

**SUMMARY**

# **ENVER HOXHA**

**REPORT TO THE  
6th CONGRESS  
OF THE  
ALBANIAN PARTY OF LABOR**



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# ENVER HOXHA'S REPORT TO 6th CONGRESS OF ALBANIAN PARTY OF LABOR

On November 1st, 1971, the 6th Congress of the Albanian Party of Labor opened with the main report delivered by Enver Hoxha, First Secretary of the Central Committee. This report has been hailed as a programmatic document of historic importance which makes a scientific analysis and sums up the experiences of the past period on the basis of Marxist-Leninist dialectics. It discusses the new problems and phenomena which have emerged, and indicates the key to their correct solution.

We bring you here a very brief summary, paraphrasing only some of the highlights of this report. The whole report is now available in English from Albania Report (see inside back cover). It was carried in full in Chinese in the Peking newspapers.

The report can be divided into three main sections: (1) the general international situation and foreign policy; (2) the economic situation and future tasks; (3) questions of ideology and theory.

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## THE INTERNATIONAL SITUATION AND FOREIGN POLICY

The trend of the present world development is toward revolution and the triumph of socialism. The world situation today is favorable to revolution. Revolution is becoming the general aspiration of the peoples.

The class struggle in the capitalist world is broadening and sharpening. In the U.S. itself the political, social and economic crisis is deepening; this bastion of imperialism is shaken by the revolt of the black people for equality and civil rights, and by the whole people opposing the war in Viet Nam.

The workers everywhere are breaking away from the influence of social-democratic and revisionist opportunism. Anti-U.S. feelings and opposition to Soviet social-imperialism are increas-

ing. China and Albania are successfully building socialism, getting stronger, and helping liberation struggles everywhere.

New Marxist-Leninist parties are springing up and growing. The betrayal of the Khrushchovite revisionists, which greatly damaged the revolutionary movement, was a temporary advantage for the capitalist system. But it did not rescue capitalism from its general crisis, nor did it change the course of history.

## GENERAL CRISIS OF WORLD CAPITALISM

The capitalist economic crisis has become very sharp and chronic. The dollar crisis is an expression of the general crisis - economic, political, military and ideological - of the entire capitalist system. The contradictions among the imperialist countries are sharpening, and they are challenging U.S. supremacy in the world market. The growth of state monopoly capitalism, the concentration of capital and of production internationally, the militarization of the economy, the technological and scientific revolution - none of these measures can save capitalism from inevitable collapse.

The revisionist camp too is facing serious difficulties—economic, political, and ideological decline and degeneration, conflict, squabbles, confusion, disintegration. The events in Poland last year show that the workers in the revisionist camp are ready to rise in open revolt.

Despite their powerful appearance, imperialism and revisionism are weak. They are decaying and degenerating. They can't solve a single fundamental internal problem, or achieve any major external objectives.

## U.S. IMPERIALISM CHIEF ENEMY

U.S. imperialism remains the chief enemy of all peoples, the greatest oppressor and exploiter of other countries, the bastion of international reaction. It cannot live without economic expansion, without political intervention and mili-

tary aggression, without oppressing and exploiting other people. It is intensifying its barbarous war in Viet Nam, Cambodia, Laos; it incited Israeli aggression against the Arab countries. The struggle against U.S. imperialism is the supreme duty for all revolutionary forces, for all peoples. The duty of the revolutionaries is to make the masses of the people politically and ideologically clear, to raise their vigilance, to show them where the enemy is.

## **SOVIET REVISIONISM—A SECOND FRONT AGAINST SOCIALISM**

Soviet revisionist imperialism is an enemy just as dangerous and aggressive. When the revisionists seized power in the Soviet Union, a "second front" was opened up by the enemy against socialism and communism. The foreign policy of the Soviet revisionists is the same expansionist policy as that of the old czars. Like the U.S. imperialists, they have spread their planes, tanks, warships, bases, markets, rubles, corruption and blackmail wherever they can. They invaded Czechoslovakia by force; but in a quiet way they also intensify their military occupation of Poland, G.D.R., Hungary, Bulgaria, Mongolia. These countries have been turned into military provinces of the Moscow empire. They justify this great-power chauvinism with phoney theories of "limited sovereignty", "international aid", "socialist community", "socialist integration", etc. The ideological struggle against revisionism remains a prime duty. The Soviet Union must be considered as an imperialist state power.

## **SOVIET-U.S. IMPERIALIST ALLIANCE**

The Soviet-U.S. alliance is the greatest counter-revolutionary force in the world. In all fields the two are drawing closer and embracing. Their strategic aim is to destroy socialism, strangle revolution, and rule the whole world. Their main spearhead is against People's China. They have divided up the world into their spheres of influence. They collaborate with each other as much as possible. But they also have contradictions, discord, rivalry, as imperialist powers. The Soviet imperialists try to pose as anti-imperialists, but this is a hoax designed to deceive the people.

The two imperialist super-powers have a common counter-revolutionary strategy. The struggle against the two must merge into a common current. You cannot rely on the one imperialism to oppose the other.

## **PEOPLE WANT LIBERATION**

The peoples do not want an imperialist "tranquility". They want revolution, national and social liberation. This will not come everywhere on the same day. It will have its ups and downs. But wherever there is oppression and exploitation there will be class struggle, there will be revolution.

The true peace and security of the peoples are achieved through struggle against U.S. imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism. Indochina is the main battlefield of liberation struggle against U.S. imperialism. The lesson of Viet Nam is that people's war can win against a big power, that even a small country can defeat a super-power, provided it is determined to make all the necessary sacrifices. Nixon's "Vietnamization" is bound to fail too. Nor can the Soviet revisionists succeed in putting out the fire of anti-imperialist struggle. The U.S. must withdraw all their forces and bases. The Vietnamese people will certainly win, and their victory will be achieved on the battlefield. The Albanian people give their full support to the Government of North Viet Nam and to the P.R.G. of South Viet Nam.

## **ISRAELI AGGRESSION AGAINST ARABS**

In the middle east, the imperialist-Israeli aggression has been aggravated by the interference of the Soviet revisionists, who pose as friends of the Arab people in order to gain strategic positions and domination over the area. The imperialists want to completely liquidate the Palestinian revolution, but they will not succeed. The Albanian people consider the Arab people as traditional friends and brothers. The Soviet revisionists are trying to stab them in the back.

