is even more important that it should be carried out in the consciousness of each man to cleanse him of everything alien.

At the foundation of bourgeois-revisionist ideology, of all forms of the ideology of the exploiting classes, lies the feeling of pursuing personal interests, of selfishness and individualism, which has its source in private property itself, upon which these ideologies are based. Therefore, in the ideological struggle for the revolutionary education of the workers the main blow must be struck precisely at this feeling, for the subjection of narrow personal interests to the general social interest.

Which interest is given greatest importance, personal interest or the general interest, this is a question of a profoundly principled nature. Socialism as an order which is based on social ownership of the means of production and on the socialist ideology, has at its basis the feeling of collectivism, absolutely demands the putting of the general interest in the first place as a condition for its existence and development. If the opposite occurs, as the experience of the countries where the revisionists have come to power shows, the road is open to the destruction of the revolutionary consciousness of the workers, to the spreading of bourgeois ideology, to the degeneration of socialism and the reestablishment of capitalism.

A new and rich experience has been gained during these years of the further revolutioni-

zation of the life of the country and in many other fields of the ideological struggle, both in the struggle against bureaucracy, technocracy, economism and intellectualism, which are among the most important ideological sources of revisionism and among its most evil results, in the struggle against feudal-bourgeois concepts, customs and traditions for the complete emancipation of women as well as in the struggle against religion, in which a result has been achieved unprecedented in the world. Albania is the only country which no longer has institutions of religious obscurantism.

The ideological revolution permeates and leads the whole great process of the revolutionization of the life of the country. And the revolution in the field of culture is developed and deepened in unity with the ideological revolution and serves it directly. One great problem in the field of the deepening of the cultural revolution is the problem of the revolutionization of the school. And in this direction, too, our Party is opening new roads, is working out a new experience of great importance not only to carry on our own revolution to the end, but which constitutes another valuable contribution to the international experience of the construction of socialism, especially, in such an important and delicate field as the field of education.

Marxist dialectics teaches us that without the elimination of the old there can be no victory of the new, without destruction there can-

not be construction. And the building of the new socialist school cannot be done without the critical analysis of the old school. Marx and especially Lenin made a devastating criticism of the bourgeois school. Our Party has deepened and is further deepening this criticism, not only against the bourgeois school, but also against the revisionist school, rejecting the concepts and practices upon which these schools are built. But our criticism is dialectical and not metaphysical. It does not reject only the old concepts, but it also affirms the new concepts which should be at the foundation of our school and for the application of which the Party must struggle.

This is another aspect of the contribution of our Party in this field. Another aspect consists in the finding of the best and deepest application of the well-known Marxist-Leninist principles about the socialist school. These principles were formulated by our great classical teachers and especially by Marx and Lenin. But until today these principles have not found their complete embodiment in the socialist school. Our Party is making a new step forward in this direction.

Another problem which is closely linked with the deepening of the ideological and cultural revolution is the relationship between the new and the old, the present and the past, the national and the foreign in literature and art, in culture in general. This problem has to do

with the stand towards the national and international cultural inheritance. It seems to us that the interpretation and the application of the ideas of Lenin on this question, in the theory and practice of socialism, has been done in the past in a one-sided manner. The emphasis has been put not so much on the viewing of the inheritance with a critical eye as on that which must be mastered from it. The biggest efforts have been made to discover and find that which is positive, but frequently neglecting or covering up that which is negative. This has led sometimes to cosmopolitanism, sometimes to nationalism. These distortions were increased a great deal more by the Khrushchevite revisionists.

Our Party is against both xenophobia and against national nihilism, against cosmopolitanism and against the glorifying of everything which belongs to our national past. The working class and the Party being the true inheritors of everything good which mankind and our people have created in the past, at the same time maintain towards this inheritance a stand not apologetic but dialectic, critical and revolutionary.

This critical stand is dictated not only by the fact that as Lenin said, in each national culture there are two cultures — one progressive and one reactionary, — but because even the progressive part of the cultural past bears the brand of the ideology of the class struggle of its own time and therefore cannot serve com-

pletely for our purposes and as a model to be imitated.

It should be emphasized that generally in the dialectical unity of negation and affirmation, these two sides do not play the same role, do not have identical importance. Destruction, negation of the old, is the main movement, while the inheritance of positive elements from the old affirmation, is the movement of secondary importance. But within this framework their place and role can change according to the conditions: at one time one, at another time another, may assume superiority.

In the commencement of the creation of the new proletarian culture it is natural that it should have relied more on the positive aspects of the old culture, because the new proletarian culture could not be built on a vacuum. Therefore, Lenin, in his time, sharply criticized the «proletarian culture» and emphasized strongly the importance of mastering everything good which has been created by the human mind. At a later period, when the basis had been laid, and the struggle for the consolidation of the proletarian culture and the whole socialist order is being fought out, the emphasis must be placed on the critical analysis of the old and on relying on the results achieved, on the affirmation and development of the new proletarian culture.

One of the principal objectives of the cultural revolution is the narrowing of the essen-

tial differences between mental work and physical work, with the perspective of eliminating them completely in the communist future by continuously raising the cultural and educational, technical and scientific level of the workers, until it reaches the level of the engineering technical personnel. But this is only one road for the solution of this great problem. The other road and the fundamental one is opened by the development of the technical-scientific revolution which creates the material-technical basis for the ever closer approach of the two types of work until they are blended and any essential difference between them is wiped out.

These two roads have been recognized. Now they have been enriched with the new experience unknown until now. This experience has to do with the participation in definite proportions of all the people of mental work, including here even the students and the people of the schools directly in productive physical labor, to restrict in this way, that separation of the people of mental labor from the work in production of the workers and peasants, a separation which is one of the main sources of intellectualism, bureaucracy, technocratism and many other evils for the intelligentsia which lead to its revisionist degeneration. With these measures the Party aims at creating a new type of manager unknown in history until today, who not only manages, gives orders and controls, but also works and produces together with the workers and the peasants.

This in no way means, as the revisionists slander, that allegedly we want to achieve the narrowing and the elimination of the discrimination between mental and physical work through the lowering of the level of the people of mental work to the level of the people of the physical labor, through the dequalification of mental labor and the liquidation of the strata of intelligentsia by amalgamating it to day with the workers and the peasants. On the contrary, these measures assist the cadres of intelligentsia on the basis of the practice and the experience of the masses, from which all knowledge springs, to gain new knowledge, to extend their horizon, to raise their ability and mastery, and on the other hand, it assist them to verify in practice, which is the only criterion of the truth to verify the knowledge which they have gained from books and school, to reexamine it with a critical eye, to correct it, and develop it.

Our Party makes a correct evaluation both of physical labor and of mental labor, it is opposed to both the aristocratic concepts which scorn physical labor and to vulgar concepts which scorn mental labor. It upholds the idea of Lenin that the intelligentsia... «will remain a special stratum until the achievement of the highest stage of development — the communist society».

## About the strengthening of the party and the dictatorship of the proletariat

The stand towards the dictatorship of the proletariat has always been and remains the touchstone, the fundamental criterion to distinguish between who is in the Marxist-Leninist position and who has departed from this position. The Leninist thesis that a Marxist is he who not only accepts the class struggle but he who extends the acceptance of the class struggle to acceptance of the dictatorship of the proletariat, remains completely valid even in the conditions of socialism. In the final analysis, the class struggle has been and remains at every time and place, over the question of the State Power. While the struggle continues, even in the conditions of socialism, its main purpose even here always remains the question of political state power. Therefore, the idea of Lenin that the fundamental question of the revolution is the question of State Power, should be extended throughout the whole period of the development of the socialist revolution, and not only through the period in which the struggle for the seizure of power is taking place.

It is a fact that the enemies always direct their main blow against the party and the dictatorship of the proletariat. The usurping of State Power is the main object also of the bourgeois and revisionist elements. Therefore, in the conditions of socialism also, when the

various bourgeois revisionist elements have tried to occupy the key positions in the state, the need arises for a *special type of political revolution* unknown to history, which has as its main objective to overthrow from power all those who have taken the capitalist road of development, to defend and strengthen the dictatorship of the proletariat. This is the essence of the great proletarian cultural revolution in China launched and led personally by Chairman Mao Tsetung, which has contributed a new, very rich experience of great international value.

Our Party in many of its documents and materials has rejected with profound Marxist-Leninist arguments the revisionist «theory» of the «party of all the people» and the «state of all the people», and has defended the idea of the dictatorship of the proletariat and of the proletarian class character of the communist party. It is not correct, as the revisionists claim, that the dictatorship of the proletariat is necessary only during the period of transition from capitalism to socialism when the exploiting classes still exist, but after their liquidation as classes, the struggle ceases to exist. To link the existence of the dictatorship of the proletariat solely to the existence of the exploiting classes, means to reduce its whole content simply to the suppression of their resistance, which is only one element of the dictatorship of the proletariat. J. V. Stalin synthesizing the ideas of Marx, Engels and, especially, of Lenin about the dic-

tatorship of the proletariat in «Problems of Leninism», has emphasized that it has three fundamental aspects and only by taking them together can we have a complete understanding of the dictatorship of the proletariat. This definition of Stalin's about the dictatorship of the proletariat is absolutely correct and the fact emerges from it that the dictatorship of the proletariat must not be eliminated with the elimination of the exploiting classes.

The dictatorship of the proletariat is the weapon of the class struggle of the proletariat to carry the socialist revolution through to the end. The absolute necessity for it even after the liquidation of the exploiting classes is linked with the fact that the class struggle continues not only on the international scale, but also on a national scale. This struggle will continue for as long as the danger of the restoration of the capitalist system exists. And since this danger will continue through the whole historical period of transition from capitalism to communism, as is shown above, it is clear that during this whole period the dictatorship of the proletariat will be preserved. This dictatorship will cease to function only when the complete and final victory of the socialist road over the capitalist road has been ensured on a world scale. For these reasons and for the same period of time the Marxist-Leninist proletarian party, which leads the dictatorship of the proletariat will be preserved also.

After the establishment of social ownership over the means of production, and after the liquidation of the exploiting classes as classes, the most dangerous internal enemy of the dictatorship of the proletariat is bureaucracy. It was precisely the bureaucracy and the bureaucrats who undermined the dictatorship of the proletariat in the Soviet Union. Engels, Lenin and Stalin have all spoken about the danger of bureaucracy, but despite this, this danger has never been appreciated and combatted as it should have been. To our Party belongs the merit that it has worked out this problem on a broad scale, has clearly shown the great danger that comes from bureaucracy, has disclosed its deep roots and its various manifestations, and has also defined the concrete, effective ways to combat it.

In the view of our Party, the essence of the struggle against bureaucracy consists in the establishment of correct relations between the leading cadres and the masses. The abolition of private property and the establishment of social ownership over the means of production creates the objective material conditions for fundamental changes in the relationship between people in socialism from relations of oppression, subjection, and exploitation, to relations of collaboration and mutual fraternal aid. But these relations are not created automatically, simply by the establishment of social ownership. In this direction an important role is pla-

yed by the subjective factor, because while in fact property in final analysis defines the relationship between people, these relationships depend greatly on the system of distribution, on the organization and management of affairs, upon which the subjective factor exercises appreciable influence.

A very important aspect of these relations are those between the cadres and the masses and until now these have not been properly evaluated in the Marxist literature. The impression is created as though in socialism there are not and cannot be any sort of contradictions between the cadres and the masses. Life shows that there are such contradictions, and if the relations between the cadres and the masses are not established correctly, if the cadres are allowed to degenerate into bureaucracy, then these non-antagonistic contradictions will be changed into antagonistic contradictions. Instead of relations of collaboration and reciprocal aid they will be replaced with those of oppression and exploitation, from servants of the people the cadres will be changed into rulers of the people. The bitter experience of what occurred in the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia and in the other countries where the revisionist cliques have come to power, teaches us this.

To avoid this evil it is not sufficient only that the cadres should be educated in a spirit that they see themselves always and everywhere as the servants of the people, but they

must be placed in such actual conditions that they always remain as such. In this direction the measures which our Party has taken for the reduction of differences between the pay of the cadres and the pay of the masses, for the direct participation of the cadres in productive work, for their systematic circulation, for their appointment to their positions, not only from above, but also from below, by the masses themselves, have a great importance.

Bureaucracy can be combated with success only if this question is taken in hand by the masses themselves. This idea of Lenin has been developed and further concretized by our Party. The ideas of Comrade Enver Hoxha about the control by the working class have great theoretical and practical importance. The fundamental question here is the combination of the leading and controlling role of the working class from above through the party and the proletarian state with its direct control from below as the class in power. The experience of the countries where the revisionist came to power revealed a very negative phenomenon: not only that in the beginning the working class and the working masses were found unprepared and taken by surprise, but also that later they fell into passivity and did not try to react forcibly against the revisionist betrayal. The problem which arises is profound: who decides the fate of the country — a handful of people, or the party, the class, the masses? To avoid every evil it is

absolutely necessary that the masses and, especially, the working class take part on a broad scale and directly in politics through the extension and perfection of the proletarian democracy, finding for this purpose the most suitable forms which correspond to the revolutionary aims and the level attained in the development of the masses and of the country.

The dictatorship of the proletariat is needed not only to defend the victories of socialism from the internal danger of the reestablishment of capitalism, but also from the external imperialist-revisionist aggression. In the field of defence, too, during these recent years, a series of new ideas have been worked out and developed. Such are: the establishment of correct relationship between military work and political work, between weapons and man, giving priority to politics and to man; the establishment of correct relations between officers and men for the strengthening of the internal unity of the Army, this being linked with the elimination of rank in the army; the combination of the regular army with the armed people, the combination of the rifle and the pick in the army giving priority to the rifle, working out many problems which have to do with the strategy and tactics of the people's war, especially in the conditions of our country, etc.

The guiding and leading force of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the whole life of the country in socialism is the revolutionary

Marxist-leninist party of the working class. Without the leadership of the party there is no socialism, there is no dictatorship of the proletariat. Historical experience and the reality of our days teaches us that any weakening of the party, of its leading role, leads to catastrophic results for the fate of the revolutionary movement and of socialism. At the base of the retrogressive counter-revolutionary process which occurred in the Soviet Union and elsewhere stands precisely the gradual degeneration of the party. If such a process has not occurred with us, this is explained, first of all and above all, because our Party during its whole life has stood loyal to the basic ideological, political, and organizational principles of Marxism-Leninism, has always kept high its militant revolutionary proletarian spirit and has continually strengthened its unity with the people.

