

# PRINCIPLE OF UNIVERSAL VALUE FOR THE REVOLUTION AND THE CONSTRUCTION OF SOCIALISM

by *HARILLA PAPAJORGJI, KIÇO KAPETANI*

**As long as the complete victory of socialism has not been achieved on a world scale and the danger of turning back still exists, it is absolutely necessary that every socialist country, like every liberation and revolutionary movement, big or small, should rely on its own strength to win, protect, and consolidate its national independence and the socialist victories, in order to cope with any possible aggression from abroad, and smash any attempt of internal enemies to overthrow the dictatorship of the proletariat**

**SELF-RELIANCE IS A LAW OF THE SOCIALIST CONSTRUCTION AND THE DEFENCE OF THE HOMELAND; AN IMPERATIVE NECESSITY IN THE CONDITIONS OF ALBANIA. THE PRINCIPLE OF SELF-RELIANCE HAS BEEN CONSISTENTLY IMPLEMENTED BY THE PARTY OF LABOUR OF ALBANIA FROM ITS FOUNDATION. THIS PRINCIPLE STEMS FROM THE MARXIST-LENINIST THESIS THAT THE INTERNAL FACTOR IS DETERMINANT AND DECISIVE IN THE STRUGGLE FOR THE TRIUMPH OF THE REVOLUTION AND THE SEIZURE OF STATE POWER BY THE WORKING CLASS, AS WELL AS IN THE STRUGGLE FOR THE CONSTRUCTION OF SOCIALISM AND THE DEFENCE OF THE HOMELAND. THE EXTERNAL FACTOR, ON THE OTHER HAND, IS OF SECONDARY IMPORTANCE AND EXERTS ITS INFLUENCE NOT DIRECTLY, BUT THROUGH THE INTERNAL FACTOR.**

However, in practice there are instances when this principle is not under-

*HARILLA PAPAJORGJI, KIÇO KAPETANI — economists, workers at the Central Committee of the PLA.*

stood and dealt with correctly and in its full depth, being treated as relating only to the imperialist-revisionist encirclement. In this way, from a principle of universal value for the re-

volution, the construction of socialism and its defence, it is conceived as a requirement related only to given political, economic and social conditions and circumstances. Such a concept is not complete. It leads to the narrowing of the scope of this principle and the fields in which it finds, and should find application, and weakens the struggle and efforts of the working masses for its consistent application in all fields of life.

Self-reliance arises directly from the Marxist-Leninist thesis about the decisive role of the people, the broad working masses, in the development of

the society. At the 7th Congress of the Party of Labour of Albania comrade Enver Hoxha said: «The principle of self-reliance requires, first of all, firm reliance on the creative mental and physical energies of the people guided by the Party. Socialism is the work of the masses, therefore, everything produced and created is the fruit of the work, of the sweat and brains of the people». (Enver Hoxha, Report to the 7th Congress of the PLA).

The role of the broad working masses in building socialism is constantly increasing, parallel with their ideological, political tempering, parallel with the rise of their educational and cultural level and the extent to which they are equipped with the necessary scientific professional knowledge. The Albanian working class, tempered politically and ideologically, with a high political and cultural level, the cooperator-peasantry, which is advancing resolutely, following the example of the working class, as well as the great army of the people's intelligentsia, cadres and specialists of all branches of the economy and culture, under the leadership of the Party, constitute the fundamental factor which determines and guarantees the broad and all-round reliance on our own strength for the solution of the great tasks which the socialist construction of the country and the defence of the Homeland place before us.

The experience of socialist Albania shows in the most convincing and clear way how correct and vital this Marxist-Leninist thesis is and has always been. The PLA did not wait for others to bring us freedom, but it raised the entire people in the National Liberation War, created the National Liberation Army and its cadres in the course of the fight, while it seized its weapons from the enemy. The people fed, clothed and gave shelter to the National Liberation Army. The Party created its own experience of the revolutionary struggle, by creatively applying the teachings of Marxism-Leninism in our conditions.

This principle has been applied consistently in Albania throughout the entire period of socialist construction, a period full of storms, threats, pressures and blockades. In regard to applying this principle in the construction of socialism, it has always been taken into account that ensuring political independence paves the way to economic independence, while ensuring economic independence strengthens and consolidates political independence. For this reason the PLA has always adhered unwaveringly to the course of relying firmly on the internal resources to build a self-supporting multi-branched economy, with heavy and light extracting and processing industry, with an advanced agriculture, in the lowlands and the highlands, able to guarantee the ceaseless advance of socialism, to develop a culture, education, science and art firmly based on the national background; to ensure a powerful defence, capable of coping with any possible aggression or attack by the imperialist and revisionist enemies.