## **THE "SECURITY" OF EUROPE**

The peace and security of Europe was not advanced by the Moscow-Bonn Treaty, which violated the interests of the G.D.R. and the

rights of all those who fought against Hitler Germany in World War Two. The threat to the security of Europe is now greater because of Soviet revisionism and W. German revanchism. The chief threats to the security of Europe are the two super-power blocs, the NATO bloc and the Warsaw Pact bloc. They are designed to keep the peoples of all the countries under the heel of one or the other super-power. Albania walked out of the Warsaw Pact and publicly denounced its aggressive nature. As long as these two blocs exist in Europe with their bases, there can never be real security for Europe.

As a Mediterranean country, Albania denounces the activities of the U.S. and Soviet fleets in the Mediterranean as a threat to the security of the countries in the area. All progressive forces demand the withdrawal of these fleets.

### **"DISARMAMENT" TALKS AND ARMS RACE**

While making big talk about disarmament, the U.S. imperialists and the Soviet social-imperialists are continuing their unbridled arms race. Continuous arming is necessary for the existence of imperialism, stemming from the character of its economic system and its aggressive nature. So long as imperialist and social-imperialist states exist, there will never be disarmament in the world. The imperialists and social-imperialists arm themselves to dominate and redivide the world, to suppress revolutions, to destroy socialist countries, to enslave the peoples. They want the other peoples to disarm so that their conquest will be easier. The socialist countries must also arm themselves in these conditions to resist the intervention and blackmail of imperialism and social-imperialism, and also to help other peoples win their freedom and national independence.

### **SUPPORT FOR VIET NAM AND KOREA**

Albania supports wholeheartedly the Vietnamese people in their struggle against imperialist aggression and to unify the country. We support the efforts of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam to build socialism, and we support the P.R.G. of South Viet Nam as the only real representative of the Vietnamese people living

south of the 17th parallel.

We will continue to develop further good relations with the P.D.R. of Korea, on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, in the interest of building socialism in both countries. We support their struggle against U.S. imperialism for the defense of the country and the re-unification of their fatherland.

### **ASIA, AFRICA AND LATIN AMERICA**

We will always support the peoples of Asia, Africa, and Latin America in their struggle for national and social liberation, against imperialism, racial discrimination, colonial oppression and exploitation. We support the just struggle of the heroic Cuban people against the threats, blockades, and provocations of yankee imperialism, for the defense of their national independence and state sovereignty.

We have good relations with Algeria, Egypt, Syria, Libya and the other Arab countries. We always strive for normal relations with all countries with different social systems on the basis of the five principles of peaceful coexistence. Our relations are based strictly on the principle of non-interference in internal affairs, and strict equality, whether big or small.

### **NEIGHBORING COUNTRIES**

We pay special attention to good relations with our neighbors. Albania will support the Rumanian people's efforts to defend their independence from outside threat. Good neighborly relations are developing with Yugoslavia too, in trade, cultural and tourist exchanges, etc. Despite our ideological differences, we strive for improvement of state relations in those fields where mutual interests exist. We wish to see the Yugoslav people remain free and independent, and oppose the manoeuvres, blackmail, and threats of the imperialist powers against our Yugoslav neighbors.

We also have good relations with Italy and Turkey, and this year we established relations with Greece, ending a long abnormal situation and strengthening peace and security in the Balkans.

## PEACE IN THE BALKANS

We do not intend to form any "Balkan bloc". Our friendly relations with countries are based on friendship with the peoples, on the basis of peaceful coexistence. We do not interfere in the internal affairs of any country, and they should not interfere in ours. If anyone violates our borders, they will find the Albanians united as one man.

The Balkan peoples can determine their own relations. We did not make the Balkans "a powder keg" — it was the foreigners, the imperialists who did it in the past, and they held the detonators in their hands. They would like to do the same today, but we will cut all their fuses with our sword, so that peace and security may reign in the Balkans.

Of course, if the imperialists instigate some Balkan state to attack another Balkan state, this would inevitably involve the other Balkan countries, and the conflict would not remain local, but would become world-wide.

## WARSAW PACT AND THE SOVIET UNION

Our relations with the countries of the Warsaw Pact are at a low level. This is not our fault. Their leaderships, completely subservient to Moscow, have followed a hostile policy towards us, which has caused Albania considerable damage. Although they have failed to intimidate us, they persist in their pig-headed stand. As for the peoples of these countries, we wish them well. We shall always be friends.

We condemned the Soviet aggression against Czechoslovakia, and we support the people's resistance against the occupationists. We support the Polish people and the other peoples ruled by revisionist cliques, in their struggle against the big-nation chauvinism of the Soviet social-imperialists.

As for relations with the Soviet revisionists, they owe Albania great debts—political, ideological and economic. There will be "normalization" only when the Soviet people and the genuine Bolsheviks intervene to establish Marxist-Leninist revolutionary justice.

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## DEVELOPMENT OF THE ECONOMY

The targets of the 4th five-year plan adopted by the 5th Congress of the Party (1966) were fulfilled with honor in 4 years and 7 months. Over 200 major works were built in this period, in industry, agriculture, transport, etc. This includes the Mao Tsetung hydroelectric plant on the Drini River; the new oil fields; the chemical fertilizer plants; the Rrogozhina-Fieri R.R., etc.

Agricultural production rose significantly on the basis of intensification, higher yields, more irrigation, mechanization, chemical fertilizers, selected seeds, etc. In 1970 average grain yield was 17.3 quintals per hectare, a record for the country. [This equals about 1540 lbs. per acre—ed.] The 5th Congress raised the slogan, "Go to the hills and the mountains, make them as beautiful and fertile as the plains." This was accomplished, and collectivization was completed in the mountains too.

## ACHIEVEMENTS OF PAST PERIOD

National income rose 55% during those five years, and real income per capita rose 17%. More social and cultural services were set up in the cooperatives, and the daily life of every family in the city and the countryside improved. Compulsory 8-grade schooling was completed in the whole country, and great victories were scored in further revolutionization of the school system. Electric power was brought to every village one year ahead of time. 73,000 new apartments and houses were built. To repair the damage caused by the earthquakes in the Dibra and Tepelena districts, 1600 new houses were built and 11,000 were repaired in record time. All direct personal income taxes have been abolished.

