Revolutionary content of the principle of self-reliance.

Historical beginnings of this principle and its social-political consequences. Against autarchy and the imperialist-revisionist attacks

by HEKURAN MARA

IN THE GREAT TEST OF THE SOCIALIST REVOLUTION, UNDER THE CORRECT MARXIST-LENINIST LEADERSHIP OF THE PARTY, WE HAVE SEEN THE INEXHAUSTIBLE ENERGIES OF THE LABOURING MASSES, ONCE OPPRESSED BY THE EXPLORING RULING CLASSES, BURST FORTH; we have seen the immeasurable force of their work and creative thought, of their initiative and transforming revolutionary action come to the fore. All the historic successes and victories achieved in the development of our society, which has not been tranquil or without its material and ideological obstacles, are the results of the selfless work and sweat of the people. The entire history of our revolution and socialist construction, of the defence and strengthening of our national independence and sovereignty, has been dominated by the struggle, efforts and sacrifices made by the labouring masses, primarily relying on their own forces.

Permanent revolutionary principle

For the Albanian people, for the Party of Labour, self-reliance is neither a temporary policy emanating from some specific internal or external conjuncture, nor a tactical slogan or exaltation of national pride and prejudice, as the revisionists would like to interpret it. No, it has been and remains a permanent Marxist-Leninist revolutionary principle of our socialist construction. The idea of self-reliance was born together with the struggle for our national and social liberation.

All those belonging to the generation which carried out the National Liberation Struggle well remember, how after the establishment of the people's power and the beginning of the socialist construction, the imperialists strove to exploit the difficult economic conditions of Albania for their hostile aims and made haste to offer "aid" to our country. To accept this aid would have been to put the noose around our necks with our own hands. In the not too distant past our people experienced the enslaving consequences of such aid: therefore they refused it and chose the reliable course shown to them by the party, the course of relying on their own forces. Time fully justified this course. Never in any other historical epoch has our country known such rapid and all-round economic-social development as that in the epoch of the party.

During the years that followed, in the struggle to build socialism many things became clearer with regard to the principle of self-reliance. The very concept of this principle was extended according to the teachings of comrade Enver Hoxha; it became more complex and was treated in a creative spirit, on the basis of the experience gained especially from the time when the revisionists proclaimed their economic blockade against us.

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continually following the logic of self-reliance, our people and party, in every stride they have taken forward, have felt, that the preservation of political independence and national sovereignty, as well as the successful construction of socialism, absolutely require a strong and independent national economy. In the conditions when the imperialist and colonialist system still exists in the world, no socialist country (and not only socialist) that does not strive to create an independent economy can hope to cope with the pressure and blackmail, predatory and enslaving aims of imperialism and social imperialism, to oppose their policy of oppression, exploitation and aggression. The Party of Labour has been convinced of this from the historical experience of the distant and recent past of our country and of other countries. And the Albanian people faithfully apply this course by fighting with determination against each and every attempt at subjugation wherever it may come from, and whether from the imperialists or the revisionists.

The construction of socialism and the defence of independence have left our country no other choice but to utilize all the means and internal material resources to locate and exploit all the national resources so as to secure those things which are most indispensable for its economic-social development through its own forces. It goes without saying that this could not be carried out in practice with an one-sided economy, without a diversified economy, and especially with the capital investments in the construction of socialism from one five-year plan to another have been very great. But the clear and correct orientation of the economic policy of the party, the concentration of the financial means in the hands of the State and their distribution in a centralized way, the elimination of parasitic expenditure, the establishment of a strict savings regime, the maintenance of a high accumulation norm from the national income - all this has made it possible for our extended reproduction to be ensured mainly from internal accumulation.

Consequently, the capital investments earmarked for the fifth five-year plan (1971-1975) will be 75 per cent larger than those made under the fourth five-year plan. Never before has our socialist construction known a programme of such large proportions of capital investments within the limits of a five-year plan. In carrying out this programme our country will also have the very precious aid of the People’s Republic of China. The Party of Labour of Albania and the Albanian people have highly appraised the aid of the Chinese people and Government which is granted mainly in the form of credit as well as in other ways, and which takes into account our specific conditions and our current and perspective needs. This has always been fraternal, internationalist aid, without any political, economic or military strings attached, real aid rendered by one socialist country to another socialist country. For some time, unfortunately, the Albanian people also experienced the so-called aid of the revisionists. To hear the statements made by the revisionists today it would appear that during this golden epoch our people sat back with folded arms, that everything was done for them by others, that all that was created and built is allegedly due to the "aid" of the
revisionists. However, the sun cannot be concealed behind a sieve. Slanderers are carried away by the breeze whereas facts remain. In the first place it is a known fact that, in comparison with our needs and their possibilities, the "aid" of the revisionists was always very limited. This "aid" represented but a very small portion compared to what was accumulated from our own internal sources, while from the material and technical viewpoint it left much to be desired. But what should be pointed out in particular is the fact that, by means of this "aid", the revisionists sought to bring about the economic enslavement and political subjugation of our country, its transformation into a satellite country.

In the face of these facts, is it not hypocritical for the revisionists to allege that they "are ready to help our country even now if it returns to the socialist community?" (read: to their fold). However hard the revisionists may beat their breast allegedly on behalf of socialism and internationalism, the Albanian people well know that they (as well as the imperialists) do not give the smallest thing without having previously calculated how much material, political and military profit they can gain for themselves. Those who nourish illusions about their so-called "aid" are risking their necks.