The imperialists and the social imperialists make a great song about the «generous», «fraternal», «internationalist» aid they give other countries. But, as all historical experience has shown very clearly, with their «aid» and «credits», with the export of their capital and goods, these sworn enemies of the revolution and socialism have imperialist, neo-colonialist and protectionist aims and intentions. Their so-called aid and credits are not intended to develop the national economies of the countries which receive them, and do not guarantee the economic and political independence of those countries in any way. On the contrary, every offer of «aid» or credits from the capitalist countries, especially from the two superpowers, has only one aim — that of subjugation and neo-colonialist and colonialist enslavement, the loss of political and economic independence. With their propaganda the imperialists and the revisionists want to undermine the confidence of the peoples in the possibility of a sovereign life, and in general, their exist-

tence as free nations and countries, and to sow and spread the psychosis that allegedly without the support of a big power there can be no development as a free nation. Therefore, the Soviet revisionists interpret the application of the principle of self-reliance sometimes as «slipping into the positions of narrow nationalism» and «departure from the positions of internationalism», and sometimes as «isolation and enclosure in the national shell» or «autarkic development». The US imperialists and the other imperialist powers do the same thing. In this way, all the imperialists and the social-imperialists together aim to prepare the most favourable possible terrain, and justify the spread of their tentacles of colonialist and neo-colonialist expansion and exploitation everywhere, and to weaken the resistance of the various peoples and countries towards this expansion and exploitation.

Remaining loyal to the teachings of Marxism-Leninism, the PLA has exposed and refuted these reactionary «theories» and all the neo-colonialist practices of the imperialists and the revisionists.

The imperialist and revisionist enemies accuse the PLA, clamouring that, with the course it is following, Albania has remained an isolated country. At the 7th Congress of the PLA comrade Enver Hoxha said: «This is the capitalist-revisionist view of things. The imperialists and revisionists consider that country which has closed its doors to invasion, through enslaving credits, through tourists and spies, through the decadent culture and degeneration, as isolated. From this point of view we really are, and intend to remain, an isolated country». (Enver Hoxha, Report to the 7th Congress of the PLA). In fact, however, socialist Albania is not in the least isolated. On the contrary, she has many friends, an honoured name and high prestige throughout in the world. The open and correct Marxist-Leninist policy of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania is respected and valued

by the revolutionary and progressive forces, just as they value and appreciate all the achievements and progress of our country in the years of the people's power, and the art and culture of our people. Meanwhile Albania has extended her relations with the states which respect the wellknown principles of equality, sovereignty and territorial integrity, non-interference in internal affairs and mutual benefit. Today, Albania maintains diplomatic and trade relations with 77 countries of the world, and first and foremost, the relations of fraternal friendship and militant unity, cooperation and mutual internationalist aid with the People's Republic of China have been developed and strengthened.

As the 7th Congress of the PLA pointed out, far from excluding reciprocal collaboration and aid among the revolutionary forces and socialist countries, self-reliance presupposes it. This is an important internationalist duty in the interests not only of the country which receives this aid, but also of the country which gives it. This is because the victories of socialism and the revolution in each country at the same time serve the victory of the revolution, its triumph over capitalism and revisionism in other countries.

However, historical experience provides many facts which prove that any deviation, in whatever form, from the principle of self-reliance, in the final account, leads to the undermining of the victories achieved, the shaking of the foundations of socialism and the restoration of capitalist relations. Therefore, as long as the complete victory of socialism has not been achieved on a world scale and the danger of turning back still exists, it is absolutely necessary that every socialist country, like every liberation and revolutionary movement, must rely on its own strength to win, protect, and consolidate its national independence and the socialist victories, in order to cope with any possible aggression from abroad, and smash any attempt of internal enemies to overthrow the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Basing himself on the teachings of Marxism-Leninism and the revolutionary experience of the PLA, comrade Enver Hoxha reiterated at the 7th Congress of the PLA, «Our Party has always defended the viewpoint that self-reliance is not a temporary policy imposed by circumstances, but an objective necessity for every country, big or small, advanced or backward, a principle applying both in the liberation wars and the proletarian revolution, and in the construction of socialism and the defence of the Homeland». (Enver Hoxha, Report to the 7th Congress of the PLA).

The categorical stand of the PLA and the People's Socialist Republic of Albania on application of the principle of self-reliance has also been affirmed in the articles of the new Constitution which the People's Assembly approved last year. Article 14 reads: «In building socialism, the People's Socialist Republic of Albania relies mainly on its own strength». To preserve the independence of the Homeland in the political and economic fields, to protect the political, economic and social order from violation, the Constitution of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania lays down that the stationing of foreign bases and troops on the territory of Socialist Albania is prohibited, along with the granting of concessions to, or the creation of foreign economic and financial companies and other institutions, or ones formed jointly with bourgeois and revisionist capitalist monopolies and states, as well as obtaining credits from them. The affirmation of these principles in the Constitution expresses clearly, without any equivocation the determination of the PLA and the Albanian people to defend and consolidate their political, economic and social sovereignty, to guarantee the construction of socialism and the defence of the Homeland.