For the realization of the counter-revolutionary aims the enemies of the class and of socialism have as their first objective the degeneration and destruction of the party. Therefore, the defence of the teachings of Marxism-Leninism about the party has been and is one of the main directions of the present struggle between Marxism-Leninism and modern revisionism. The revisionists of the present day, like all the other enemies try to disarm the working class, to leave it without its own political staff or to cause the degeneration of the revolutionary proletarian party into a reformist, bourgeois, and



fascist party. Our Party has denounced and rejected the theories of the revisionists about «the party of the masses», «the party of all the people», «the economic party» or the «illumunist party», it has exposed their viewpoints which negate the leading role of the party in the revolution and in the system of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The ideas expressed by Comrade Enver Hoxha in the IV Congress of the Democratic Front of Albania in connection with the place and the role of the party in the revolution and the socialist construction have great importance. In opposition to the preachings of the modern revisionists who are up in arms against the single and undivided leading role of the communist party in the dictatorship of the proletariat and demand the preservation or the re-enlivenment of the multi-party system allegedly to give socialism a more democratic appearance, Comrade Enver Hoxha, in the 4th Congress of the Democratic Front emphasized that, «since the class struggle continues during the whole period of the construction of the socialist society and the transition to communism, and since parties express the interests of definite classes, the existence of other non-Marxist-Leninist parties in the system of the dictatorship of the proletariat would be absurd, especially, after the construction of the economic base of socialism».

A vital question in connection with the

party playing its leading role as it should and that it will always remain revolutionary, is its proletarian class content and especially, that of the leading organs of the party. One of the most important sources of the revisionist degeneration of many communist parties has been the de-proletarianization of them, especially the de-proletarianization of the leading organs of the party and the mass introduction into these organs of people of the «apparatus». This cultivated bureaucracy, technocracy, and intellectualism. Here stands the great principled importance of the measures which our Party has taken recently to improve the content of its leading organs by restricting the number of people from the apparatus in the leading political organs, and bring into them more workers who, even after this, continue to work directly in production.

The strength of the party lies in its links with the masses. Therefore the strengthening of these links, broadly applying the line of the masses has been and is one of the matters about which our Party is continuously concerned. In this field there are many new things, but the most important are: the application of the line of the masses in the selection and placing of the cadres, making the most correct combination of the Party's monopoly in the policy of cadres and the line of the masses; the direct control of the masses, especially, of the working class over the communists, the organizations

and the organs of the Party, the obligatory taking up of the ideas of the masses about everything which they seek to raise in the Party, as well as the drawing out on a broad scale, of the voice, the ideas and opinions of the masses about the work of the Party.

The carrying through to the end of the revolution and socialist construction cannot be achieved without continuously revolutionizing the party through education, action and a rigorous application of the laws of its internal life. Pronounced weaknesses in this direction have been another important source of the tragedy which occurred in many communist parties which degenerated into revisionism. Proceeding from its own positive experience and drawing the lessons from the negative experience of others, our Party has already defined a correct road for the ideological and political education of its members and the masses. What is this road?

Ideological political education should not be an abstract, academic, bookish education, which teaches men some principles, theses or theoretical conclusions, but an education which should serve not only to form a correct theoretical world outlook, but also to form and temper the character and consciousness of men, for their education as revolutionaries in life. The link here is dialectical, but there is no absolute conformity. There are people who may know the Marxist-Leninist theory very well from the

formal aspect, but who fail to be revolutionaries or turn into counter-revolutionaries. Here we have the influence of weaknesses in their consciousness and character which lead them to distortion of the Marxist-Leninist theory itself, to revisionism. This is the explanation of the fact that many qualified cadres of the Soviet Union who knew the works of the classics of Marxism-Leninism by heart, as one might say, degenerated into revisionist, bourgeois, and counter-revolutionary elements.

To give an education such that the world outlook and revolutionary consciousness will be moulded into a single unity, it is essential to combine correctly a mastery of theory with struggle against alien elements and manifestations in the consciousness of men, education through books and school with education through work and revolutionary struggle, giving superiority to action as the revolutionary method of education, the method which our Party, these last years, has raised to a new and much higher level. Only in this way can any separation of words from deeds be successfully combatted, can man be educated as a truly consistent revolutionary, for whom the revolutionary ideals are not an adornment, but become his flesh and blood, which lead him in every step of his life, his work and his struggle.

The education of the Party, of the communists, of the cadres must be done not as the education of an elite, but as the education of

the vanguard for the education of the class and the masses. Outside the education of the class and the masses there is no education of the Party. Otherwise the party would be separated from the masses, such a division would be created that the communist cadres would be taken up with theory and politics, while the masses with the economy and production. This would cultivate intellectualism in the party and economism in the masses. From this it emerges that, while continually strengthening the education of the Party, the education of the masses must be evaluated correctly, giving superiority to the mass forms of education through revolutionary actions.

A great school of education is the life of the Party itself. But if the life of the party is to become truly an anvil of revolutionary education of the communists it must be developed in conformity with the Marxist-Leninist norms. These norms must be understood profoundly from the ideological viewpoint, preserved pure and applied rigorously. Any weakening of them becomes a cause for the degeneration of the party. The bitter experience of the CPSU and of the other parties which slipped into revisionist treachery teaches us this.

. . .

In this paper, apart from the economic field, which will be covered in the paper of Comrade Hekuran Mara, we have tried to gene-

ralize in broad outlines the experience of our Party in the struggle for the further revolutionization of the life of the country. The problems which have been put forward by the Party are great, principled problems, with a profound ideological and political meaning. They are based on the Marxist-Leninist teachings and the experience of our Party and the international communist movement. For the complete solution of them it is absolutely necessary that they be understood precisely in this spirit.

On the other hand, it should be understood that in the whole of this great work and struggle the Party is opening new untrodden roads. The fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism stand as the basis of the line of the Party. But for the problems which we put forward today it is difficult to find ready-made solutions in the known Marxist-Leninist literature. While being guided by general principles of Marxism-Leninism analyzing in a critical manner the experience of the international communist movement and relying strongly on our own experience and reality, we must learn how to carry forward to the end our triumphant socialist revolution.

In the whole of our revolutionary work and struggle we should be inspired by the immortal works of the Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha. Their lessons should be our daily spiritual food. We should continually go deeply into these lessons, not only to understand their essence,

but also to draw conclusions for our work of how to put forward and solve in a creative Marxist-Leninist manner the problems of the revolution and of our socialist construction. The materials of the Party and the works of Comrade Enver Hoxha are a vivid example of the creative development and application of the great and ever triumphant doctrine of Marxism-Leninism.

**ABOUT SOME ACTUAL PROBLEMS OF THE  
STRUGGLE AGAINST MODERN  
REVISIONISM**

by

**FIQRET SHEHU**

It is now 25 years since the liberation of the country from fascism and the establishment of the People's State Power in Albania. From this distance we can see the great majesty of the revolutionary work of the Party and the people carried out in this quarter of a century.

The road traversed during these 25 years by our people under the leadership of the Party has not been an easy one. The Party and the people have had to overcome great difficulties and obstacles, to clash with and defeat many savage enemies, the internal and external class enemies of Marxism-Leninism. But we have achieved victory after victory, we have always marched ahead and always emerged triumphant against all the enemies, because we have consistently followed the road of revolution onto which the Party has led us. The continual successes in the socialist construction of the country

and the triumph over every enemy are the most vivid testimony to the correctness of the Marxist-Leninist general line of the Party and to the acuteness, the farsightedness, the logic and the revolutionary spirit of our outstanding leader, Comrade Enver Hoxha.

In the heroic 25-year struggle of the Party and of the people for the development of the revolution and the construction of socialism, the struggle of the Party of Labor of Albania against the ideological enemies of Marxism-Leninism occupies a glorious page. Our Party of Labor, as a revolutionary shock-detachment of the world communist movement, for 25 years on end has carried on a determined and uninterrupted struggle against Titoite and Khrushchevite modern revisionism for the defence of Marxist-Leninist principles, of the strategy and tactics of the international communist movement. It has also made its contribution to the further development of Marxist-Leninist thought and to the explanation of many problems which are of vital importance to the cause of revolution and socialism in the world.

#### The historic conditions of the birth of modern revisionism

When any social problem is analysed, it is necessary that it be put forward in a definite historical context and, if phenomena which by

their nature and content are the same are being analysed, it is necessary to keep in mind the concrete special features, which distinguish them from one another on the basis of the historical conditions under which they occur. Therefore, to understand properly some of the problems which stand before the Marxist-Leninists today in connection with the struggle against modern revisionism, it is important to know the historical conditions in which it arose as well as its special features.

Modern revisionism, just like old revisionism, is not something accidental, is not just a betrayal by certain particular persons, but it is a social product of a whole historical epoch. «Every more or less 'new problem', every turn of events,» — Lenin said, — «will always be made a cause for the birth of this or that variety of revisionism»<sup>1</sup>).

Modern revisionism arose and was spread after the Second World War. Its first signs were apparent before the war, with Browderism. One of the first and most dangerous manifestations of modern revisionism was Titoite revisionism. But modern revisionism was changed into a retrogressive trend of international proportions later, with the emergence of Khrushchevite revisionism, which affected the oldest party, the biggest party and the one with the most autho-

1) V. I. Lenin, «Marxism and revisionism», Selected works, vol. I, page 27, Albanian edition,

rity in the world, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, and especially after the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the opportunist theses of which became the ideological nutriment for the revisionists and renegades from Marxism-Leninism of the whole world.

After the Second World War, which ended with the complete military and political defeat of fascism, great changes took place in the world. The positions of capitalism were shaken to their foundations, its general crisis entered a new higher phase, the authority of the first socialist country in the world, the Soviet Union was raised as never before. A series of European and Asian countries started on the road to socialism, the communist parties grew and their influence among the masses became strengthened, the national liberation movement of the oppressed peoples and nations took a new impulse, everywhere revolution was on the rise, while the positions of imperialism were being continually weakened.

In these circumstances the imperialist bourgeoisie worked out its new strategy and tactics to cope with the rising forces of revolution, to defend and extend its domination in the world. U.S. imperialism which became the center of the world reaction, the biggest enemy of the peoples of the whole world, took up the banner of the strangling of the revolution and the salvation of capitalism.

1) To achieve their purposes the reactionary exploiting classes have always used and still use two methods: violence and deception, giving priority sometimes to the one and at other times to the other. These two methods were used on a broad scale by imperialism, and especially by US imperialism, after the Second World War.

Shaken by the victories of socialism and by the rise of the international communist movement and the national-liberation movement, immediately after the war, imperialism, headed by that of the United States, began a general offensive against the socialist countries, the communist parties and the peoples of the world, using all forms of pressure: economic, political, ideological and military. The aggressive character of the policy of US imperialism, its military preparations, its threats of a war resorting to the use of means of mass extermination were especially pronounced. Atomic blackmail became the official policy of the USA. *The capitulation to this pressure of imperialism, to its threats of a devastating war, was one of the circumstances which led to the birth of modern revisionism, was one of the sources of the birth of revisionism in the present day.* It was on this basis that the notorious pacifist and capitulationist slogans of Khrushchev for peace at any price were brought out and all the revolutionary ideals were abandoned, the point of submission and surrender to imperialism was reached, a

thing which constitutes one of the characteristic special features of modern revisionism.

When the first signs of Khrushchovite opportunism became apparent, imperialism, without neglecting the use of means of violence, began to practice on a wider scale the tactics of deception, of undermining the communist and workers' movement, of revolution and socialism from within, a tactic which it had begun to use many years before in various capitalist countries. On the one hand, it increased its pressure, with the aim of gaining from the revisionists ever bigger new concessions, while, on the other, it echoed the pacifist and capitulationist slogans with the aim of pushing them ever deeper into the quagmire of betrayal. The use of such tactics was dictated by the fact that in the conditions of the ratio of forces which was created after the Second World War, it was very difficult for imperialism to achieve its aim of the extension of its domination in the world by means of armed aggression. Therefore, it concentrated its efforts on the undermining from within of the socialist countries and communist parties. The social-democrats played this role in the past, but in the new conditions, when socialism had become a world system, imperialism was not satisfied with the «bourgeois parties of the working class» within the capitalist countries. It had to find another more suitable weapon which would serve to suppress the communist movement, to undermine so-

cialism and to sabotage the national-liberation struggle of the peoples. It found this weapon in the beginning in Titoite revisionism, which was revisionism in power and maintained the label of a «socialist» country. But, like social-democracy, imperialism's new ally, the Tito clique, was unmasked too. Imperialism needed another more powerful, more authoritative support. And this support it found in the Khrushchovite revisionists.

2) The conclusion of the Second World War with the complete victory of the Soviet Union against fascism was a success of historic international importance. But, as Stalin said, even successes have their dark side. In fact the historically important victory which was achieved after the Second World War, for various reasons created in some of the cadres in many of the communist parties, in the first place in the Soviet Union, a sort of intoxication from the successes, self satisfaction, a desire for easy living and relaxation after the efforts and the sufferings of the war. The enormous material and human destruction and damage caused by the war influenced the birth, among some vacillating people, of a desire to find «quieter», «easier» roads, a road «without sacrifice», to achieve the victory of revolution and the construction of socialism and communism. Let us recall at this point the speculation by the modern revisionists, with the desires and aspirations of the people for peace, to spread the

slogan of «peaceful co-existence», «peaceful competition», «the peaceful road to socialism», which created reformist illusions in many people.

Vacillating elements have always tended to evaluate situations proceeding from opportunist observation points and drawing from them opportunist conclusions. Therefore, they interpreted the great changes in the ratio of forces in favor of socialism, which occurred after the Second World War as if now anything could be imposed on imperialism, as if, faced with the strength and influence of socialism, even the objective laws of capitalism had lost their effectiveness. On this basis, the Khrushchovite revisionists arrived at the general conclusion that the nature of imperialism had changed or could change, that already, while imperialism still existed, war could be eliminated from the life of society, that complete and general disarmament could be achieved, a world without arms, without armies, without wars could be created, that the transition to socialism could be made without revolutionary violence, without smashing the old bourgeois state machine by force, and then establishing on its ruins, the dictatorship of the proletariat.

3) Another historical circumstance which favored the birth of modern revisionism was the period of relative «tranquility», a more or less «peaceful» development after the Second World War in Europe and especially in North

America, and the relatively high level of the economic contacts in this period. Following the Second World War, some new phenomena of the development of the capitalist world, also arose, such as the extension of the sphere of the activity of state monopoly capitalism, the transition from the old colonialism to neo-colonialism, etc. All these factors were exploited by bourgeois propaganda for the spreading of illusions about the «permanent flourishing of capitalism», about the changing of its character, in short, for the spreading of reformist illusions. Meanwhile, the so-called «aristocracy of the working class», which is the main social basis of opportunism and revisionism in the communist movement, was growing.