The victories of the last five-year plan came as a result of the great initiative and mass heroism of the people, under the leadership of the party, the enthusiasm of the mass actions, the tremendous power in the ranks of the working class and peasantry, the youth and the women. This revolutionary enthusiasm stems from the heroic struggle of the party and the people to smash the blockade of the imperialists and revisionists; it springs from an ardent patri-

otism and confidence of the people in their own strength.

### **MAIN TASKS OF NEW 5-YEAR PLAN**

The new 5th five-year plan will be based on this same enthusiasm and revolutionary spirit. The general line of the plan is to continue with the complete construction of socialist society. The main tasks during the next period will be: (1) to strengthen our people's economy on the road to turning Albania from an agricultural-industrial country into an industrial-agricultural country, with a view to raising the independent functioning of our economy to a higher level; (2) to further strengthen the socialist system; (3) to raise the material well-being and cultural level of the people, especially by reducing the essential differences between town and country; and (4) to increase the defense potential of the country.

In order to accomplish this: to develop new branches of production especially heavy processing industry; to expand the power and raw materials base; and to utilize the resources of the country more rationally.

To increase agricultural production by further intensification based on scientific organization and management, strengthening the material-technical base; to quickly develop technical-scientific progress in all branches of the economy; to improve socialist relations in production; to deepen the socialist revolution in ideology and culture; to resolutely apply the principle of self-reliance.

### **BASIC TARGETS OF 5th PLAN**

During the 5th plan, industrial production will increase 61% to 66% over 1970. In 1975 alone, the industrial production will be 12% more than the total industrial production of the whole five year period of the 2nd plan (1956-1960). New projects will be built for the extraction and heavy processing industry, such as: the iron and steel combine; the petrochemical plant; big mines for iron-nickel, chromium, phosphorites and coal; the Fierza hydroelectric station; the ore concentration factories; etc.

Agricultural production in 1975 will be 65%

to 69% higher than 1970, or about 3 times as much as 1960. The number of fruit trees will be 28% higher than 1970. 58% of the arable land will be under irrigation. There will be 40% more tractors. There will be more fertilizers and farm machinery, selected seeds and pedigreed breeds of livestock. Thousands of additional middle and higher specialists will be trained.

### **CAPITAL CONSTRUCTION & EDUCATION**

Investment for capital construction during these five years will be equal to the total investments during the past eleven years (1960-1970). Secondary and higher education will be extended, and revolutionization of the schools will continue. In the next five years, 20,000 more specialists will be trained in higher institutes than during the 26 years from the establishment of people's power to 1970.

All our new construction will be closely linked with scientific research. During the coming period, the number of new apartments to be built will accommodate a population equal to the present combined population of the cities of Korca, Elbasan, Shkodra, Durrës, Vlora, Berat, Fieri and Lushnja. About 270 major economic and social-cultural projects will be built.

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## **SOCIALIST DEMOCRACY AND DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT**

The key question in the revolution is state power; that is, the dictatorship of the proletariat. The class struggle between the two roads—socialist and capitalist—goes on in all fields, political, economic, ideological, cultural, military. This struggle decides whether the dictatorship of the proletariat will be preserved and strengthened, or will degenerate and be overthrown as in the Soviet Union. Our experience shows that where the party gives correct leadership, the dictatorship of the proletariat can withstand all tests.

But all the dangers are not eliminated once and for all. The fight against bureaucracy is one

of the most important aspects of class struggle under socialism. It remains a permanent task of the party, the state, and all the working people. Bureaucracy is a great and deeply rooted evil. It leads to separation of the state from the people, to placing leading organs and cadres above the masses and beyond their control, to erosion of socialist democracy, to bureaucratic centralism.

We must develop more mass democracy. Without socialist democracy there is no dictatorship of the proletariat; just as there can be no real democracy for the working people without a dictatorship of the proletariat. The Khrushchov revisionists liquidated the dictatorship of the proletariat and established a bureaucratic dictatorship of the new bourgeois class over the working masses.

### WORKING CLASS CONTROL

To build socialism, we must involve the broadest masses in running the country. The working people must become ever more conscious that they are the absolute masters of the country. Check-up by the masses from below is very important, and we must constantly improve the forms for doing this. The direct control of the working class is decisive, and remains a necessity for the whole historic period of socialism. This control, which is carried out under the leadership of the party, is one of the concrete expressions of the leading role of the working class. It is a safeguard against revisionism.

The working class is not only the decisive productive force, but also politically the vanguard class. It sets the example to the whole people in the proletarian spirit, discipline and culture, both in work and life. Working class control means also self-control of the workers, criticism and self-criticism in its own ranks, a struggle against self-complacency, indifference, and running after narrow personal interest.

### THE LEADERS AND THE PEOPLE

We must steadily improve the relations between the cadres and the masses so that the cadres will always remain revolutionaries and

servants of the people. They should think and work as revolutionaries to the end of their days. Socialism does not need bureaucrats and technocrats who believe only in their own "genius"; it needs cadres that merge themselves with the masses.

### DEFENSE OF THE FATHERLAND

The defense of the country under imperialist-revisionist encirclement is a supreme duty, and preparation is a continuous and permanent task. Our defense is based mainly on the internal factor, not on any international political situation. It is based on the heroism of our people. Our army has modern equipment and knows how to use it well. The fatherland is defended not by the army alone but by the whole people, who are armed, organized and trained. Our party is concentrating on learning the art of people's war.

Our party is the leading spirit of the army, the brain guiding it. In our army, the party is always in command. The party should always educate all the people in the spirit of preparedness, vigilance, seriousness and training.

### NEED FOR NEW CONSTITUTION

We have been building socialism for 27 years. Many revolutionary changes have taken place. The old constitution, despite amendments, is outdated and no longer reflects the socialist reality of today. We propose the drafting of a new constitution, which is an important part of the political superstructure, so that it can better serve the economic base. It will reflect the line of the party as embodied in our revolutionary practice, and will stimulate the complete construction of socialist society. It will be the constitution of socialist Albania.