Looking back over the 35-year course traversed by the Albanian people under the leadership of the Party, for their national and social liberation, the establishment and strengthening of the dictatorship of the pro-

letariat, the construction of socialism and defence of the Homeland, everybody in Albania can see, as clear as the light of day, the correctness of the general line of the Party, hence the correctness of the consistent implementation of the principle of self-reliance.

By always keeping to the course of standing on both feet, on agriculture and industry, it has been made possible that today, Albania has powerful industry and modern agriculture, and has long begun to be transformed into an industrial-agricultural country.

Despite the all-round blockades, the rates of the development of Albania are higher than in any other European country. In 1975 as against 1960, social production and the national income increased almost three fold, total industrial output increased 3.9 times over, total agricultural output 2.3 times, the volume of fundamental investments 2.9 times, retail goods turnover 2.3 times, the number of higher cadres 6.4 times, etc. It is a great success of the general line and the economic policy of the PLA that the rate of development of material production in Albania is several times higher than the rate of growth of the population. Thus, in the 5th five year plan (1971-1975), the national income increased at a rate about three times higher than the rate of growth of the population, while in the 6th five year plan (1976-1980), the rate of increase of the national income is expected to be 3.1 times higher than the rate of growth of the population. On the basis of the rates achieved in the past 10 years (1966-1975, social production in Albania doubles within 8-9 years, while the population doubles in about 25 years. And these proportions have been established in conditions of rapid growth of the population, with the highest average rate in Europe and among the highest in the world.

The large volume of investments with which the country's economy is able to cope from internal resources speaks clearly of the high level of the development and strengthening of the coun-

try. The high rates of development will continue during the 6th five year plan, too. From 1976 to 1980 the socialist Albanian state will invest more than during the first four five year plans (1951-1970) taken together. Industrial output in this five year period will be greater than the production realized in the 20 year period 1955-1975, while agricultural production will be equal to the production of 15 years (1951-1965) taken together.

Thanks to this development, today Albania's economy is able to supply with its own resources about 85 per cent of the needs of the people for mass consumption goods. In 1976 other victories of very great political, economic and strategic importance were achieved: for the first time, all the needs of the people for bread grain were fulfilled from local production, and the first Albanian steel was produced. Today, Albanian industry fulfils about 85 per cent of the needs of the country for spare parts, without mentioning the great development of the energy base, which is able to set a very powerful and advanced material-technical base in motion.

Applying the principle of self-reliance, important successes have been achieved in Albania in the field of education, science and culture, too. The revolutionisation of the school on the basis of the Marxist-Leninist revolutionary triangle, lessons, productive labour and physical and military training, is a great success we are achieving with our own forces. Our art and culture are permeated through and through by the Marxist-Leninist ideology and are basing themselves ever more thoroughly on the national character. The sciences are solving more and more problems which the construction of socialism is putting before them.

The defence capacity of the Homeland has become stronger. It is capable of coping with and smashing any aggressor or coalition of aggressors.

The stability and the dynamic development of the economy, the stable high rates of the development of all

its branches, the stability of retail prices, the constant, steady, and assured rise in the wellbeing of the people, ect., are the direct results of the economic policy of the Party for the economic, political, cultural, and social development of the country on the basis of the principle of self-reliance.

Because of its universal character, the principle of self-reliance has a very wide scope. It finds application in all the sectors of life: in the economy, culture, science, art, international relations, the strengthening of the defence capacity of the Homeland, and everywhere.

The 7th Congress of the Party stressed that the main directions which ensure the more thorough application of this principle in the field of the economy are: the acceleration of the rates of production of the means of production, the vigorous increase of agricultural production, and the fulfilment of all bread grain requirements from local production, the supply of about 95 per cent of the country's needs for spare parts by our industry, the closing of the gap between exports and imports, the meeting, to a greater degree than until now, of the fund of accumulation, from internal resources, especially in fundamental productive investments, the fulfilment, from local sources, of 90 per cent of the needs of the people for mass consumption goods etc.

In the field of the defence of the Homeland, the Party of Labour of Albania links the principle of self-reliance with the correct utilisation of all the fighting capacities of the broad masses of the people and all the economic and material resources of the country. It has always based the defence of the Homeland not only on the standing army, but on the whole people, armed and organised militarily. To this end, it has issued the slogan, «the Homeland belongs to all the people, therefore it must be defended by all the people». The great work the PLA has done for the organisation and military training of the entire people, so that they are in all-round rea-

diness in case of war, to develop such an economy which serves not only the construction of socialism, but the demands of the defence of the Homeland, at the same time, to sum up and enrich the positive experience in mastering the Military Art of People's War, has served to put this orientation into practice. The ideo-political preparation of the people, the mastering of the requirements of our people's Military Art, as well as knowledge of their duties by every Party organ and organisation, every state and economic organ, every cadre and worker for defence in time of peace to be thoroughly prepared for time of war, are the main requirements for understanding and application of the principle of self-reliance in the field of defence.