The ranks of the working class in the capitalist countries were filled during this period with new «recruits», with petty bourgeois elements, such as bankrupt tradesmen and farmers. Besides this, especially in France and Italy, many wavering, petty-bourgeois, intellectual, careerist and opportunist elements entered the ranks of the communist parties. This increased the pressure of the bourgeois and petty-bourgeois ideology on the working class and on the parties of the working class in the capitalist countries, and this brought about the verification on this occasion, too, of the Marxist-Leninist thesis that the development of the movement in breadth is always associated with a certain lowering of its revolutionary and theoretical level.



Along with the general liberalization and with the use of a more cunning policy for the undermining of the communist and workers' movement by the international bourgeoisie and as a result of these things, at this time in the communist parties of the capitalist countries legalism, the absolutizing of the legal forms of struggle, was developed, slipping into «parliamentary cretinism», running after government posts, reduction of the whole work of the party to electoral campaigns.

All these were suitable circumstances and conditions for the birth of modern revisionism, because, as Stalin said, «*the transition from a period of upsets to a period of tranquility, from its very nature, increases the possibility of the right danger... gives birth to reformist social-democratic illusions, creating the rightist danger as the principal danger.*»<sup>1)</sup>

4) For a long time, after the revolutionary outburst which occurred during the First World War and immediately afterwards, the most important tasks facing the communist parties were of a democratic character. In this period, the main place was occupied by the struggle for the defence of democratic regimes against the fascist danger which seized power in Italy and Germany, later in Spain. During the World War II the fundamental task was the struggle

1) J. V. Stalin, works, Vol. 7, page 61, Albanian edition.

against the fascist occupationists for defence and national liberation. The democratic tasks took a special importance after the Second World War also. At the 19th Congress of the CPSU, Joseph Stalin correctly put forward the historic duty of the communist parties to take in their hands and raise high the banner of democratic liberties, of national independence and sovereignty and the preservation of peace in the world. The struggle in this direction was not a direct struggle for socialism. However, without the above tasks being solved, no task of a directly socialist character could be realized. On the other hand, Marxism-Leninism teaches that the communist parties and the progressive proletariat must lead both the direct struggle for socialism as well as the struggle for democracy, for national independence, etc.

The struggle for democracy is not in opposition to the struggle for socialism. On the contrary, it brings nearer and facilitates the victory of the socialist revolution. But it is undeniably true that in the circumstances when tasks of a general democratic character emerge on the first plane, if the communist parties are not always led by the class principle that the struggle for democracy must serve the struggle for socialism, and the first must be subjected to the second, if they do not show care to link the interests of the moment of the movement with the interests of its perspective, with the final aim of the working class: *the achievement of*

communism, then favorable conditions are created for the birth of the rightist opportunism, of revisionism. In fact, the modern revisionists reduce the whole struggle for socialism to the struggle for democracy within the bounds which are permitted by bourgeois legality and constitutions, thus becoming slaves to bourgeois democracy which even the revisionists who are in power are trying to imitate.

It seems to us that these are the most general historical conditions which favored the birth of modern revisionism. We are not going to dwell here on the concrete objective and subjective causes of this retrogressive phenomenon nor on the relationship between them. Our Party, in many of its important documents and materials and Comrade Enver Hoxha in a series of speeches and writings of historical importance, have analysed this question in a scientific manner and have drawn revolutionary conclusions from what occurred in the Soviet Union and elsewhere. And our Party considers that profound knowledge of the historical conditions and causes which gave rise to revisionism is absolutely necessary to prevent in the future that which occurred in our days in a series of former socialist countries, because, in the final analysis, the rise of revisionism is not a fatal inevitability. Naturally, the causes of the rise of revisionism are based on objective reality. However, as a retrogressive phenomenon revisionism cannot represent an objective

law, as the bourgeois ideologists try to present the problem, but only a temporary restraint on the process of development of the world socialist revolution. As such, it need not arise inevitably in each separate country. The fact that until today revisionism has not been able to pass in Albania, in China and in a number of other communist parties and that in struggle with it tens of new Marxist-Leninist parties have been set up, is the most convincing proof that revisionism is a possibility, a danger, which, if it is recognized and if the roots which must nourish it are cut, can be avoided and defeated. For this the subjective factor plays the decisive role, in the first place, the stand of the communist party. When the party recognizes and applies the objective laws of society, follows a correct Marxist-Leninist line, has as its ideological basis the Marxist-Leninist theory, and educates its members, the working class, and all the masses with it, develops the class struggle consistently and without interruption, applies the Leninist norms in the internal life of the party, preserves its ranks pure, continually strengthens its links with the masses, works for the revolutionization of the party and the whole life of the country, sharpens the revolutionary vigilance of each communist and worker, the danger of the birth of revisionism is avoided.

### The main distinctive features of modern revisionism

Modern revisionism is the inheritor and direct continuator of old revisionism. In essence, its strategic purpose is the same as the strategic purpose of all the enemies of Marxism-Leninism, of every time and every country. But irrespective of the common strategic aim, in each historical epoch and in each country, revisionism has its own distinctive features, whether regarding the content of the immediate strategic tasks and tactics or regarding the causes and circumstances which condition its birth and development, special features which distinguish it from revisionism of the other historical epoch and of other countries.

Therefore, for the successful development of the struggle against modern revisionism it is necessary to be well acquainted not only with the conditions and causes which favor its birth but also with the main distinctive features which distinguish it from old revisionism, from all the other opportunist trends known to history, and to know these not only on the international level, but also in each special individual country, because the struggle against modern revisionism must be carried out keeping in mind the special features which revisionism has in each individual country.

What are some of the most general special features of modern revisionism?

1) The most important special feature which distinguishes the present day revisionism from old revisionism, Bernsteinian revisionism, consists in the fact that it is not only, opportunist ideological trend hostile to Marxism-Leninism within the communist movement, but also revisionism in power which has swept over many countries and, in the first place, the Soviet Union, which was the first and most powerful socialist State in the world.

From this fundamental special feature spring a series of other characteristics which distinguish present-day revisionism from earlier revisionism.

If the old revisionists were only agents of the bourgeoisie, the bearers of bourgeois influence in the international communist and workers' movement and, as a result, their strategic aim was the defence of the enslavement of the workers by the bourgeoisie, the perpetuation of the capitalist order, the present-day revisionists in the countries where they have usurped power have themselves changed into a new bourgeois class and are re-establishing capitalism in their countries, are suppressing and enslaving the workers of their countries and of other countries.

If old opportunists and revisionists from camp of social-democracy were turned into lackeys and allies of imperialism, who defended and justified its war-mongering and aggressive policy and who in some countries, such as Ger-

many and elsewhere, opened the road to the coming to power of fascism, the head of present-day revisionism, the Soviet leading clique, has itself become a social-fascist and social-imperialist clique which follows a savage policy of oppression, expansionism and aggression and which together with the U.S. imperialism, aims at establishing the domination of the two great powers over the world.

The main thing in the content of any opportunism and revisionism is the idea of class collaboration, rejection of the class struggle. However, even in this direction there exists a feature which distinguishes modern revisionism from Bernsteinian revisionism. While the old revisionists tried to realize class conciliation in the context of each separate capitalist country, the modern revisionists struggle to achieve it on an inter-State level, to wipe out the class boundaries not only within the individual countries, between classes with diametrically opposite interests — between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie — but also between two systems, which, in their content, are the antipodes of each other — between socialism and capitalism — as well as between the oppressed countries and the metropolis, etc.

From these political special features of modern revisionism also stems its great danger, the harm which it has brought and could bring to the cause of revolution and socialism. From this viewpoint the present treachery of the re-

visionists is the greatest treachery which history has known, its negative results incomparably greater than the results of the other opportunist and revisionist trends of the past. And this makes the task of the struggle against modern revisionism as difficult as it is important. The Soviet revisionists, especially, have done world imperialism a service such as they could not have achieved even if they had used all their agents, all the political, ideological, economic and military potential which they have at their disposal. From this emerges the absolute necessity of the resolute struggle of the Marxist-Leninists against modern revisionism in general, and the task of directing the sharp edge of the struggle especially against Soviet revisionism, which represents the most dangerous revisionism.

2) One of the distinctive characteristics of the old Bernsteinian opportunism, in the ideological field, as was pointed out by Lenin, was the misunderstanding by its representatives of the new conditions which were created with the transition of capitalism to its new, highest and final stage — imperialism. In practice they were shown to be non-dialectical, could not draw from the new conditions the correct theoretical and practical conclusions, but remained slaves to the old concepts, the old forms of struggle and organization.

Contrary to the old opportunists, the present-day revisionists speculate with the new

conditions and phenomena. It is on this basis, in fact, that they have declared Marxism-Leninism to be out-dated and try to «enrich» it with their «new», «creative» conclusions and theses, with their «solutions» which are anti-Marxist from top to bottom. They come out with slogans of struggle against «dogmatism», of the «creative development» of Marxism-Leninism, allegedly in conformity with the changed conditions. This disguising of present-day revisionism under the slogan of the «creative development» of Marxism is one of its most important features in the ideological field.

It is an indisputable fact that great changes have occurred and are occurring in the world, many new phenomena and problems have arisen. These new conditions and phenomena can be understood correctly only from the positions of Marxism-Leninism. Neither revisionism nor dogmatism is able to provide correct solutions for the great problems which the times put before us and which today are concerning the oppressed peoples, classes, and strata, of all continents. These can be solved only on the basis of Marxism-Leninism, which is being developed and will be developed without interruption. And the creative development of Marxism-Leninism is done without in any way damaging its fundamental principles, but by rigorously upholding these fundamental principles. Otherwise it is not the development of Marxism, but revision of it.

In fact, all the «dialectical» phrases about the «creative development of Marxism» which are used by the modern revisionists serve only as a cloak for them to transform Marxism from a revolutionary theory, which illuminates the road of socialist revolution, into an opportunist counter-revolutionary theory. The modern revisionists behave in an arbitrary manner towards the facts of reality, towards social practice, interpreting them like pragmatists. They try to justify their treachery towards Marxism-Leninism theoretically, amongst other things, by falsifying the dialectical process of knowledge, absolutizing this or that aspect, this or that moment, of this complicated process. Thus the revisionists absolutize the changeability of the world and have no regard for its stability and basic law, they over-evaluate new conditions and phenomena, the special features according to time and place and negate the general principles and laws of the revolution and socialist construction which are indispensable at any time and for any country; they over-estimate the role of objective conditions and underestimate the role of theory, of the subjective factor; they separate practice from theory; they over-estimate the relative character of ideas and underestimate their objective and absolute content, a thing which leads to idealist relativism. In other words, in the ideological field, revisionism is the product of the subjective evaluation of the changes which occur in the reality,

of the subjective treatment of the fundamental principles and general laws of Marxism-Leninism, of the subjective negation of materialist dialectics and its revolutionary conclusions.

3) The revisionism of the present is distinguished from that of the past also because of its social-economic base. For the old opportunism this base consisted of the petty-bourgeoisie, especially, of the aristocracy of the working class. For the present revisionism, this base is broader: in the capitalist countries, besides the workers' aristocracy, the working class bureaucracy, which, in the present conditions has grown excessively, has become a base for revisionism. Into this stratum enters all the army of the working class employees, officials, functionaries of the parties, of the unions, of the other organizations of the masses, of the publishing houses, of the economic enterprises, which are managed by the revisionists and which in essence have a capitalist character. In the socialist countries, the social base of support for modern revisionism was and is the old exploiting classes or their remnants, the strata with petty-bourgeois tendencies and, especially, a big part of the privileged cadres of the Party, State, and economic apparatus and of the intelligentsia, who gradually degenerated into new bourgeois elements.

These are the main features which differentiate present-day revisionism from old revisionism.

But it is known that present day revisionists in the various countries act in various conditions and circumstances. For this reason, as well as because of other objective and subjective, internal and external factors, although they are all partisans of a single retrogressive trend, there are also distinctions between them. These distinctions are expressed in the various rates and directions of the development of revisionism, in the forms and ways of struggle they use against Marxism-Leninism, the arguments and slogans which they use for the revision of Marxism, in the stands in connection with the character of the relations between revisionist parties of various countries where the revisionist cliques are in power, etc. On these bases, there exist obvious differences between Khrushchevite revisionism and Titoite and Togliattist revisionism which are the three biggest groupings of modern revisionism.

The distinctions between the various revisionist cliques become the cause for the birth of differences and contradictions between them, which erode the revisionist front from within and bring nearer its inevitable end. But without dwelling on this problem, and without speaking about the character of the contradictions which exist in the revisionist ranks, we must emphasize that these distinctions, differences and contradictions should be evaluated correctly. They do not affect the essence of revisionism as a retrogressive counter-revolutionary trend,

but are differences over partial questions because the various revisionist groupings are nothing but branches of a single trunk, they have common features and fundamental strategic aims.

A good knowledge of the features and common counterrevolutionary aims, which are characteristic of all the modern revisionists, as well as of the special feature which distinguish them and the contradictions which they have between them, is of great importance for the successful development of the struggle against revisionism. The knowledge of the general helps define a correct strategic stand; while the knowledge of the nuances, the special features, the contradictions which vary with the variation of the situations and interconnections between them, assist to define a correct tactical stand.

In its struggle against modern revisionism, the Party of Labor of Albania has always kept in mind the Marxist-Leninist teachings and, on this basis and guided by the principle of the concrete analysis of concrete situations, has defined a correct tactical stand concentrating the main blow against the most dangerous enemy — the Khrushchevite clique of the Soviet Union, without neglecting the struggle against the other variants with considerable influence in modern revisionism — that of the Titoites and the Togliattists.

The struggle of Marxism-Leninism against modern revisionism, as an expression of the

class struggle on a national and international scale, has been carried on and is being carried on over the fundamental problems of Marxism-Leninism, of its three constituent parts: of Marxist philosophy, political economy, and scientific socialism, keeping in mind both the «theories» as well as the practical activity of the revisionists to the detriment of the proletarian revolution and socialism. This struggle has evolved in breadth and depth parallel with the evolution of modern revisionism and in each period this or that fundamental problem of Marxist-Leninist doctrine and revolutionary practice has emerged as the most important around which the struggle against the modern revisionists has been carried on.

Marxist dialectics teaches that each phenomenon in the world passes through a process of formation. Like every phenomenon, Khrushchevite revisionism, too, has gone through its own evolution until it has reached the present stage. Actually, what comprises the main characteristic of the Soviet leading clique is its change from an agency of the bourgeoisie and imperialism in the communist and workers' movement into a social-fascist and social-imperialist clique.

Therefore it is on this aspect that we shall concentrate below.