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### THE IDEOLOGICAL STRUGGLE AND THE EDUCATION OF THE NEW MAN

The basic aim of the struggle to develop the revolution in the field of ideology and culture



is to revolutionize the minds and consciousness of the people, of their spiritual world, to affirm Marxist-Leninist ideology, proletarian morality and socialist culture. This requires a frontal attack against all alien ideology, both old hangovers from the past as well as the influence of modern bourgeois and revisionist ideology.

Our revolution overthrew the old relations of production, the economic base; but the influence of the ideology of the old exploiting classes is still strong. We must constantly and strenuously deepen the ideological and cultural revolution; if we don't, the revolution is in danger of bourgeois degeneration and turning back.

The education of the new man is a complex task. It can't be done only through propaganda; it requires creating the proper conditions, and is realized through practical activity in struggle and work to build socialism.

### **STRUGGLE AGAINST RELIGION AND BACKWARD CUSTOMS**

We launched a successful campaign against religion, and in a short time eliminated all churches, mosques, priests and hodjas, who tried to keep alive the worst obscurantist mysticism. This was a great victory towards the further emancipation of people's consciousness; but it does not mean the **complete** liberation of all the working people from religious opium; this will require a long process of education.

This victory did not happen by itself, nor was it the result of a decree. The people did it of their own free will, after the proper conditions had matured. The patriotic and freedom loving Albanian people know that religious institutions always serve the feudals, the bourgeoisie, the foreign occupationists. We must root out all those threads which keep the people bound to the old world and hinder their march forward.

In the social-imperialist countries, the revisionists are using the church to strengthen their power. Religious propaganda is spreading, churches and clergymen are increasing, the reactionary rubbish of medievalism is being reactivated.

### **COMPLETE EMANCIPATION OF WOMEN**

Women and girls had been oppressed more than any other sector of our old society by religious and patriarchal laws and customs. With establishment of people's power, women escaped from capitalist exploitation together with all the working people; they won political freedom and equal rights with men. Today they contribute their mental and physical work in every field and every construction project. They comprise 45% of all employed in town and country.

Formerly backward and despised, today hundreds of thousands of women take part in managing affairs of state. But the achievement of full equality of women with men in all social and family life is still a matter that needs attention. The main obstacle was backward feudal and patriarchal ideas of women's inferiority, which to some extent are not completely obliterated. Our party has spearheaded its ideological struggle at smashing these concepts. Our achievements have been great.

We must continue to raise the cultural, educational, technical and professional level of the women so that they can develop equally with men. We must create conditions in society and the family so that women will have equal possibility to learn and create. They must not be worn down by household drudgery. Much of the household work can and should be socialized step by step.

A truly democratic life must be created within the family. Family relationships must be built on socialist principles and communist morality. We must not permit the family to lag behind the general development of our society.

The Albanian family is a valuable foundation of our education in patriotic and moral qualities. We must actively revolutionize family life, getting rid of remnants of conservative and patriarchal ideas. We must be concerned with problems of family life; but we would condemn unnecessary interference in intimate family affairs as something alien, vulgar and tactless.

### **PETTY BOURGEOIS CONCEPTS**

We must sharpen our attack against petty

bourgeois mentality and psychology, which sprang from the old small peasant property and artisan private enterprise. We must strengthen proletarian labor discipline and increase productivity. We must combat petty bourgeois individualism, which places personal and family interests above the common interests of society.

Our country is surrounded by a bourgeois and revisionist world which fills the air we breathe with deadly germs. We must not let a new enslaving ideology replace the old one, even though it may be disguised as "modern" and "liberal". Their ideology must be fought constantly; we are not immune. We must not forget the revisionist treachery of the Soviet Union.

The class struggle goes on continuously, and there is no room for complacency and liberalism.

### **LEADING ROLE OF WORKING CLASS**

Political power in our country is in the hands of the working class, which plays the leading role in our society. Our party strives to educate the working class to effectively carry out this role. The results are seen in the militant spirit of the workers, their revolutionary initiative and creativeness, their tremendous achievements in productive, the strengthening of direct worker control, the rise in their ideological, cultural, technical and professional level. We must better arm the working class with Marxist-Leninist theory, linking it closely with every-day life and struggle.

The bourgeoisie and the revisionists regard the workers as only a productive force, while the bureaucrats and technocrats rule, make the law, suppress and exploit the workers in the interests of the capitalist and revisionist bourgeoisie. The "technocrats" deny the need for socialist revolution of the proletariat; they advocate instead the technical-scientific revolution. But the technical-scientific revolution cannot change the nature of either capitalism or socialism. In our country the technical-scientific revolution is led by the dictatorship of the proletariat; the technocrats and bureaucrats can never seize power; the working class will always rule until the complete triumph of communism.

We do not disparage the work of the intellectuals and specialists, who have a role to play as auxiliaries to the working class. We want our intelligentsia to remain pure and revolutionary, to link itself closely with the workers and peasants, to defeat the foreign bourgeois and revisionist influences.

### **REARING OF SOCIALIST YOUTH**

The education of the new man requires special attention to the communist education of our youth. Our youth are closely linked with the party, politically clear and morally pure, correctly orientated, secure in their future, bold and courageous fighters. They pour out their boundless energies for the socialist revolution and for the benefit of the people.

In the capitalist and revisionist world the problem of the youth is quite disturbing. They seek a way out of the crisis of their rotten society. Repeatedly they launch revolutionary actions. But many of the youth are benumbed, filled with spiritual emptiness and futility, living a life of dissipation and degeneration, devoid of ideals or prospects.

The bourgeois and revisionist ideologists tell the youth it is useless to fight. They preach pessimism and corruption. They incite the youth to alcoholism, narcotics, sexuality, and have made fashionable many low and beastly instincts.

Our revolutionary younger generation, grouped around the Labor Youth Union, is a courageous fighter and shock force in the ideological class struggle, combatting the outdated traditions of the old world and struggling for social and cultural transformations. Our party guides the youth, nurturing Marxist-Leninist ideals, and encouraging its initiative.