The principle of self-reliance must be more thoroughly understood and applied to a greater extent in the fields of education and culture, art and science, in all the social-cultural sectors in general. Education, culture, art, and the sciences are fields where the proletarian ideology and the development of the socialist revolution is very necessary. As such, they can be carried forward only by our people well armed and moulded with the Marxist-Leninist ideology. This becomes more urgent in the conditions of the revisionist betrayal on an international scale and the stand of the PLA and the Albanian people towards this betrayal. As well as this, the socialist development in Albania is at such a stage and has a number of original national characteristics of tradition, psychology, territory, climate, etc. which dictate that the best and only solutions of the problems which life and the revolutionary development raise in the fields of education and culture, art and science, must be found within the country, in conformity with the conditions and the experience of the socialist construction, without expecting or seeking ready-made solutions from anybody else. Here it is important to thoroughly understand the question that the development of the creative spirit in education, science, culture, art,

etc., based on proletarian partisanship and the national background, constitutes a very important aspect of the independence of the country.

The PLA and the Albanian people have always had to travel an unbeaten track. This has dictated the need for more independent work in the field of science, basing it more and more on the theoretical Marxist-Leninist thought of the Party and the Works of comrade Enver Hoxha, which sum up the revolutionary experience of Albania from the positions of Marxism-Leninism and which are an unerring guide and a very rich source of material of the development of science, and the ideological base from which science interprets the material from life. The same thing can be said for the development of art and culture, too. Therefore the thorough study and assimilation of the Marxist-Leninist ideology, the teachings of the Party and comrade Enver Hoxha assume special importance. This will lead to the further strengthening of the proletarian class stand and the national character in science, culture, art.

A very important requirement that the Party has always laid down in connection with the practical application of the principle of self-reliance in the fields of science and culture is that, without denying the achievements of the progressive world science, technology and culture, on which we have always drawn, the development of science and culture must have that value and content which responds to the construction of socialism in Albania, and the vigorous development of socialist life and activity. Science is not concerned with books alone, nor with the stereotyped application of their conclusions, especially when these conclusions do not respond to the demands of the socialist development or when they run counter to it. The PLA demands that the sciences must be developed in close connection with the tasks of socialist construction and the concrete conditions of the country, through a creative application of general laws in the concrete con-

ditions, providing answers to many problems which sum up the experience of the socialist construction in Albania and which provide answers to problems which arise from the present and future development of the country.

The great successes achieved in all fields of social activity in Albania are the clearest testimony to the struggle and efforts being made for the correct understanding and application in practice of the principle of self-reliance. Nevertheless, in the process of the general development and progress, because of the difficulties of growth, the pressure of the bourgeois-revisionist ideology and the remnants of the past, all those objective and subjective possibilities that have existed and all the favourable conditions that have been created to put this principle into practice more extensively everywhere have not been utilised as well and as much as they should have been.

The possibilities for the more extensive application of this principle in all fields are even greater in the present stage of the development of Albania. At the 7th Congress of the PLA comrade Enver Hoxha said: «At the present stage, all the material-technical means and human possibilities have been created to solve many complicated economic, ideo-theoretical, cultural and technical-scientific problems which face us, with our own forces. It is therefore necessary to further strengthen the confidence of the cadres, specialists and working people in our own creative forces and capabilities, while at the same time getting to know, and applying, in conformity with our conditions, the achievements of world science and technology». (Enver Hoxha, Report to the 7th Congress of the PLA).

The PLA and the Albanian state have always applied the principle of self-reliance consistently also in the field of international relations and foreign policy, never allowing this policy and their stand in the field of international relations to be an appendage of the foreign policy of any other

party, state or country. Guided by the Marxist-Leninist principles and taking into account the interests of the socialist Homeland, the people, peace and general security, the PLA and the Albanian state have made independent analyses and assessments of the development of situations and events in the world, for the problems which arise from these situations in general, and especially for the PSR of Albania, and have openly and courageously stated their independent, clear and principled opinion to everyone, without fear or servility. This is one of the distinguishing characteristics of the activity and international stand of the PLA and the Albanian people. Therefore, as comrade Enver Hoxha pointed out at the 7th Congress of the PLA, the progressive freedom-loving peoples, the progressive revolutionary forces and the genuine Marxist-Leninists approve our views on foreign policy. —