**Social-fascism and social-imperialism — the main characteristic of the Khrushchevite clique of the Soviet Union at the present time**

How can we explain the transition of the Soviet revisionist cliques to social-fascist and social-imperialist positions, which means to such a position that the whole real content of its standpoints and activities shows that in their internal policy the Soviet revisionists are socialist in words and fascist in deeds, and in their external policy, they are socialist in words and imperialist in deeds?

The objective basis of this phenomenon should be sought in the change of the character of the social-economic order of the Soviet Union, from a socialist order to a capitalist order of a special type.

This retrogressive process began with the Khrushchevite revisionists usurping the leadership of the Party and the State power, with the transformation of the dictatorship of the proletariat into a dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. Marxism-Leninism teaches that to define the character of a State we must see whose interests it expresses and defends — the interests of the proletariat or the interests of the bourgeoisie. The present-day Soviet State, both in its internal and external policy, no longer expresses or defends the interests of the working class and the working masses on a national and international scale but the interests of the new

Soviet bourgeoisie which is in power. It is, thus, a dictatorship of the new Soviet bourgeoisie.

And the change of the character of the political State power brought, and could not fail to bring, changes in the whole economic and social order of the Soviet Union, of its base and superstructure, because between politics and the economy, the superstructure and the base, there is a dialectical relationship. Politics is not simply and only a product of the economy, but it plays an active role, and generally, in each country, defines the very fate, the road of development, of the economy and the whole social order. In fact, with the departure from proletarian politics, the Khrushchevite revisionist clique began to violate heavily the socialist principles in the economy and socialist relations of production, replacing them with relations of oppression and exploitation. Following the changes in the superstructure, radical changes began to be made, in the economic base in the Soviet Union, and capitalism began to be restored.

It is known that the material base of the socialist order consists of social ownership of the means of production, but today in the Soviet Union the social ownership — despite the efforts of the Soviet revisionists to preserve its external socialist appearance in essence, in its real content, has lost its socialist character, has been changed into State capitalist property of a special type.



Naturally, it would be naive if we were to seek to find the degeneration of the Soviet socialist social property into capitalist property in the form of classical private property at a time when in the present conditions of large-scale production, even in the other imperialist countries, state monopoly capitalism is being developed through the extension of state ownership. Since capitalist property in the Soviet Union is born and created as a result of the degeneration of the socialist state property, it cannot present itself except in the form of state property. But irrespective of this, just as the financial oligarchy is the true owner of the state capitalist enterprises and with the assistance of the capitalist state exploits the working class, so, too, the new Soviet bourgeoisie is the true owner of the Soviet state enterprises and with the assistance of the State, exploits the working class and the whole Soviet people. By means of this exploitation it strengthens its own economic position and, on the base of this, tries to consolidate further its political domination.

As well as this, when we speak about the restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union we should keep in mind that we have to do with a capitalism which is established as a result of the degeneration of the socialist order. Therefore, it could not fail to present a number of special features which distinguish it from classical capitalism. For this reason and since it is

a new phenomenon, a phenomenon which is manifested for the first time in society, it is necessary that further, profound, well-argued studies should be made in this direction.

But if the departure from proletarian politics became the starting point for the reestablishment of capitalism in the Soviet Union, for the changing of the character of the economic-social order, the restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union, on its own part, could not fail to have consequences in the field of internal and external policy, because policy is the concentrated expression of the economy. It is precisely in the changing of the character of the social-economic order in the Soviet Union, in the restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union, that Soviet social-fascism and social-imperialism has its base.

The transition of the Soviet Khrushchevite clique to the savage fascist dictatorship and to open imperialism has its links with the difficulties in which the Soviet revisionists found themselves at a certain stage of the restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union. The increase of these difficulties, which have their source in the very nature of the present economic-social order in the Soviet Union has been and is influenced by a number of other, internal and external factors.

*First:* The struggle of the PLA and of the CPC and all the Marxist-Leninist parties and forces against the Khrushchevite revisionists

exposed their treacherous face and tore off the disguises, thus making it ever more difficult for them to rule in their own country and in others.

*Second:* The plunging deeper and deeper into the revisionist bog, the application of the revisionist line in all fields, in politics, in the economy, in ideology, created new difficulties for the ruling clique in the Soviet Union, deepened its contradictions with the Soviet people and the other peoples of the world.

*Third:* The process of "liberalization" which the Khrushchevite revisionists themselves undertook, to undermine the dictatorship of the proletariat, liberalisation which started with the 20th Congress of the CPSU, began to get out of control. The events of Czechoslovakia before the Soviet aggression were a serious warning to the present rulers of Moscow.

*Fourth:* Recently there has been an excessive sharpening of the contradictions between the Soviet leadership and the revisionist leaderships of other parties and countries, who began to raise the heads against the hegemonist and great power chauvinist policy of the Khrushchevite clique of the Soviet Union. In these conditions, the revisionists of Moscow could no longer rule as before by peaceful means. This profound crisis situation forced them to act openly as social-fascists and social-imperialists, that is to use a savage military and aggressive internal and external policy. From this viewpoint, this policy is by no means

a sign of strength, but of weakness. They went over openly to this policy not for better but for worse.

Soviet social-fascism and social-imperialism are reciprocally linked, the existence of one testifies to the existence of the other. Social fascism in the internal policy, which is expressed in the form of frenzied reaction against any freedom or of revolutionary thought or action, against the progressive and revolutionary forces, has as its direct continuation in the external policy, social imperialism, the use of open fascist methods in their relations with other countries. Social imperialism in the foreign policy, which means forcible oppression, exploitation, enslavement and aggression against the other peoples, implies and demands, on its part, the pursuit of a savage fascist policy within the country, to keep the rearlines under strict control.

But, when we speak today of the fascist dictatorship, of the frenzied fascism and reaction in the Soviet Union, which for decades on end was a socialist country, we should not seek it in those classical forms in which was manifested in Italy and Germany, nor in that form which we find today in Spain. This would be ignoring the concrete historical conditions, a metaphysical and anti-dialectical stand. On the other hand, even in the past, fascism had its nuances and special features, was manifested and existed in different forms in different

countries. Therefore the problem of the features and concrete forms of social-fascism in the Soviet Union, as a fascism of a new type, need to be studied more deeply in the future.

Regarding social-imperialism in the Soviet Union, this is clearly apparent from all the stands and activities of the Khrushchevite leadership in the international arena.

The fundamental feature of the present policy of the Soviet Union in relations with other countries is that of any imperialism: to preserve and consolidate its own sphere of influence, to extend its domination over other peoples and countries, to enslave and exploit them.

In the beginning the soviet revisionist leading clique tried to realize this objective with «peaceful means», through economic penetration and subjection, political and ideological influence and pressure, open and secret military alliances, etc. But with the occupation of Czechoslovakia, the Soviet Union came out openly in the international arena as a social-imperialist power.

Social-imperialism of the Soviet Union and the aggressive policy from positions of strength of the Soviet revisionist leaders is also apparent in all the stands, threats and arms' brandishing towards different countries and peoples from the parades of cruisers across the seas and oceans, especially the Mediterranean Sea, the Indian and West Pacific Ocean, from the

extension of the Soviet military bases to many countries of the world. A testimony to this are the attacks and provocations against the People's Republic of China, which, together with its U.S. imperialist allies, the Soviet Union is trying to encircle with the «ring of fire». The provocations on the Ussuri river, the aggression against the Chinese island, Chenpao, the provocations in the province of Sinkiang etc., are flagrant and ugly expressions of Soviet social-imperialism.

To justify their aggressive and predatory activity the Soviet revisionists have «invented» and preached the «theories» of «limited sovereignty» and the need for «the security of the great socialist family», which are typical imperialist and fascist slogans. The «theory» of «limited sovereignty», is by no means an original «invention» of the Soviet revisionists, but it is the fascist concept which was the basis of the relations of the Italian fascists with our country and with other countries, the concept spread widely out after the Second World War by the U.S. imperialists. The slogan of the «security of the interests of the socialist community» in the mouths of the Soviet social-imperialists sounds very like the ill-famed Hitler nazi slogan about the efforts for the establishment of the «new order in Europe», the slogan which serves as the cloak for the Hitlerite aggression against various countries in Europe, it sounds like the very well known slogan of the U.S.

imperialists about «the defence of the free world», which they use to disguise their aggression against other countries, their exploitation and oppression of them.

The Soviet revisionists have been speaking a great deal recently about the so-called «international dictatorship of the proletariat», but behind this they hide their counter-revolutionary aims. In the conditions when capitalism has been restored in the Soviet Union, the slogan of the «international dictatorship of the proletariat» aims at the use of force to keep the satellite countries of the so-called «socialist community» under its own domination, to supplement its domination «peaceful means», — though COMECON and other agreements, — with domination by means of violence, using as the main weapon the military organization of the Warsaw Treaty, which has now been turned into an organization of aggression and war, similar to NATO.

The turning of the Soviet Union into a social-imperialist state is also apparent from the export of capital in the form of economic and military 'aid' to the so-called 'underdeveloped' countries, regions, and zones, which are outside its direct sphere of influence: in the Middle and Near East, in Asia and Africa, as well as in Latin America. The true purpose of the 'aid' which the Soviet Union gives today is not the maintenance of the economic and political independence of these countries, nor their

social progress, but their political subjection and economic dependence on the Soviet Union, the establishment of its colonial rule over the peoples of all continents. In this way the Soviet Union has become today a neo-colonialist power. «The Soviet revisionists, — Comrade Enver Hoxha has said, — try to keep other peoples and countries under their heel... For this the Soviet revisionists are following the same road, that the old imperialists followed in times more favorable for them. They are using lies, blackmail, threats, demagoguery, and credits and investments with a character of capitalist exploitation...»<sup>1</sup>).

All we have said testifies to the real character of the social-economic order of the Soviet Union and to the nature of the present Soviet State, testifies to Soviet-social fascism and social-imperialism.

#### **The Soviet-U.S. alliance — the biggest counter-revolutionary alliance**

Soviet social-imperialism has found its concentrated expression in the alliance with U.S. imperialism for the division of the spheres of influence and the establishment of the domination of the two great powers over the world.

1) Enver Hoxha. «Apply in a persisted and creative manner the tasks for the revolutionization of the Party and of the life of the Country», p. 74.

This is the biggest and most dangerous counter-revolutionary alliance of all the counter-revolutionary alliances which have existed in the history of mankind.

How was it possible to create such an alliance between the head of world imperialism — U.S. imperialism — and the first socialist State in the world? What was the basis on which this alliance arose, what is the purpose for which it has been created and against whom is it directed?

This is explained with the change in the character of the political, economic, and social order of the Soviet Union, with its entering the road of the restoration of capitalism and with its changing into an imperialist great power. It is on this basis that the Soviet-U.S. alliance arose. It is a well known fact that while the Soviet Union was truly a socialist country, it stood on revolutionary positions, pursued a foreign anti-imperialist policy, resolutely defended the interests of all the peoples and the cause of their freedom and sovereignty, rigorously upheld the principle of proletarian internationalism and applied it consistently. And at that time when circumstances dictated the concluding of the British-Soviet-U.S. alliance this was directed against the most savage enemy which threatened mankind, against Hitlerite fascism, therefore it was a correct progressive alliance. The Soviet Union and J.V. Stalin entered and acted in the League of this alliance keeping in mind

the principle of class struggle: strove that it would be in the interest of the liberation of the peoples and of socialism, that it would serve the general weakening of the positions of imperialism and world reaction.

To justify the Soviet-U.S. counter-revolutionary alliance, the Khrushchevite revisionist «theoreticians» often refer to the Leninist theses about peaceful coexistence and try to argue that, allegedly, here we have to do not with a counter-revolutionary alliance, but with an application of the policy of peaceful coexistence.

This «argument» of the revisionists is baseless. Peaceful coexistence in relations between countries with different social systems is a correct principle, but the modern revisionists have badly distorted this principle, extended its real meaning so far that under the disguise of this they hide the boundaries between the classes and any distinction from the enemy. They rejected the class struggle in all its forms, rejected the struggle against imperialism, entered all sorts of bargains with imperialism, until they were united in a counter-revolutionary alliance with U.S. imperialism.

The basis of the Soviet-U.S. alliance is the hegemonist and imperialist common interests of the Soviet social-imperialists and the U.S. imperialists. As two imperialist great powers with enormous economic and military potential, the Soviet Union and the United States of America cannot fail to take account of one another, have

need for each other's assistance, undertake joint actions and coordinate their plans. Now this alliance has been sanctioned in official documents, in many treaties and agreements open and secret, it has been extended to all fields: political, diplomatic, economic, cultural and military.

The division of the spheres of influence and the establishment of world domination by the two big powers comprises the fundamental strategic aim of the Soviet-U.S. alliance, while the main directions of this alliance are the struggle against socialism, the revolutionary Marxist-Leninist forces, and socialist ideology, as well as against the national-liberation struggle in Asia, Africa and Latin America, against the revolutionary movements of the peoples of the whole world. In the struggle against the national-liberation and revolutionary movements of the peoples, the Soviet revisionists are not guided by good will to assist their U.S. ally, but by their own imperialist appetite. Without quelling the revolutionary spirit of the peoples and the feeling of national independence, Soviet social-imperialism could not realize its aspirations for expansion in all the continents.

The facts of the coordination of Soviet-U.S. actions in the main direction, which we have mentioned, are many and wellknown: they extend from the activity of the Soviet revisionists to bring about the degeneration of the socialist countries into capitalist countries and

of the communist parties into social-democrat parties, to the aid for the reactionaries of various countries to suppress the revolutionary forces of the people, from the equipment of the reactionary forces of various countries with modern weapons, to the betrayal of the people of Vietnam and the sabotage of their liberation struggle against U.S. imperialism, from the collaboration with the United States of America for the creation of the United Nations armed forces to the collaboration for the monopoly of the thermonuclear weapons, etc. Everywhere where there are conflicts and tension, in Vietnam or in Czechoslovakia, in the Middle East or on the banks of the Ussuri, in the Mediterranean Sea or in the Sea of Japan, the tentacles of the Soviet-U.S. alliance are present and in the name of this these two imperialist powers are ready to trample underfoot and sacrifice the freedom and independence of the peoples, their honor and national dignity.

Concretely, the Soviet-U.S. alliance is directed mainly against the People's Republic of China, which is the biggest revolutionary socialist country with a colossal economic, political, and military potential, which is the mighty support for all the revolutionary and liberation movements of the peoples of the world, and whose influence in the development of all international events cannot be ignored by the two «great powers», the United States of America and the Soviet Union.