### **MARXIST-LENINIST WORLD OUTLOOK**

The ideological struggle is a life and death struggle between our ideology and hostile alien ideology, between the new and the old, between the revolutionary and the reactionary.

Against bourgeois and revisionist concepts, we counterpose Marxist-Leninist views; against petty-bourgeois psychology—new socialist psy-

chology; against bourgeois individualism and indifference—socialist collectivism and solidarity; against liberalism and patriarchal conservatism—our sound progressive spirit; against tendencies to personal ease and arrogance—the spirit of sacrifice and action, modesty and demands upon oneself.

The Marxist-Leninist world outlook is of first importance. The communists and working masses must creatively master Marxism-Leninism, fight scientifically against idealist and metaphysical concepts, and link our theory still more closely with revolutionary practice.

Our theory can be developed and mastered only through struggle against its opponents. Opposing views and debate should be used in the party and the whole society. Any tendency towards conformism, to cover up contradictions, should be fought. Only in this way can we build up an active immunity to alien ideology.

## REVOLUTIONIZE EDUCATION AND CULTURE

We have done a big job in further revolutionizing education and culture, literature and the arts. They must be made to serve ever better the cause of socialism and the people. New educational programs are being implemented and new text-books have been drafted on the basis of combatting bourgeois and revisionist concepts and applying Marxist-Leninist concepts to the schools.

Our new revolutionary teaching method integrates three main components—(1) teaching, (2) productive work, and (3) physical and military training. The strengthening of the socialist content of our school system is the fundamental question. Our teaching methods must be modernized further to reflect the technical and scientific revolution. We want to stimulate the independent work of the students, and develop their capacities and talents.

Our school system closely links theory with practice and production. The school youth take part in productive labor in the factories and the cooperatives, and in the big mass actions. Their military training must be carried out in all seri-

ousness to strengthen the defense of the freedom and independence of the Fatherland.

Physical culture and sports must become a mass movement. We want a strong, healthy and tempered youth and people. Any tendency to underestimate the mass movement for physical culture should be fought.

## CULTURE AND ART

The all-round life of the youth and working people should be a cultured one. We must pay attention to rest and recreation, games and sports, books and artistic movements, after-school and after-work cultural activities.

Our whole way of life should reflect socialist culture. Our behaviour, the environment in the factories, farms, and schools, the way we build our villages, our architecture and town planning, the way we serve the people—everything should serve the cultural formation of the new man.

Our literature and art have acquired greater ideological maturity and higher artistic level. New talents are coming forth. Besides our flourishing professional work, there has been a flowering of creative work by the people and amateur artistic movements.

Socialist realism is consolidating its victory over all alien influences which are incompatible with our socialist ideology. We fight against both modernist trends and conservatism, by reflecting still more deeply the life and struggle of the people for the construction of socialism.

Our work centers around the heroes of our time; it strengthens proletarian partisanship; it fights against bourgeois objectivism and abstract humanism; it strives to raise the educational role of literature and art.

## THE ROLE OF SCIENCE IN SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT

Science is a very important factor in development of production and other social activity. It has become a direct productive force. The further increase of our economic power depends on it to a considerable degree. The progress of present-day science is colossal, and we cannot

neglect it.

To realize our objectives, we must promote the scientific and technological revolution, we must make deep scientific studies, we must raise to a higher scientific level the management of all our work.

Our party, state and economic leadership should utilize more actively the scientific thinking of our specialists and workers. They should encourage all new proposals, discard routine methods, and stimulate the creative energies and spirit of innovation of our people.

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## CONSTANTLY STRENGTHEN AND REVOLUTIONIZE THE PARTY

Our party is more united than ever before, and more closely linked with the people. The proletariat cannot win victory over the bourgeoisie, nor can socialist construction be carried out, without a revolutionary party of the working class, based on Marxism-Leninism, able to lead the masses. In the revisionist countries, the re-establishment of capitalism began with the degeneration of the Party, the loss of its class character and revolutionary qualities. We have prevented this, fighting for the constant tempering and revolutionization of our party.

### LEADING ROLE OF THE PARTY

We hold that during the period of socialist construction, the leading role of the Party must become stronger and more effective, not weaker. This leading role must extend to all fields, ideology, politics, organization, economy, education, defense, scientific and cultural institutions, etc. All Party members play this leading role, wherever they are.

This leading role is not achieved through decrees, nor imposed by law. It is won through a correct line which defends the interests of the working masses, and through the activity and personal example of the members.

## PROLETARIAN COMPOSITION

During the past 5 years our Party has carried out a great political, ideological, and organizational campaign for the further revolutionization of the whole life of the country and also of the Party itself. During this period, 20,658 new communists have been added to the ranks. On October 1, 1971 there were 86,985 members in the Party (including 18,127 candidate-members), as against 66,327 members at the time of the 5th Party Congress.

For the first time in our history, the number of workers in our Party has now surpassed that of any other sector, representing 36.4% of all members.

To strengthen the proletarian class character of the Party, special attention has been paid to improving the composition of the leading bodies. Today, 55% of the members of the plenums of the Party Committees in the districts are workers by origin, background or present position. Likewise 85% of the members of the bureaus of the basic organizations in the economic enterprises, and 86% of their secretaries.

Today 29.7% of the members come from the agricultural coops, and there are no villages without Party members. We have organized basic Party units in all sectors of our cooperative agriculture.

In line with the struggle for the complete emancipation of women, their membership in the Party has risen from 12.4% at the time of the 5th Congress to 22% now.

### COMMUNIST QUALITIES

Each stage of the revolution demands new qualities from the working people and especially the communists. They must be loyal to the cause of the Party, untiring in their work for the people, thorough internationalists with deep hatred of the enemy; they must be advanced people, with new concepts of work, life, the family, society, they must love knowledge and culture, master their professional work, support technical and scientific progress, fight against routine or ignorance, against anything that hinders the forward march of socialist society.

In order to play its vanguard role, the Party must constantly educate its members in Marxist-Leninist ideology and the Party policy, and they must be tempered in the fire of revolutionary struggle and work. Otherwise they will become bureaucratized and degenerate as in the Soviet Union.