The modern revisionists, and in the first place the Soviet revisionists, have a great deal to say about the "decisive importance of aid and cooperation among the socialist countries, of proletarian internationalism among them". If we confront these statements with the content the revisionists actually introduce into them, with the actions accompanying these statements, what they are saying is that the decisive role in the revolution and socialist construction belongs to the external factor and not to the internal factor, that is, not to self-reliance.

This is to upend the Marxist-Leninist thesis about the relationship between the internal factor and the external factor in the struggle of the peoples for their national and social liberation, for the transformation and development of the social order.

There is no doubt that the external, genuinely internationalist aid which one socialist country gives another socialist country is of great importance to national liberation, to the strengthening of independence and the building of socialism. Such is the aid that the Soviet Union gave our country and other countries during and after the second world war while Stalin was at the head of the Soviet Communist Party and State. Nevertheless, without the internal factor, without the struggle and efforts of the peoples of these countries, this aid could not yield the desired results. But the modern revisionists, as soon as they took power in their hands, completely changed the character and aim of external aid, of interstate economic cooperation. They gave them a capitalist, enslaving character, with a view to undermining the revolutionary development in other countries and to turning them into countries dependent on them economically, politically and militarily.

The revisionists say that the Albanian people's self-reliance has allegedly led them to self-isolation and autarchy, has sidetracked them from the international division of labour, from trade integration and exchanges, does not allow them to benefit from world science and technology, and so on and so forth. All these are inventions which are refuted by confrontation with reality.

Life, our experience, shows that the development of the economy based on self-reliance does not lead to autarchy; it does not exclude, but strengthens and extends the basis and possibilities for economic ties and exchanges abroad. The international division of labour and, connected with it, the need for interstate economic exchanges, remain a reality in the present-day world. Proceeding from this reality, our country has made and continues to make efforts to maintain and develop normal economic and trade relations with other countries on the basis of full equality, of mutual benefit and interest. And in every case that this aim has met with understanding it has been reciprocally welcomed. At the same time, when our Party and Government seek an extension of trade exchanges with countries having different social systems, they never hope or expect to achieve this at any cost, making political and ideological concessions to the sworn enemies of our people and socialism, to the imperialists and the revisionists. It is not self-reliance which hinders normal international economic relations, but narrow economic and political interests, it is closed economic groupings accompanied with their military blocs which aggravate and upset
Against withdrawing into one's own shell

Relying on one's own efforts in no way means withdrawing into one's own shell, absolutizing one's own experience and ignoring the results achieved by other countries in the progress of science and technology. Our Party has always pointed out that our country needs to learn and benefit from the achievements of world sciences and technology. Furthermore, our Party and Government have also adopted definite measures to enable our men and women to become acquainted with every achievement made abroad and to apply it according to our needs, possibilities and conditions. At the same time, the party teaches us not to make a fetish of foreign experience, not to undervalue our own experience and to fight crawling after others and against pinning every hope on outside. Our people should be characterized by the revolutionary courage to blaze the trail ahead by their innovating and creative thought and action.

As early as its birth, the world socialist system was charged by history with the lofty mission of proving before the peoples its superiority over the capitalist system in the field of interstate economic relations and cooperation too. The Council of Mutual Economic Aid was also created for this purpose, and had to be based on correct Marxist-Leninist principles. However, with the usurpation of power by the traitorous Soviet revisionist clique the CMEA began to change its nature completely. Since that time the Soviet revisionists have used this organisation as a tool for their hegemonistic interests, to exploit the peoples and economies of the other member countries, to establish their complete political domination over these countries. Today the CMEA is but a second capitalist «common market».

Our Party and Government abandoned and exposed in due time all the capitalist forms of economic cooperation and integration established among the revisionists. And life showed how correct, farsighted and revolutionary was the stand of the Party of Labour of Albania which defended the vital interests of the people and socialism in our country. It also shows that the economic integration which is being practiced today between the Soviet revisionists and the revisionist cliques of other countries has assumed a completely neocolonialist character. The new Soviet colonies, the CMEA member countries, must supply the revisionist metropolis, they must serve to strengthen and fatten the new Soviet bourgeoisie.

The fabrications and the war the revisionists are carrying out against the principle of self-reliance have a definite purpose. Through them they want to pave the way for and justify the ill-famed theory of limited sovereignty which is a great challenge and a permanent threat to the national dignity and sovereignty, to the freedom and independence of the peoples. By this theory the Soviet revisionists aim to subjugate the various peoples and exploit them for their own purposes according to the capitalist principle of «playing alive the weaker». The armed occupation of Czechoslovakia, which exposed the Soviet Union to the whole world as a fascist military power, illustrated the true meaning of the theory of limited sovereignty for the revisionists.

A proverb says: Hypocrisy is the honour which vice does to virtue. Making an analogy, we can say that the revisionists, while attacking the principle of self-reliance allegedly on behalf of internationalism, do nothing but inadvertently increase the value of this Marxist-Leninist revolutionary principle still more.

In our day, when the legitimate desire for freedom, political independence and national sovereignty, for profound changes and accelerated economic and social development, is everywhere mobilising and inspiring the revolutionary forces, the broad masses of the people, the application of the principle of self-reliance becomes particularly significant. In this framework, also of great importance are the relations of cooperation that have been established and are being strengthening with every passing day between our country and the People's Republic of China; relations which are genuinely socialist ones. The constant extension and strengthening of this cooperation are based on our national economies making progress and flourishing. The stronger and the more developed our two socialist countries, the greater will be the power of the influence of socialism, of socialist relations among the peoples.
Artistic handicraft has traditions of long standing in Albania. The Albanian young women take forward the craft of carpet making.