Today, the plans of Soviet revisionist social-imperialism and U.S. imperialism to create a military, political alliance against the People's Republic of China are ever more clearly apparent. This is the first aim of the agreements concluded between them to ensure their superiority and monopoly of modern weapons of war, the plans for the so-called «collective security in Europe», the efforts which they are making to arm all the reactionary cliques of the neighboring countries and to turn them against China, the location of many of the armed forces of these two powers on the borders of China and the continual military provocations against her. In the revisionist meeting in June of this year in Moscow, the Soviet leadership went so far, in its anti-Chinese plans, as to propose the creation of the «system of collective security in Asia» in which they will try to unite in a military political alliance against people's China all the reactionary forces of Asia, all the lackeys and puppets of U.S. imperialism in this region, from India and Japan, South Korea, Malaysia and Thailand, Indonesia and Burma, the Philippines etc.

These are the main directions of the Soviet-U.S. alliance and the common interest which are its basis.

But between Soviet social-imperialism and U.S. imperialism there are not only common interests. Between them and in their alliance, as in every alliance and coalition linking impe-

rialists, there are also contradictions. The character of these contradictions is the same as that of the contradictions which exist between capitalist and imperialist countries. Each of these two imperialist world powers tries to gain superiority over its partner, to strengthen its own positions, to extend its sphere of influence to the detriment of the other side, to win away the allies of the group under the suzerainty of its partner and to include them under its own influence, and so on.

It is difficult to envisage what proportions this alliance will take and how it will develop in the future. But one thing is clear and certain, that it will suffer the same fate as all counter-revolutionary and imperialist alliances have suffered.

Comrade Mao Tsetung has said, «Collaborating with each other, the Soviet revisionists and the U.S. imperialists have done so many ugly and evil things that the revolutionary peoples of the world cannot let them go unpunished. The peoples of all countries are rising to their feet». There is no doubt that the ever rising hatred of the world proletariat and the oppressed peoples against U.S. imperialism and Soviet revisionism will burst out in a great unprecedented revolutionary storm. And then, «U.S. imperialism and Soviet revisionism will not have long to live, irrespective of whether

the war will cause the revolution, or the revolution will prevent the war<sup>1)</sup>).

But as long as this alliance exists and acts as a great force to strangle the revolution and socialism everywhere the historic task of the peoples of the world is to strengthen their vigilance and to raise their struggle to a higher level to expose and defeat this counter-revolutionary alliance, its plans and aims for the oppression and enslavement of the peoples. Without a resolute struggle against U.S. imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism, these two greatest and most savage enemies of the peoples of the whole world, these two international gendarmes, freedom and independence, peace and socialism can be neither won nor defended.

**We must unmask the «anti-imperialist» demagogy of the revisionists and the slogans of «unity of action» in the struggle against imperialism**

Demagogy has always been a favorite weapon of the old and new revisionists in their struggle against Marxism-Leninism, to disguise their treachery towards the cause of the proletariat, the revolution and socialism.

The revisionists are called revisionists pre-

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1) Lin Piao — Political Report submitted to the 9th Congress of the CPC, p. 51, Albanian edition.

cisely because of the fact that their anti-Marxist counter-revolutionary activity is carried out while they cloak themselves in Marxist garments, while they hide themselves behind revolutionary socialist phrases. In the present conditions when Soviet revisionism finds itself in a deep crisis, it is more than ever necessary for it to use demagogy as widely as possible. Therefore, to hide their social-imperialism and the Soviet-U.S. alliance, to deceive the peoples and to suppress the revolution, the Khrushchevite revisionists are now making a big noise about their «anti-imperialism» and preaching the necessity for «unity of action» in the struggle against imperialism. This anti-imperialist demagogy was trumpeted very loudly also in the revisionist farce in Moscow last June.

But the revolutionaries and peoples have been taught to judge people, leaders, parties and governments, not by their words and statements not from the resolutions which they approve, but from their stands and actions. And if we regard the question in this way, then, it results that the Soviet revisionist leaders are anti-imperialist and socialist in words, and pro-imperialist and even imperialists themselves in deeds, are for unity of action against imperialism only in words, while in deeds they are for alliance and collaboration with it against the peoples and socialism.

The Khrushchevite revisionists have not only wiped out every distinction between the



friends and the enemies of the revolution and the peoples, but have themselves been changed into a frenzied enemy of socialism and of the freedom of the peoples, have entered into alliance with all the forces of world reaction and in their relations with the other countries, follow a policy of imperialist oppression and aggression. The reactionary and counter-revolutionary character of Khrushchevite revisionism in the international arena, as we said, is expressed in a concentrated manner precisely in the line of Soviet-U.S. collaboration for domination of the world.

In these circumstances, what unity of action can we have with the revisionists in the struggle against imperialism? In fact the stand of the Marxist-Leninists and the stand of the modern revisionists for all the fundamental problems of our time are diametrically opposite. The antagonism and the struggle between Marxism-Leninism and revisionism is an expression of the antagonism and the class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, between the socialist road and the capitalist road, between the line of struggle against imperialism and the triumph of revolution and socialism, and the line of collaboration with imperialism for the suppression of the revolution and the destruction of socialism. Therefore to enter into unity of action with the revisionists, means to go over to the other side of the barricade, to go over to the side of the bourgeois-

ism, to capitalism, to imperialism, to put oneself in service of the counter-revolutionary Soviet-U.S. alliance.

Some say that what is meant is not ideological unity on the basis of the general line, but unity of action for individual problems of world politics such as the question of Vietnam, the security of Europe and Asia, the Middle East, disarmament, etc. And this can be achieved, allegedly, despite the existence of disagreements which have to do with ideological questions and the ideological line. The partisans of this viewpoint often refer to Lenin, who, in his time, expressed himself in support of undertaking joint action on a national and international plane even with various opportunist trends.

To put the problem forward in this way, means to put it forward in a completely metaphysical manner, without keeping in mind the time and the conditions, without making a concrete analysis of present day revisionism, the head of which, the Soviet Union has itself been changed into a social-fascism and social-imperialism, oppresses, exploits and enslaves peoples of various countries and strives for hegemony, spheres of influences and domination in the world. There is no concrete question, no problem of special event which can be taken up separate from the general political course of the Soviet revisionist leadership. All its stands for all questions, from the smallest to the big-

gest, are subordinated to its policy of social-imperialism and the Soviet-U.S. alliance. In such circumstances we cannot even speak about unity of actions, or any sort of collaboration with Soviet revisionism. To put forward and to accept unity of action with Soviet revisionism in such conditions would mean to forget its class essence, to adopt an opportunist stand, to come to its aid precisely at a time when it finds itself in great difficulties caused by internal, external factors, and when more than ever before, it has a need for such aid. To accept unity of action with the revisionists today means to betray the interests of socialism, of the world proletariat revolution, of the oppressed peoples.

In the existing conditions, the words of the great Lenin, «If the struggle against imperialism is not closely linked with the struggle against opportunism, it is an empty phrase or deception»<sup>1)</sup>, takes an extraordinary importance. Today, it is impossible to fight with success against U.S. imperialism and to carry forward the cause of socialism and proletarian revolution and the liberation of the peoples, without exposing, fighting, and destroying revisionism and its «anti-imperialist» demagogy. Therefore the Marxist-Leninists are guided by the prin-

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1) V. I. Lenin, Selected works, vol. I, p. 287, Albanian edition.

diple, no «unity of action» with the modern revisionists, the offspring and close ally of imperialism, but battle to the end to expose their true features, to bring to light all the baseness of their policy.

Marxist-Leninists do not exclude any unity of action. They are for unity of action with those forces which in this or that measure and which for this or that problem, fight effectively against imperialism. On this basis we can be united and undertake joint actions even with various strata of the national bourgeoisie of the oppressed countries, if these strata of bourgeoisie, in this or that degree, take up the fight against imperialism, colonialism, and neo-colonialism, with the United States of America at the head. On this basis the Marxist-Leninists exploit the contradictions which some of the bourgeoisie of the imperialist countries have with the USA and can undertake common action with them, to this or that degree and for precise questions, in the struggle against U.S. imperialism.

Matters are entirely different as regards the Khrushchevite revisionists who have long ago given up any sort of struggle against imperialism. But more than this, with its imperialist policy with and all its stands the revisionist leadership of the Soviet Union has legalized «de facto» the aggressive policy of the United States of America against every people and nation.

That is why the Marxist-Leninists reject any unity of action with the revisionists in the struggle against imperialism, and firmly expose this demagogue manoeuvre, which has as its aim to hide their betrayal. «*The anti-imperialist front of the peoples of the whole world*», said Comrade Enver Hoxha in the 5th Congress of the Party, «*must be achieved on a sound basis, it must be a truly anti-imperialist front in which are associated all those who in this or that degree fight effectively against imperialism, with the United States of America at the head*»<sup>1</sup>).

The line which preaches unity of action with the Khrushchevite revisionists is the line of conciliation of two diametrically opposite trends. But the line of conciliation, today, just as in the past, is the line of centrism which in essence, although it tries to stand in both the two world camps, is disguised opportunism, and revisionism which has compromised with opportunism, with revisionism as its ideological basis. Regardless of from what initial position this trend has passed to centrism, whether from the Marxist-Leninist position or from revisionist positions, in the final analysis the representatives of this trend will certainly slip, one

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1) Enver Hoxha. Report of the CC of the PLA at the 5th Congress of the Party, p. 178, second edition.

day, into openly hostile positions towards the cause of the revolution and socialism. *In the present struggle between Marxism-Leninism and revisionism as a manifestation of the class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, there is and there can be no middle road.*

The only correct road is the road of resolute struggle, steel to steel against modern revisionism with the Soviet clique at the head, until its complete and final destruction. This is a struggle with world historic importance, on the result of which the fate of the development of the world revolution, of the liberation of the peoples, of socialism, depends. And there is no doubt that in this great clash, the victory will be certainly on the side of Marxism-Leninism, the peoples and socialism. The same fate awaits the revisionist traitors, as that which all their predecessors suffered. The wheel of history cannot be turned back by retrogressive forces. The future belongs to communism.

#### **The Party of Labor of Albania, the unyielding fighter against modern revisionism**

The Party of Labor of Albania is among the parties which from the beginning exposed the treachery of the modern revisionists, which rose in an heroic struggle against this betrayal. It has borne a heavy burden in this struggle, and has made an historic contribution. Inter-

national communism has appreciated this struggle as a glorious example of the loyalty of the Party of Labor of Albania towards the ideals of communism and its determination to defend them.

With a great sense of responsibility our Party undertook the struggle against Titoite and Khrushchevite modern revisionism, impelled by lofty revolutionary motives and not from narrow national interests. This was not an isolated struggle, or for questions of the relations of our country with some other countries, but was a constituent part of the great struggle between Marxism-Leninism and revisionist treachery, which was developed on a world scale, was an expression of the struggle between two classes, between two opposite lines, two opposite roads. This struggle was dictated as a historic necessity to defend the revolutionary cause of the world proletariat and the cause of the revolution and socialism in Albania. In this struggle was expressed once again both the lofty international spirit of the Party of Labor of Albania and its boundless loyalty towards its own people.

Evaluating with the greatest seriousness the struggle against modern revisionism, this new and extremely dangerous enemy of peoples and socialism, our Party developed the struggle with courage and determination, carrying on against it a blow for blow struggle without concession or compromise and applying intelligent revolutionary tactics.

Many people outside our country especially at the beginning, expressed doubts and criticism about this consistent revolutionary stand of the Party of Labor of Albania, calling it very severe and hasty. But life has proved that our Party was right. Life verified all the evaluations and stands of our Party and exposed the true face of the Khrushchevite revisionists, their great betrayal, the terrible danger which they represent to the fate of the revolution and socialism in the world.

In the struggle against modern revisionism, both Titoite and Khrushchevite, as well as in the struggle against imperialism, once again the lofty qualities and virtues of our Party were expressed: its principled stand, its revolutionary courage, its determination, its consistency, its ideological clarity, its political class sense, its serious attitude and feeling of responsibility, its ever active spirit of attack, its scorn and hatred towards the enemy, its unshakable belief in the victory of Marxism-Leninism and of the socialist revolution. It was precisely these qualities and virtues, formed and tempered during and by means of the glorious revolutionary road which our Party has traversed during its life, that made it possible for it, led with ability and revolutionary spirit by Comrade Enver Hoxha — although small and new — to detect and to combat Titoite revisionism and later Khrushchevite revisionism from the earliest stages. These qualities and virtues

made our Party unconquerable and capable of undertaking and carrying out with success such a mighty, difficult and heroic struggle, as the struggle against Khrushchevite modern revisionism.

The experience of the Party of Labor of Albania in this struggle of world historic importance against modern revisionism constitutes a glorious example which shows that even a small Party of a small country, can face up with success to any enemy, however big and powerful he may be and emerge triumphant, provided that it rigorously upholds the principles of Marxism-Leninism and applies them resolutely in life, holding high the revolutionary militant spirit, has a steel-like internal unity and enjoys the wide-scale support and boundless trust of its own people. With such a party, the revolutionary cause of the people of every country is invincible.

In its struggle against Khrushchevite revisionism, our Party has not been alone. Its struggle has been and is a constituent part of the struggle of all the Marxist-Leninist forces of the world, which have risen up against revisionist betrayal. In this fierce struggle against Khrushchevite treachery, the Party of Labour of Albania stood shoulder to shoulder with the glorious Communist Party of China, which, led by the great Marxist-Leninist Comrade Mao Tsetung, carried on an unceasing struggle for the exposure of modern revisionism. The strug-

gle of the Communist Party of China and of all the Marxist-Leninist parties and forces in the world against revisionism, and their proletarian solidarity, has been a powerful support and a great inspiration for our Party.

The struggle against modern revisionism was and is a real test and a true school for our Party. In the fire of this fierce struggle, our Party became further consolidated and tempered, its revolutionary qualities and virtues were raised to a higher level, and its authority and prestige were raised as never before. Our Party has accumulated from this struggle a new, very rich experience, has drawn very valuable lessons for the future. All these things are a sound guarantee that our Party under the leadership of its Central Committee, with Comrade Enver Hoxha at the head, will go continually forward in its consistent revolutionary road, as it has done until today, always honorably carrying out its historic mission to its own people and the world proletariat.

**ABOUT SOME QUESTIONS OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE PRODUCTIVE FORCES AND THE PERFECTION OF THE RELATIONS IN PRODUCTION IN THE PROCESS OF THE COMPLETE CONSTRUCTION OF SOCIALISM**

by

**HEKURAN MARA**

Socialist Albania is completing 25 five years of existence. This quarter of a century which has past has been permeated by a process of unprecedented transformation and development, such as the people of Albania had never known before.