We teach our communists the laws of development of society, we instill a Marxist-Leninist world outlook, we temper their consciousness. They must maintain a high revolutionary spirit and moral stature, their thoughts and actions must constitute a unity, they must think, live, work and act everywhere as revolutionaries.

### **INNER-PARTY DEMOCRACY**

We fight for the living implementation of the Leninist norms of Party life, and we guard against formalism in this respect. For instance, internal democracy is a very important standard of Party life. It is not just a matter of democratic procedure in meetings or deciding matters by majority vote, etc.

In essence, inner democracy means that every communist should take an active part in formulating and implementing the Party line, should freely express his ideas, criticize shortcomings, make self-criticism. This strengthens the Party, tempers the communists, enlivens the organizations, strengthens the solidarity in the ranks on the basis of democratic centralism.

Democracy is strengthened through debates, through the clash of opinions and viewpoints, through putting forward and overcoming contradictions. But democracy is more than discussion and debate. It becomes effective only when the communists carry out the decisions through to the end, acting like a single body with a common will, putting into practice the unity of thought and action.

A very important question is the control of the workers over the activity of the Party units and the communists. We must prevent the separation of the Party from the masses. The revisionists threw out the mass line, made the Party into a closed corporation, and so made possible their treacherous take-over by a surprise coup.

### **ROLE OF MASS ORGANIZATIONS**

To deepen the mass line means to constantly improve the work and leadership of the Party in the mass organizations, which play a great role in the social system of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Some communists still have a tendency to underestimate the importance of the mass organizations.

The modern revisionists advocate the independence of the mass organizations from the revolutionary party of the working class; this in effect makes them dependent on the bourgeois parties. On the other hand, the bureaucratic tendency sees the mass organizations as merely appendages of the state apparatus; this strips them of any initiative and independent action, where everything has to be dictated to them from above. Our Party opposes both these wrong viewpoints.

The Party's leadership is political and ideological, and the activity of the mass organizations is based on the ideology and general political line of the Party. We must improve our methods and forms of leadership, so as to stimulate the initiative of the mass organizations. They, in turn, must also improve their style and methods, to find more flexible and varied forms of work.

### **RENEWAL OF CADRES**

The Party has a core of loyal and capable cadres, tempered in struggle. We have been following a policy of preparing and training a new generation of cadres, harmoniously combining the old with the young.

Today, 44% of all categories of cadres are 30 years of age or younger. More than 50% are in the 30-50 years of age bracket. (Thus we see that only about 5% of the cadres are over 50 years of age.—Ed.)

\* \* \* \* \*

### **MARXISM-LENINISM IS A SCIENTIFIC DOCTRINE**

Soviet-led modern revisionism is the most dangerous anti-Marxist trend. Our Party has ex-

posed its demagogy and deceit, its traitorous and social-imperialist features.

Revisionism was born as an opportunist trend in the ranks of the communist movement, has been transformed into a bourgeois trend in the labor movement, similar to social-democracy. The revisionist countries have become bourgeois states which oppress and exploit the working people in the same way as the bourgeoisie in the capitalist countries. The Soviet Union has become an imperialist power, expansionist and aggressive, fighting for world domination.

The revisionists constitute a serious enemy, no less dangerous than the imperialist bourgeoisie. We can have no illusions about them; nothing will change them, except the revolution to overthrow them. We must continue and intensify our struggle against them to the end.

There is a powerful upsurge of the masses and people in struggle. But their weakness consists in a lack of scientific strategy and tactics to guide them onto the right road, to open up a revolutionary perspective. The subjective factor in many countries has lagged behind. The revisionists bear a direct responsibility for this; their opportunist and anti-Marxist views disarm the people and sow confusion.

### **HARMFUL IDEOLOGICAL TRENDS**

The evil deeds of the revisionists nourish the other hostile ideological trends, from the most reactionary bourgeois trends to the Trotskyite, anarchist, and petty-bourgeois trends. The bourgeois pundits claim that the failures of the revisionists proves the failure of socialism and Marxism-Leninism. They claim that capitalism is now capable of overcoming its social contradictions, of creating a welfare state, that the technical-scientific revolution is replacing the social revolution, that capitalism is drawing closer to socialism, that the two will merge into a new "post-industrial" society.

The Trotskyites and anarchists have become very active, infiltrating mass movements, especially of youth and intellectuals. They shout ultra-revolutionary and anti-revisionist slogans, lead the masses into dangerous adventures, heavy defeats and disillusionment. They are play-

ing the revisionists' game.

Then there are petty-bourgeois ideologists, some of whom are sincere but disillusioned by the revisionist betrayal. They question the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism and try to create "new" theories, or to revive old ones. They preach that Marxism-Leninism is no longer valid in the new conditions.

The importance of the struggle for Marxism-Leninism is very clear. It is necessary to liberate the working people from the influences of bourgeois and revisionist ideology and the various petty-bourgeois trends.

### **WORKING CLASS LEADERSHIP**

One of the most fundamental questions is the leadership of the working class in the revolutionary movement. All the opponents of Marxism-Leninism deny this historic mission of the working class; they say it is now obsolete. But this question is a touchstone for all revolutionaries.

The working class is the decisive force, the leading force in the struggle to transform society. These conditions have not changed. To achieve victory, all revolutionary forces must merge their efforts with the struggle of the working class; they must accept its leading role and that of the proletarian Marxist-Leninist Party. Any alternative leads to adventurism and defeat.

### **YOUTH, STUDENTS AND INTELLECTUALS**

The youth, students and intellectuals play an important role. In many countries, such as France, Italy, USA, Japan, Spain, Latin America, they have been very active, proving their courage, selflessness, and revolutionary spirit.

But it is clear that in these leftist movements there exists great ideological and political confusion. Their programs and slogans are frequently utopian; their lack of patience and spontaneous outbursts show the influence of alien ideologies and their heterogeneous class composition.

Marxist-Leninists must pay close attention to

these leftist movements of the youth and intellectuals, while recognizing their weaknesses. We should try to lead them onto the correct road, liberate them from the influence of bourgeois, revisionist, and petty-bourgeois ideology.

## ROLE OF THE PEASANTRY

In the overwhelming majority of the countries and areas of the world, the peasantry represents the main, most powerful and resolute ally of the working class. The revisionists negate the alliance of the working class with the peasantry, especially in the advanced capitalist countries; they substitute instead the alliance with the intelligentsia. In some other countries they substitute the alliance with some other petty-bourgeois strata in the cities.