The dynamism and creative force of our socialist revolution have changed the face of everything which was inherited on the soil of this ancient country. People, society, the very land have been revived on new foundations. The appearance of old Albania belongs only to the historical past.

The revolution for the complete construction of socialist society continues with multiplied force. It follows its own course with un-

wavering continuity, having at the head the Party, a leadership which has always proved its Marxist-Leninist mastery and its boundless loyalty towards socialism and the vital interests of the people, in the front line of the struggle against the internal and external class enemies.

**A radical change of epoch-making proportions**

It is a historical fact that socialist Albania put an end some time ago to its centuries old economic backwardness. From the viewpoint of the national income per capita, today, it ranks among the countries of a medium level of development. The extraordinary value of such a radical change becomes even more understandable if we bring to mind that 25 years ago our country still stood between two historical epochs, between the epoch of the decline of feudalism and that of the development of capitalism.

Before the establishment of the people's state power, the national income was in almost complete stagnation. In general the national economy comprised a primitive, one-sided agriculture of the extensive type, which with difficulty managed to spare a quarter of its production for the market. Industry, in the true sense of the word, did not exist at all. Foreign trade also had all the features of a semi-colo-

nial country, which was exploited and robbed by the imperialist powers. The key positions in the economy were in the hands of foreign capital.

The occupation of the country and the war against the occupationists completely ruined the national economy. The destruction was appalling. 28,000 people killed, tens of thousands left without shelter, while the overall material losses were equal to ten times the annual national income before liberation.

From the conditions mentioned above it can be understood how many great complicated and difficult economic and social problems our Party and the State had to solve, and how much courage and wisdom they had to show in the uphill struggle, to that peak which has been achieved today by the socialist Albania.

On the road of the socialist construction traversed, the first historic boundary line has been reached. The creation of the economic base of socialism has been successfully completed. Socialist relations of production have been completely established both in the city and in the countryside. On the bases of these relations the road was opened to the free and rapid development of the productive forces. The class structure of our society, has been radically altered. The whole superstructure has been transformed, and the new stage of the complete construction of socialism has begun.

During the whole period of the socialist

construction, the correct Marxist-Leninist line for the industrialization and the electrification of the country, for the creation of a multibranch economy relying in the first place, on industry and on agriculture, has served as the foundation for the development of the productive forces. The consistent following of the revolutionary principle of reliance on our own forces has allowed the distribution of the national income to be directed towards productive investments, has allowed all the internal material and financial resources as well as the talents and the inexhaustible creative thoughts of the working people to be utilized and put in the service of accelerated economic and social development.

The implementation of this line has caused Albania to be changed from a backward, profoundly agricultural country into an advanced agricultural-industrial one. A whole series of new branches of heavy and light industry have been created. Now 120,000 people work in industry and create 39 percent of the national income. In the overall production of industry and agriculture industrial production represents a half of the total volume. Within industrial production itself the proportion of the production of the means of production has been raised to 54 percent.

Our new socialist industry is based almost entirely on local raw materials and on the needs which arise from the present and perspective

development of the national economy. It is equipped with new modern technique and is now able to play the leading role for other branches of the economy, thus serving as a powerful support for its own further development and especially for agriculture.

For an agrarian country like Albania the economic social transformation of the countryside is presented as an especially important problem of the socialist construction. The creation of the cooperativist order and the all-round measures which have been taken for the strengthening of the material basis of agriculture have given the desired results. A multi-branched agriculture has been created. The area of cultivated land has been doubled. The productivity of wheat also has been doubled. The irrigation capacity includes about 50 percent of the total arable area. The great increase of the mechanical power (tractors, combines, threshing machines, planting machines, etc.) has served to increase production, to lighten the toil of the working people of agriculture, to replace that part of the labor power which has left the countryside and to cope with the increase of the cultivated area.

In 1968, the overall volume of agricultural production was 2,8 times bigger than in 1938. Our agriculture now supplies a population 2,6 times greater in the cities and with a very much greater purchasing power, at a time when the peasant population itself has increased about 40 percent.

### About the transition period, the limit of its extension and its content

From the October Revolution to our days, a predominant view-point has been the idea that the transition period means only the transition from capitalism to socialism. According to this view, this period is usually presented as a relatively short period which ends with the construction of the economic base of socialism.

Our revolutionary experience convinces us that the idea of the transition period should be used with two meanings: a narrow meaning, which includes the transition from capitalism to socialism and a broader meaning which includes the transition from capitalism to communism. The narrowing of the historic limits of the extension of this period, its reduction simply to the period of the transition from capitalism to the establishment of socialist relations in production is pregnant with very dangerous results for the socialist revolution and the construction of socialism.

By accepting only the narrow understanding of the transition period, the modern revisionists try to clothe it with a content such as would open the road to the theoretical justification of the peaceful counter-revolution, reestablishment of capitalism. They accept that after the conclusion of the period of the transition from capitalism to socialism, socialist so-



ciety can be considered completely built and the victory of socialism considered absolutely secure. Consequently the question of the struggle between the capitalist and the socialist road of development is also considered solved once for all. In this event it is said that the new economic-social order is not developed through class struggle and that the ideological political and economic-social soil for the reestablishment of capitalism cannot be created.

Faced with these theses of the revisionists and keeping in mind the experience of the deepening of our socialist revolution, the need arises to turn again to the question about the limits of the extension and the content of the transition period. We think that to define correctly the limit, the extension and the content of the transition period we should start and base ourselves on the well-known formula of Marx for this period.

He said that «between capitalist society and communist society extended a period of revolutionary change of the first into the second. This period also responded to the political transition period...»

According to this formula, the transition period, in a broad meaning, includes the whole historic period of the transition from capitalism to communism, it begins with the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat and extends to the construction of communism, to the elimination of classes and all class

distinctions in a classless society. During this period, the birth of socialism (the creation of the economic base of socialism), the complete construction of the socialist society is ensured, and the construction of communism is achieved.

The complete construction of socialism is a process which ensures the development of the socialist society on the road towards communism. The most essential directions of this process are: the uninterrupted growth of the productive forces, the revolutionary perfection of the relations of production and of the entire superstructure, the deepening of the socialist revolution in the field of ideology and culture. All this process is associated with a fierce and determined class struggle between the capitalist road and the socialist road of development. This struggle has as its aim to guarantee the development of socialism towards communism.

In our country as is known, the complete construction of socialist society is continuing. However, the productive forces are still in a relatively low stage of development. And the low level of socialist maturity of the economic social relations and the manifestation in them of stains from the old society, also bear the stamp of the situation of the productive forces. In the field of world outlook, of the consciousness and morality of people many of the stains of the old are alive and with active force. The class struggle, the struggle between the capitalist road and the socialist road of development

continues uninterrupted in all the fields of social activity. Therefore the complete construction of the socialist society will need a long time. It will demand the solution of a series of complex problems of an ideological, political, social, economic, cultural, educational, technical, organizational, managerial and administrative problems which will affect both the base and also the superstructure.

The solution of these problems is linked closely with the development of the productive forces. Since the socialist relations of production in our country were established in conditions of a relative backwardness of the productive forces, for the complete construction of socialism the creation of the respective material-technical base must be completed. The creation of this base includes the solution, in the first place, of tasks which have to do with the industrialization and electrification of the country, with the development of agriculture and setting it completely on the road of its intensification on the basis of the deepening of the technical-scientific revolution.

#### **The creation of the material-technical base of socialism in industry**

As we have pointed out above, our country has already traversed the first part of the road of industrialization. The successes achieved constitute a powerful material base which

permits us to aim, in the future, at a two-fold solution:

*first*, that Albania should be changed from an agricultural-industrial country into an industrial-agricultural country and, eventually, to an industrial country with a developed and advanced agriculture;

*second*, that we should reach a turning point, at which, along with the increase in breadth of the productive capacity, the main attention should be concentrated on the intensification of the basis of modern technological processes and technique.

To achieve this objective there is still a long and difficult road. The main task of the industrial development in the future remains *the extension and improvement of the structure of industrial production with the aim of creating a multi-branched industry based mainly on large-scale machine production, an advanced technique, and on a stable internal raw materials base.* Only such an industry creates the possibility for the realization of the immediate and future aims of industrialization; the phased exploitation in a rational manner and with the greatest economic effectiveness of the various natural riches, ensuring the fulfilment of the greatest and most urgent needs of the people's economy; the systematic raising of the well-being of the people and the increase of the defensive power of the country.

In conformity with this general orienta-

tion, both heavy and light industry, the extraction and processing industries must be further developed. The concept which combines the simultaneous development of heavy and light industry, the extraction and processing industries, has been completely proved by the experience of our socialist industrialization. The passage over this road is based on a number of objective factors and is conditioned by them. To mention some of these factors:

1. Socialist Albania was born and lives within a hostile geographic and strategic encirclement. Our people have been convinced by their own experience that political independence does not necessarily always and by itself bring economic independence; that without the second the first cannot be anything other than a baseless independence, unstable and unguaranteed, or, what is even worse, could turn out to be a false idea. However the security and strengthening of economic independence cannot be achieved without a developed heavy and light industry. On the other hand, to avoid any misunderstanding, let us say at the start, that the security and strengthening of economic independence does not, in any way, mean the trend to autarchy and self-isolation.

The Yugoslav revisionists at the start and the Khrushchevites later, tried with all their might to turn the Party of Labor from the correct road of the setting up and development

of the national industry, especially the heavy industry. If the Albanian Party and people had fallen into the traps of Tito and Khrushchov, Albania could have entered into a new economic dependence and its political independence would have been wiped out. This would have been a terrible thing for the fate of the people and socialism in Albania.

2. The complete construction of socialism necessarily demands the raising of the leading role of the working class in the whole life of society. The fulfilment of this task of decisive importance to the dictatorship of the proletariat is closely linked with the quantitative and qualitative growth of the working class, with the raising of its ideo-political, cultural and technical and professional level. It can be easily understood that the further development of heavy and light industry constitutes the basic material factor for the increase of the most advanced detachments in the ranks of the working class.

3. It is known that the development of industry, especially of heavy industry, demands huge mineral reserves. The present known volume of industrial reserves of minerals which are extracted as well as the geological estimates of them, show that in the future the extraction of these minerals will certainly increase. Although the area of our country is limited, we cannot exclude the possibility that with the passage of time other useful minerals, too, will

be discovered. Regarding the sources of fuel and hydro-electric power, according to a number of preliminary accounts, they are sufficient to cope with the needs of the development of the people's economy for a long time.

4. Taking as a basis the average increase of the population during the last 25 years, at the end of the next 25 years it will reach about 3.8 million people. At that time the active population will be about 2.1 million people. This will put forward the task that, without neglecting the unceasing trend for the growth of the productivity of social labors new fronts of work must be ensured for the new generation, and all the resources of labor which will be freed by the growth of the level of mechanization and automatization of work in the people's economy, must be completely utilized. The solution of this problem is connected with the development of both the productive and the non-productive spheres. It especially demands the extension of the front of the utilization of the existing natural riches, the discovery of new riches, and the intensification of their processing, with the aim that in them a greater quantity of complex labor will be materialized.

The proportions between the natural riches, the resources of labor and energy, dictate the need and ensure the respective conditions for the further development of the heavy and light processing industry. Such an

orientation, which the Party has given, is absolutely correct and realistic. It is elastic, keeps in mind all the economic material possibilities of the country, and aims at fulfilling the most important and most urgent needs of our socialist construction. Naturally, the implementation of this orientation will be carried out in stages. It is true also, that it demands the making of a series of detailed and many-sided studies of an ideo-political, economic, social, financial and technical character on the bases of which hypotheses can be rejected or made more accurate, and the profitability, the order, and the possibility of the setting up and development of this or that branch of industry can be decided. Practice always has as its function to verify, and if need be, to correct the theory.

One thing is certain and clear that: *the setting up and the development of the heavy processing industry, without at all neglecting the light and food industry, constitutes the decisive stage of our socialist industrialization.* At the same time this also constitutes the most difficult task for the complete construction of the material and technical basis of socialism in industry. The overcoming of the difficulties of this stage is conditioned by the development of black and non-ferrous metalurgy, of the electric power industry, the chemical industry, and especially of the machine building industry, in a word, of those branches which lead

the whole industrial development of the country.

For the coming years a big question can quite correctly be put forward: when will we be able to say that the setting up of the material and technical basis of socialism in industry has been carried out? Since there is no single universal measure or index of absolute value in time and space for the notion of the technical and material base, the answer to the question put forward must be something approximate and relative. We think that the process of the creation of the material and technical base can be said to be carried out, *when in industry there will have been built a system of such branches which permit that with our raw materials and labor power a good part of the means of production, which are necessary for the further development of industry, agriculture, construction and other branches of the economy will be ensured; when a definite level of production per head of consumption materials will be achieved and when the essential needs for the defense of the country are ensured.*

From this understanding of the material-technical basis we should not arrive at the conclusion that our industry should become completely self-reproductive. No, even after the complete construction of the material-technical base has been carried out, our economy will certainly need to receive means of production and materials for use from outside.

It is not possible for our country, and we are not aiming at such a situation that we will produce with our own forces all the means of production which are necessary to cope with the needs of extended reproduction. Therefore, part of internal accumulation in the form of various material values, must be exchanged on the foreign market for means of production and materials for use. Besides this, when the construction of the material-technical base in industry has been completed, great changes in quantity and quality, in comparison with the present situation, will have been made in the structure of our exports and imports.

To define and estimate the proportions of the material and technical base in industry, we should take as the fundamental criterion to start from, the fulfilment of the individual and social, material and cultural needs of the working people, on the base of certain norms, what is necessary to ensure their all-round and harmonious development constructing a scheme of consumption adequate for the socialist order. Preliminary estimates, in very broad outlines, show that to achieve the above mentioned norms it is necessary not only that a series of new branches of the heavy and light processing industry be created but also that overall industrial production, in comparison with the present situation, must be increased many times more.

## The creation of the material-technical basis for intensive agriculture

It is historically imperative that socialist Albania proceed towards the change to an industrial country. But the other side of this question remains just as correct, as legitimate and as natural, that our country should certainly have a developed agriculture. Therefore for the complete construction of socialism a very special care should be shown for the development of the productive forces in the countryside.

Today the majority of the population of the country (66 percent) live in the countryside and are occupied with agriculture. There is no doubt that in the future the proportion of the peasant population will undergo changes with the tendency towards reduction. However, these changes will depend and be defined by a series of factors, such as: the rise of the productivity of labor in agriculture, the replacement of work hands with mechanized means, the peopling of the newly open lands, the reduction of the working time in agriculture, placing in work of the natural increase of the population in the towns, the creation of new work fronts in the branches of production and services in the countryside, etc.