The Leninist thesis that the alliance of the working class with the peasantry is necessary to overthrow the bourgeoisie and to build socialism—this thesis is completely valid for our time too.

When it is a question of a democratic, anti-imperialist revolution, besides the alliance with the peasantry it is also possible to have an alliance with the national bourgeoisie as well. But they cannot play the leading role in such a movement; the leading role belongs to the working class, which is the most revolutionary class in society. The working class must also take the lead in the struggle for democracy and national independence, and not only in the struggle for socialism.

Just because the working class is small in some countries does not negate its leading role, which it plays through its Party. It does not depend on numbers. In Albania, for example, the working class emerged in the forefront of the revolutionary struggle, even though it was small and unorganized

## THE PARTY IS INDISPENSIBLE

Without its Party, the working class cannot achieve consciousness by itself. What changes the working class from a "class by itself" into a "class for itself" is its Party.

Many harmful theories are current preaching

spontaneity; they disparage the role of the conscious factor, negate the role of theory and of the Party of the proletariat. Some "pure revolutionaries" preach that in Marx's theories there is no need for a Party, that the vanguard of the socialist revolution is not necessarily the Marxist-Leninist Party, that the role of the Party can be played by the "active minority" which emerges as a "ferment" in the spontaneous movement, that the consciousness of the revolutionary organization emerges from the revolutionary activity itself.

All these harmful theories leave the working class confused and disarmed before the onslaught of the bourgeoisie, which has perfected its propaganda methods and organizational means against the revolution.

Some revisionists and opportunists admit the need for a Party, but they distort its role. They declare Lenin's ideas on the Party to be obsolete. They deny that the Party is the conscious vanguard of the class, the highest form of its organization characterized by unity of thought and action, that it plays a leading role in all revolutionary activity in all fields. They reduce the Party's role to that of political and ideological guidance and education, or of a center for coordinating information. Others equate the Party with a guerrilla unit. Others advocate equal "partnership" of the Party with other parties and organizations of the working masses.

These theories can only lead the workers into a blind alley and defeat. Marxism-Leninism is a scientific doctrine that provides the only correct conception of socialism and how to achieve it. The Communist Party of the proletariat is the only party that can implement this theory. It is the party of the class which cannot liberate itself without liberating all mankind.

\* \* \* \* \*

## THE LIBERATION OF MANKIND IS IMPOSSIBLE WITHOUT REVOLUTION

Revolution is the only means of transforming the world, of escaping national and social bondage. Nowadays, everybody talks about rev-

olution, but the content of their concepts is quite diverse.

The modern revisionists led by the Soviet Union have reduced the theory and practice of revolution to reform within the capitalist order. They preach that the working class can effect radical changes in the economy, take over power, and set up socialism without violent revolution, without smashing the bourgeois state machine, and without the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The revisionists are concerned with reformist day-to-day demands, broadening bourgeois democracy, and improving capitalist institutions; and they give up their final goal. Good examples are the Italian, French and other revisionists, who have become appendages of the bourgeoisie, betraying the vital interests of the workers, and denouncing any revolutionary actions of the masses.

The revisionists oppose the revolutionary violence of the working class, but justify the counter-revolutionary violence of the bourgeoisie. When they are in power, they themselves resort to counter-revolutionary violence, as in Czechoslovakia and Poland, where they suppressed the masses with fire and sword.

The theories of peaceful evolution have been proven worthless by life itself. Anti-imperialist and liberation wars have broken out in Asia, Africa, and Latin America. There are frequent revolts by the working masses in the advanced capitalist countries. These revolutionary activities are taking place without the revisionists and against their wishes. But the revisionist theories and practices are very harmful.

### **SOME WRONG CONCEPTS OF REVOLUTION**

Some sincere revolutionaries reject the reformist road, but have fallen into some other wrong concepts of revolution. They are victims of their petty-bourgeois class position, of a lack of Marxist-Leninist ideology, and of the influence of anarchist, Trotskyite and putschist ideas. They see the revolution as a military coup carried out by a few heroes. They overestimate the role of "subjective activity," and think that

the "revolutionary situation" can be created artificially by the active operations of a militant group, which serves as a "starter motor" which sets in motion the "main motor" of the masses.

According to them, the revolutionary potential of the masses is always ready to erupt provided it receives an impulse from outside; and once the guerrilla hotbed is created, the masses will follow it automatically.

The armed struggle of the group of professional revolutionaries can influence the upsurge of the masses only when it is coordinated with other objective political, social, and psychological factors, which determine an objective revolutionary situation. It must be based on the broad masses of the people and enjoy their active support. The tragic experience of certain Latin American countries shows that in the absence of these objective conditions, the activity of the armed minority, although heroic and self-sacrificing, is not understood by the masses, is isolated, and suffers defeat.

### **REVOLUTION CAN ONLY BE MADE BY THE MASSES**

The revolution is made by the masses. Without their conviction, training, mobilization, and organization, no revolution can triumph. The "subjective factor" cannot be created by the guerrilla "hot-bed," or even by agitation and propaganda alone. As Lenin said, it is essential that the masses are convinced through their own practical experience.

The erroneous idea of the "armed minority" is linked with other wrong views: to conduct the struggle only in the countryside—or only in the cities; to rely only on armed struggle, and only on illegal work; or the Trotskyite view that revolution is a sudden act, and that the general political strike is the only form of carrying it out.

The revolution cannot be carried out by the working class alone, still less by the vanguard party alone. The working class must enter into alliances with other social forces having common basic aims; it sets up broad popular fronts with a definite political program. The working class joins these popular fronts, but without



merging itself and losing its organizational and political independence.

The sectarians oppose these tactics. They charge that this opens the door to the reformist road. The Trotskyites negate the stages of the revolution in each country. They are for a "pure" and direct proletarian revolution under all conditions. Some dogmatists speak of a "continental" revolution, and deny the possibility of victorious revolution in one or several individual countries.

The tide of revolution is mounting, it is on the agenda in many countries. An indispensable condition for victory is the struggle against rightist and leftist errors, against revisionist and anti-Marxist concepts, for a creative application of Marxism-Leninism.

### **SOCIALISM CAN BE BUILT ONLY ON THE BASIS OF MARXIST-LENINIST THEORY**

The October Revolution in Russia opened a new epoch in the history of mankind. Socialism has been transformed from a scientific theory into a living reality. Despite the revisionist betrayal, socialism has clearly shown its vast superiority over capitalism.

Socialism is a new social order, built in conditions of fierce class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie on a national and international scale. It cannot develop smoothly, without difficulties and contradictions. The struggle between the two roads—socialist or capitalist—is protracted. There always exists the danger of capitalist restoration, but this is not inevitable.

The Soviet Union and other countries turned back. The teachings of Marxism-Leninism were abandoned, and the fundamental principles of socialist construction were rejected. The victories of the revolution were smashed, and the road was opened to the restoration of capitalism. They attacked the revolutionary line of the Bolshevik Communist Party headed by Stalin, and the whole historical experience of the dictatorship of the proletariat; they raised doubts about the validity of Marxism-Leninism, about the ability of the working class to make revolu-

tion, about the leading role of the communist party.

The Khrushchov revisionists pretend that their line of restoration of capitalism is actually socialism. This demagoguery misleads many honest people, who think that the negative aspects of Soviet life is the result of socialism.

The other revisionist groupings have contradictions with the Soviet leadership. They criticize the "Soviet model of socialism" as "bureaucratic and totalitarian," while they propagate their own "democratic and humanitarian" model. But this is just another variant of capitalism.

The Trotskyite groupings exploit the bourgeois degeneration of the revisionist countries to spread their slanders against socialism.

The defense of the theory and practice of scientific socialism is one of the most important tasks in the ideological struggle. First of all the "socialist" disguise of the revisionists must be torn to shreds.

The Soviet Union can no longer be called a socialist country. It is a capitalist state and an imperialist power. The evils of their policy are not due to socialism, they are evils of the capitalist system which they have restored. They cannot be corrected by partial repairs. They can be eliminated only when the revisionists are overthrown and the dictatorship of the proletariat is re-established.

### **ANALYSIS OF YUGOSLAV REVISIONISM**

The Yugoslav "system of self-administration" has been loudly advertised as the best road for building socialism. It has many followers among the revisionists in the western capitalist countries, and sympathizers in Eastern Europe.

These "theoreticians" claim that they are carrying out the authentic ideas of Marx and Lenin which were distorted by "Stalinism." Actually, this is only a revival of old anarcho-syndicalist and Bukharinist theories criticized by Marx and Lenin long ago.

The basis of the Yugoslav revisionist theory is the Bukharinist idea of the integration of capitalism into socialism. They argue that after World War II world capitalism developed into state capitalism and is being gradually transformed into a "state type socialism." This paves the way for collaboration with capitalism and imperialism.

The Yugoslav revisionists (and the Gomulka type too) abandoned collectivization of the countryside, left the kulaks free to exploit and get rich, claiming that they would "integrate" into socialism and their capital accumulation would help promote industrialization. Then they cut up the state property of the whole people, and converted it into the property of the group. This paved the way to the birth of a new bourgeoisie which took over the reins and now rules the working class and the other people.

All the time these revisionist fakers were claiming that this line was "proletarianization" of the regime, a struggle against "bureaucratic state forms of socialism," a "new road" to the true socialist society, etc.

Yugoslavia today has all the features of a bourgeois country and suffers from the same grave chronic ills typical of capitalism: deep economic crisis, unemployment, competition, anarchy, inflation, severe social-political conflicts, and national squabbles. Bourgeois nationalist groupings have sprung up, which are fighting among themselves as well as with the Republic itself.

The Yugoslav revisionists have placed the people in a tight squeeze between the domestic bourgeoisie and foreign capitalism which is becoming master of the house. The revisionist "reforms" will not help them, nor will the illusions of the nationalist groupings. This deep-rooted evil can be wiped out only when the Yugoslav people take the Marxist-Leninist road.

### **"SOCIALISM" IN FORMER COLONIAL COUNTRIES**

Certain countries freed from the old colonial rule of imperialism are speaking about social-

ism. Each of these countries has a different idea of what "socialism" or "socialist society" consists of.

Their theories contain many obscure, confused, eclectic points. They are a mixture of socialist principles with those of capitalism. They mix socialist ideology with bourgeois, nationalist, and religious ideology.

The Soviet and other revisionists encourage these non-scientific theories. They have even discovered a new road, the so-called "non-capitalist road of development" which supposedly leads to socialism without the leading role of the working class and the communist party, without the Marxist-Leninist theory, without socialist revolution, and without the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Marxist-Leninists welcome and support any sincere tendencies towards socialism. But we must stress that in any country, socialism can win only on the basis of Marxist-Leninist theory, under the leadership of the working class and its party, armed with the proletarian world outlook.

### **MARXIST-LENINIST FORCES ARE GROWING**

Socialism exists in the world and is developing both as a theory and as practice. It has accumulated rich historical experience. It is senseless to copy the false theories of the revisionists, or to "invent" new socialist theories. The revolutionary forces in each country will find the correct road to socialism by applying the scientific theories of socialism to their own concrete conditions.

In the struggle to liberate the working people, the Marxist-Leninist forces are growing. Almost everywhere, the old communist parties have degenerated into revisionist ones, and new Marxist-Leninist movements have been formed to raise the banner of revolution and socialism abandoned by the revisionists.

This new movement is developing amidst fierce class struggle on a national and world scale. The new groups face many enemies, bour-

geois reaction, revisionist betrayal, social-democratic reformism, petty-bourgeois adventurism. They are coping with these pressures, intrigues, and provocations, displaying vigilance, clarity, and determination. They are becoming more tempered and organized from day to day, and are asserting themselves as revolutionary political forces in the life of their country.

A large number of delegates representing genuine revolutionary communists from Europe, Asia, Africa, Latin America and Oceania are attending this Congress. We extend our best wishes for greater victories in the common cause. The Albanian Party of Labor will support all Marxist-Leninist movements, all those who fight against imperialism and revisionism. This is a prime internationalist duty. ■

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