In these conditions the material and cultural wellbeing of peasant population as well as the entire economic and social development

of the countryside depends first of all directly on the level of the development of agriculture. On this development the ensuring of foodstuffs for the population of the cities, as well as of raw materials for the light and food industry also, mainly depends. Therefore *the firm and permanent reliance of our economy on both feet, on industry and on agriculture, has been and remains a necessary condition for the rapid and harmonious development of the whole national industry.*

In connection with this Comrade Enver Hoxha has said: "... We should have not only a developed industry but also an advanced agriculture. So that our economy may be a strong and independent economy, it should stand on both feet: both on industry and agriculture<sup>1)</sup>.

For agriculture to play its role as one of the main branches of the people's economy in the most effective manner, it must be turned completely into an intensive agriculture both in the plains and in the hills and mountains. To achieve this objective the Party has worked out in detail a great, long-term program. The main directions of this program are three: 1) the raising of the productivity of the crops and of livestock farming; 2) the increase of the area of cultivated land by opening and utilizing new land on the hills and mountains; 3)

1) Enver Hoxha, the 5th Congress of the PLA. Tirana, 1966, p. 55.

the improvement of the structure of agricultural production itself.

The present structure of the branches of agriculture may be said to conform completely with the soil and climatic conditions of the country. The changes which we should expect, directed and encouraged in a conscious manner, organized and planned within the structure of agricultural and livestock production, require the alteration only of the specific weight which is occupied by the various branches of the general agricultural production, as well as the specialization of the separate agricultural economies by increasing the number of auxiliary branches within them. In this concept, especially, the proportion of livestock farming should be increased much more than today. For this purpose, changes must be made in the structure of this branch itself by increasing the number and improving the quality of cattle for milk and meat.

If, in the future, the possibility will be created in the plains to free some of the land surface, which today is occupied with bread grain, then, this land should be transferred to the other branches, especially to livestock farming, for the extension of the food base.

From all that has been said above, it emerges that *our agriculture, relying on its own forces, should ensure within the country the fulfilment of all the needs of the people for bread, milk, meat, fat, vegetables and fruit.*

This directive set by the Party is completely correct and realistic. It does not aim at the achievement in agriculture of a complete autarchy. On the other hand, *our agriculture should continue to ensure within the country an ever greater part of the needs of the light and food industries for raw material.* For this purpose it should be based completely on the raising of the productivity of industrial crops. As a result, the areas of land which is occupied by these crops can be considered as nearly at its limit. The exceeding of this limit in appreciable proportions must bring troubles and damage to the proportionality in agriculture (according to the conditions and possibilities which will be created, and exception might be made of the surface planted to oil crops).

The solution of the fundamental tasks of agriculture cannot be achieved all at one time and neither are we trying to do such a thing. This is impossible in the conditions of the proportional development of all the branches of the economy. It seems to me, on this occasion, we should act according to the principle of *«concentrated blows».*

According to this principle, within one five-year period, after the material and financial means which must be devoted to agriculture, have been divided, the order of priorities in the fulfilment of the tasks should be set. Relying on the policy of the Party, it can be said the solution of the fundamental tasks in

agriculture will be pursued in the order given below:

In the first place, the fight to achieve and then to consolidate the possibility of ensuring the food grain within the country, raising the production of grain, potatoes and vegetables. It should be accepted as a correct direction that the main burden for the solution of this task will fall on the plains. A good part of its solution will be coped with by the opening of new land in the mountains, selecting, first of all, that land which is relatively more fertile and to open which, less social expenditure is required.

In the second place, we must fight to solve the ensuring of milk and, after that, of fat. If the problem of milk is solved, this will assist to increase both the production of meat and of fat. In the later period the fight will be to consolidate the stability of the supply of milk and fat and to achieve the solution of the problem of meat.

For the fulfilment of the fundamental tasks which stand before us, our agriculture should be intensified and the area under cultivation should be increased. To this end, it is necessary to complete the creation of the respective material-technical base. *The material-technical base of agriculture should be taken as the combination of all the elements which are necessary for the optimal exploitation of land, for the uninterrupted raising of*

*productivity, and for the lightening of the labor of man. For each of these elements there must be ensured the use of a definite quantity of material-technical means, which will respond to the climatic and soil conditions of the country as well as to the structure of the branches of agriculture. From such a concept of the material-technical base results also the main directions of its development which are: mechanization, electrification, the use of chemical aids, drainage and irrigation, selected seeds, etc.*

For the intensification of agriculture, first of all, its mechanical base must be extended. This should be done with the aim of passing from the present one-sided or insufficient mechanization of the various processes of production, to a much more complex mechanization, not only or mainly in the regions of the plains, but also in those of the hills and the mountains (as the conditions of the territory permit), not only or mainly in the field crops, but also in livestock farming, in the other branches and, especially, in internal transport. For the achievement of this objective it is necessary, that in comparison with the present situation, the number of tractors must be raised many times more and the structure of the tractor parks must be changed in favor of universal tractors, while the quantity of mechanical implement, which are required to mechanize the various processes of work, must be increased many times.



The quantity of electric power which is used today in agriculture is very small. Intensification of the labor processes in agriculture demands that in the future the use of electric power in agriculture must rise in a manner which is incomparable with the present situation.

In recent years, the use of chemical manures has marked in appreciable rise. Now, on the average, 79 kilograms of active material for hectare is used on the crops. This is quite a good norm, but still not completely satisfactory. If we are to return to the land the respective quantity, or even greater, of the mineral substances which are drawn from each cycle of production, it is necessary that the present norms of the use of the chemical manure for hectare should reach at least 200 kilogram, while naturally increasing also the use of organic manure.

In the zones of the plains, in general drainage and irrigation has been completed. Therefore, at present, the greatest efforts for the water conservation system have been concentrated in the hilly and mountain zones, where half of the arable land is located. The earlier a general rise in the level of agricultural production is achieved in these zones, too, the more quickly our agriculture will be turned wholly and completely into intensive agriculture.

Having seen some of the fundamental pro-

blems of the development of the productive forces in industry and agriculture, let us try to define and to imagine the complete construction of the material and technical basis of socialism in our country. To build the complete material-technical base of socialism, according to my opinion, means: *to achieve a high level of electrification and industrialization, on the basis of a many branched, advanced, industry, which is able to produce the greatest part of the means of production which are necessary for the national economy for its extended development; to have created an intensive and advanced agriculture; to have achieved that industry, agriculture and the other branches fulfil the material and cultural needs of the people better and in greater quantity, to ensure the development of the economy in an independent manner with internal accumulation alone, as well as to ensure the fulfilment of the essential needs of the defense of the country.*

#### **The revolutionary perfecting of economic-social relations**

So far we have summarized some of the principal problems of the development of the productive forces. However, their development is neither a simple quantitative growth or technical productive process, nor has it a narrow economic-utilitarian aid. It is a many-

sided process with an ideo-political character and an economic-social character, which includes all aspects of the life of society.

The productive forces can never be taken up and developed separated from their social form, from the relations of production. Although, their development constitutes a vital need for the complete construction of socialist society, the productive forces are not everything in this construction, as the revisionists claim. This is why the construction of socialism must not be restricted only to the development of the productive forces. For their construction the revolutionary socialist character of the whole system of economic-social relations, must be developed and unceasingly perfected in a correct revolutionary way, by purging them step by step from the "blemishes" of the old.

For the socialist character of economic-social relations to be strengthened and never degenerate into capitalist relations, as occurred in the countries where the revisionists are in power, the revolutionization of the consciousness of the people, the deepening of the revolution in the field of ideology and culture, the revolutionization of the whole superstructure is of special importance. On the other hand, it must be emphasized that the socialist consciousness of the working people and its revolutionization does not mechanically solve the problem of the perfection of relations of pro-

duction. In the final analysis, economic relations have their objective laws of development which are laws of economic processes and which act and are realized with an iron necessity. Therefore, for the development and perfection of economic relations we must necessarily keep in mind their objective laws. The whole thing is that the development and perfecting of the economic relationships must be made in such a direction as will lead to the development of the productive forces further and further ahead, as well as to the strengthening and revolutionizing of the socialist consciousness of the working people, to tempering it more and more with the virtues and features of the new man with the communist morality. Let us try to examine from this angle some of the main problems, which have to do with the development and perfecting of special aspects of the economic social relations.

*Perfection of relations in the field of the organization and management of social labor and production.* In the complex of economic relations, relations between the collectives of the workers and society as a whole, expressed in the forms of the organization and management of the social labor and production, have special importance.

It is known that the management of our socialist economy is a planned and centralized management. In its present situation it could

be defined, in a very summarized way, as a system in which the links between the workers' collectives which realize the production, distribution, and exchange of the social product, are regulated in a conscious manner, organized and planned by a central organ of management, instead of being regulated in a spontaneous manner by the market, competition and profit, as occurs in the capitalist economies and in the countries where the revisionists are in power.

This system has passed a long test, has assisted in the rapid development of our economy, and in the use of the socialist economic laws in favor of society. It has also permitted the correct definition of the main proportions in the harmonious development of the economy in general at an optimal level, and has ensured an effective control of their application, including the correction of these proportions as often as the ideo-political and social needs have required. Finally, on the base of this system the forms of the participation and control of the working people in the management and administration of the economy have been extended and perfected.

However, life goes ahead and, what is more, with an unprecedented impulse and dynamism which cannot fail to change and enrich the organizational forms of management and planning of the economy. Some of the directions in which efforts must be made

to perfect the present system of planning and management without deviating at all from the fundamental principles, even strengthening these principles, amongst others, are these:

In our system of planning the definition of the possible volume of production from the existing productive capacities is done by combining a whole series of indices and coefficients of a technical and economic character such as the norms of work, consumption of raw materials, of power, of fuel, machinery, etc. Thus the accuracy of plan drafted depends on how well based these indices and these norms are. Therefore, to strengthen the scientific character, the plan of labor and production, it is necessary to extend the study, the augmentation, and continuing perfection of norms upon a scientific basis, by drawing in more and more the creative opinion and direct participation of the working people.

Along with this, efforts must be made to raise the level of argumentation of the tasks of plan, especially by extending the use of the balance method, with the aim that in not a distant future we will achieve the drafting of the balance with a system of closed links between the branches. The drafting of this balance is becoming ever more imperative for our many branched economy, especially now that it is advancing more and more along the road of its intensive development and the many-sided interconnections of large scale eco-

economic enterprises is being increased and becoming complicated in breadth and in depth.

The direct definition of the tasks in the field of product distribution, circulation, which is given to the enterprises as obligatory index is the fundamental means which permits the securing of the movement of the social product in the process of reproduction in conformity with the plan and the harmonization of the activities of the enterprises with the real needs of society. In these conditions both the rights of the workers in the management of production and the responsibility for the evaluation of their work should be linked more and more with the fulfilment of all the indices which reflect the increase of production, the rise of productivity of labor, the extension of the assortments and the improvement of quality, and should not be restricted only to one index such as that of "global volume", the accuracy and economic social value of which leaves much to be desired. Therefore the time has come when we should pass from the evaluation of the activity of the enterprises by relying mainly on the index of global volume to a more complex and more effective evaluation. We are aware that to find a new index for such an evaluation is not an easy thing. But precisely for this reason it requires even bigger efforts.

In the drafting of the plan it sometimes occurs that some enterprises try to present a plan smaller than their real possibilities which

can be fulfilled without much difficulty, or with inflated demand bigger than their real needs. This putting the interest of the enterprise above the general interest can be changed into a contradiction between the disposable resources and the needs of society. At first sight, the solution to this problem appears relatively simple and easy. Either raise the task of production or reduce the inflated demands. In fact this is one solution, but a temporary solution. While we must seek for a more effective solution which will act as a counterweight towards the putting the interest of the enterprises above the general interest and will guarantee the optimal harmony, in the given conditions, between the possibilities of social production and the fulfilment of the needs of society. Since the needs of society and their fulfilment as far as possible, must be the starting point and purpose in the drafting of the plan, efforts must be made to link them better by means of obligatory economic indices, which are given to the enterprises as well as by using the various economic levers.

Finally, it is worth dwelling on another question. I am speaking about the rates and proportions between groups "A" and "B" of industrial production. In our economic literature and practice it is often emphasized, and not out of place, that for the solution of this question it is extremely important to keep in mind the law of the superiority of the produc-

tion of means of production. From this we arrive at the correct conclusion that in the planning, the production of means of production should be given superiority both as regards rates and as regards specific weight in the general industrial production. In connection with this, two problems arise:

First, should the superiority of the means of production be a superiority in general of any sort at all, or a definite superiority? We think that this superiority should be a given superiority, well defined, and such that it is subject to a definite aim, precisely the fulfillment of the needs of the socialist construction as well as possible in quantity and quality, as well as the creation of a structure of social production as correct and as effective as possible. And, in fact, in equal conditions, superiority can be achieved by developing more rapidly the less progressive or the more progressive branches which produce the means of production. In either case, the superiority of the growth of production of the means of production can be achieved. But the meaning and importance of the superiority achieved are different from the viewpoint of the creation of an optimal structure for the social production or its economic profitability and the consumption of labor. It is a well known and undeniable fact that the same phenomenon can consist of completely different trends. Our task is to discover the most progressive trend and, in conformity with this, to define the rates

and proportions of the production of the means of production.

Second, the law of the superiority of the production of the means of production must not be separated from personal consumption. Sometimes, as a reflection of the activity of this law, only the simple arithmetical rise of the specific weight of means of production in overall industrial production or the more rapid growth of the group «A» in comparison with the group «B» is considered, while the superiority of the volume of investments which are allocated for the means of production, in comparison with those for use is not considered as such. From such an incorrect presentation of the question arises a one-sided evaluation and interpretation of the occasion when goods for use increase more rapidly than means of production and this is considered a violation of the law of superiority, or a negation of it.

Socialism presupposes the development and subdivision of the first and the second at such levels and with such rates that they are ever better able to fulfil the needs of extended reproduction for an extended consumption, with the aim of unceasingly raising the well-being and cultural level of the working people. It is in this meaning and from such a standpoint, that the question of the rates and the proportions of group «A» and group «B» in our socialist economy must be settled.

The organization and management of la-

bor in production in our socialist economy cannot be conceived without the active participation of the working people, without strengthening the leading role of the working class and the workers' control in the planned and centralized management of the economy. The practice of the centralized management of our economy has worked out, at the same time, various organizational forms which ensure the broad and active participation of the working people in all important questions which have to do with the process of production and reproduction. These forms have given very good results for the strengthening of the socialist character of the relations and of the socialist consciousness of the workers for the struggle against bureaucratic centralism, for the struggle against economism and technocratism.

But along with the efforts which must be made to further enliven those existing forms which have more than justified their effectiveness, the Party has always emphasized that new forms of the direct participation of the workers in the management and administration in social production must be found. For this aim the initiative, self-action, and competencies of the base must be extended, the correct relations between the collective and the administration must be more and more perfected, by strengthening the system of the giving of accounts before the workers and of the workers' control and self-control.

The revisionists have confronted the Marxist-Leninist principle of the planned and centralized management of the socialist economy with the so-called principle of decentralization and self-administration. They are trying to prove that allegedly the socialist economy, too, is an economy for the production of commodities. Therefore it cannot be imagined without the «freedom of the initiative of the enterprises, without profits and the spontaneity of the forces of the market», without these «irreplaceable» instruments of the capitalist economy. Naturally this is the essence of the question. The thing here is to justify the reestablishment of capitalist system of the economy.

*Some questions connected with the perfecting of the forms of distribution and consumption.* It is a well-known fact that during the whole historical period of the socialist construction, the distribution of the social product per person is regulated by the principle according to the work done and the society preserves control over the amount of the work and of the personal consumption of the members.

Any effort for a primitive petty-bourgeois 'equalization' would be a left deviation, would have, at this stage, very harmful results, could lead to anarchy and would hinder the development of the productive forces. But no less dangerous than the left deviation would be the

application of the socialist principle of distribution in an empty formal manner divested of its revolutionary content, in a simple pragmatic manner on a capitalist basis as the revisionists do.

The distribution of the social product, the forms of distribution and the setting of the amount of personal consumption comprise one of the complicated questions which have not only an economic importance but also ideological and social importance. Distribution is linked with a thousand visible and invisible fibers to life, work, the wellbeing, the cultural education and the formation of the consciousness of all the members of society. It conditions the rates of our socialist construction.

The form of distribution and the amount of personal consumption always depend on objective conditions such as: the deepening of the revolution, the level achieved in the productivity of labor and the quantity of the disposable product, the preservation of a correct proportion between the fund of accumulation and the fund of consumption, the strengthening of the alliance between the working class and the peasantry, the narrowing of the distinctions between town and countryside, etc. etc. Since all these aspects vary in time from this arises the need that the forms of distribution should be continually perfected.

As is known, in socialism, the essential

differences between simple labor and qualified labor and between mental work and physical work are preserved. This distinction and the results which it gives for the material and spiritual development of the socialist society serve as an objective base for the differentiation of the rewarding of labor. Our experience of the deepening of the socialist revolution has shown that, besides the economic factor, in the differentiation of the rewards of labor, the ideological-political factor, especially the average standard of living of the majority of the members of the society must always be kept in mind. *Since the nearer we approach the complete construction of socialism, the more the distinction between qualified work and unqualified work, between physical labor and mental labor, will be narrowed and the socialist consciousness of the workers will be achieved, it must be accepted as a natural thing, that the degree of differentiation in rewarding labor (the difference between minimal and maximal pay) should be continually decreased.* The most correct and effective way for this reduction is the raising of the low wages, combined with the systematic lowering of the prices of the most widely used goods. Along with this it will not be too much, or out of place to make efforts to argue from the ideological, political and economic-social viewpoint for the restriction of the minimum pay.

From the theoretical and practical view-

points it has been proved that the decisive economic factor in the raising of pay and the lowering of prices is the growth of the productivity of labor. It is also accepted 'a priori,' that the productivity of labor must be raised more than wages. But what is the most optimal proportion which should be preserved between these two types of rise? This is a problem which must be studied. However, on the basis of many years' statistics from our experience, it must be accepted that this proportion has a minimum boundary and a maximum boundary, beyond which it must not rise or fall. As a rule the raising of the pay can be considered justified as long as the percentage of this rise is smaller than the percentage of the fall of the specific weight of the wages in the cost of production.

Until a few years ago the predominant viewpoint was that piece-work pay was the best and the most perfect form which conformed to the socialist principle of rewards according to the quantity and quality of labor. The deepening of our socialist revolution is showing that this viewpoint must not be absolutized.

The use of piece-work pay (individual or collective) is an inevitable thing for the period of the socialist construction. By means of this form the workers can be linked better with the work, exercise control of their work, use self-discipline in work, and be materially inte-

rested in an individual manner for the results of the work. But piece-work pay preserves and develops to a considerable measure the spirit of individualism in work, of emphatic material personal interest, and the putting of this above the social interest, of running after quantity at the expense of quality. This constitutes the most important internal contradiction of this form. The use of collective piece-work pay softens and greatly reduces this contradiction, but does not completely eliminate it. Therefore, absolutizing, or even worse, making a fetish, of individual piece-work pay is harmful and meaningless.

On the contrary, life is constantly giving further proof that pay by time has a more sound ideo-political and economic-social content, it combines better and more correctly personal interest with social interest, restricts the spirit of individualism in favor of the spirit of collectivism, assists to form a concept that the feeling for moderate work, controlled and rewarded, should be replaced with the feeling of all-out work, not controlled and not directly rewarded. As a result, this form of rewarding of labor belongs to the future. Therefore, the spreading up of it, where the necessary rise of the productivity of labor can be achieved and in the places which are better linked with the necessary improvement of the quality of production, should be supported as a progressive phenomenon.



One of the important problems in the field of the rewards of labor and consumption is the correct solution of the question of the establishment of an optimal proportion between the fund of consumption with pay and the fund of consumption without the pay. Today the majority of personal needs are fulfilled with pay from the personal incomes which each member of the society has. Another part of the needs are fulfilled without pay from the social funds, and this is the beginning of communist distribution.

The free use of the social funds of consumption is an organic part of socialist relations. It neither weakens nor restricts the socialist principle of rewards according to the work done. The growth of these funds in new directions, besides those which already exist, permits the growth of the wellbeing of the people in a very healthy ideo-political way and strengthens the spirit of collectivism for the fulfillment of those vital needs which can be ensured on a collective basis. *However, as long the principle of rewards according to the work remains in force, the fund of consumption without pay cannot replace the need for the existence of the fund of consumption with pay.* Further, the proportions of the former are conditioned by the real availabilities which the development of the people's economy itself creates.

The development of the productive forces

in the countryside and the uninterrupted consolidation of the socialist consciousness of the cooperativists will lead, in the future, to the application of new forms of the rewarding of labor in the agricultural cooperatives. One of these forms must be the transition to rewards with guaranteed pay.

The main preliminary condition for passing to guaranteed pay is considered to be the creation by the agricultural cooperatives themselves of a monetary fund which is necessary for a systematic rewarding of the labor of the cooperativists. Although it would be guaranteed by the same quantity of work carried out by the cooperativists, the pay will be different for each individual cooperative. This results from the character of group property itself and from the economic power of the cooperative. As is known, this difference exists today in the size of the value of the day's labor. Guaranteed pay will bring the rewarding of labor in the agricultural cooperatives closer to rewarding of labor in the State enterprises.

Regarding the process of rewards, in the present form of rewards in the agricultural cooperatives, it is not carried out in a systematic manner (with the exception of the part that is given in the form of advances), but is concentrated mainly in the first months of the year. In certain circumstances, this causes known difficulties in the circulation of money and goods on the scale of the whole economy.

The systematic distribution by means of guaranteed pay will assist to avoid some of these difficulties.

In the countries where the revisionists rule the principle of distribution according to work has been replaced with the capitalist principle of the taking over the product of labor of the working people, of their exploitation by the new bourgeoisie. In these countries in the field of distribution a radical upset has taken place. The principle of equal pay for equal work has been wiped out. Free play of prices in the market is permitted and the prices rise continuously. The differentiation between the pay of the workers in the pay of the managing personnel has been deepened without limit. The new bourgeoisie take over the greatest part of the profits. The social fund of consumption for education, culture, health, housing, nurseries, kindergartens, workers' dining rooms, rest houses etc. is continually reduced. The fulfilment of all these social needs is being transferred to the commercial basis of profit, according to the formula «to take our example from the capitalist countries». The application of material interest in a capitalist way is violating the consciousness of the working people. It incites men more and more to chase after money, after personal interest, putting the hankering for wealth above everything. As a result, bourgeois viewpoints, dissipation and degeneration have taken such proportions as those manifested in the capitalist countries.

About some questions of the development of cooperativist property and its gradual changing into the property of the whole people

In the framework of the perfecting of economic-social relations, the questions which have to do with the development of cooperativist property and its gradual changing into the property of the whole people merit special attention.

In certain economic-social circumstances the cooperativist property (of the group) constitutes an objective necessity. At the same time it has been proved that it has an historical, transitional character and after it arises, is developed and consolidated, it must necessarily be changed into the property of the whole people. The process of the changing of cooperativist property into the property of the whole people passes through two main stages: *The first stage is the stage of the quantitative and qualitative development, of its gradually drawing nearer to the property of the whole people. The second stage is the stage of the blending of cooperativist property into a single entity with the property of the whole people.* These two stages comprise a natural road of development of cooperativist property.

Proceeding from the Marxist-Leninist theory, from the revolutionary practice and teachings of the Albanian Party of Labor about the construction of socialism in our country, it

must be accepted that the drawing nearer of the cooperativist property to the property of the whole people is conditioned by material and subjective, ideopolitical and economic-social factors. The scope of action of all these factors is linked directly with the development of the productive forces both in agriculture and in each separate cooperative, as well as in the whole people's economy. Indeed, the very drawing nearer of cooperativist property and the changing of it into property of the whole people is dictated by the necessity that the economic-social relations in the village must conform to the level of development of the productive forces. Any qualitative change, however small, in the cooperativist property and in the economic-social relations in the village, which is separated from the level of development of the productive forces, will be completely undesirable and will have grave political and economic consequences.

In connection with the changing of cooperativist property into the property of the whole people in the phase of socialism, the possibility cannot be excluded that socialist social property can exist in a single form (as the property of the whole people) without being yet communist property from the viewpoint of ideological, social and economic maturity. As a result a situation can be created in which society takes over the direct ownership of all the means of production in general in a single form of socialist property.

The drawing nearer of the cooperativist property to the property of the whole people and, later, the changing of the first into the second, comprises a long many-sided process. It cannot be carried out immediately or mechanically as a result of the development of the productive forces, nor only by means of administrative measures. For this, in the first place, the economic and ideological conditions in the individual cooperative or individual zone, or on the scale of the whole country must be matured.

The immediate drawing nearer of the whole of cooperativist property to the property of the whole people or its changing into this latter would be impossible. In the same way, it would be harmful if we fail to take measures to draw cooperativist property nearer or to change it into the property of the whole people, when all the necessary economic and ideopolitical conditions have matured, even if only in a few individual cooperatives, while we wait for these conditions to mature in all the cooperatives of the country. In fact, *the qualitative development of the cooperativist property, which is appearing in our country, is the beginning of the process of its gradual drawing nearer to the property of the whole people.*

Let us try to analyze the main processes in the drawing nearer of cooperativist property to the property of the whole people which are occurring already in our country and what is their trend in the future.

There is no doubt that one of these processes is the enlargement of the cooperatives, the voluntary union of the small cooperatives into big cooperatives. This process increases the level of the socialization of property, of labor and the cooperativist production. It created the most suitable conditions to further deepen the concentration, specialization and cooperation of agricultural production, to perfect the organization of the rewarding of labor according to the model State sector. Besides this, the enlargement of the cooperatives extends concepts about the common property in the psychology of the cooperativist and slowly prepares the cooperativist so that in the future he will raise this property to a higher level. Therefore, the process of the enlargement of the cooperatives should be seen first of all as a process with a profound ideological, economic and social content and meaning.

In connection with this process, care must be shown regarding the size of the united cooperatives, regarding their optimal bounds, so that the concentration should secure the maximal possible economic effectiveness in given territorial, technical, organizational and other conditions. The setting up of big united cooperatives will also put forward the question of further perfection of the forms of organization of labor and of production as well as the method of management.

When the cooperatives of the plains are

united with those of the mountains and hills, this also assists in the gradual narrowing of the differences in the social and cultural development within the village, between the zones of the plains and those of the mountains and hills to bring the incomes and standard of living between them closer together. It is understandable that the radius of action of this circumstance is relatively limited because the cooperative of the plains in one region cannot nurse on its bosom by means of unification all its mountain cooperatives, both for economic-financial reasons and because of the difficulties which arise in the field of organization and management.

For those mountain cooperatives which remained ununited with the cooperatives of the plains as well as for the cooperatives of the entirely mountainous regions and zones, the narrowing of the disproportion in the level of economic development and of incomes, will be achieved by giving more assistance to the development of agriculture in these zones from the funds of the whole society.

In conclusion, the process of the drawing of cooperativist property nearer to the property of the whole people could follow more or less the following road:

— The unceasing growth and consolidation of the social character and level of the socialization of the cooperativist production by means of the unification of the various subjects of

cooperativist property into bigger units, by means of the continuous increase of the indivisible fund, by means of the amalgamation of the means of the cooperative with the means of the State, as well as through the increase of concentration, specialization and cooperation of production.

— The gradual narrowing of the essential economic-social differences between town and countryside, between work in industry and in agriculture, so that that the work in agriculture should be gradually drawn nearer to the work in industry especially from the viewpoint of the level of technical equipment.

— The drawing nearer of the incomes and the living standard of the workers of the countryside to the incomes and the living standards of the workers of the towns.

— The transition to the rewarding of labor with guaranteed pay at the level of the pay which the workers of the State enterprises receive, in the establishment of pensions, of social security for incapacity to work, of paid leave and other free benefits for communal services and the needs of housing, etc. in all those cooperatives in which the conditions have been created to cope with the application of all these measures through their own financial means.

— The uninterrupted growth of the level of fulfilment of the needs of the cooperativist families for agricultural and livestock products

from the common economy, without touching the fund of production for the market according to the State plan.

When all these conditions have been created, from the economic viewpoint, the cooperativist property will have been brought completely together with the property of the whole people, and only after this can the question be raised of the changing of the cooperativist property into the property of the whole people.

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In these general and very summarized reflections all the phenomena and processes which have to do with the development of the productive forces and further improvement of social-economic relations in the new historical stage of our socialist construction are not reflected.

It is understandable also that the trends of the problems which were presented do not represent the one and only final solution.

Practice shows that our socialist order, led by the Party, with Comrade Enver Hoxha in the lead, is a dynamic social order, in an uninterrupted development and revolutionization in an upward, direction which contains in itself new, unknown and unused possibilities. With the recognition of them, new forces, methods and roads will be discovered, which will add to and greatly enrich the forms and capacities of the development and perfection of our social order.

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